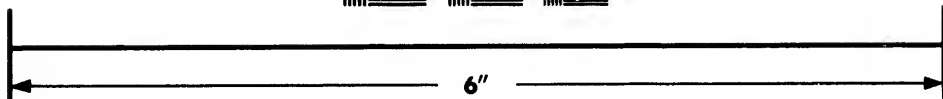
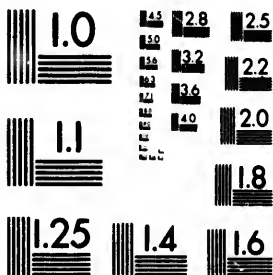


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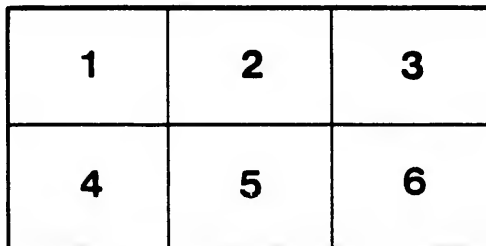
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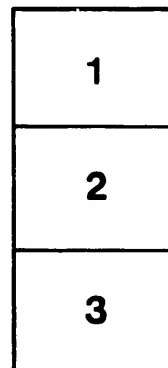
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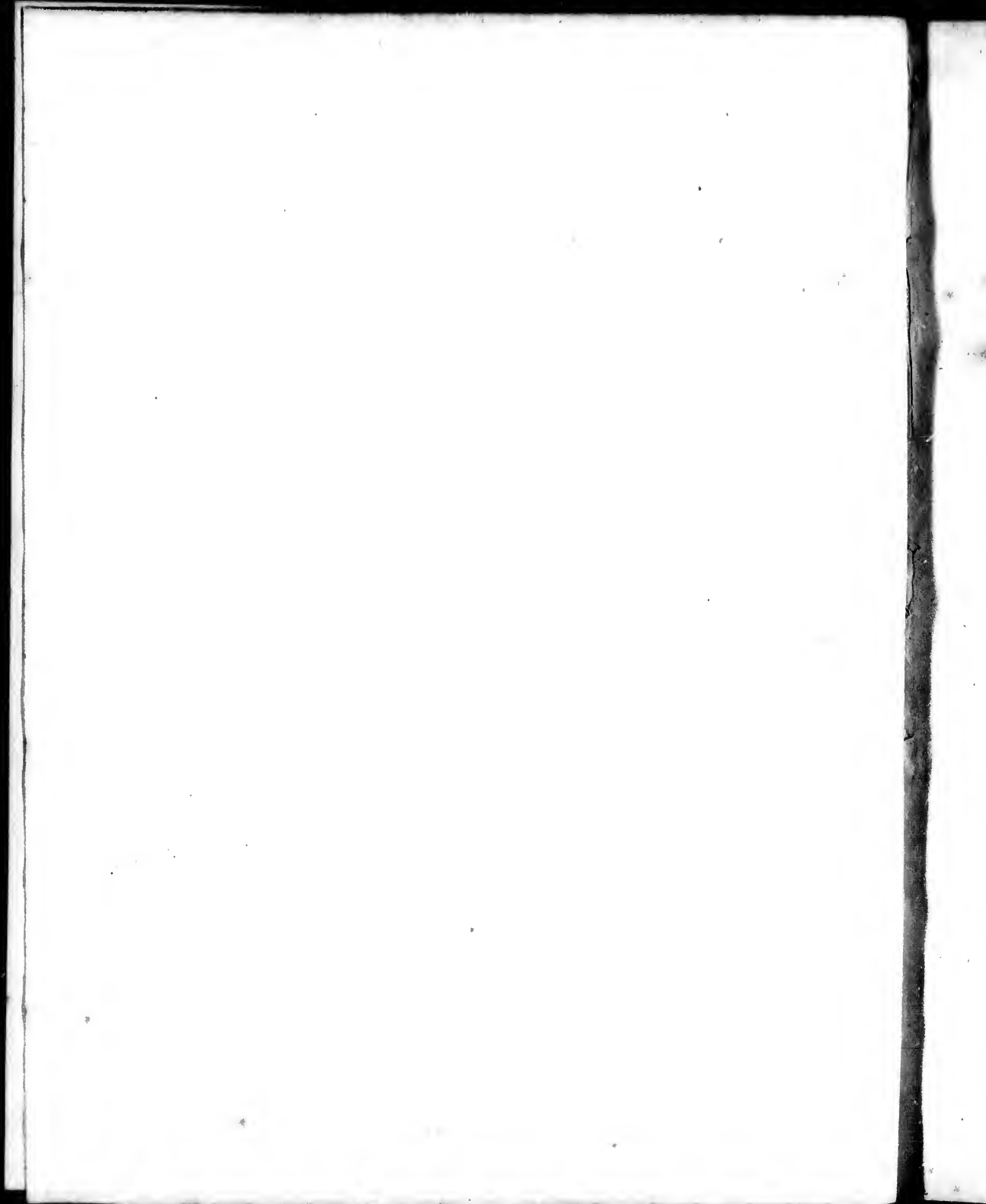
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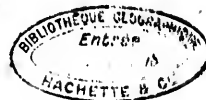
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A
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A S I A.

THE TRAVELS OF RABBI BENJAMIN,

THE SON OF JONAS OF TUDELA,

THROUGH EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA, FROM SPAIN TO CHINA,

from the Year of our Lord 1160 to 1173.

From the Latin Versions of BENEDICT ARIAS MONTANUS, and CONSTANTINE L'EMPEREUR,
compared with other Translations into different Languages*.

1. *A succinct Account of Benjamin of Tudela, the several Editions and Translations of his Work, and the Reputation it has acquired.*—2. *The Objections that have been made to the Credit of our Author, and the true State of that Question.*—3. *The Manner in which we propose to give the Substance of these Travels to the Reader.*—4. *The Description of the City of Constantinople, the Court of the Greek Emperor, and other Things remarkable there, in the Words of Benjamin of Tudela.*—5. *A succinct Account of his Travels from Constantinople to Bassora, or Bassora.*—6. *His Journey from thence to the Frontiers of Persia, to the City of Arva; and his Account of the Tomb of the Prophet Daniel.*—7. *The History of the celebrated David El Roi, a Native of Arva, who set up for the Messiah, induced the Jews to revolt from the King of Persia; of the Miracles said to be performed by him, and of his deplorable End.*—8. *The Route from Arva, and the Mountains of Haphton to the Mountains of Nisbon and the River Oxus, by Hamadan and Ispahan.*—9. *Description of the Mountains of Nisbon, or Nisbor, inhabited by the Tribes of Dan, Zabulon, Ashur, and Naphtali. The History of the War between the Cophtal Turks and the Persians, together with an Account of Rabbi Moses.*—10. *Return to*

* Harris, vol. i.

Chuzestan, Description of the Island of Nekrokis, of the Pearl Fishery, of several Countries in the Indies, of the diabolical Practices of the Natives, and, finally, of the Frozen Sea, or the Sea of China.—11. Route from Gingala into Ethiopia, and from thence to Grand Cairo.—12. A large Description of the City of Mitzraim, or Grand Cairo; the State of the Jews in that Country; of the overflowing of the Nile; of the famous Column for measuring the Rise of that River; the Fertility of the Country of Egypt; the Mouths of the River Nile, and the Situation of the ancient City of Memphis.—13. An Account of many other Cities in Egypt; a large Description of Alexandria, and the principal Things therein, with the State of its Commerce at the Time of our Author's being there.—14. A concise Account of his Return into Europe, and going back into his native Country of Spain.—15. Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Travels.

1. **T**HERE are few authors better known to the learned world than our Benjamin, called from the place of his birth Benjamin of Tudela, a very pleasant town in Navarre, on the confines of the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. The Jews, who boast very much of our author's work, inform us, that he was the Son of Rabbi Jonas, who was settled at Tudela; but they do not acquaint us with the year in which our author was born, of what profession he was, or what induced him to travel. In short, all that at this distance of time can be discovered on the subject, amounts to no more than this, that he began his Travels A. D. 1160, and that he ended them in 1173, which was the very year in which he died.

These Travels of his have been always in great credit amongst his own countrymen, who never cite them but with the greatest applause; neither have there been wanting several very learned Christians, who have been of the same opinion, to which probably it might be owing, that from A. D. 1543, when it was first printed at Constantinople, we have had of this book no less than sixteen different editions, and some of them by the ablest critics.

The first version of it that appeared in Latin was in 1575, by Benedict Arias Montanus, a man of great learning and in high reputation, who in his Preface paid great compliments to the Spanish nation on account of the discoveries made by them in the most distant parts of the world.

This, however, did not hinder Constantine l'Empereur from making another translation in 1663, with the Hebrew text in the margin, and the addition of very learned notes; notwithstanding which, many great critics have testified an earnest desire to see another and still correcter version, since, to say the truth, there are some apparent errors in this as well as in the former translation, occasioned, as I conceive, chiefly by the mistakes that have been made by transcribers in the text, where we have many names of countries, cities, and princes that never were heard of in any other author, and therefore are with great reason believed to have come by some such mistake into this; the rather, because on comparing several editions, some of these errors have been detected and amended, which afforded us room to hope that some time or other so judicious a critic may arise, as will be able to correct them all, and give us this author in his genuine purity.

2. But, notwithstanding the great reputation of our author, some very considerable writers, and those too extremely well versed in Hebrew learning, have attacked this work of his with much vivacity. M. Wagenfeil for instance, who wrote a very learned defence of the Christian religion against the cavils and aspersions of the Jews, is pleased to say of this writer, that whenever he meets with any thing that makes for the honour of his

his nation, he is not only careful to report it in its full extent, but even ventures sometimes to exceed the truth*.

The famous Hottinger deals as freely, or rather more so, with Benjamin; his voyage, says he, is puffed up with Jewish pride, and the sole aim of it is to deceive and mislead the ignorant into an opinion, that obscure and unknown places are full of the glory of the Jews. He adds farther, that there are many fables and contradictions in the Book, and still more stories that are reported upon very slender grounds: yet, after all, he concludes, that our author has many things in him that are not to be found elsewhere †.

The very learned Spanheim gives the true character of the work in a few words: It is, says he, pretty highly seasoned with fables; but there are many good things in it for all that ‡. This is precisely the case; the Jews, and such as are fond admirers of Rabbinic learning, have cried it up much beyond its real merit; and others again have, for a particular reason, run it down beyond all measure; nay, they have questioned whether our author ever travelled at all, and would persuade us that he made his book without stirring out of Spain; but they would have done well to have shewn us how he came by the materials, which I think a much harder task than to answer all their objections.

His countrymen, it seems, frequently quote this book of Benjamin's to shew, that the Jews are not yet totally deprived of power, but that there is still a kind of sovereignty exercised by some of their nation over their brethren in certain countries of the east; which being supposed to contradict the famous prophecy relating to the coming of Christ, these critics will have to be a fable. But if Benjamin had never wrote, the Jews would be able to prove the truth of this in stronger terms § than it is asserted by him, and yet without overthrowing the application of that prophecy to Jesus Christ; and therefore this is no reason to me for depreciating the work at all. He has certainly exaggerated some things, and mistaken many more. What then? we find in him many things curious and entertaining, which we can find no where else.

3. Our author, in his first chapter, gives us an account of his travels by land from Saragossa to Marseilles. In his second chapter, he tells us that he embarked for Genoa, and proceeded from thence to Rome, of which he gives us a description. He went from that city through the kingdom of Naples to Otranto, and sailed from thence to the island of Corfu, and then passed by land through Greece to Constantinople, and in his passage traversed the country of Walachia ||. This takes up his fourth chapter, but as there is nothing very extraordinary in this part of his work, and as we have no room to spare, I thought it better to omit these chapters than to abridge them, because I must have given the sense of the author in my own words, which would not have put it in the reader's power to form any judgment of the writer's style or manner of writing. In his fifth chapter he gives a long account of the city of Constantinople, of the court of the Greek Emperor, and of the state that things were in at the time of his being there, with many other curious particulars, and therefore I have given this chapter at large, accom-

* Not. ad Lipmanian Carman Nizzachon in Tel iga. Sat. pag. 374. This writer is induced to censure our author, for the reasons I have afterwards assigned; that is, because he thinks what Benjamin has advanced derogatory from the famous prophecy in the 49th chapter of Genesis.

† Hist. Eccl. Sect. xii. p. 241.

‡ Introd. ad Hist. Eccl. Part II. Sæcul. XII. sect. xiv. p. 370.

§ It appears evidently from the Koran, that there were principalities of the Jews in Arabia at the time that Mohammed set up for a prophet, which is certainly as strong as any thing advanced by our author, and is, notwithstanding, a fact that cannot be disputed.

|| The manner and style of this voyage is a proper specimen of all the Jewish writers, who use exactly the same terms in their narrations; and by affecting to keep close to the names of nations and cities mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, render their own writings very perplexed and obscure.

panied with such explanatory notes as were requisite, that I might afford the reader a proper specimen of this performance, without trespassing too much on his time or my own.

4. " From thence we travelled three days journey to Abiro, seated upon the sea-shore; and travelling five days journey more among the mountains, one comes to Constantinople, an exceeding great city, and the head of the kingdom of Javanites *, or those called Greeks. This is the principal seat of the Emperor Emanuel †, whose command twelve Kings obey; for every one whereof there are several palaces at Constantinople, and they have also fortresses and governments, and unto these the whole land is subject. The principal and chiefest is called Apripus, the second Mega Domestikutz, the third Dominot, the fourth Mackducus, the fifth Iknomus Megli, and the rest have names like unto these ‡. The compass of the city of Constantinople containeth eighteen miles, one half of it standeth upon the sea, but the other half on the continent, and it is seated upon two arms of the sea, into one of which the sea flows out of Russia, but into the other from Spain, and it is frequented by many traders from the provinces and countries of Babylon, Senaar, Media, Persia, and all the kingdom of Egypt and land of Canaan, and the kingdoms of Russia, Hungary, and Plianki, Buria, Lombardy, and Spain.

" The city itself is excessively populous, unto which merchants resort out of all countries, travelling thither both by sea and land. It hath none to compare with it in the world, except Bagdat, that mighty city of the Ismaelites. Here is the most famous temple of St. Sophia, and the Patriarch of the Grecians dwelleth here, nor do they agree in doctrine with the Pope of Rome. There are in it also as many altars in number as days in the year; but it hath an exceeding great treasure, almost beyond all estimation, by the offerings and riches, yearly brought from divers countries, islands, castles, forts, and palaces, so that the wealth of no temple in the world can be compared with the riches thereof; and in the midst of the temple there are pillars of gold and silver, huge candlesticks, lanterns, lamps, and other ornaments of these precious metals, more than any man is able to reckon. Next adjoining to the walls of the temple, there is a place built for the Emperor's diversion, called Hippodromus, where yearly, upon the birthday of Jesus of Nazareth, great spectacles are publicly presented, and there all sorts of men in all manner of habits of the whole world appear before the King and Queen. Lions also, and bears, leopards, and wild asses, are brought forth into the place where these spectacles are to be seen, that they may fight together, and birds also after the

* This term is made use of by the Jews to signify the Greeks, because they conceive them to be the descendants of Javan; it is their manner of writing, and we must be contented with it. It is true, we might have given all this a modern dress, but then it would have been no longer the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, which was what we promised.

† This Emperor Emanuel is Manuel Commenes, who ascended the Imperial throne A. D. 1143, and died in 1180. He was famous for his treachery to the Christian princes engaged in the holy war, but it is very certain that the time of his reign agrees exactly with the time of our author's visiting the city of Constantinople.

‡ There cannot well be any thing more confused than this passage of our author is at first sight, and yet it is not impossible to make tolerable good sense of it. Benjamin thought that as Manuel was an Emperor, his ministers and governors of provinces ought to be considered as equal in state and dignity to kings. There is no doubt great difficulty in transcribing Greek words by Hebrew characters, especially where a person is not fully master of both languages, which was certainly the case of our author; and perhaps the errors of the work have been heightened as well as multiplied by such as have copied it. Apripus in the text very probably means *Præpositus*, or Prime Minister. Mega Domestikutz, is plainly the corruption of *Μέγας Δομίστικος*, or Great Chamberlain. Dominot stands for Dominus. Mackducus is put for *Μέγας Δουκας*, or Great Duke, and the last is intended for *Οικονόμος Μέγας*, or Lord High Steward.

same manner : and my opinion is that in no country of the world such princely sports are to be seen.

“ But this King Emanuel, besides that palace left him by his ancestors, hath built him another upon the sea-shore, which they call Bilbernæ, the pillars and walls whereof he hath overlaid with beaten gold and silver, whereon he hath engraved all the wars made by him and his ancestors ; and he hath prepared a throne there for himself of gold and precious stones, and hath adorned it with a golden crown hanging on high by gold chains ; the composure whereof is equal with the throne itself, so enriched with precious stones and pearls, that the price thereof no man is able to value ; of so great a lustre, that without the assistance of light they shine, and may be seen in the night.

“ Moreover there are such valuable things in the same place as were incredible if told ; and tributes are yearly brought into that palace, wherewith the towers are filled with scarlet and purple garments, and gold ; so that the like example of building and riches can no where else be found in the world. And it is affirmed, that the revenue only of this city itself, gathered from the markets, haven, and tribute of merchants, amounted to 20,000 crowns a day. Furthermore, the Grecians themselves, inhabitants of the country, are exceeding rich in gold, and have abundance of precious stones, and are dressed in most sumptuous apparel, their garments being made of crimson intermingled with gold, or embroidered with needle-work, and are all carried upon horses, as if they were the children of Kings. The country itself being very large, abounds with all sorts of fruits, and hath great plenty of corn, flesh, and wine ; nor is there a finer spot in the whole world to be found. They are also learned and skilful in the discipline of the Grecians ; but giving themselves wholly to pleasure, they eat and drink every one under his own vine and under his own fig-tree. Of all the nations which they call barbarians, they have soldiers to fight with the Soldan, King of the children of Thogarna, who are commonly called Turks, because they themselves, through idleness and luxury, are become quite unfit for the wars, and seem to me more like women than men, through their excessive love of pleasure*.

“ But no Jews dwell within the city, for they are excluded from thence by an arm of the sea of Sophia ; they are not so much as permitted to come into the city but by boats, and that for the sake of commerce ; and here are about two thousand Jews Rabbanites, besides five hundred Karaites on the other side. There is a wall to separate them from the Rabbanites, that are the disciples of wise men ; and among whom Abtalion the Great, and R. Abdias, and Aaron Cuspis, and Joseph Starginus, and Eliakim the governor, have the chief authority. Amongst these some are artificers of silken garments ; but there are many merchants, and those too very rich. No Jew is there permitted to be carried on horse-back, except Solomon the Egyptian, the King's physician, through whose interest the Jews are comforted and eased in their captivity, which they feel to be grievous ; for all the Jews are very much hated by the Grecians, without making any difference between the good and evil : but they are worst used by the tanners, who, while they dress their skins, pour out the filthy water into the streets before their doors. They are in general oppressed with a grievous yoke, and are insulted and beaten in the streets, enduring from every hand abundance of injuries. But among the Jews themselves some are rich, as I have said, and good men, and merciful,

* However sharp or severe this character of the people at Constantinople may seem, yet it is beyond all question very just and well founded, fully supports what we have delivered upon this subject in the sixteenth section, and is at once a mark of veracity in these Travels, and of the author's capacity in judging of what he saw.

and observe the commandments, who patiently endure the misery of captivity. The place wherein they dwell is called Pera.*

5. Our author continued his journey from Constantinople to the city of Tyre, from thence to Jerusalem, and from thence through the Holy Land, of which he gives a very particular description, to the city of Damascus; and from thence to Balbeck, which is in the neighbourhood of the ancient Palmyra, which he calls by its old name of Tadnor, and assures us, that there were in it, when he passed through, two thousand Jews. He gives us next a copious account of the city of Bagdat, of the court of the Khaliff, and of the condition of the Jews in that city. Then he carries us into the country of Thema, where he places a whole nation of Jews, about which there have been great disputes; and some would have us believe, that the whole is a forgery. However that matter be, as it no way relates to my subject, I did not think it requisite to trouble the reader therewith, especially as there are stories enough of the same kind in the rest of the book. In his fifteenth chapter, he acquaints us, that he proceeded to Botzra on the river Tigris, which is plainly Balfora, or Bassora, a place frequently mentioned in the preceding part of this work; and from thence he continued his journey through Persia, as I shall acquaint the reader in his own words*.

6. "The river Samoura is esteemed the limits of the kingdom of Persia, and near it stands a city of the same name, wherein dwell fifteen hundred Jews. There is the sepulchre of Efdras the scribe and priest, who died at this place in his return from Jerusalem to the court of Artaxerxes. Our people have built before this sepulchre a great synagogue; and on the other side the Ishmaelites, i. e. the Arabians, or Mohammedans, have built a mosque; so great is their esteem for Efdras, and their respect for the Israelites. It is on this score also that the Ishmaelites resort hither to pray.

"It is four miles from hence to Chuzesthan, which is the same with Elam, that great city of old; but it is now in some measure ruined and uninhabited. At one end, but in the midst of ruins, is Sufa, a castle, and formerly the palace of Ahasuerus; some remains of which are yet standing. There are here seven thousand Jews and fourteen synagogues, before one of which stands the tomb of Daniel. The river Tigris † runs through the city, over which there is a bridge. All the Jews that live on one side are very rich, have shops extremely well filled, and carry on a great commerce. Those on the other side the river are all poor, having neither markets, shops, gardens, nor orchards. The sense of their condition threw them once into an insurrection, from a notion that all the glory and riches of those on the other side the river, sprung from no other cause than their having the sepulchre of the prophet Daniel on their side.

"They demanded therefore that this tomb should be transferred to their side; but the others vehemently opposing this, a war began, of which both sides growing weary, it was agreed, that the coffin of Daniel should remain one year on one side the river, and the next year on the other. This treaty was observed till such time as Sanigar Shah, son to the great Shah of Persia, who rules over forty-five Princes, cancelled it. He is called in Arabic Sultan Phars-Al-Chabir, which is as much as to say, great Em-

* Our author's Travels, with the remarks necessary to explain them, would, if delivered entire, take up a great many sheets; and for this reason it is, and that we may keep the subject as much within bounds as possible, that we take this method of acquainting the reader with the contents of his work.

† Our author is a little out here in his geography, for the river Tigris does not come near this city; the river he means was anciently called Euleus, and in the modern maps we find it described under the name of Coron. It is, in all probability, the same as before mentioned, which some critics will have to be a river of our author's making; but the truth of the matter is, that the river Coron takes its rise near a town called Samira, from whence he might hear it called the river of Samira, and such an error, considering the times in which he lived, is not very considerable.

peror of Persia. His empire extends from the mouth of the river Samoura to the city of Samarcand, and to the river of Gozan, the province of Gifbor, including the cities of the Medes, the mountains of Haphton, and so to the province of Thibet; in the forests of which country are found the animals that produce musk. His empire is four months and four days journey in extent*.

"When therefore this great monarch Sanigar King of Persia came to Elam, and saw them transporting the coffin of Daniel from one side of the river to the other, with a great crowd of Jews and Ishmaelites upon the bridge, he demanded what they were doing, and the reason of their doing it; and being informed of what has been before related, he decided the point thus: It is by no means decent, said he, that the remains of Daniel should be treated in this manner; measure therefore to a place that is at an equal distance from both sides, and there let the coffin of Daniel be suspended in a glass-case, fastened to the middle of the bridge by chains of iron, and let there be a spacious edifice built in the same place in the form of a synagogue, open to all people, whether Jews, or of other nations that incline to come thither to say their prayers †. As a still stronger mark of his esteem, that Emperor likewise forbid, by an express edict, that any man should take fish out of the river for one mile below, and another above, for the reverence and honour of Daniel."

From hence to Robad-bar are three days journey, where dwell twenty thousand Israelites, among whom there are very many disciples of the wise men, and also some of them very rich; but these live under the power and authority of a strange Prince. In two days journey from thence you come to the river Vanth, where are four thousand Jews, or thereabouts; but four days journey from the river lieth the country Molhat, the inhabitants whereof believe not the doctrine of the Ishmaelites, but they dwell in very strong mountains, and they obey an elder, whose seat is in the country Alchessin; and among these there are four colleges of the Israelites, and they go forth to the wars with them; nor are they subject to the dominion of the King of Persia, but live in high mountains, from whence descending they invade the bordering countries, and drive away booties, and return again, fearing no man; but the Jews, who dwell among them, are the disciples of the wise men, and obey the head of the captivity of Babylon.

You travel five days journey from hence to Omaria, where are five-and-twenty thousand Israelites; and it is the beginning of the synagogues of the inhabitants of the mountains of Haphton, which are known to be more than an hundred in number; and in these places the country of Media beginneth; and these are of the first captivity carried away by King Salmanasar; but they speak the Chaldee language, and among them are the disciples of the wise men, and the chief city Omaria, pertaining to the kingdom of Persia, within one day's journey; but they are under the dominion of the King of Persia, to whom they pay tribute; and the tribute appointed in all the kingdoms of the Ishmaelites, is for males above fifteen years old, one golden amir, which is in value one Spanish morabetine piece of gold and an half, or half a crown of our money.

* This pompous account of an Emperor commanding over forty-five Kings is very suitable to the genius of a Jewish traveller; but the difficulty is to find out who he is of whom all this is said. We read in Elmacinus of a Prince of this name, who was the son of a King of Persia, and flourished about this time; and therefore it is very probable, that this decision is to be ascribed to him in the lifetime of his father, though Benjamin seems to attribute it to the Shah, or Emperor himself.

† This circumstance is not in itself very considerable; but in so large a collection as this it was necessary to have a writer so much talked of as our author, and the reader cannot think his time thrown away in acquiring, by this instance, the power of judging of such a performance; for, as I observed before, the Jewish authors all write alike.

7. It is now twelve years since a certain man named David Elroi arose in the city of Omaria, who was the disciple of Chafdai, the head of the captivity, and of Jacob the honourable head of the assembly of Levi, in the metropolitan city of Bagdat; he became very learned in the law of Moses, and in the books of doctrine, and also in all wisdom; in the language of the Ishmaelites, and in the books of the magicians and enchanterers; he therefore took it in his head that he would raise arms against the King of Persia, would gather together the Jews who dwelt in the mountains of Haphton, would war against the whole world, and go to Jerusalem and win it by assault; and, that he might persuade the Jews thereto, he shewed them lying and deceitful signs, affirming that he was sent from God to Jerusalem, and to free them from the yoke of the nations, so that with many of the Jews he procured credit unto himself, and was owned by them for their Messiah*.

The King of Persia hearing the report of this insurrection, sent for him to talk with him, to whom he went without any fear; and it being demanded whether he was the King of the Jews, he boldly answered, that he was; and he was thereupon apprehended and cast into the gaol in which state prisoners are kept all their lives. This prison is in the city Dabastran, nigh the great river Gozan. After three days a council of the princes and ministers being called by the King, in which they consulted as to this insurrection of the Jews, David was present there, being escaped out of prison, no man knowing thereof. When the King saw him, he demanded, "Who hath brought thee hither, or delivered thee out of prison?"—"Mine own wisdom," answered he, "for I am not afraid of thee, or of thy servants." Then the King cried out to those about him, "Seize him! lay hands on him!" To whom the princes and servants answered, that his voice was heard by all, but he was seen by none †.

The King wondering at his wisdom, was astonished. David then cried out aloud, "Lo! I take my way;" and he began to go before, the King following him, and all the nobility and their servants followed the King. When they came to the bank of the river, David spreading abroad his handkerchief upon the waters, passed over dry, and at that time was seen of all. They endeavoured to pursue and take him with little boats; which they attempted in vain; and thence concluded, that no enchanter in the world might be compared to him. As for David he travelled that day ten days journey, coming to Omaria; through the virtue of the ineffable Name ‡, he declared what had befallen unto him to their great amazement.

* This story, as extravagant as it seems, is really a matter of fact, and as such is recorded by two Jewish historians; viz. R. Selomo Ben Virga, and R. David Gantz, who place it in A. D. 1135, which, as some critics have observed, does not agree with the date assigned by our author, who says, it happened twelve years before he was there. This, however, is no great mistake, even if we should admit that it is our author's mistake, though, for any part, I should suppose it as easy for the other writers to err in this particular. The whole, however, may perhaps be solved, by supposing that Benjamin copied the account that he has given us from some history of this impostor written twelve years after this insurrection. However it be, the thing is of no great moment, any more than the difference between the name mentioned by our author, and that of David El David, which is used in the other histories.

† There are some little variations in the manner in which these facts are told by the other historians; but they are of no great consequence, and therefore I shall not trouble the reader with them, neither should I have mentioned these writers at all, but to convince the reader, that this is not a tale invented by Benjamin, as he might otherwise very readily imagine.

‡ Both the Latin translators have missed the sense as to this name, which the Jews call ineffable, because they are persuaded that the true pronunciation of the name of God is lost, or unknown; and they pretend, that whoever has the secret of pronouncing it right, is able thereby to work miracles. They likewise assert, that by this means our Saviour wrought his; and though this be a very idle conceit, yet it is worth the knowing, because it shews plainly, that the Jews do not pretend to deny the matters of fact, but are forced to have recourse to this evasion, in order to justify their incredulity.

But

But the King of the Persians sending messengers unto Bagdat, informed the great Khaliff of the Ishmaelites of this matter, and requested that he would cause David Elroi to be restrained from such enterprizes, by the head of the captivity, and the chief rulers of the assemblies, otherwise he threatened total destruction to all the Jews living in the kingdom of Persia. All the synagogues of the kingdom of Persia falling thereupon into great fear of the matter, sent letters therefore unto the heads of the captivity, and to the heads of all the assemblies in Bagdat to this purpose: "Why should we die before your eyes, as well we as all the universities subject unto this kingdom? Refrain this man, we beseech you, lest innocent blood be shed." Therefore the head of the captivity, and the chief rulers of the assemblies, wrote letters unto David Elroi to the following effect: "We give you hereby to understand, that the time of our delivery is not yet come, and that our signs, which ought to precede that deliverance, are not yet seen, and a man is not made strong through pride; wherefore we enjoin you to abstain wholly from such enterprize and attempts, otherwise ye shall be excommunicated, and cut off from all Israel."

They also by messengers advertised Zachai Hanassi, who was in the country of Assur, and Joseph, surnamed the Seer, Burhan Alpelech living there, that David Elroi might be restrained by letters written from them, which was diligently pursued by them; but all in vain; for he could not forsake that wicked way, but persisted till a certain King of the Togarmim called Zinaldin, subject to the King of Persia, sent 10,000 pieces of gold unto the father-in-law of David Elroi, and persuaded him to end these troubles by privately killing his son-in-law, which, when he had undertaken to perform, he thrust David through with a sword in his bed as he slept; and this was the end of all his subtilty and delusions*. But even when he was dead the anger of the King of Persia was not appeased towards those people of the mountains, and other Jews subject to him and settled in his dominion; and therefore they desired once more help from the head of the captivity, who, going to the King himself, appeased him by mild and wise speeches; and, having presented him with 100 talents of gold, he so mollified him, that there was ever afterwards great quietness through the whole country.

8. From these mountains before described you travel ten days journey to Hamadan, the principal city of the country of Media, in which city there are about fifty thousand Jews; and in that city over against one of the synagogues are the sepulchres of Mordecai and Esther. Dabrestan is four days journey distant from hence, where four thousand Jews dwell, nigh unto the river Gozan; but from thence you travel seven days journey to Ispahan, a very great city, the capital of this country, and twelve miles in compass, wherein there are about twelve thousand Israelites, over whom Shallum is appointed by the head of the captivity, as also over the rest of the Israelites who dwell in the cities of Persia. After four days journey you come to Siaphaz †, the most antient in this country, called Persidis of old, from whence the name was given to the whole province, in which there are almost ten thousand Jews.

From Siaphaz, in seven days journey, you come to the city Ginah, seated nigh the river Gozan, to which there resort merchants of all nations and languages, and where

* The authors we have before cited tell us the same story as to the death of this impostor, but with a circumstance that Benjamin has omitted, which is, that the Jews themselves were obliged to raise the 10,000 pieces of gold that were given as a bribe to the father-in-law of David, for killing him when he was asleep.

† All the translators and commentators on our author have been at a loss to conceive what place he could mean by this; and yet I think the difficulty is not quite so great as they represent it; for to me it appears very plain that this city was Schizaz, which answers directly his description. As for confusion in names, I have already assigned the cause of it; which was his expressing in Hebrew characters, words that these characters could not express, and in expressing which words he was entirely governed by their sound.

are about eight thousand Jews. The farthest city of this kingdom is the famous Samarcand; and five days journey from Ginah, where are fifty thousand Israelites, over whom Obdias ruleth; and among them there are many wife and rich men. In four days journey from hence you come to Thibet, a capital city of the province of the same name, in the forests of which are the animals found that produce musk.

9. About twenty-eight days journey from thence lie the mountains of Nisbor, which are situated near the river Gozan; and some of the Jews that inhabit Persia affirm, that in the cities of Nisbor dwell the four tribes of Israel, carried away in the first captivity by Salmanasar the King of the Assyrians, viz. Dan, Zebulon, Assur, and Naphtali, as it is written, "And he carried them away into Lechalach and Habor, the mountains of Gozan, and the mountains of Media." Their country is extended twenty days journey in length, with many cities and castles inhabited, all mountainous, the river Gozan running on the one side; but the inhabitants are absolutely free, and are ruled by a certain governor, whose name was at this time Joseph Amraela, a Levite, and among them are the disciples of wise men: they sow and reap, and are at war with the children of Chus, who dwell in the deserts. They are in league with the Copheral Turks, worshippers of the winds, a people who lead their lives in the deserts, neither eat bread nor drink wine, but feed on the raw flesh of beasts, as well clean as unclean; and these either new killed, and yet trembling with life-blood, or dried in the air, but unboiled. They devour also the limbs torn from beasts yet alive. They seem to want noses; but instead thereof, they have two holes in their faces, through which they breathe. They are friends to the Israelites*.

It happened about fifteen years since, that, invading the country of Persia with a great army, they vanquished the metropolitan city Rei; and, having made a mighty slaughter afterwards, utterly wasted it, and spoiled the houses and fields, and carried away a prodigious plunder, returning through the deserts, a calamity which for many ages was never felt in Persia. The King of Persia, vehemently enraged, said, "In the days of my ancestors, no army ever came out of this desert, therefore will I go in pursuit of them and destroy them from the earth." He assembled accordingly an army for war, and seeking some guide to whom the places of that nation were known, a certain man offered himself, who affirmed, that he was of that nation, and knew their dwellings; but being asked what provision was necessary for the army, he answered, "Bread and water for fifteen days, which you must spend in passing through the deserts." When they had marched these fifteen days, the army found themselves destitute of subsistence for men or beasts, without seeing any thing of the place whither they intended to go, or the least signs of an inhabited country. The guide was asked for by the King, who said to him, "You see how well you have kept your word; tell us where are our enemies that you assured us you could discover?" The guide said by way of excuse, "I have lost my way;" and the King thereupon losing all patience, ordered him to be put to death, commanding at the same time by proclamation, that whoever had any provisions in his army should bring them forth, and divide them with his companions †.

They

* This, without doubt, is a very odd description of these people, and yet it is not very far wide of the truth; for modern travellers assure us, that the Kalmuc Tartars have noses so flat that they are scarce to be distinguished but by the rising of the nostrils; and as to their manners, our author is not much out of the way. The city he speaks of as ruined by the people was the great city of Rey, which makes such a figure in all the eastern historians; the same that in the book of Tobit is called Rhages, and of which we shall give an ample account in the next volume.

† This expedition is among the singularities which render these Travels valuable; for I do not know that there is any account of it to be met with elsewhere; and our author tells us very honestly how he came

by

They then ate up all that they had, even to the beasts that carried their baggage ; and in this distressed condition they prosecuted their March for thirteen days more, till at last they arrived at the mountains of Nisbor, inhabited by the Jews. The Persians encamped themselves among the gardens and orchards by the side of canals drawn from the river Gozan. As it was then the season of ripe fruits, they ate what they thought fit, and made free with all they found, nobody coming out to oppose them ; but at a distance they discovered among the mountains several hamlets, and some forts that looked like places of strength. The King of Persia being informed of all this, sent two of his servants to discover what nation it was that had settled in these mountains, and directed them for this purpose to pass the river either by boats, if they found any, or if not, by swimming.

These men had not proceeded far in their journey before they met with a bridge that was very well built, and had a good barrier ; and on the other side of the bridge they saw a very large city ; they immediately called out, and the town's-people coming to the gate, demanded who they were, and to whom they belonged ; but as they understood not each other's language, they were forced to wait till an interpreter was called, who understood the Persian tongue ; he having put the same question, they answered, " We are servants to the King of Persia, and we come to know who you are, and who is your Lord ? " The townsmen replied, " We are Jews, and not subject to any King or Prince of the gentiles, but we have a Prince of our own. " The Persians then informed themselves as to the Copheral Turks, and the Jews told them, that they were their allies, and that whoever were their enemies they must regard as enemies to themselves. These two men returning to the camp, and having reported to the King what they had discovered, he was very much at a loss how to proceed. The Jews on the next day collected their forces, and the day following offered them battle.

The King declined fighting, and addressed himself to the Jewish chiefs in the following words : " I do not come to make war against you, but only against the Copheral Turks my enemies : but if you proceed to commit hostilities against me, I will revenge myself by putting to death all the Jews in my kingdom ; for I know that as things stand here, you will be too hard for me ; but let me advise you to prefer peace to war ; suffer me to proceed in my expedition against the Copheral Turks my enemies, and supply me and my army, for ready money, with what we want. " The Jews having considered this proposition among themselves, resolved, out of regard to their brethren, to yield to the King of Persia's proposal. The King therefore being admitted with all his army into their country, spent fifteen days there, being honourably entertained among them.

But in the mean time the Jews declared the whole matter by messengers and letters unto their confederates. The Turks thereupon gathering their forces together expected the enemy at the passage of the mountains, and in a convenient place for that purpose they attacked and gave the Persians so mighty an overthrow, that the King's army being ruined, they compelled him to return into his own country with a very small number.

But it happened that a Jew of this province, named Moses, being seduced by a certain Persian horseman, followed the King of Persia, and when they came into Persia he was made a slave by the same horseman. But when at a time of public diversion

by it ; neither do I think that the dexterity with which his countrymen the Jews made their court to both parties, is a circumstance that, in the opinion of such as are acquainted with that nation, will render it at all improbable.

they exercised their bows in the presence of the King, this Moses appeared the most excellent archer in Persia; he was thereupon examined by an interpreter, and openly declared to the King the manner of his being seduced, and his condition, whereon he was presently enfranchised, clothed with purple and silk garments, and enriched with royal gifts; and was offered likewise, if he would embrace their religion, great riches, and the government of the King's house; which, when he courteously denied to do, he was placed by the King with R. Shallom, the prince of the synagogue at Ispahan, whose daughter also he married by consent of the father. This very Moses it was who told me all that I have related.

10. When I departed out of these countries I returned into Chuzestan, through which the river Tigris runs, falling from thence into Hodu, or the Indian sea; and in its passage thither encompasseth the island Nekrokis*, near the mouth thereof, which island is in extent six days journey. There is in it only one canal of fresh water, and they drink no other than what is gathered from the showers, which is the reason that land is neither sowed nor tilled; and yet it is very famous through the commerce of the Indians and Islands seated in the Indian sea, and merchants of the country of Senaar, Arabia the Happy, and Persia, bringing thither all sorts of silk and purple manufactures, hemp, cotton, flax, and Indian cloth; wheat, barley, millet, and rice in great plenty, which they barter and sell among themselves: but the Indian merchants bring also exceeding great plenty of spices thither, and the natives act as factors and interpreters, and by this they live; but in that place there are not above five hundred Jews. Sailing thence with a prosperous wind, in ten days I was brought to Kathipha, where are five thousand Jews.

In these places pearls are found, made by the wonderful artifice of Nature: for on the four-and-twentieth day of the month Nisan, a certain dew falleth into the waters, which being sucked in by the oysters, they immediately sink to the bottom of the sea; afterwards, about the middle of the month of Tifri, men descend to the bottom of the sea, and, by the help of cords, these men bringing up the oysters in great quantities from thence, open and take out of them the pearls †.

In seven days journey from thence I came to Oulam, which is the entrance of their kingdom, who worship the Sun, and are prone to the study of astrology, being the children of Chus. They are men of a dark complexion, sincere tempers, and of very great fidelity in all respects. They have among them this custom, that such as come to them from remote countries, when received into the haven, have their names set down in writing by three secretaries, who carry their lists to the King, and afterwards bring the merchants themselves, whose merchandise being received into his protection, the King directs them to be landed, and left on the shore, where they remain without any

* There is no passage in the Travels of Benjamin more perplexed than this description of the island of Nekrokis, about which all his commentators are divided in their sentiments. That which hitherto has been thought most probable is, that he means the island of Ormuz, which, without doubt, was once a place of great trade, and was always destitute of water. It is however more credible that he means the city and country of Basfora, because he places it at the mouth of the river Tigris, makes it the centre of the Indian commerce, and mentions precisely the commodities of which that city was the staple.

† This description has also grieved many of the commentators. The word used in the Hebrew is *Bdelia*; and from the description there is no sort of doubt that our author meant pearls. The account he has given of their formation, how wild and extravagant soever it may appear, is however that which is embraced by the most learned of his countrymen. Their opinion, in few words, is this: they hold, that at a certain season of the year there is an oily, spirituous, and briny substance, floats on the surface of the sea, which being swallowed by the oysters, or rather sucked in, as our author expresses it, turns afterwards to a pearl. Thus far, without doubt, they have truth on their side, that such a substance is sometimes seen floating on this and other seas, the drops of which, at first sight, resemble liquid pearl.

watch to keep them. There is also a magistrate unto whom all things that are lost, or casually removed, are constantly brought, and of him they are easily received by the owner, so that certain tokens be shewed whereby the lost thing may be made known; and this strict fidelity and honest dealing is common through all the kingdom.

In this country, from Easter to the beginning of the succeeding year, the sun shines with outrageous heat; and therefore, from the third hour of the day until the evening, all men remain shut up in their houses. But about that time lamps being lighted, and set in order throughout all the streets and markets, they work and exercise their respective arts and callings all the night; for, as I said, they cannot do it in the daytime by reason of the exceeding heat. It is in this country that pepper grows upon trees planted by the inhabitants in the fields belonging to every city, and their proper gardens are particularly assigned and known. The shrub itself is small, and brings forth a white seed, which being gathered, is put into basons steeped in hot water, and is set forth in the sun, that it may be dried and hardened, acquiring thereby a black colour. Cinnamon and ginger are likewise found there, as well as many other kind of spices.

The inhabitants of this country do not bury their dead, but, having embalmed their bodies with divers sorts of drugs and spices, they place them in niches, and cover them with nets set in order according to their several families; but their flesh drieth with the bones, and when grown stiff, they seem as if they were alive, and every one knows their ancestors for many descents*. But as to their religion, or rather superstition, they worship the sun, and have many and great altars built along the coast about half a mile without the city. Early in the morning therefore they go in crowds to pay their devotion to the sun, to whom upon all the altars are the spheres consecrated, made by magic, resembling the circle of the sun; and when the sun rises these orbs seem to be inflamed, and turn round with a great noise †. They have every one a censor in their hands, as well women as men, and all together offer incense to the Sun: such and so great is their folly. But among these people, the Jews, who are settled, at the most amount to a thousand families in all; they are of as black a colour as the inhabitants themselves, yet are nevertheless good honest men, and strict observers of the commandments of the law of Moses; and are not altogether unskilful in the books of doctrine and customs commonly called the Talmud.

From this country in two-and-twenty days I sailed unto the Islands Cinrag, the inhabitants of which worship the fire, and are called Dogbiim, among whom twenty-three thousand Jews are settled. The Dogbiim have priests in every place to officiate in their temples; and these priests are the most skilful forcerers and incanters in the whole world. Before every temple there is a large pit, in which a mighty fire is lighted every day, which they call Alhuta, and they make their children pass through this fire to purge them, and also cast their dead into the midst of this fire to be there burned: nay, there are some of the nobility who solemnly devote themselves to be consumed in this fire alive.

* It appears from this account, that these people were Perfecs, neither is there any thing in what he relates that is not very easily reconcileable to the truth; for all writers that pretend to give us an account of the religion of the antient Persians agree, that they did not bury their dead, but left them exposed to the elements, from this principle, that the living man being a compound of all the elements, it was but reasonable, after he was dead, that each element should recover its own.

† This is another Jewish notion agreeable to their ignorance in those days, which made them ascribe every thing they did not perfectly understand to witchcraft. As to these spheres they were really very wonderful things, being so contrived as to shew the rising and setting of the sun, and the motions of the heavenly bodies. They were made and kept by the Magi, who made use of them to strike the vulgar with astonishment, and to instruct their disciples in the science of astronomy.

When a man who has taken this resolution, declares such his intended devotion to his acquaintance and kindred, they presently salute him in these words: Blessed art thou, and it shall be well with thee. On the day the vow is to be performed, having first given an entertainment, he is carried, if rich, on horse-back; but if he be poor, he is brought on foot, accompanied with a multitude of his friends and others unto the brink of the pit, from whence beginning his career, he leaps into the fire, at which all his friends and kindred rejoice exceedingly, and with all sorts of musick and dancing, celebrate the feast, until he be wholly consumed. But the strangest part of the story is to come; for three days after two of the chief priests going unto his house, command the whole family to prepare for the reception of their father, who is coming to visit them the same day, and declare to them what they are to do on this occasion: they call to them certain persons to be witnesses out of the city, and bring something resembling the deceased, of whom the wife and children demandeth how it fareth with him in the other world, to whom he answers, I came unto my companions, by whom I am not received until I discharge my duty to my friends and kindred. He then distributes his goods to his children, and orders all the debts to be paid to his creditors, and whatever is owing to him to be demanded, the witnesses setting down in writing all his instructions, of whom, notwithstanding, he is not seen; and then saying he will go his way again, he vanisheth*. By these arts (in which there is nothing but juggling and collusion) the priests govern all.

In the space of forty days one may travel from hence by land to the frontiers of Tzin that is, to the borders of China, which is the very extremity of the East. Some hold that this country is washed by the Nikpha, or coagulated sea, which is liable to prodigious storms, by which, when mariners are surprized, they are cast frequently into such straits, that not being able to go out, they are, after expending all their provisions, miserably starved to death †.

At first sight there is nothing in this passage that will seem very extraordinary to the reader, and yet after a little reflection it will appear of considerable use. This coagulated sea is no other than the Icy or Frozen Sea on the coast of Tartary and Russia to the north of China, and through which the north-east passage, so often sought to little purpose, is supposed to lie. It appears clearly from hence, that before this time some attempts had been made on that side, and that several ships had been frozen, and their crews perished; whence the oriental name of Nikpha, or congealed sea, which Benjamin gives it. It must be confessed, that our author has a very romantic way of expressing even the plainest facts; but at the same time we ought to consider, that this was not only the vice of all the writers of his country, but of the age in general in which he flourished, so that he is the more excusable; and at the same time the reader will be so just as to remember, that we do not infer his travels as the best, but as the only travels

* This is pretty evident from the manner in which Benjamin tells this story, that he suspected the priests imposed upon the people, as without doubt they did. The witnesses were persons in the confederacy, and the terror of the family was probably so great, and their prejudice so strong, that with tolerable management this scene might be carried through, and little or nothing of the fraud be discovered. Besides, whoever had attempted to disclose the cheat, would have been considered as an impious person, and a declared enemy to the religion of his country. It would be no difficult matter to shew, from the absurdities that have passed upon other nations, the possibility of transacting an imposture of this kind, as the intelligent reader will easily conceive.

† Our author has added a story here concerning the Gryphons, so very ridiculous, and of such an extent, that I could not prevail upon myself to insert it. It is plain enough from his account, that he does not pretend to have travelled into China, but barely to relate what he had heard of it. The extent of his travels seems to have been Cape Commorin, or of some of the countries near it, from whence he took shipping for the opposite coast of Africa.

we have in this period of time, which must acquit us in the judgment of the impartial from all objections that might be otherwise made from the contents of this performance. But to proceed.

11. It is three days journey to Gingala, where there are about a thousand Israelites; from thence in seven days you sail to Coulan, where there are none of our countrymen. It is from thence twelve days journey to Zabid, where there are some few Jews. It is from thence eight days journey to the Indies on the opposite coast (by which our author means Ethiopia). In this country there are very high mountains inhabited by multitudes of Israelites, who are not under the yoke of the Gentiles, but have here great cities and strong fortresses. They descend from thence in parties into the flat countries of Abyffinia, which are under the dominion of the Edomites, (which is the name the Jews bestow upon all Christians,) where, having acquired as much as they can by plunder, they return with their booty into the mountains where they are absolutely safe from all pursuits. Many of these Jews travel on the score of commerce into Persia and Egypt*.

It is from thence to the land of Afvan twenty days journey through the deserts of Saba, which lie on the river Phison, which comes from the country of Chus; the inhabitants of which are subject to a prince, who is stiled Shah-Abafch, i. e. the King of Abyffinia. Part of the inhabitants of this country live like beasts, they feed only on the grass and herbs that grow along the river-side, are quite naked, and as if their miseries had deprived them of common sense, they propagate their kind with their sisters and nearest relations, without the least shame or scruple. The climate of this country is excessively hot. When the people of Afvan make their expeditions into these parts for the sake of plunder, and what they can carry away; they constantly take with them bread, rice, dried raisins, and figs. These they throw in large quantities among the half-famished blacks, whom, while they scramble for them like dogs, they seize and carry away prisoners, and sell them in Egypt and other countries. These are the negroes, or black slaves, the posterity of Ham. It is twelve days journey from Afvan to Chelvan, in which there are about three hundred Jews.

From Chelvan they go in caravans fifty days journey through the desert called Al Tfachra, or Zaara, to the province called Zuila, which is Havilah, in the land of Gana, i. e. Guiney. In these deserts there are vast mountains of sand, which, being carried by the force of violent tempests, sometimes overwhelm whole caravans, and bury under them all the passengers. Such of the merchants as escape this perilous journey bring with them from that country, iron, copper, salt and all sorts of fruits and pulse; and they likewise bring gold and precious stones. This country is part of the land of Chus, and lies to the West of Abyffinia. It is thirteen days journey from Chelvan to the city of Kous, which is the first in the land of Egypt, where there are settled about thirty thousand Jews. At the distance of five days journey is Phium, anciently called Pithom. In the neighbourhood of this city are still to be seen the ruins of those ancient structures that were built by our ancestors during their captivity in Egypt.

12. Four days journey from thence stands the great city of Misraim, or Cairo, situated on the banks of the river Nile, in which there are settled about two thousand

* There is no doubt to be made from what Benjamin relates, that he followed the old opinion, according to which Ethiopia was looked upon as part of the Indies; and with regard to what he tells us of the Jews being settled in the mountains there, it is fully justified both by the antient and modern accounts of that country, as is also the following circumstances in relation to the passage of caravans through the deserts, and the accidents to which they are sometimes subject in passing through them. His readiness to ascribe the slavery of the negroes to the curse pronounced by Noah on Ham and his posterity, is very agreeable to the divinity and spirit of the Jews.

Jews, who have in this city two fair synagogues, one belonging to the Jews of Palestine and Syria, the other to those of the country of Babylon. These two sorts of Jews differ only in the division of the law into sections; for the Babylonians every week read one Parafcha after the manner which is common throughout all Spain; and therefore once every year they finish the law: but the Israelites of Syria divide every Parafcha into three Sedarim, or smaller sections, and so they read over the law only once in three years; and both these after a solemn manner twice in the year join in their prayers together, *viz.* upon the day of the rejoicing of the law, and on the festival day of the law given. Over all these Nathaniel hath the chief authority, being the greatest of the nobility, and head of the assembly, who rules all the synagogues in Egypt, and appoints masters and elders.

He is also the minister of the great king, who resides in the palace of Zoan (which is a city of Egypt, wherein Ali the son of Abitaleb was once commander of the faithful) whose subjects are styled rebels by the other Arabs, because they refuse obedience to the Abissidian Khaliff, whose seat is Bagdat. There is an irreconcilable enmity between these princes. This monarch appears in public twice in the year, *viz.* at the time of their feast of Easter, and when the river Nile overflows*.

The royal city itself is encompassed and fortified with walls, but Misraim is without walls, surrounded by the river Nile on the one side. This is a very large city, furnished with many market-places and publick buildings; and here are many rich Jews. The country itself is never troubled with rain, ice, or snow, but is often afflicted with outrageous heat. It is watered by the Nile, which once every year swelling in the month Elul covers and overflows all the land for fifteen days journey, the waters continuing to rise in the months of Elul and Tifri, and making the earth fruitful: and the policy and diligence of the old Egyptians was such, that in an island which the river makes here, a pillar was by them erected of fine marble and excellent workmanship, raised twelve cubits above the surface of the river. When therefore the waters overflow and cover that column, the inhabitants are fully satisfied that the whole extent of their country for fifteen days journey is entirely overspread. If the water rise but half the height of the pillar, they gather from thence that their country is but half watered. There is a man stands by the pillar, and every day at noon proclaims in all parts of the city the height of the water in this form, "Be thankful to God, the river is risen so many cubits."

If the water rises to the top of the column, it is a sign that the year will be fertile throughout all Egypt. At this season whoever has any land, hires workmen to cut a trench through his ground into which, as the water rises, the fish are carried, and are left therein; when the river sinks, then the owners of the lands take them out, and either spend them in their families, or sell them to such as salt and export them. These fish are exceedingly large and fat, and the very best people in the country make use of the oil drawn from them to burn in their lamps. If it falls out, as it frequently does, that people eat too much of these fish, they have nothing more to do than to drink

* There is not a passage in all our author's work which has been more contested than this with regard to the Khaliff then reigning in Egypt; and some have gone so far as to produce it as a direct proof of his never having travelled at all; but I cannot help saying, that though the critics have a right to amend what is amiss in the copies of any author which they publish, yet I cannot conceive they have any authority first of all to impose their own sense upon a passage, and then produce it to the prejudice of the author, whose credit they would destroy. We shall shew hereafter, that in the present case there is no ground for such a suggestion; but that what our author has delivered may be well reconciled to the current of history, without any alteration whatever.

largely of the water of the Nile, which immediately removes that inconvenience. It has been an old question, and a great diversity of opinions there has been concerning the overflowing of the Nile, but the Egyptians suppose, that at the time when this river overflows, heavy rains fall in the higher countries, that is in the land of Habahs, which we call Havilah; at the time the river does not overflow, nothing is sown in Egypt, and hereupon sterility and famine follow.

But usually the fields are sowed in the month of September, the Nile being then retired into its channel; but barley is reaped in the month of February, and wheat the next month after, and in the same month cherries are ripe, as are also almonds and cucumbers, gourds, peasecods and beans, lentils, &c. and divers kinds of pot-herbs, as purslain, asparagus, and lettuce, corianders, fuccory, coleworts and grapes; but the gardens and orchards throughout Egypt are watered, and trenches filled with the waters of the river*.

This great river, after passing through the city Misraim or Cairo, is divided into four heads, one whereof runneth by Damata, sometime called Captor, nigh unto which it falleth into the sea. The second runneth down into the city Rasir, not far from Alexandria, and there discharges itself into the sea. The third passeth by Afimon, a very great city on the borders of Egypt, nigh which heads of the river many cities, castles, and towns, are seated on either side, and people may travel to them all either by boat or land. No country in the whole world can be compared to this for the multitude of inhabitants, and all the country of Egypt is plain, fruitful and well-stored with good things. Old Misraim is two leagues distant from the New Misraim, but it is wasted and desolate: yet there are many ruins of the walls and houses, and not a few monuments there of the treasuries and storehouses of Joseph, yet to be seen. In the same place there is an artificial pillar built by art magic, like which there is none in all the land. Without the compass of the city stands a synagogue, which bears the name of Moses our teacher, of ancient date; to preserve the ruins that yet remain, a certain old minister, a disciple of the wise men, is there maintained, who from his office is stiled Sehech Albounetzar, or "the father of the watch." The ruins of Old Misraim take up a space of about three miles.

13. The land of Goshen is no more than eight leagues from hence, and therein stands Bolfir Salbis, a great city, in which there are three thousand Jews. From hence you travel half a day's journey to Iskaal Lein Al Sames, which was anciently called Rameses, where now are only the ruins of a city, in which many works are seen built by our fathers, and among these certain huge edifices like towers made of brick. From thence you make one whole day's journey to Al-Buyg, where are two hundred Jews; and from hence in half a day's journey you come to Manziptha, where are two hundred Jews, from which city Ramira is four leagues distant, and in it there are seven hundred Jews, from whence it is five days journey to Lamhala, where are five hundred Israelites.

* In the subsequent part of this work, we shall have more than once occasion to mention most of the circumstances that our author hath recorded, and to compare the reports of later travellers with his. The reason of this note is, to take notice of a particular which our author has omitted, and which however the reader may be glad to know. It is this, the Nile is of so great consequence to the Egyptians, that they have always had a very superstitious regard to it, insomuch that they fancied the rise and fall of this river not only portended the fertility or scarceness of the succeeding year, but likewise great revolutions of state. It is certain that it did not overflow in the tenth year of the reign of Cleopatra, which might seem to predict the conquest of that country by the Romans, that soon after followed; but then the same accident happened in the time of Trajan, when nothing remarkable followed it. Besides, we read of no scarcity in Egypt before the conquest of it by the Arabs, or destruction of the Khaliffs of the family of Ali, which was brought about by Saladin; so that this ought to be considered as an absurd and ridiculous opinion, as most of these notions are.

Two days journey more bring you to Alexandria, a city called after the name of Alexander the Macedonian, at whose command we read it was built and strongly fortified, and adorned with walls admirably finished, houses uniformly built, and stately palaces: without the city a great and beautiful building is yet to be seen, which is reported to have been the college of Aristotle, the master of Alexander, wherein there are almost twenty schools, which were frequented in former times by the learned men of the whole world, who assembled there to learn the philosophy of Aristotle; and his academy had stately porticoes of marble pillars*. The city itself is excellently built as well from the pavement of the ground, as with vaults and arches under ground, through the hidden passages whereof men may come into the market-places and not be seen; of which some are a whole mile in length, as from the gate Resid unto the gate leading to the sea, from which gate a way was made and paved unto the very haven of the city of Alexandria, which is extended one mile within the sea.

In this place a very high tower was built, which the inhabitants call Hemagarah, but the Arabians Magar Alexandria, that is, the Pharos of Alexandria; on the top of which tower it is reported that Alexander set a curious mirror, in which all warlike ships sailing either out of Græcia or from the west unto Egypt might be seen above the space of five hundred leagues †. This continued for a long time after the death of Alexander. It fell out however that a ship coming hither under the command of a certain Greek captain, who had a great knowledge in the sciences, came and cast anchor in that port; and having made presents to the King, of gold, silver, and very rich silks, he thereby obtained his favour. While he lay in the port, he took abundance of pains to ingratiate himself with the officer, who had the charge of this watch-tower and mirror; and having frequently entertained him on board his ship, contracted with him at last such an intimacy, that he was permitted to go and stay in the tower as long as he thought fit. One day having feasted the captain and his men very magnificently, he dosed them at last so plentifully with strong wine, that they all fell fast a sleep. Having thus carried his point, the captain and his crew first broke the mirror to pieces, and then weighed anchor and sailed away in the night.

Since that time the Edomites, i. e. the Christians, have infested the coasts of Egypt with their ships of war and privateers, and have deprived the sovereigns of this country of the two great islands of Crete and Cyprus, which remain at this day under the power of the Greeks, from whom the present possessors of Egypt have not been able to recover them. This watch-tower is still used as a beacon for the service of such ships as are bound to Alexandria; for they are able to discern it at the distance of one hundred miles by day and night, in consequence of a vast fire which is kept continually burning for that purpose.

This country enjoys a large share of trade, and is frequented by all nations for the sake of commerce. The port of Alexandria swarms with vessels from all parts of Idumæa, i. e. Christendom; viz. from Valencia, Tuscany, Lombardy, Apulia, Malfi, and Sicily; others come from the most northern and some inland parts of Europe, as

* Our author had this notion of the school of Aristotle from the Mohammedans, so that whether it be wrong or right, he is not answerable for it. But with regard to the fact, it is certain, that it was not Alexander but Ptolemy that erected this famous school; in which however it is as certain that the philosophy of Aristotle was taught, and in which the most famous of his commentators flourished.

† It must be confessed that this fact is absolutely false, since, as the reader has been before informed, the Pharos of Alexandria was built by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and not by Alexander the Great. As to this mirror, it is mentioned by some other writers as well as our Benjamin; but it is apparently a fable, and a fable ridiculous in all its circumstances. It is however of use sometimes to know such fables, and therefore I have preserved it.

from Cracow, Cordova, Spain, Russia, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, England, Flanders, Artois, Normandy, France, Poitou, Angiers, Gascony, Arragon, and Navarre. There come also from the western empire of the Ishmaelites, viz. from Andalusia, Algarve, Africa, and even Arabia, besides what come by the Indian ocean from Havelah, and Abyssinia, and the rest of Ethiopia, not omitting the Greeks and Turks. Thither are brought the richest merchandises of the Indies, and all sorts of perfumes and spices, which are bought by christian merchants.

The city is extremely populous on account of its extensive trade; and for the greater conveniency in the carrying on their dealings, every nation has its factory by itself. There is near the sea side a marble tomb, on which are engraved the figures of all sorts of birds and beasts, with an inscription in characters so old, that none now are able to read them; whence it is believed with some colour of truth, that it belongs to an old king who governed that country before the deluge. The length of this sepulchre is fifteen and the breadth of it six spans. To conclude, there are in Alexandria about three thousand Jews.

14. It is not necessary to give at large the remainder of our Jews travels, and therefore I shall acquaint the reader in few words, that having made a tour from Damietta in Egypt to mount Sinai, he returned back to the first-mentioned place, and thence sailed to Messina in the island of Sicily, from whence he went by land to Palermo, and crossing the Sea to Italy continued his journey to Rome and Lucca.

He afterwards crossed the Alps, and passed through a great part of Germany, from whence he takes occasion to mention what multitudes of Jews were settled in the several great cities of that extensive empire. He insists at large on their wealth, their generosity, and, above all, their hospitality to their distressed brethren, and gives us a very particular detail of the manner in which they receive them. He assures us, that at their feasts they encourage each other to persist in hoping for the blessed advent of their Messiah, when the tribes of Israel shall be gathered together, and under his conduct be led back into their own land. Until this long-expected time shall come, the Israelites, he says, hold it their duty to persevere in their obedience to the law of Moses, to lament with tears the destruction of Jerusalem and Sion, to beseech the Almighty to pity them in their affliction, and to restore them in his appointed time*.

He asserts, that his countrymen are not only settled in all the provinces of the empire, but also through all the northern countries to the very extremity of Russia, which he describes as a country so excessively cold in winter, that the inhabitants are not able to stir out of doors. He tells us next, that the kingdom of France, which, he says, is called by their Rabbins the land of Tzorphan, is likewise full of the disciples of the wise men, that is, of the Jewish doctors, who study the law day and night, and are extremely kind and charitable to their distressed brethren. He concludes with an earnest prayer to god, to remember his promise to the children of Israel, and to return and assemble them from all nations through which in his wrath he has dispersed them.

In the several places he mentions, he reckons up in the whole 394,687 Jews, from which if we subtract 740 Caraites, 1000 Samaritans, and 2000 other Schismatics, there

* It is very clear from hence, as well as from a multitude of other circumstances, that our author chiefly intended this work to celebrate his own nation, to preserve an account of the different places in which they were settled, and to do all in his power to keep up their spirits under their captivity, by putting them in mind of the coming of the Messiah. I must confess, I consider this in a different light from most of the critics, for I do not conceive that a man's loving his countrymen ought to prejudice him in the opinion of his readers; and though it may possibly beget some doubts as to the fidelity of his relations with regard to the Jews, yet I do not see how this can with justice be extended to the other parts of his book.

will remain 390,947, to which, if we add 350,000 free Israelites, whom he found in the kingdoms of Theina and Chebar, they will swell the account of the Rabbanites he met with in his travels to 740,947, which, when duly considered, will not, perhaps, appear very improbable. Thus we have brought to a speedy conclusion the Travels of Benjamin de Tudela, which had never appeared so fully as we have given them in the English language.

15. We have in the introduction to this section given so large an account of our author, of his performance, and the reason of our inserting it, that we have not much to add here. That there may be, and indeed that there are, many mistakes in these travels, is not to be denied, neither can we help confessing that the author was a very credulous man, and far enough from deserving the high character bestowed upon him by the Jews, who represent him as a person skilled in all sciences, and refer us to this performance of his as a proof of it. But granting that he did not merit these praises, yet there is something surely due to him for the lights he has communicated to the world. It is from him, as from an impartial person, that we learn the true state of affairs at Constantinople within the compass of this period, the immense wealth and luxury of its inhabitants, and their extensive commerce throughout the whole East.

His travels from that city to Bassora shew plainly, that the communication was open, since otherwise it would have been impossible for a private traveller to have proceeded through the whole kingdom of Persia in the manner he did. Some objections have been made to his account of the Jews settled in the mountains of Nisbor, which from his relation appear to have been upon the borders of the kingdom of Tibet; yet if we reflect upon what our Arabian travellers have told us of the number of Jews settled in the Empire of China before this time, and remember that the Emperor Heraclius had long before driven them out of all the Greek empire, we shall see many reasons to think this account of his probable enough. It is true that R. Moses and our author may be suspected of magnifying these settlements, and of making this colony of Jews more considerable than it really was; but that we should regard the whole as a fiction, I must confess I see no just grounds. It is very likely, though Benjamin does not say it, that he received from the same person what he relates of China, and of the icy sea to the north of that country, which shews there had been a considerable commerce carried on that way, though Benjamin could give but a dark account of it.

We are indebted to him likewise for a piece of history, which for any thing I know is not to be met with elsewhere, I mean the settlement of the Persees, who were the old Persians or worshippers of fire, in several islands of the East-Indies, of which we shall make some use in another place. The account he has given us of Ethiopia, and of the Jewish colonies in that country, is so consistent with the ancient and modern history of that empire, that there is not the least reason to doubt the truth of it, or of what he says as to the passage of the caravans through the deserts. It is evident from thence, that there was by this means a large commerce carried on between this country and Egypt, in slaves, gold, ivory and perhaps also in some Indian commodities; and it is likewise clear, that there was a great trade between that country and the opposite coast of Arabia. If our author had travelled as a merchant, he might have given us many more curious particulars on this subject; but as he did not, we must be content with those he had delivered occasionally, and as they struck him in his passage.

There are great exceptions taken at his short account of the government of Egypt, when he was in it; and some of his translators have inclined to give him up in this particular, though without any great reason. It is plain enough from the rest of his work, that he did not set up for a great politician, or pretend to describe the constitutions of the

the states through which he passed, but only to mention in general what he understood of such matters. It is also certain, that without changing his words, we may give a clear and satisfactory account of this matter, which amounts to no more than this: that the then masters of Egypt, though they were Mohammedans, were yet treated as heretics, or rebels, on account of their disowning the Khaliff at Bagdat, and that on this account there was an inveterate hatred between the subjects of the Khaliff of Babylon, and the Mohammedans in Egypt, as to which there can be no doubt at all.

The single difficulty in this case is our author's calling the commander of the faithful in Egypt, Ali the son of Abitalah; from whence it is inferred, that he makes him the monarch then reigning, which would have been a most notorious absurdity. But the truth of the matter is, our author says no such thing: he only mentions Ali the son of Abitalah as having been once commander of the faithful in Egypt; and the reason of his mentioning it is very plain, viz. in order to account for the difference between the Mohammedans in Asia and Egypt, and the latter being stiled rebels by the former on account of their taking the part of this Ali.

But the greatest difficulties that occur in our author's work, some of which, it must be owned, are not to be got over, arise from his using scriptural names for the countries and places through which he passed: and these, according to the notions of the Rab- bins, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with which, it is impossible for any trans- lator to be perfectly sure as to his meaning. But if we should be somewhat mistaken in the names of the several countries from which ships came to Alexandria, yet we must be right in the main; and the reader may rest satisfied from thence, that at the time of our author's being there, the port of Alexandria was the centre of commerce between Christendom and the Indies. All the fables that he relates about the magical mirror there cannot prejudice this truth; for though our author might be, as to be sure he was, a very indifferent historian, a bad mathematician, and a credulous writer, yet he could not be mistaken about things he saw, or be induced to set down the names of nations never heard of at Alexandria. Besides, he is remarkably accurate in this ac- count; and the list he has given us is more methodical than any other passage in his book, which seems to have been owing to his making an enquiry at Alexandria, as to the several foreign lodges or factories established there.

On the whole, as these travels plainly demonstrate that it was both possible and prac- ticable for a person to travel in the midst of the twelfth century from Spain through Italy and Greece into the remote parts of Asia, and to return from thence through Ethiopia and Egypt into Europe, it was requisite, that in a collection of this kind, such a performance should not be omitted; and if not omitted, it ought surely to appear in the best dress we could possibly give it, which must be an apology to the reader for our having taking so much pains therewith, and having dwelt upon it so long.

THE
REMARKABLE TRAVELS

OF

WILLIAM DE RUBRUQUIS, A MONK,

Sent by Louis IX. King of France, commonly stiled St. Louis, Ambassador into different Parts of the East, particularly into Tartary and China, A.D. 1253.

CONTAINING

Abundance of curious Particulars relating to those Countries.

Written by the Ambassador, and addressed to his Royal Master King Louis.

1. A succinct Account of the Empire of the Tartars, and particularly of the Prince to whom our Author was sent. — 2. The Character of Louis IX. of France; and a short History of his Expedition into Syria and Egypt. — 3. The Occasion and Design of his Embassy, together with the Character of our Author. — 4. His dedicatory Epistle to the King his Master. — 5. An Account of his Journey to Constantinople. — 6. His Arrival at Soldaia, the first Town in Tartary. — 7. An Account of the Habitations of the Tartars. — 8. Of their Beds, Idols, and superstitious Ceremonies. — 9. Of their Drinking and Merry-makings. — 10. Of their Food and Manner of Eating. — 11. Of a particular Kind of Drink used by them, called Cosmos. — 12. Of the Animals in their Country, their Rabbits, and their Manner of Hunting. — 13. Of the Manner in which the Men shave themselves, and of the Ornaments of their Women. — 14. Of the Employments of the Female Tartars; of their Way of Life, and of their Marriages. — 15. The Manner of administering Justice among them, and of the Ceremonies used at their Funerals. — 16. The Author resumes the Account of his Voyage, and acquaints us with the Ingratitude and Brutality of the Tartars. — 17. Of the Court of Zagatay, and of their Adventures there. — 18. Of the Alans, who came to visit them there at the Feast of Whitsuntide. — 19. An Account of a Saracen who desired to be baptized, and of certain People that seem to be Lepers. — 20. Of the great Hardships and Difficulties they went through in these Travels, and of the Burials of the Comanians. — 21. Of the Country in which they found Sartach and his Subjects. — 22. Of the Court of Sartach, and of its Splendour and Magnificence. — 23. They are ordered to repair to Baatu, the Father of Sartach. — 24. The Respect paid by Sartach, Mangu-Khan, and Ken-Khan, to Christians, and of the Rise and Progress of the Tartar Empire. — 25. Of the Russians, Hungarians, Alans, and of the Caspian Sea. — 26. Of the Court of Baatu, and of their Reception there. — 27. Their Journey from thence to the Court of Mangu-Khan. — 28. Of the River Jagaz, and of the Countries and People on that Side. — 29. Of the Hunger, Thirst, and other Inconveniencies by them sustained in this Journey. — 30. Of the Death of Ban, and of the Germans settled in that Country. — 31. Of the strange Mixture of Religions in this Country, viz. Nestorians, Mahomedans, and Idolaters. — 32. Of their Temples, Idols, and of their Manner of worshipping their false Gods. — 33. Of several Nations in those Parts; and of those whose Custom it is to devour their Parents. — 34. Of what happened to them at Cailac, in their Passage from thence to the Country of the Naimans. — 35. A Description of that Country, with an Account of the Death of Ken-Khan, the Princess, his Consort, and their eldest Son. — 36. Their Arrival at the Court of Mangu-Khan. — 37. An Account of their meeting there with one Sergius, a Nestorian Monk. — 38. A Description of their Audience, and what happened thereat. — 39. They meet with a Woman of Lorraine, and a Goldsmith of Paris settled in these Countries. — 40. An Account of several other Christians they met with there. — 41. Of a grand

a grand Feast given by Mangu-Khan, and of the Ceremonies of the Nestorians. — 42. Of the Fast observed by those People, and of a grand Procession made to the Palace of the Khan. — 43. An Account of a great Cure performed on a Lady by the Monk Sergius. — 44. Description of the Country under the Dominion of the Khan, and of the Customs and Manners of his Subjects. — 45. Of the second Fast of the Nestorians, which falls out in our Lent. — 46. Of a noble Piece of Workmanship performed by the French Goldsmith, and of the Palace of the Khan at Caracarum. — 47. Of several religious Ceremonies of the Nestorians. — 48. Of the Sickness of the French Goldsmith, and of Jonas the Priest. — 49. A Description of the City of Caracarum, and of Mangu-Khan's sending his Brethren to make War against several Nations. — 50. How our Author was several Times examined, and of several Conferences and Disputes he had with the Idolaters. — 51. Of our Author's being called before the Khan at Whitsuntide, and of the Confession of Faith made by the Tartars. — 52. Of the Sorcerers and Conjurers in this Country, and of the wicked Lives they lead. — 53. The Letters written by the Khan to the King of France, by our Author, and the Resolution taken by his Companion to remain in Tartary. — 54. Of our Author's Departure from Caracarum for the Court of Baatu, and from thence for the City of Saray. — 55. Of the Road from Saray by the Mountains of Alania, of the Lescies, Derbent, and other Places. — 56. The Remainder of their Journey to the River Araxes, the City of Waxnans, the Country of Sabenna, and other Places. — 57. Of their Passage over the Euphrates, the Castle of Samuth, the Author's Arrival at Cyprus, Antioch, and Tripoli. — 58. His Letter from thence to the King his Master, and other Particulars. — 59. Remarks and Observations upon this Section.

1. IT seems to be a problem hitherto undiscussed, how it came to pass, that for the space of so many ages the inhabitants of the northern parts of the world lay so still and quiet, that history scarce gives us any account of them; and then of a sudden burst out on all sides, and over-ran, as it were, the greatest part of the known world. At first sight it should seem from hence, that these northern countries were first peopled, for otherwise it may appear difficult to account for their being so much more populous than any of the rest. A little attention, however, will clear this point, and shew us plainly, that instead of contradicting, it is the strongest proof that can be of the world's being originally peopled from the country of Chaldea. For whoever considers what an immense tract of land lies to the north of that original seat of mankind, will easily discern the reason why it required a longer space to people it thoroughly than the rest of the world; and yet, at the same time, if he reflects on the accounts given us by ancient authors, of the manners of the Scythians, he will easily perceive that they retained the old simplicity of living much longer than any other people, and were therefore celebrated by Homer and Hippocrates, as the justest and most innocent of mankind. But, in process of time, even these vast countries became over-peopled; and then being pressed by each other, these barbarous nations, as they were stilled by the Greeks and Romans, broke out like an inundation, and swept all before them.

At present our concern is with those who broke out last; I mean the Tartars, who are generally said to have derived their name from a river so called; but that is a mistake. The original name of this numerous nation was Turks, which they derived from Turk, the eldest son of Japhet. But Alanza-Khan, one of their ancient Princes, leaving his dominions to his sons, which were twins, the one called Tatar, and the other Mogul, this gave rise to the distinction of those two nations, which hath ever since prevailed.

The great conqueror Jenghiz-Khan, who in our old writers is generally called Zengis, united both under his dominion. He was born A.D. 1162, and was raised to the command of his own small tribe at the age of thirteen. He by degrees first estab-

established his power in his own country, then attacked and conquered the northern parts of China, but was never heard of in Europe till about the year 1218, when he entered the Great Bucharia; he extended his conquests afterwards over a great part of Asia, and died in the year 1227, at the age of sixty-five, and after having held the dignity of Khan twenty-five years. His eldest son Zuzi died six months after him, and was succeeded by his eldest son Batu or Baatu, as our author calls him, who had a great part of Tartary for his share. Zagatai, son to Jenghiz-Khan, had that country which the antients call Transoxiana, which has been since called Turkestan, or the country of the Usbeks; but by the Tartars to this day Zagatai. Tuli, another son of this conqueror, had for his share, Chorassan, Persia, and the Indies; and Octai all the rest, with the title of Khan. This prince began his reign in 1228, and died in 1241. So much as to the state of Tartary.

2. The Christian princes had been very often put upon the recovery of the Holy Land by the Popes; and Louis IX. King of France, called from thence St. Louis, took the cross, and engaged himself by a vow to endeavour the recovery of the city and kingdom of Jerusalem from the Infidels. It was with this view that he embarked at Marseilles, August 23^d 1248, accompanied by his Queen and two brothers. He sailed from thence to the island of Cyprus, where he spent the winter in preparing for the war. There he received ambassadors from the Khan of the Tartars, with an account that he had embraced christianity, and was disposed to attack the Infidels on one side, while His Majesty carried on the war on the other. This was an affair of very great importance to the King of France, who treated the ambassadors with great respect, and promised to send an ambassador to conclude an alliance with the Emperor their master.

He was hindered however in the prosecution of this design by the unlucky accidents of the war; for having invaded Egypt at first with great success, he was afterwards, in the year 1250, taken prisoner in the battle of Maslora, and remained for a long time in the hands of the Infidels, who treated him very ill, but at last set him at liberty, upon his surrendering the city of Damietta, and paying them a ransom of 400,000 livres. This cruel reverse of fortune did not hinder the King from pursuing his design: he passed immediately over into Syria, where he put the affairs of the Christians into as good a condition as it was possible, and would very probably have accomplished all that he proposed, if the death of his mother, whom he had left Regent of France, had not obliged him to return home, which he did in the year 1254, and reigned very gloriously for many years, and then undertook a second expedition in the same cause, of which we shall hereafter give some account.

3. At present our business is to observe, that while this monarch was in Syria, and there concerted measures for reducing the power of the Mohammedans, he made choice of our author, Friar William Rubruquis, for his ambassador to the Khan of the Tartars, and that for these three reasons: first, because he had engaged himself, while in Cyprus, to send such an embassy; secondly, because the assistance of so powerful a Prince was a matter of great consequence to all Christendom; and, thirdly, that he might obtain a distinct and authentic account of the policy, strength, and interest of a nation which, in the space of fifty years, had obtained an empire of such an extent as hitherto the world had never seen.

The reasons which induced him to make choice of our author were many; but we shall content ourselves with mentioning only a few. His condition, as a religious man, made him a fit minister to a Prince lately converted to the Christian faith. It dispensed likewise with his having any train of attendance, with which such an embassy could not be incumbered; and it put it more into his power to enquire into all things that his master desired to know, than if he had gone with all that pomp which is usually annexed

to a public character. But, above all, he depended on the abilities of the man, who was looked upon as a person of admirable parts, and great diligence, and whose unaffected piety and probity were not to be disputed. After his return from this embassy, he compiled this account, which we now present to the reader, and sent it to the King. It has been always esteemed the fullest and clearest, as well as the most faithful and exact description of the Tartars that ever was published, and therefore we have given it entire, and in the author's own words, together with his dedication, which follows.

4. *To the Most Excellent and Most Christian Lord Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France, Brother William de Rubruquis, of the Order of Friars Minors, wishes Health, and that he may ever triumph in Jesus Christ.*

"It is written in the book of Ecclesiasticus, that the wise man shall pass through countries inhabited by foreign nations, and that he shall have his share in all things good and evil. I have done all this, Sire, and God grant that I have done it as a wise man, and not as a fool; for many there are which do those things which wise men do, but not wisely, and much I fear that I am of that number. However that matter may be, you were pleased to command me, at the time of my departure, that I should write to you all I saw, and whatever I could discover among the Tartars. You were likewise pleased to add, that I should not be afraid of writing long Letters. I am now about to perform what Your Majesty then gave me in charge; yet not without great fear and apprehension that the simpleness of my thoughts, and the homeliness of my style, may seem unworthy of being addressed unto Your Sovereign Majesty."

5. May it please you then, Sire, to understand, that departing from Constantinople on the 7th May, A. D. 1253, we entered into the Sea of Pontus, now the Black Sea, which the Bulgarians call the Great Sea, and which, as I was informed by merchants who have long traded there, extends in length from east to west one thousand miles, and is, as it were, divided into two parts. About the middle there are two provinces, the one on the South, which is called Sinople, from a fortress and port of the same name, which belongs to the Sultan of the Turks: the other towards the north, which the western Christians call Gazaria, now Crimea, or Crim-Tartary; but the Greeks who dwell therein, Cassaria, which I take to be the same as Cæsaria. In this province there are two promontories, or capes, which run into the sea towards the south, and the country of Sinople; the distance may be about three hundred miles between Sinople and Cassaria; so that these points may be about seven hundred miles from Constantinople, as well towards the south as towards the east, in which quarter lies Iberia, which is a province of the country of Georgia, or Georgiana.

We came then into the country of Gazaria, which is in the shape of a triangle, having on the most western point a city called Kerfova, where St. Clement Bishop of Ancyra suffered martyrdom; and passing in view of this city, we had sight of an island in which there is a church said to have been built by angels. In the middle, which is also the most southern part, stands the city of Soldaia, which is directly over-against Sinople, to which all the merchants coming from Turkey resort in their passage to northern countries, as do likewise such as come from Russia with intent to go to Turkey.

These last bring ermine and other rich furs; the former deal in cotton, cloth, silks of all sorts, and spices. Towards the east part of this country stands a city called Matriga, at the mouth of the river Tanais, or the great river Don, where it falls into

the sea of Pontus, being there about twelve miles over. This river, before it falls into the sea, makes of itself a kind of sea, which is near seven hundred miles in extent, but so shallow, that no ships of burthen can sail therein. The merchants of Constantinople however, when they arrive at the city of Matriga, send their barks up the river Tanais to purchase dried fish, such as sturgeons, theofes, barbels, and many other sorts of fish. The province of Gazaria before mentioned has the sea on three sides, viz. on the west, where stands the city of Kerfova; on the south, where lies the city of Soldaia, or Caffa, where we landed; and on the east, where is the city of Matriga, at the mouth of the river Tanais.

Beyond this country lies Zichia, that is the country about Azoph, which is not subject to the Tartars; to the east of which lie the countries of the Suevians and Iberians, which likewise do not pay obedience to the Tartars. Towards the south again stands the city of Trebizond, which belongs to its own prince, whose name is Guido, and he is descended of the race of the Emperors of Constantinople, but is for all that subject to the Tartars. The city of Sinople stands next, belonging to the Sultan of Turkey, who is at present their vassal likewise.

Beyond his dominion lies the country of Vastacius, the son of whose King is called Astar, after his grandfather by the mother's side, and he is not under their subjection. All the country from the mouth of the Tanais westward as far as the Danube, is at present under their dominion, and even beyond the Danube towards Constantinople; all Wallachia, which is also called the country of Assanus, and the Lesser Bulgaria, as far as Solinia, pay tribute to them: and besides this tribute, they have of late years imposed a new burthen on the inhabitants; for they exact from every family an axe and a considerable quantity of corn.

This introduction of our author's is in itself very clear, and by adding the modern names of places, it is hoped it will be perfectly intelligible to every reader.

The author intended it to explain the situation and condition of those countries at the time he wrote, which was the more necessary, because great alterations had been occasioned by the repeated irruptions of the Tartars. In regard therefore to the situation of commerce at this time, as well as the perfect comprehending his route to the camps of the Tartar Princes, this explanatory discourse was very expedient; and as this writer begins very methodically, so his whole work is conducted with such order and eloquence, as is not usual in the writers of those times. His style is agreeable to his matter, plain and expressive, without any flourishes, or the least desire of heightening the wonders which he relates: on the contrary, he every where endeavours to avoid heightening things beyond credit, and delivers himself with such visible sincerity, as gives an intrinsic value to his work that no length of time can ever take away. This in all probability was in some measure owing to his attention to the instructions given him by his master, who was a Prince of great abilities, had himself travelled into the east, and was consequently a better judge of these particulars than most other princes, either of that or any other age. It was for the same reason, probably, that our author thought proper, as the reader will see, to insert his account of the Tartars, their habitations, customs, manners, laws, government, and whatever else was necessary to give a just idea of these people, before he proceeds to his negotiations with them; which is a clear proof that this treatise was not composed in a hurry, or written as occasion offered while he was actually on his travels, but after his return out of Tartary, when he had time to recollect himself, to compare and digest the notes he had taken during his stay in that country, and to bring every thing into its proper place. So that we have no occasion to interrupt his discourse

with remarks or corrections, but are able to leave his work as it stands to the perusal of the ingenious reader, who will find therein abundant proofs of what we have here advanced.

6. We arrived, continues he, at Soldaia the twenty-first of May, and several merchants of Constantinople who arrived before us, reported that ambassadors were coming thither from the Holy Land, who were to travel to Sartach. I had however publicly given out on Palm-Sunday, in the church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your ambassador, or the ambassador of any other Prince, but that I travelled to those Princes to preach the Gospel to them according to the rule of our order; and being arrived, the said merchants admonished me to be very cautious in what I spoke, because they having reported me to be an ambassador, if I should say to the contrary, I could not have free passage granted unto me. Then I spoke to the lieutenants of the cities, because the governors themselves were gone to pay tribute unto Baatu, and were not as yet returned. "We heard of your Lord Sartach in the Holy Land that he was become a Christian, of which the Christians were exceedingly glad, and especially the Most Christian King of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, and fighteth against the Saracens to redeem the holy places out of their hands. I am determined therefore to go to Sartach, and to deliver unto him the letters of my Lord the King of France, wherein he admonisheth him concerning the welfare of all Christendom."

On this they received us with joy, and gave us entertainment in the cathedral church, the Bishop of which church had been with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning him, which afterwards I found untrue. They then gave us our choice, whether we would have carts and oxen, or a number of horses to transport our baggage, and the merchants of Constantinople advised me not to take carts of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy covered carts of my own (such as the Russians carry their skins in), and to put all our baggage into them, because if I should use horses, I must be constrained at every bait to take down my things and to lift them up; and beside that, I should ride a more gentle pace in the carts. Wherefore yielding unto their evil counsel, I spent in travelling to Sartach two months, which I could have done in one, if I had gone on horseback. I brought with me from Constantinople pleasant fruits, Muskadell wine, and delicate biscuit bread, to present unto the governors of Soldaia, that I might obtain free passage, because they look favourably upon no man who comes with an empty hand.

All these things I packed in one of my carts, and the governors being absent when we came, I still carried them on; for they told me if I could bring them to Sartach, that they would be most acceptable unto him. We took our journey therefore about the beginning of June, with four covered carts of our own, and with two others which we borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest on in the night, and they allowed us five horses to ride upon, there being just five persons in company; I, Friar Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goslet the bearer of these presents, the interpreter, and Nicholas my servant, whom I bought at Constantinople with some of the alms bestowed upon me. They allowed us besides two men, who drove our cars, and looked after our oxen and horses. There are high promontories on the sea-shore, from Kersova unto the mouth of the Tanais. Also there are forty castles at Kersova and Soldaia, in every one of which almost they use different languages, amongst whom there were many Goths who spoke the Dutch tongue.

Beyond these mountains, towards the north, there is a most beautiful wood growing on a plain pleasant country, full of springs and rivulets. Beyond the wood there is a mighty plain, five days journey, unto the very extremity of the province northward;

and there is a narrow isthmus, a neck of land, having the sea on the east and west sides, which enter the land so far that there is a canal made from one sea unto the other. On this plain before the Tartars the Comanians inhabited, who compelled the above-mentioned cities and castles to pay tribute unto them; but when the Tartars came upon them, the multitude of Comanians fled all of them to the sea-shore, being in such extreme famine, that they which were alive were constrained to eat up those which were dead; and, as a merchant reported to me who saw it with his own eyes, living men devoured and tore with their teeth the raw flesh of the dead, as dogs would gnaw carrion.

Towards the borders of the said province there are a great many lakes, upon the banks whereof are salt-pits, the water of which, so soon as it entereth into the lake, becomes hard salt like ice; and out of these salt-pits Baatu and Sartach have great revenues, for they repair thither out of all Russia for salt, and for each cart load they give two webs of cotton, amounting to the value of half an yperpera. There come also many ships for salt, which pay tribute every one according to their burthen. The third day after we were departed out of these precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars, amongst whom being entered, methought I was come into a new world, whose life and manners I will describe unto Your Highness as well as I can.

7. They have no settled habitation, neither know they to-day where they shall lodge to-morrow. They have all Scythia to themselves, which stretcheth from the river Danube to the utmost extent of the east. Each of their captains, according to the number of his people, knows the bounds of his pastures, and where he ought to feed his cattle winter and summer, spring and autumn; for in the winter they remove into warm regions southward, and in the summer they go up into the cold regions northward. In winter when snow lies upon the ground, they feed their cattle in pastures where there is no water, because then they use snow instead of water. Their houses in which they sleep, they raise upon a round foundation of wickers, artificially wrought and compacted together; the roof consisting of wickers also meeting above in one little roundell, out of which there rises upwards a neck like a chimney, which they cover with white felt, and often they lay mortar or white earth upon the felt with the powder of bones, that it may shine and look white: sometimes also they cover their houses with black felt. This cupola of their house they adorn with variety of pictures.

Before the door they hang a felt curiously painted over, for they spend all their coloured felt in painting vines, trees, birds, and beasts thereupon. These houses they make so large, that they contain thirty feet in breadth; for measuring once the breadth between the wheel-ruts of one of their carts or wains, I found it to be twenty feet over, and when the house was upon the cart, it stretched over the wheels on each side five feet at least. I told two-and-twenty oxen in one draught drawing a house upon a cart, eleven in one row according to the breadth of the cart, and eleven more on the other side. The axle-tree of the cart was of an huge bigness, like the mast of a ship, and a fellow stood in the door of the house upon the forestall of the cart driving the oxen. They likewise make certain four-square baskets of slender twigs as big as great chests, and afterwards from one side to another they frame an hollow lid or cover of such like twigs, and make a door in it before. Then they cover the said chest or house with black felt, rubbed over with tallow or sheep's milk, to keep the rain from soaking through, which they likewise adorn with paintings or white feathers. Into these chests they put their whole household stuff, or treasure, and bind them upon other carts, which are drawn by camels, that they may pass through rivers, neither do they ever take down these chests from their carts. When they take down their dwelling-houses, they
turn

turn the doors always to the south, and next they place the carts laden with the chests here and there within a stone's cast of the house, inasmuch that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as it were between two walls.

The women make themselves most beautiful carts, which I am not able to describe to Your Majesty but by pictures only; I would willingly have painted all things for you, had my skill been great enough in that art. A rich Tartar hath a hundred or two such carts with chests. Baatu hath sixteen wives, every one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their women to dwell in, and to each of the houses belong two hundred carts. When they take their houses off the carts, the principal wife placeth her court on the west, and so all the rest in order; so that the last wife's house is on the east frontier, and the court of each wife is distant from another about a stone's cast.

Hence it is, that the court of a rich Tartar will appear like a very large village, few men being to be seen therein; one woman will guide twenty or thirty carts at once, for their country is very flat, and they fasten the carts with camels or oxen one behind another, a wench sits in the foremost cart driving the oxen, and all the rest of themselves follow a like pace: when they come to a place which is a bad passage, they loose them, and guide them one by one, for they go a slow pace, and not much faster than an ox can walk.

8. When they have taken down their houses from their carts, and turned the doors southward, they place the bed of the master of the house at the north part thereof; the women's place is always on the east, that is, on the left hand of the master of the house, when sitting upon his bed with his face to the south; but the men's place is to the west, that is, at the right hand of their master. Men, when they enter into the house, never hang their quivers on the women's side. Over the master's head there is an image made of felt, which they call the master's brother, and another over the head of the mistress, which is called her brother, fastened to the wall, and a bow between both of them. There is a little lean idol, which is, as it were, the guardian of the whole house. The mistress of the house places at the feet of her bed, on the right hand, the skin of a kid, stuffed with wool, and near that a little image, looking towards the apartment of the woman. Next the door, on the women's side, there is another image, with a cow's udder, which is the guardian of the women that milk the cattle, for that is the constant employment of their women. On the other side of the door next the men, is another image, with the udder of a mare, for the guardian of those who milk the mares.

When they meet to make merry they sprinkle part of their drink upon the image which is over the master's head, and afterwards upon the other images in their order; then a servant goes out of the house with a cup full of drink, sprinkling it thrice towards the south, and bowing his knee every time; and this is done in honour of the Fire. He performs the same ceremony towards the east in honour of the Air; and then to the west, in honour of the Water; and lastly, to the north, in behalf of the dead. When the master holds a cup in his hand to drink, before he tastes he pours a part of it upon the ground; if he drinks sitting on horseback, he pours out part upon the neck or mane of the horse before he drinks. After the servant has paid his reverence to the four quarters of the world, he returns to the house, and two other servants stand ready with two cups, and two basons, to carry drink to their master and his wife, who sit together upon a bed. If he has more wives than one, the with whom he slept the night before, sits by his side the next day, and all his other wives must that day resort to her house to drink, and there the court is for that day; the gifts also which

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are presented that day are laid up in the chests of that wife. One piece of ceremony is constant in all houses, viz. a bench, on which stands a vessel of milk, or of other drink, and cups for drinking it.

9. They make in winter an excellent drink of rice and of honey, strong, well tasted, and high coloured like wine; they have also wine brought to them from other countries. In the summer time they care not for any drink but Cosmos. This liquor stands always at the entrance of the door, and next to it a fidler. I saw there no such violins as ours; but many other musical instruments which are not used with us. When the master of the house begins to drink, one of his servants crieth out with a loud voice, Ha! and the musician plays upon the fiddle.

When they make a solemn feast, they all of them clap their hands and dance to the noise of music, the men before their master, and the women before their mistress; and when the master has drunk, then his servants cry ha! as before, and the fidler stops; then they drink all round, both men and women, and sometimes they carouse, especially for victory, till they are drunk. When they invite a man to drink, they pull him by the ears to the vessel, and so lug and draw him strongly to stretch out his throat, clapping their hands, and dancing before him.

When they would do honour to any person at their solemn feasting and rejoicing, one of the company takes a full cup, and two others stand, one on his right hand, and the other on his left, and so they three come singing to the man, who is to have the cup presented to him, still singing and dancing before him; and when he stretches his hand to receive the cup, they leap suddenly back, returning again as they did before; and so having deluded him three or four times by drawing back the cup, until he is eager and very desirous to drink, then they give him the cup, singing and dancing, and stamping with their feet, until he hath done drinking.

10. In respect to their food, give me leave to inform Your Highness, that without difference or distinction, they eat all their beasts that die of age or sickness; and amongst so many drovers, there must some cattle die in summer. However, so long as their cosmos, that is, their mares' milk, lasts, they care not much for any food; and if they chance to have an ox or a horse die, they dry the flesh, cutting it into thin slices, and hanging it up against the sun and the wind, it is presently dried without salt, and without ill flavour or corruption. They make better puddings of their horses than their hogs, which they eat as soon as made; the rest of their flesh they reserve till winter. They make of their ox skins great bags, which they dry in the smoke; of the hinder part of their horse hides they make very fine sandals. They give fifty or an hundred men the flesh of one ram to eat; for they mince it in a bowl with salt and water, having no other sauce, and then with the point of a knife, or little fork, which resembles such as we use to take roasted pears or apples out of wine, they reach unto every one of the company a morsel or two, according to the number of guests. The master of the house, before the ram's flesh is distributed, first takes of it what he pleases; if he giveth unto any of the company a particular service, the receiver thereof must eat it alone, and not impart unto any other; or if he is not able to eat it up all, he carries it with him, and delivers it to his boy, if he be present, to keep it; if not, he puts it up into his Saptarget, that is to say, his satchel, or knapsack, which they carry about with them for such purposes, and wherein they lay up their bones, when they have not time to pick them thoroughly, that they may scrape them at leisure, and so nothing be lost.

11. Their common drink cosmos, which is mares' milk, is prepared after this manner: they fasten a long line to two posts, standing in the ground, and to the same line they tie the young foals of those mares which they intend to milk; then come the mares

to stand by the foals, suffering themselves to be milked; and if any of them be rude, then one takes her foal and puts it under her, letting it suck a little while, and presently carrying it away again, there comes another man to milk the mare. When they have got a good quantity of this milk together, while it is new, they pour it into a great bag, and they beat the bag with a piece of wood made for that purpose, having a knot at the lower end like a man's head, which is hollow within; and so soon as they beat it, it begins to boil like new wine, and to be sour, and of a sharp taste; and they beat it in that manner till butter comes; then they taste it, and being indifferently sharp, they drink it, for it bites one's tongue like the raspberry wine. After a man hath taken a draught, it leaves a taste behind it like that of almond milk, going down very pleasantly, and intoxicating weak brains, for it is very heady and powerful.

As for their caracosmos, that is to say, black cosmos, which is for great lords to drink, they make it thus; first, they beat the milk so long, that the thickest part thereof descends down to the bottom, like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remains above like whey, or white must; the lees and dregs, being very white, are given to servants, and will make them sleep exceedingly. That which is thin and clear, their masters drink; and indeed it is a wonderful sweet and wholesome liquor. Baatu hath thirty farms within a day's journey of his abiding-place, every one of which serves him daily with caracosmos of an hundred mares' milk, and so all of them together every day with the milk of three thousand mares, besides white milk, which the rest of his subjects bring; for, as the husbandmen of Syria pay the third part of their fruits, and carry it unto the courts of their lords, so do they their mares' milk every third day.

Out of their cows' milk they first churn butter; boiling which butter unto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams' skins, which they reserve for that purpose; neither do they salt their butter; and yet by this boiling it never putrefies, and they keep it for winter; the churn milk, which remains of the butter, they let alone till it be as sour as possible; then they boil it, and in boiling it is turned all into curds, which curds they dry in the sun, making them as hard as the dross of iron; and this kind of food also they preserve in satchels against winter. In that season when milk fails them, they put the curds before-mentioned, which they call Gra-ut, into a bladder, and pouring hot water upon them, they beat it till they have dissolved them, and it is thereby made exceeding sour; and this they drink instead of milk; for it seems a rule with them never to drink fair water by itself.

12. The great lords of this nation have all of them farms in the south part of their country, from whence their tenants bring them millet and meal against winter. The poorer sort provide themselves with such necessaries, by the exchange of rams, and other beasts' skins. As for their slaves, they are forced to be content with water, and that thick and bad enough. The only sort of animals from which I have known them abstain, are mice and rats. There is, however, a little animal which they call fogur, which in the winter time lie and sleep twenty or thirty of them together in caves for six months, where the Tartars find them out, and esteem them excellent eating; and indeed they are very tender and fat. They have likewise great plenty of a sort of rabbits with long tails, the outside hair of which is black and white; other small creatures they have, on which they freely feed. I saw no deer there, and but a few hares, but a great number of roes.

I saw wild asses in great abundance, which are like mules; I saw also another kind of beast called artack, resembling in its body a ram, with crooked horns, and are of such bigness,

bigness, that I could scarce lift up a pair of them with one hand; and of these horns they make drinking-cups. They have falcons, and other hawks in great numbers, which they carry upon their right hands, and they put always about their falcon's necks a string of leather, which hangs down to the midst of their gorges; by which string, when they cast them off the fist at the game with the left hand, they bow the heads and breasts of the hawks to prevent their being tossed up and down in the wind, or their soaring too high. Being expert in this art, they gain a great part of their provision by hunting and hawking. In regard to their attire, it may please Your Majesty to know, that out of Cataya, and other regions of the East, out of Persia also, and other countries to the South, are brought to them manufactures of silks, cloth of gold, and cotton cloth, which they wear in time of summer; but out of Russia, Moxell, Bulgaria, Hungaria, and out of Keris, all which are Northern regions, and full of woods, and also out of many other countries of the North, which are subject unto them, the inhabitants bring them many rich and costly skins of divers sorts, such as I never saw, wherewith they are clothed in winter, and against which season they make themselves two gowns, one with the fur inward to their skin, and another with the fur outward, to defend them from wind and snow, which for the most part are made of wolves' skins, or foxes skins.

When they sit in the house they have a finer gown to wear: the poorer sort make their gowns of dogs' or of cats' skins. When they go to hunt wild beasts, they meet in a great company, and surrounding the place where they are sure to find game, by little and little they approach on all sides, till they have got all the wild beasts into the midst in a circle, and then they discharge their arrows at them. They make themselves breeches of skins. The rich Tartars sometimes fur their gowns with silk flang, which is exceedingly soft, light, and warm: the poorer sort line their cloaths with cotton or cloth, which is made of the finest wool they can pick out; and of the coarser part of the wool they make felt to cover their houses, and their chests, and for their bedding; also of the same wool, being mixed with one-third part of horse-hair, they make all their cordage. They make of this felt likewise covering for their stools, and caps to defend their heads from the weather; for all which they spend a great quantity of their wool.

13. The men shave a four-square spot upon the crowns of their heads, and from the two corners they shave, as it were, two scians down to their temples. They shave also their temples, and the hinder part of their head, to the nape of the neck. They likewise shave the fore part down to their foreheads, and upon their foreheads they leave a lock of hair, reaching down to their eye brows; on the two hinder corners of their heads they have two locks also, which they twine and braid into knots, and so bind and knit them one under each ear. The garments of their women differ not from the mens, except that they are somewhat longer. But the day after a woman is married, she shaves from the midst of her head down to her forehead, and wears a wide garment like the veil of a nun; but larger and longer in all parts than a nun's veil, being open before, and they girt them under the right side. The Tartars differ from the Turks, because the Turks fasten their garments to their bodies on the left side, but the Tartars always on the right side.

They have always an ornament for their heads, which they call *Botta*, which is made of the bark of a tree, or of some such substance as they can find, which by the thickness and roundness thereof, cannot be held but in both hands together; and it hath a square sharp spire rising from the top thereof, being almost two feet in length, and shaped like a pinnacle. This *Botta* they cover all over with a piece of rich silk, and it

is hollow within; and upon the midst of this same spire they place a bunch of quills, or slender canes, a foot and a half long, or more, and the bunch on the top thereof they beautify with peacock's feathers; and round about they stick the feathers of a mallard's tail, and adorn it with precious stones. Also great ladies wear this kind of ornament upon their heads, binding it strongly to a kind of hat or coron, which hath a pole in the crown, fit for the spire to come through; and under this ornament they comb the hair of their heads, which they gather up round together, from the hinder part thereof to the crown, and so lap them up in a knot or bundle within the *Botta*; which afterwards they bind strongly under their throats.

It is on this account, that when a great company of such ladies ride together, and are seen at a distance, they look like soldiers with helmets on their heads, carrying their lances upright, for the *Botta* appears like a helmet with a lance over it. All their women sit on horseback like men, and they bind their veils or gowns about their waists with a sky-coloured or silk scarf, and with another scarf they gird it about their breasts; and they also bind a piece of white silk, like a muffler or mask, under their eyes, reaching down to their breasts. These ladies are, generally speaking, exceeding fat; and the less their noses, the handfomer they are esteemed. They daub over their face with greafe too most frightfully, and they never keep their beds on account of their bringing forth children.

14. As to the employments of their women, they drive carts, lay their houses upon carts, and take them down again, milk cattle, make butter and griat, dress skins and sew them, which they usually do with thread made of sinews; for they divide sinews into slender threads, and then twine them into one large one. They make sandals and socks, and other kind of apparel; but they never wash any cloaths, for they say that God is then angry, and that dreadful thunder will ensue, if washed garments be hung out to dry. Nay, they beat such as wash, and take their garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder; for in the time of thunder they force all strangers out of their houses, and then wrapping themselves in black felt, lie hid therein till the thunder be over. They never wash their dishes or bowls; yet when the flesh is boiled they wash their platter, wherein it must be put, with scalding hot broth out of the pot, and then pour the broth into the pot again. They make felt also, and cover the houses therewith.

The men are employed to make bows and arrows, stirrups, bridles and saddles, to build houses and carts, to keep horses, to milk mares, to churn cosmos and mares' milk, and to make bags to put it in; they keep camels also, and lay burthens upon them. As for sheep and goats, they mind and milk them, both men and women. With sheeps' milk thickened and salted, they dress and tan their hides. When they wash their hands and their heads, they fill their mouths full of water, and spouting it into their hands by little and little, they sprinkle their hair, and wash their heads therewith. As to their marriages, Your Highness is to understand, that no man can have a wife among them till he hath bought her; therefore sometimes their maids are very stale before they are married, for their parents always keep them till they can sell them. They abstain from the first and second degrees of consanguinity inviolably as we do; but they have no regard to the degrees of affinity, for they will marry together, or by succession, two sisters; their widows never marry a second time, for this reason, because they believe that all who have served them in this life, shall do them service also in the life to come. Whereupon they are persuaded, that every widow after death shall return to her own husband; and hence arises an abominable and filthy custom amongst them, namely, that the son marrieth sometimes all his father's wives, except his own

mother; for the court, or house of the father or mother, falleth by inheritance always to the youngest son, whereupon he is to provide for all his father's wives, because they are part of his inheritance, as well as his father's possessions; and then, if he will, he useth them for his own wives, for he thinks it no injury or disparagement to himself, though they return unto his father after death. Therefore, when any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the damsel makes him a feast; in the mean time she flies away to some of her kinsfolk to hide herself. Then her father says to the bridegroom, my daughter is yours, take her wheresoever you can find her. Then he and his friends seek her till they find her, and having found her, he takes her by force, and carries her to his own house.

15. In regard to their laws, or their execution of justice, Your Majesty is to be advertised, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himself to part them: the father dare not help his own son; but he that happens to have the worst, must appeal to the court of his Lord, and whoever else offereth him any violence after appeal, is put to death; but he must be taken presently without delay. They punish no man with death, unless he be taken in the commission of the fact, or else confess the same; but being accused, they put him to extreme torture to make him confess the truth. They punish murder with death, and even fornication with any other besides his own women: by his own, I mean his wife or his maid-servant; for every man may use his slave as he pleases. Heinous theft also, or felony, they punish with death. For a light theft, as for stealing of a ram, the criminal not apprehended in the fact, but otherwise detected, is cruelly beaten; and if the executioner lays on an hundred strokes, he must have an hundred rods, for such as are beaten upon sentence given in court. Frauds likewise of every kind they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they use in like manner, (of which kind of malefactors Your Majesty shall be more fully informed hereafter,) because they esteem such to be witches. When a man dies they lament and howl most pitifully over him, and the mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole year after; also, whoever is present in the house where one of man's estate lies dead, he must not enter into the court of Mangu-Khan till one whole year be expired. If it was a child deceased, he must not enter into the court till the next month after. Near the grave of the party deceased, they always leave one cottage. If any of their nobles, being of the stock of Zingis their first Lord, dies, the place of his burial is not known. About these places where they inter their nobles, there is a family left to keep the sepulchre. I could not learn that they used to hide treasures in the graves of their dead.

The Comanians build a stately tomb over their dead, and erect the image of the dead man thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking-cup in his hand before his navel. They erect also upon the monuments of rich men pyramids; and in some places I saw high towers made of brick; in other places pyramids made of stone, though there are no stones to be found thereabouts. I saw one newly buried, in honour of whom they hung up sixteen horse-hides unto each quarter of the world, four between certain high posts; and they set beside his grave Cosmos for him to drink, and flesh to eat; and yet they said that he was baptized. We beheld other kind of sepulchres also towards the East, viz. large floors of pavements, made of stones, some round and some square, and then four long stones pitched upright about the pavement, towards the four corners of the world. When any man is sick, he lieth in his bed, and causeth a sign to be set up on his house, to signify that there lies a sick person, that no man may enter into the house; for none are admitted there to sick persons but a servant only. When any one is sick in their great courts, they appoint watchmen to stand

round about the court, who will not suffer any person to enter the precincts thereof; for such is their superstition, that they are afraid that evil spirits or witches should come together with the parties that enter in.

16. On my arrival among these barbarous people, I thought, as I before observed, that I was come into a new world, for they came flocking about us on horseback, after they had made us wait for them in the shade under the black carts. The first question they asked was, whether we had ever been with them heretofore or not? And on our answering that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals from us; we gave them some of our biscuit and wine, which we had brought with us from the town of Soldai; and having drank off one flaggon of our wine, they demanded another, telling us, that a man does not go into the house with one foot; we gave them no more, however, excusing ourselves that we had but little. Then they asked us whence we came, and whither we were bound; I answered them in these words: that we had heard concerning their Prince Sartach, that he was become a christian, and that unto him our determination was to travel, having Your Majesty's letters to deliver unto him. They were very inquisitive to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I was sent. I answered, that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come unless I had been willing; and that therefore I was come according to my own will, and to the will of my superior. I took the utmost care never to say that I was Your Majesty's ambassador. Then they asked what I had in my carts, whether it were gold, silver, or rich garments to carry to Sartach. I answered, that Sartach should see what we had brought when we were come unto him; that they had nothing to do to ask such questions, but rather ought to conduct me unto their captain, and that he, if he thought proper, should cause me to be directed to Sartach, if not, that I would return; for there was in the same province one of Baatu's kinsmen, called Zagatai, to whom the Emperor of Constantinople had written letters to suffer me to pass through his territories.

With this answer of ours they were satisfied, giving us horses and oxen, and two men to conduct us. But before they would allow us those necessaries, they made us wait a long while, begging our bread for their brats, wondering at all things they saw about our servants, as their knives, gloves, purses, and points, and desiring to have them. I excused myself, saying, we had a long way to travel, and that we could not deprive ourselves of things necessary to finish so long a journey. Then they said I was a niggardly scoundrel. It is true, they took nothing by force from me, but they will beg all they see very importunately; and if a man bestows any thing upon them, it is but lost, for they are thankless wretches. They esteem themselves lords, and think that nothing should be denied them by any man. If a man gives them nothing, and afterwards stands in need of their service, they will do nothing for him. They gave us of their cows' milk to drink after the butter was churned out of it, which was very sour, which they call apram. So we departed from them; and indeed it seemed to me that we were escaped out of the hands of devils. The next day we were introduced to their captain. From the time wherein we departed from Soldai, till we arrived at the court of Sartach, which was the space of two months, we never lay in house or tent, but always under the canopy of heaven, and in the open air, or under our carts; neither saw we any village, or heard of any building where any village had been; but the graves of the Comanians we saw in great abundance. The same evening our guide which had conducted us, gave us some cosmos; after I had drank thereof, I sweated extremely, which was owing, I believe, to the novelty of it, because I never drank of it before; notwithstanding I thought it was very pleasant and well-tasted.

17. We met the day following with the carts of Zagatai, laden with houfes; and I really thought that a great city came to meet me. I wondered at the multitude of droves of oxen and horses, and droves of sheep; I could see but a few men that guided all these; upon which I enquired how many men he had under him, and they told me that he had not above five hundred in all, and that the one half of this number were passed, as they lay in another lodging. Then the servant which was our guide, told me that I must present somewhat to Zagatai; and so he caused us to stay, going themselves before to give notice of our coming. By this time it was past three, and they unladed their houfes near a river; and there came unto us his interpreter, who being informed by us that we were never there before, demanded some of our victuals; and we granted his request. He also required of us some garment for a reward, because he was to interpret our message to his master; we excused ourselves as well as we could. Then he asked us what we would present to his lord, and we took a flaggon of wine, and filled a basket with biscuit, and a salver with apples, and other fruits; but he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich garment.

We were, however, admitted into his presence with fear and bashfulness. He sat upon his bed holding a musical instrument in his hand, and his wife sat by him, who, in my opinion, had cut and pared her nose between the eyes, that she might seem to be more flat-nosed; for she had left herself no nose at all in that place, having anointed the very scar with black ointment, as she also did her eye-brows; which sight seemed to us most ugly. Then I repeated to him the same words which I had spoken in other places; for we were directed in this circumstance by some that had been amongst the Tartars, that we should never vary in our tale. I besought him that he would vouchsafe to accept this small gift at our hands, excusing myself that I was a monk, and that it was against our profession to possess gold, silver, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any such thing to give him, unless he would receive some part of our victuals instead of a blessing. He caused thereupon our present to be received, and immediately distributed the same amongst his men, who were met together for that purpose, to drink and make merry. I delivered also to him the Emperor of Constantinople's letters, eight days after the feast of Ascension, and he sent them to Soldai, to have them interpreted there; for they were written in Greek, and he had none about him that was skilled in the Greek tongue.

He asked us if we would drink any cosmos, that is to say mares' milk, for those that are Christians among them, as the Russians, Grecians, and Alans, who keep their own law very strictly, will not drink thereof, for they account themselves no Christians after they have once drank of it, and their priests reconcile them unto the church as if they had renounced the Christian faith. I answered, that we had as yet sufficient of our own to drink, and that when it failed us, we must be constrained to drink such as should be given us. He enquired also what was contained in the letters which Your Majesty sent to Sartach? I answered, that they were sealed up, and that there was nothing contained in them but friendly words. And he asked, what words we would deliver unto Sartach? I answered, the words of Christian faith. He asked again, what those words were? For he was very desirous to hear them. Then I expounded unto him as well as I could by my interpreter, who was a very sorry one, the Apostles' Creed, which after he had heard he shook his head. Then he assigned us two men to attend upon us, and our horses and our oxen, and he caused us to ride in his company, till the messenger he had sent for the translation of the Emperor's letters arrived; so we travelled in his company till the day after Whitsunday.

18. There came to us on Whitfun-eve some of the people called Alans, who are the Christians of the Greek church, using Greek books, and were priests, but they are not schismatics as the Grecians are, since without exception of persons they honour all Christians; and they brought unto us boiled flesh, requesting us to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company, who was dead. I answered, because it was the eve of so great a feast, we would not eat any flesh; and I expounded to them the solemnity of the feast, for they were ignorant of all things relating to the Christian religion; except the name of Christ.

They and many other Christians, both Russians and Hungarians, demanded of us whether they might be saved or no, because they were constrained to drink cosmos, and to eat the dead carcases of things slain by the infidels, which even the Greeks and Russian priests also esteemed as things strangled or offered to idols, because they were ignorant of the times of fasting, neither could they have observed them if they had known them. I instructed them as well as I could, and strengthened them in the faith; as for the flesh which they had brought, we reserved it till the feast-day, for there is nothing sold among the Tartars for gold and silver, but for cloth and garments, of which we had none. When our servants offered them any of their coin, called by them Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers and put it to their noses, to try by the smell whether it were copper or no. They did not allow for our food any subsistence but cows' milk only, which was very four: one thing most necessary was greatly wanting to us, for the water was so foul and muddy by reason of their horses, that it was not fit to be drank; so that had it not been for some Biscuit which by the goodness of God was still left us, we had undoubtedly perished.

19. On the Feast of Pentecost there came to us a Mohammedan, to whom, as he talked with us, we expounded the Christian faith, who (being informed of God's goodness to mankind in the incarnation of our Saviour Christ, the resurrection of the dead and the judgment to come, and that baptism was a washing away of sins) said that he would be baptized; but when we prepared to baptize him, he suddenly mounted on hoarseback, saying, that he would go home and consult with his wife: and the next day he told us that he durst not receive baptism, because then he should drink no more cosmos; for the Christians of that place affirm, that no true Christians ought to drink it, and that without it he could not live in that desert; from which opinion I could not for my life remove him. It is scarce credible, how many are restrained from becoming Christians from this opinion, broached and confirmed among them by the Russians, of whom there are a great many settled here. The same day Zagatai gave us one man to conduct us to Sartach, and to guide us to the next stage, which was five days journey for oxen to travel. They gave us also a goat for victuals, and a great many bladders of cows' milk, and but a little cosmos, because they love it so much themselves; and so taking our journey directly towards the north, I thought we had passed through one of hell-gates.

The servants who conducted us began to play the bold thieves, seeing us take little heed to ourselves; at length having lost much by their thievery, suffering taught us wisdom. When we came to the extremity of that province, which is fortified with a ditch from one sea unto another, without which was their place of lodging, into which so soon as we had entered, it appeared to us as if all the inhabitants were infected with leprosy, for certain base fellows were placed there to receive tribute of such as took salt out of the salt-pits. From that place they told us we must travel fifteen days journey before we should find any other place; with them we drank cosmos, and gave to them a basket full of fruits and of biscuit, and they gave unto us eight oxen and one goat to maintain

maintain us in such a journey, and I know not how many bladders of milk, and so changing our oxen we proceeded for ten days, arriving then at another place, neither found we any water all that way, but only in some ditches made in the vallies and in two rivers. From the time also that we departed out of the province of Gassaria, we travelled directly eastward, having the sea on the south side of us, and a vast desert on the north, which desert in some places reaches twenty days journey in breadth, without tree, mountain, or so much as a stone therein, and is a most excellent pasture. Here the Comanians, which were called Copthai, were wont to feed their cattle, and were the same the Germans stiled Walani, and the province itself Walania. But Isidore calleth all the tract of land stretching from the river of Tanais to the lake of Meotis, and so far as the Danube, the country of the Alani. And the same country extends in length from the Danube to Tanais (which divides Asia from Europe) for the space of two months journey, and it was all inhabited by the Comanians, called Copthai, and beyond Tanais as far as the river of Edil or Volga, the space between which two rivers is a long journey to be travelled in ten days. To the north of the same province lieth Russia, which is full of wood in all places, and stretches from Poland and Hungary to the river of Tanais, and it likewise hath been wasted by the Tartars, and is still wasted by them.

20. The Tartars have more esteem for the Saracens than the Russians, because the latter are Christians, and when they are able to give them no more, they drive them and their children, like flocks of sheep, into the wilderness, constraining them to keep their cattle there. Beyond Russia lieth the country of Prussia, which the Teutonic knights of the order of St. Mary's hospital of Jerusaleme have of late wholly subdued, and indeed they might easily win Russia if they would attempt it vigorously; for if the Tartars should once know that the great priest, for that is the name they give to the Pope, had caused the ensign of the cross to be displayed against them, they would fly into the deserts. But to proceed:

We went towards the eastward, seeing nothing but the sky and the earth, and sometimes the sea on our right hand, called the sea of Tanais, and the sepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared unto us two leagues off, in which their custom was to bury their dead altogether. While we were travelling through the desert it went reasonably well with us, but I cannot sufficiently express the irksomeness of their place of abode, for our guide would have us go to every captain with a present, which was an expence our circumstances would not bear, for we were eight persons spending our own provision, for the Tartar servants would all of them eat of our victuals. The flesh which they gave us was not sufficient for us, neither could we find any thing to be bought for our money: and as we sat under our carts in the cool shadow, on account of the extreme heat, they would importunately and shamefully intrude themselves into our company, so that they would even tread upon us to see what we had; such slovens they were, that they would lay their tails in our presence while they were yet talking with us: many other things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome unto us.

But above all, it grieved me to the very heart, that when I would have spoken what might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say, you should not make me become a preacher now; I tell you I cannot, I will not rehearse any such words: and true it was which he said, for I perceived afterwards, when I began to have a little knowledge in the language, that when I spoke one thing he would say quite another; that is, whatsoever came next to his witless tongue's end. Then seeing the danger I might incur in speaking by such an interpreter, I resolved rather to hold my peace; and thus we travelled with great fatigue from place to place, till a few days before the feast

of St. Mary Magdalen, we arrived at the banks of the mighty river Tanais, which divides Asia from Europe, even as the river Nile of Egypt separates Asia from Africa. At the place where we arrived, Baatu and Sartach had caused cottages to be built upon the eastern bank of the river, for a company of Russians to dwell in, that they might transport ambassadors and merchants in ferry-boats over that part of the river; where first they ferried us over, and then our carts, putting one wheel into one, and the other into the other lighter, first binding both the lighters together, and so they rowed them over.

In this place our guide played the fool strangely; for he imagining that the Russians dwelling in the cottage should have provided us horses, sent home the beasts we brought with us, in another cart, that they might return to their own masters. But when we demanded some beasts of them, they answered, that they had a privilege from Baatu, whereby they were bound to no other service but to ferry goers and comers; and that they received great sums from merchants even for that. We stayed there by the river side three days. The first day they gave us a great fresh turbot: the second day they bestowed rye-bread and a little flesh upon us, which the purveyor of the village had taken up at every house for us: and the third day dried fish, which they have there in abundance. The river was as broad in that place as the river Seine is at Paris; and before we came there, we passed over many fine waters all full of fish, and yet the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them; neither do they make any reckoning of any fish, except it be so great that they may eat the flesh of it as they do the flesh of a ram.

This river is the limit of the east part of Russia; it riseth out of the fens of Mazotis, which fens extend quite to the Northern ocean. It runs southward and forms a sea of seven hundred miles in extent before it falls into the Pontus Euxinus, or the Black sea; and all the rivers we passed over ran into the same. This river has also great store of wood growing on the west side thereof. The Tartars remove no farther towards the north: for about the first of August they begin to return back to the south; and therefore there is another cottage somewhat lower, where passengers are ferried over in winter time. And in this place we were driven to great extremity, because we could get neither horses nor oxen for money; at length, after I had declared unto them, that my coming was for the common good of all Christians, they sent us oxen and men, but we ourselves were forced to travel on foot. At this time they were reaping their rye; as for wheat, it grows not well in that soil: they have millet in great abundance.

The Russian women dress their heads like our women; they embroider their gowns on the outside, from their feet unto the knees, with party-coloured or grey stuff. The Russian men wear caps like the Dutchmen; also they wear upon their heads certain sharp and high-crowned hats made of felt, much like a sugar-loaf. We travelled thence three days together without finding any people; and when ourselves and our oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far it would be to any Tartars, on a sudden there came two horses running towards us, which we caught with great joy: our guide and our interpreter mounted upon their backs, to see how far off they could descry any people; and upon the fourth day of our journey, having found some inhabitants, we rejoiced like seamen who had escaped out of a dangerous tempest, and had newly recovered the haven. Then having taken fresh horses and oxen, we passed on from stage to stage, till at last, the second of August, we arrived at the Habitation of Sartach, the Tartar prince.

21. All the country lying beyond Tanais is a very beautiful and pleasant region, abounding with rivers and woods. Towards the north part thereof there are large forests, inhabited

inhabited by two sorts of people, one of them is called Moxel, being mere Pagans, and without law; they have neither towns nor cities, but only cottages in the woods. Their Lord, and a great part of themselves, were put to the sword in Germany; whereupon they highly commend the brave courage of the Alanians, hoping as yet to be delivered out of the bondage of the Tartars by their means. If any merchant come among them, he must provide things necessary for him with whom he is first entertained all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another man's wife, her husband, unless he be an eye witness thereof, doth not regard it, for they are not jealous of their wives. They have abundance of hogs, and great store of honey and wax, and various sorts of rich and costly skins, and plenty of falcons.

The other people are called Merclas, which the Latins call Mardui, and they are Mohammedans. Beyond them is the river of Etilia, or Volga, which is the greatest river that ever I saw, and it issues from the north part of Bulgaria the Greater; and so trending along southward, discharges itself into a certain lake, containing in circuit the space of four months travel, of which I shall speak hereafter. The two rivers aforementioned, Tanais and Etilia, otherwise called Volga, in the northern regions, through which we travelled, are not distant above ten days journey; but southward they are divided a great space one from another, for Tanais descendeth into the sea of Pontus. Etilia maketh the foresaid sea or lake, with the help of many other rivers which fall into it out of Persia, and we had to the south of us very high mountains; upon the side thereof towards the said defart, the people called Carges, and the Alani or Arcas inhabit, who are as yet Christians, and make war against the Tartars. Beyond them, next unto the sea or lake of Etilia, there are certain Mohammedans called Lesgi, who are in subjection to the Tartars. Beyond this is Porta-Ferrea, or the Iron Gate, concerning the situation of which Your Majesty shall be further informed towards the end of this treatise, for I travelled in my return by the very place between these two rivers; in the regions through which we passed the Comanians formerly inhabited before they were over-run by the Tartars.

22. We found Sartach lying within three days journey of the river Etilia, whose court seemed to us to be very great, for he himself had six wives, and his eldest son also had three wives, every one of which women hath a great house, and each of them above two hundred carts. Our guide went unto a certain Nestorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authority in Sartach's court; he made us go a long way to one Janna, for so they call him who has the office of entertaining ambassadors. In the evening Coiat commanded us to come unto him. Then our guide began to inquire what we would present him with, and was exceedingly offended when he saw we had nothing ready to present. We stood before him, and he sat majestically, having music and dancing in his presence. Then I spake unto him in the words before recited, telling him for what purpose I was come unto his Lord, and requesting so much favour at his hands as to bring our letters unto the sight of his Lord. I excused myself also, that I was a monk, not having, nor receiving, nor using any gold or silver or other precious thing, save our books, and the garments in which, as priests, we served God; and this was the cause why I brought no present to him, or to his Lord; for having abandoned my own goods, it could not be expected I should become a carrier for other men. To all which he answered very courteously, that being a monk, in so doing I did well, for so I should observe my vow; neither stood he in need of aught we had, but rather was ready to bestow on us such things as we stood in need of; and having so said, he caused us to sit down, and to drink of his milk, and presently after he requested us to say our devotions for him, and we did so.

He enquired also who was the greatest prince among the Franks, i. e. the western Christians? and I said the Emperor, if he could enjoy his own dominions in quiet. No, replied he, but the King of France, for he had heard of Your Highness by Lord Baldwin of Henalt. I found there also one of the Knights Templars, who had been in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he saw there. Then we returned to our lodging, and the next morning we sent him a flaggon of Muscadel wine (which had kept very well in so long a journey) and a box full of biscuit, which was most acceptable unto him, and he detained our servants for that evening, and they were well entertained at his tents. The next morning he commanded me to come to court, and to bring the King's letters, and my vestments and books with me, because his lord was desirous to see them, which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our books and vestments, and another with biscuit, wine, and fruits: then he caused all our books and vestments to be spread abroad, and there stood round about us many Tartars, Christians, and Saracens, on horseback; at the sight of which he demanded, whether I would bestow all those things upon his lord or no? which saying made me tremble, and threw me into an excessive fright. Dissembling our grief as well as we could, we gave him the following answer: Sir, our humble request is, that our lord, your master, would vouchsafe to accept our bread, wine, and fruits, not as a present, because it is too mean, but as a benediction, lest we should come with an empty hand before him, and he shall see the letters of my Sovereign Lord the King, and by them he shall understand for what cause we are come unto him, and then both ourselves and all that we have are at his pleasure, but for our vestments they are holy, and it is unlawful for any but priests to touch them.

Then he commanded us to dress ourselves in the garments, that we might go before his lord, and we did so. Then putting on our most precious ornaments, I took in my arms a very fair cushion, and the bible which Your Majesty gave me, and a most beautiful psalter, which the Queen was pleased to bestow upon me, wherein there were very fine pictures. My associate took a missal and a cross, and the clerk having put on his surplice, took a censor in his hand, and so we came to the presence of his lord, and they lifted up the felt hanging before his door, that he might behold us.

Then they caused the clerk and the interpreter thrice to bow the knee, but of us they required no such submission; and they diligently admonished to take care that in going in, and in coming out, we touched not the threshold of the house, and requested us to sing a benediction for him. At length we entered singing *Salve Regina*; and in the entrance of the door stood a bench with cosmos, and drinking-cups, thereon, and all his wives were there assembled; also the Moguls, or, as they pronounce, Moals, or rich Tartars, thrust in, and pressed hard upon us. Then Coiat carried to his lord the censor, with incense, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand; afterwards he carried the psalter unto him, which he looked earnestly upon, and his wife also that sat by him; after that he carried the bible; then Sartach asked if the gospel were contained therein? Yes, said I, and all the Holy Scriptures besides.

He took the cross also in his hand, and asked, as to the image, whether it were the image of Christ or no? I said it was. The Nestorians and the Armenians never make the figure of Christ upon their crosses. Wherefore, either they seem not to think well of this passion, or else are ashamed of it. Then he caused them that stood about us to stand aside, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterwards I delivered unto him Your Majesty's letters, with the translation thereof in the Arabic and Syriac languages, for I caused them to be translated at Acon into the character and

dialect of both the said tongues. There were certain Armenian priests who were versed in the Turkish and Arabian languages, and the Knight before mentioned also of the order of the Temple, had knowledge in the Syriac, Turkish, and Arabian tongues. Then we departed, and put off our vestments, and there came unto us some secretaries of the court, together with the Coiat, and caused our letters to be interpreted, which letters being heard, he caused our bread, wine, and fruits, to be received; and he permitted us also to carry our vestments and books unto our own lodging.

23. We had the next morning betimes a visit from a certain priest, who was brother to Croiat, requesting to have our box of chrism, because Sartach, as he said, was desirous to see it, and so we gave it him. In the evening Coiat sent for us, saying, my lord your King wrote kind words unto my lord and master Sartach. There are, however, certain matters of difficulty in them, concerning which he dare not determine without the advice of his father, and therefore you must depart unto him, leaving behind you the two carts which you brought hither yesterday with vestments and books in my custody, because my lord is desirous to take a more diligent view of them. I, presently suspecting what mischief might ensue from his covetousness, made him answer, Sir, we will not only leave those with you, but the two other carts also which we have, in your possession. You shall not, said he, leave those behind you; but for the two carts first named, we will satisfy your request: I said that this could not conveniently be done, but we must leave all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to remain in the land? I answered, if you have read, and understand the Letters of my lord the King, you know that we are so determined; then he replied, that he ought to be patient, and so we departed from him that evening.

The next morning he sent a Nestorian priest for the carts, and we caused all the four carts to be delivered; then came the before mentioned brother of Coiat to meet us; and separated those things, which we had brought the day before to the court from the rest, viz. the books and vestments, and took them away with him. Coiat had, however, commanded, that we should carry these vestments with us, which we wore in the presence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if he should require it; but the priest took them from us by violence, using these words: you brought them to Sartach, and would you carry them to Baatu? and when I would have shewn him the reason, he answered, come, don't be too talkative, but go your way. Then I saw there was no remedy but patience, for we could have no access unto Sartach himself, neither was there any that would do us justice. I was afraid also of the interpreter, that he had spoken other things than I directed him, for his will was good, that we should have given away all that we had. There was yet one comfort left to me, for when I once perceived their covetous intent, I conveyed from among our books the bible, and the sentences, and other books, which I valued most. I durst not, however take away the psalter of my sovereign lady the Queen, because it was too well known, on account of the golden pictures therein: so we returned with the two other carts to our lodging; then came he that was appointed to be our guide to the court of Baatu, bidding us provide for our journey in all haste; to whom I said, that I would in no case have the carts go with me, which he declared unto Coiat.

The Coiat commanded that we should leave them and our servant with him, and we did as he directed, and so travelled directly eastwards towards Baatu; the third day we came to Etilia, or Volga, the stream of which when I beheld I wondered from what region of the north such huge and mighty waters should descend. Before we were departed from Sartach, Coiat, with many other scribes of the court, said unto us,

do not make report that our lord is a Christian, but a Moal, because the name of a Christian seemeth to them to be the name of some nation; and so great is their pride, that though they believe, perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet they will not be called Christians, being desirous that their own name, that is to say, Mogul Moal, should be exalted above all other names: neither will they be called by the name of Tartars, for the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

24. At the time that the Franks made themselves masters of the city of Antioch, which was about the year 1097, there reigned in these northern parts a Prince whose name was Kon-Khan, or Ken-Khan. Kon or Ken was his proper name, and Khan his style of power or dignity; for it is to be understood that the word khan, strictly taken, signifies a diviner, a man skilled in sublime sciences, or one who can foretel future events; and from thence it is transferred to their princes, as if they held them to be endowed with all these great qualities. The Turks, at the time of that siege, demanded succours of Kon-Khan against the Christians, as coming themselves originally out of these countries. This Kon-Khan was styled likewise Khan, or Prince of Cara-Cathay, which is as much as to say, the Black Cathay; for Cara in their language signifies black, and Cathay is the name of a certain country, which, however, is to be distinguished from that Cathay which lies farther towards the east, and is a maritime country, of which I shall speak hereafter.

As for this Cara-Cathay, it lies behind certain mountains, over which I passed, as also through a plain country, in which dwelt formerly a certain great Nestorian priest, who was the sovereign of a nation called Naymans, and who were all Christians of the Nestorian sect. This Kon-Khan being dead, the Nestorian priest before-mentioned took upon him the style and office of a king, and thence the Nestorians called him the King Prestre John, i. e. John the Priest, and published mighty things concerning him, and much beyond the truth; for it is the custom of the Nestorians coming from this country to magnify every little thing into a great matter, just as they spread a report that Sartach was become a Christian, and that Mangu-Khan and Ken-Khan, had also embraced our religion, only because they were indulgent to those of our profession, though nothing is more certain than that none of them are Christians. So likewise there went abroad a great report concerning this King and Priest John; notwithstanding which, when I travelled through his territories, there was no body that knew any thing of him, but a few Nestorians. In his pastures or territories dwelt Ken-Khan, at whose court Friar Andrew was, and I myself passed by at my return. This John had a brother who was powerful also, and a shepherd like himself called Unc, and he inhabited beyond the mountains of Cara-Cathay, distant from his brother John the space of three weeks journey. He was lord of a certain village called Cara-Carum, having people also for his subjects named Prit, or Merkit, who were Christians of the sect of Nestorius; but their lord abandoning the worship of Christ, embraced idolatry, retaining with him priests of the said idols, who all of them are worshippers of devils, and are forcerers themselves.

Beyond his pastures, about ten or fifteen days journey, are the pastures of Moal, who were a poor and beggarly nation, without governor and without law, except their foothsayings and their divinations, unto which detestable studies all in those parts apply their minds. Near unto Moal were other poor people called Tartars. The aforesaid King John died without issue male, his brother Unc thereby was greatly enriched, and took himself the style of Khan, and his cattle and herds ranged to the borders of Moal. About the same time there was one Zingis a farrier among the people of Moal; this Zingis stole as many cattle from the Khan as he could possibly, so that the shepherds of

Unc complained unto their lord; upon which he raised an army, and marched up into the country of Moal to seek for Zingis: but Zingis fled amongst the Tartars, and hid himself among them; and Unc having taken some spoils both from Moal and also from the Tartars, returned home; then Zingis addressed himself to the Tartars, and to the people of Moal, "Behold brethren," said he, "because we are destitute of a governor and a captain, you see how our neighbour oppresses us;" on which the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their captain.

Then having secretly gathered together an army, he broke in suddenly upon Unc, and overcame him, and Unc fled into Cathaya. At the same time his daughter was taken, which Zingis married unto one of his sons, by whom she conceived and brought forth the Great Khan, which now reigneth, called Mangu-Khan. Then Zingis lent the Tartars before him in all place where he came; and thereupon was their name published and spread abroad; for in all places the people call out, "The Tartars come, the Tartars come. Yet through continual wars, they are now all of them in a manner consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals endeavour what they can to extinguish the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their own. The country wherein they first inhabited, and where the court of Zingis-Khan yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But because Tartaria is the region out of which they have obtained their conquests, they esteem that the seat of their kingdom; and there also, for the most part, do they elect their Great Khan.

35. In respect to this Sartach, whether he believes in Christ or no, I know not; this I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian: on the contrary, he seems to me to deride and scoff at Christians. His country is in the way of the Christians, viz. of the Russians, the Walachians, the Bulgarians, the Soldaians, the Kerchis, and the Alans, who all of them pass by him as they are going to the court of his father Baatu to carry gifts; and therefore he is more in friendship with them. If the Saracens however come and bring greater gifts than they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certain Nestorian priests, who tell their beads and sing their devotions. There is also another under Baatu, called Berta, who feeds his cattle towards the iron gate or Derbent, where lieth the passage of all the Saracens which come out of Persia and out of Turkey, to go unto Baatu, and passing by they make him presents, and he professeth himself to be a Saracen, and will not permit swine's flesh to be eaten in his dominions. At the time of our return, Baatu commanded him to remove himself from that place, and to inhabit upon the east side of Volga, for he was not willing that the Saracen's Ambassadors should pass by the said Berta, because he saw it was not for his profit.

For the space of four days while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals allowed us, except once a little cosinos; and in our journey between him and his father, we travelled in great fear; for certain Russians, Hungarians, and Alans, being servants to the Tartars (of whom they have great multitudes among them), assembled themselves twenty or thirty in a company; and secretly in the night conveying themselves from home, they take bows and arrows with them, and whosoever they find in the night season they put him to death, hiding themselves in the day time; and having tired their horses, they go in the night to a company of other horses feeding in some pasture, and change them for new, taking with them also one or two horses besides to eat them when they stand in need. Our guide therefore was much afraid, lest we should have met with such companions.

In this journey we had perished through famine, had we not carried some of our biscuit with us; at length we came to the vast river Etilia, or the Volga, which is

four times greater than the river of Seine, and of a wonderful depth, falling into that which of late they call the Hircanian Sea, according to the name of a certain country in Persia, lying on the shore thereof. Isidore calleth it however the Caspian Sea, for it hath the Caspian mountains and the land of Persia situate on the south side thereof, and the mountains of Mafihet, that is to say, of the people called Affassini, towards the north, which mountains are joined unto the Caspian mountains; but on the north side thereof lieth the same desert, wherein the Tartars now inhabit; in which heretofore there dwelt a nation called Changle; and on that side it receives the Etilia, which river rises in summer-time like the river Nile in Egypt. On the west part thereof it hath the mountains of Alan, and Lesgi, and Derbent or the iron gate, and the mountains of Georgia. This sea therefore is encompassed on three sides, with mountains; but on the north side hath a fine flat country. Friar Andrew, in his journey, travelled round about two sides thereof, namely the south and east sides, and I myself about the other two; that is to say, the north side, in going from Baatu to Magu-Khan, and in returning likewise; on the west side, in coming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may travel round about it in four months; and it is not true which Isidore reports, that this sea is a bay or gulph coming out of the ocean, for in no part it communicates with the ocean, but is environed on all sides with the land.

26. All the regions extending from the west shore of this sea, where Alexander's iron gate, otherwise called the city of Derbent, is situate, and from the mountains Alan, all along by the fences of Mæotis, into which the river of Tanais falls, and so to the North ocean, was of old called Albania, of which country Isidore reporteth, that there are in it dogs of such huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able, in fight, to match bulls, and to master lions, which is true, as I was assured by several, who told me, that towards the North ocean they make their dogs draw in carts like oxen, on account of their bigness and strength. On that part of Etilia where we arrived, there is a new station built, wherein they have placed Tartars and Russians together to ferry over and transport messengers going and coming to and from the court of Baatu, for Baatu keeps his court upon the farther side towards the east; neither ascendeth he in the summer-time more northward than the place where we arrived, but was even then descending to the south. From January to August, he, and all other Tartars ascend by the banks of rivers towards cold and northerly regions, and in August they begin to return back again.

We passed down the stream therefore in a bark from the above mentioned station unto his court, from the same place unto a village of Bulgaria the Greater, standing towards the north; it is five days journey. I wonder how the Devil carried the religion of Mohammed thither; for, from Derbent, which is upon the extreme borders of Persia, it is above thirty days journey to pass over the desert, and so ascend to the bank of Etilia into the country of Bulgaria, in all which way there is no city, only certain cottages near unto that place where Etilia falleth into the sea. These Bulgarians are more wicked Mahomedans than any other nations whatever. When I beheld the court of Baatu, I was astonished at the first sight thereof, for his houses or tents are as though they had been some mighty city stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging up and down about it for the space of some three or four leagues; and even as the people of Israel knew every man on one side the tabernacle to pitch his tent, so every one of them knoweth very well toward which side of the court he ought to place his house when he takes it from off the cart. The court is called therefore in their language Horda, which signifies the midst, because the governor, or chief captain among them, dwells always in the midst of his people, except only that directly to-wards

wards the south no inferior person places himself, because, towards that region the court gates are set open; but to the right hand and the left hand they place themselves as far as they will, according to the convenience of places, so that they erect not their houses directly opposite against the court. At our arrival we were conducted to a Mohammedan, who provided no victuals for us at all. The day following, we were brought to the court, and Baatu caused a large tent to be erected, because his house or tent could not contain so many men and women as were assembled. Our guide admonished us not to speak till Baatu had given us commandment so to do, and that then we should speak our minds briefly.

Then Baatu demanded whether Your Majesty had sent ambassadors unto him or no? I answered, that Your Majesty had sent messengers to Ken-Khan, and that you would not have sent messengers or letters to Sartach, had not Your Highness been persuaded that they were become Christians, because you sent not unto them out of any fear, but only for congratulation and courtesy sake, in regard that you heard they were converted to Christianity. Then led he us unto his pavilion, and we were charged not to touch the cords of the tent, about which they are as suspicious as about the threshold of the house. There we stood in our habits bare-footed and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes. Indeed Friar John Du Plano Carpini had been there before my coming; but because he was the Pope's ambassador, he changed his habit, that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the midst of the tent, neither required they of us to do any reverence, by bowing our knees as they used to do of other messengers; we stood therefore before him for the space wherein a man might have rehearsed the psalm *Miserere mei Deus*, and there was a great silence kept by all.

Baatu himself sat upon a seat long and broad, like a bed gilt all over, with three stairs to ascend, and one of his ladies sat beside him. The men there assembled sat down scattering, some on the right hand of the said lady, and some on the left. These places on the one side, which the women filled not up (for there were only the wives of Baatu) were supplied by the men. Also at the very entrance of the tent stood a bench furnished with cosmos, and with stately cups of silver and gold, richly set with precious stones. Baatu beheld us earnestly, and we him, and he seemed to resemble in personage Monsieur John de Beaumont, whose soul resteth in peace; for, like him, he had a fresh ruddy countenance.

At length he commanded us to speak. Then our guide gave us direction that we should bow our knees and speak; on which I bowed one knee, then he signified that I should kneel on both my knees; I did so, being loth to contend about such circumstances; and again he commanded me to speak. Then I thinking of a prayer unto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray in these words: "Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things do proceed, and who hath given you these earthly benefits, that it would please him hereafter to make you partaker of his heavenly blessings, because the former, without these, are but vain and unprofitable: and, indeed; further be it known unto you of a certain, that you shall not obtain the joys of heaven, unless you become a Christian; for God saith, Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned."

At this he modestly smiled, but the other Moals began to clap their hands and to deride us, and my silly interpreter, of whom especially I should have received comfort in time of need, was himself abashed, and utterly out of countenance. Then after silence made, I said to him, "I came to your son, because we heard that he was become a Christian, and I brought to him letters on the behalf of my Sovereign Lord the

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King of France, and your son sent me hither unto you; the cause of my coming therefore is best known unto yourself." Then he caused me to rise up, and he enquired Your Majesty's name, my name, and the name of my associate and interpreter, and caused them all to be put down in writing. He demanded also (because he had been informed that you was departed out of your own countries with an army) against whom you waged war? I answered against the Saracens, who had defiled the House of God at Jerusalem. He asked also whether Your Highness had ever before that time sent any ambassador unto him or no? To you, Sir, said I, never.

Then he caused us to sit down, and gave us of his milk to drink, which they account to be a great favour, especially when any man is permitted to drink cosinos with him in his own house: and as I sat looking down on the ground, he commanded me to lift up my countenance, being desirous yet to take a more diligent view of us, or else perhaps for a kind of superstitious observation; for they esteem it a sign of ill luck, or a prognostication of evil unto them, when any sits in their presence holding down his head as if he were sad, especially when he leans his cheek or chin upon his hand. Then we departed, and immediately after came our guide to us, and conducting us to our lodging, said unto me; Your master the King, requesteth that you may remain in this kingdom which request Baatu cannot grant, without the knowledge and consent of Mangu-Khan; wherefore you and your interpreter must, of necessity, go to Mangu-Khan; but, nevertheless, your associate and the other man, shall return unto the court of Sartach, and stay there for you till you come back." Then began my interpreter to lament, esteeming himself but a dead man; my associate also protested he would sooner lose his head than withdraw out of my company: I myself said, that without my associate I could not go, and that we stood in need of two servants at least, because if one should chance to fall sick we would not be without another.

Upon this, returning unto the court, he told this to Baatu, and Baatu answered, let the two priests and the interpreter go together, but let the clerk return to Sartach; and coming again unto us, he told us so; and when I would have spoken for the clerk to have had him with us, he said, no more words, for Baatu is resolved that so it shall be and therefore I dare not go to the court any more. Goset, the clerk, had the remainder of the alms-money bestowed upon him, twenty-six Yperperas, and no more, ten whereof he kept for himself and the lad, and sixteen he gave unto the interpreter for us; and thus were we parted with tears, he returning unto the court of Sartach, and ourselves remaining still in the same place.

27. On the eve of the feast of Assumption our clerk arrived at the court of Sartach, and the next day after, the Nestorian priests were adorned with our vestments, in the presence of the said Sartach. Then we ourselves were conducted unto another host, who was appointed to provide us house-room, victuals, and horses; but because we had not any thing to bestow upon him, he did all things untowardly for us: then we rode on forward with Baatu, descending along by the bank of Etulia, or Volga, for the space of five weeks together. Sometimes my associate was so extremely hungry, that he would tell me in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though he had never eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a fair or market following the court of Baatu at all times; but it was so far distant from us, that we could not have recourse thereto, for we were constrained to walking on foot for want of horses. At length certain Hungarians, a sort of clergymen, found us out, and one of them could as yet sing many songs without book, and was accounted of other Hungarians as priest and was sent for unto the funerals of his deceased countrymen.

There

King

There was another of them also pretty well instructed in his grammar, for he could understand the meaning of any thing that we spoke, but could not answer us. These Hungarians were a great help to us, giving us cosmos to drink and sometimes flesh to eat also, who when they requested to have some books of us, and I had not any to give them (for indeed we had none except a Bible and a breviary) it grieved me exceedingly; and I said to them bring me some ink and paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remain here; and they did so, and I copied out for them the hours of the blessed Virgin, and the office of the dead. One day there was a Comanian that accompanied us, that saluted us, saying *Salve Domine*; wondering thereat, and saluting him again, I demanded of him who had taught him that kind of salutation? He said, that he was baptized in Hungary by our friars, and that of them he learned it: he said moreover, that Baatu had inquired many things of him concerning us, and that he told him the state of our order. Afterwards I saw Baatu riding with his company, and all his subjects that were masters of families riding with him, and in my estimation there were more than five hundred persons in all.

At length about the end of Holy-rood, there came a certain rich Moal unto us, whose father was a millanary, which is a great office among them, and told us, I am the man that must conduct you to Mangu-Khan, and we have thither a journey of four months to travel, and there is such extreme cold in those parts, that stones and trees burst asunder: therefore I wish you would advise with yourselves whether you be able to endure it or no; I answered by God's help I hope we shall be able to go through that which other men can endure. Then he said, if you cannot endure it, I will forsake you by the way, and I answered it were not just dealings for you so to do, for we go not thither upon any business of our own, but by reason that we are sent thither by our lord; wherefore since we are committed to your charge, you ought in no wise to forsake us. Then he said, all shall be well. He caused us to shew him our garments, and whatsoever he deemed to be less needful for us, he bid us leave behind in the custody of our host. On the morrow they brought unto each of us a furred gown made all of ram's skins with the wool still upon them, and breeches of the same, boots according to their fashion, shoes made of felt, and hoods also made of skins and after their manner. The second day after Holy-rood we began to set forward on our journey having three guides to direct us, and we rode continually eastward till the feast of All-Saints throughout all that region, and beyond also, were the people Changles inhabitants, who were descended from the Romans. On the north side of us we had Bulgaria the Greater, and on the south the Caspian sea.

When we had travelled twelve days journey from Etilia we found a mighty river called Jagac, which river issuing out of the north from the land of Pascatar, or of the Hungarians, which all is one, and they are all of them shepherds, not having any cities; and their country bordereth upon Bulgaria the Greater on the west frontier; from the north-east part of the country there is no city at all. Out of the said region of Pascatar proceeded the Hunnes of old, who afterwards were called Hungarians. Next unto it is Bulgaria the Greater. Isidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with swift horses they traversed the impregnable walls and bounds of Alexander, which with the rocks of Caucasus, serve to restrain those barbarous and blood-thirsty people from invading the regions of the south, insomuch as they had tribute paid unto them as far as Egypt, and they wasted all countries even unto France. If so they were more mighty than the Tartars as yet are, and unto them the Blacians and the Bulgarians and the Vandals joined themselves: for out of Bulgaria the Greater
came

came those Bulgarians. As for them who inhabited beyond Danubius, near unto Constantinople, and not far from Pascatir, are called Ilac, which (saving the pronunciation) is all one with black, for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B; from whom also descend the people which inhabit the land of Hassan, for they are called Ilac (both these and the other) in the Language of the Russians, and Polonians, and the Bohemians.

The Slavonians spoke one language with the Vandals, all which confederate with the Hunnes, and now, for the most part, they unite themselves to the Tartars, whom God hath raised up from the utmost parts of the earth, according to that which the Lord saith; "I will provoke them to envy by a people which is no people, and by a foolish nation will I anger them." This prophecy is fulfilled, according to the literal sense thereof, upon all nations, which observe not the law of God. All this which I have written concerning the land of Pascatir, was told me by certain friars, who travelled thither before ever the Tartars came; and, from that time, they were subdued unto their neighbours the Bulgarians, being Saracens; for which reason many of them proved Saracens also.

Other matters concerning these people may be known out of history; for it is manifest, that those provinces beyond Constantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachi, and Slavonia, were of old provinces belonging to the Greeks; also Hungary was heretofore called Pannonia, and we were riding over the land of Changle from the feast of Holy-wood, until the feast of All-saints, travelling almost every day, according to my account, as far as it is from Paris to Orleans, and sometimes farther, according as we were provided with post-horses; for some days we had change of horses twice or thrice in a day, sometimes we were two or three days together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of twenty or thirty horses we had always the worst, because we were strangers, for every one took their choice of the best horses before us. They provided me always a strong horse, because I was corpulent and heavy; but whether he went a gentle pace or no, I durst not make any question, neither durst I complain, although he trotted very hard; for every man must here be contented with his lot as it falls. We were often exceedingly troubled, because our horses tired before we could come at any people, and then we were constrained to whip our horses, and to lay our garments on other horses, and sometimes two of us to ride upon one horse.

29. Of hunger and thirst, cold and weariness, there was no end, for they gave us no flesh-meat, but in the evening. In the morning they used to give us a little drink or some boiled millet; in the evening they bestowed flesh upon us, as a shoulder and breast of ram's mutton, and every man a quantity of broth to drink. When we had sufficient of the flesh broth we were well refreshed, and it seemed to me most pleasant, and most nourishing drink. Every Saturday I remained fasting until night, without eating or drinking; and when night came I was constrained, to my great grief and sorrow, to eat flesh: sometimes we were compelled to eat flesh half sodden, or almost raw, for want of fuel to boil it, especially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came to our journey's end, because we then could not conveniently gather together the dung of horses and oxen, for other fuel we found but seldom, except, perhaps, a few thorns in some places. Upon the banks of some rivers there are woods growing here and there, but they are very rare: in the beginning our guide highly disdained us, and it was tedious unto him to conduct such base fellows. Afterwards, when he began to know us somewhat better, he directed us on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requested to pray for them: wherefore had I

carried a good interpreter with me I should have had opportunities to have done much good.

The before-mentioned Zingis, who was the first great Khan or Emperor of the Tartars, had four sons, of whom proceeded by natural descent many children, every one of which doth at this day enjoy great possessions, and they are daily multiplied and dispersed over that huge and vast desert, which is in dimensions like the ocean. Our guide therefore directed us, as we were going on our journey, to many of their habitations; and they marvelled exceedingly, that we would not receive either gold or silver, or precious and costly garments at their hands. They enquired also concerning the great pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard; for there had gone a report among them, that he was five hundred years old. They enquired also after our countries, whether there was abundance of sheep, oxen, and horses or no? Concerning the ocean, they could not conceive of it, because it was without limits or banks. Upon the eve of the feast of All-Saints we altered our course, which hitherto pointed east, because the people were now descended very much south, and we went on our journey by certain mountains directly southward for the space of eight days together. In the desert I saw many asses, which they call Colan, being rather mules; these did our guide and his companions chase very eagerly, though they did but lose their labour, for the beasts were too swift for them.

Upon the seventh day there appeared to the south of us very high mountains; and we entered into a place which was well watered, and fresh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eighth day after the feast of All Saints we arrived at a town of the Saracens named Kenchat, the governor whereof met our guide at the towns end, with ale and cups; for it is their custom, at all towns and villages subject to them, to meet the messengers of Baatu and Mangu-Khan, with meat and drink; at this time of the year they went upon the ice in that country, and before the feast of Saint Michael they had frost in the desert. I enquired the name of this province, but being now in a strange territory, they could not tell me the name thereof, but only the name of a small city in the same province; and that there descended a great river down from the mountains, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would give it passage, by making divers channels and sluices; neither did the river discharge itself into any sea, but was swallowed up by a gulph into the bowels of the earth, and it caused many fens or lakes; also I saw many vines, and drank of the wine made from them.

30. The day following we came unto another cottage near the mountains, and I enquired what mountains they were, which I understood to be the mountains of Caucasus, which are stretched forth and continued on both sides to the sea from the west unto the east; and on the west they are bordering to the Caspian sea, into which the river Volga discharges its streams. I enquired also of the city of Talas, wherein were certain Germans, servants unto one Bur., of whom Friar Andrew makes mention, concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sartach and Baatu. I could get no intelligence of them, but only that their lord and master Ban was put to death upon the occasion following. This Ban was not settled in good and fertile pastures; and upon a certain day being drunk, he spoke thus to his men: "Am not I of the stock and kindred of Zingis-Khan as well as Baatu? (for indeed he was very nearly related to Baatu,) why then do I not pass and repass upon the bank of Etilia, to feed my cattle there as freely as Baatu himself doth?" Which speech of his was reported unto Baatu; whereupon Baatu wrote to his servants to bring their lord bound unto him, and they did so.

Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words; and he confessed that he had. But because it is the manner of the Tartars to pardon drunken men, he

excused himself by saying that he was drunk at the time. How durst you, said Baatu, once name me in thy drunkenness? and having said this, he caused his head to be chopped off.

Concerning the aforesaid Germans, I could not learn any thing till I came to the court of Mangu-Khan, and there I was informed that Mangu-Khan had removed them out of the jurisdiction of Baatu for the space of a month's journey from Talas eastward to a certain village called Bolac, where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour, so that I could neither go nor come by them. I passed very near the said city in going, that is, within three days journey, but I was ignorant that I did so, neither could I have turned out of the way, if I had known so much. From the aforesaid cottage, we went directly eastward by the mountains, and from that time we travelled among the people of Mangu-Khan, who in all places sang and danced before our guide, because he was the messenger of Baatu; for this courtesy they do to each other, namely, the people of Mangu-Khan receiving the messengers of Baatu, and so likewise the people of Baatu entertaining the people of Mangu-Khan, notwithstanding the people of Baatu are more surly, and shew not so much courtesy to the subjects of Mangu-Khan as in their turn they do to them.

A few days after we entered upon those mountains where the Cara-Cathayans were wont to inhabit, and there we found a mighty river, insomuch that we were constrained to embark ourselves, and to sail over it. Afterwards we came into a valley, where I saw a castle destroyed, the walls whereof were only of mud, and in that place the ground was tilled also; and there we found a certain village named Equius, wherein were Mohammédans speaking the Persian language, but they dwelt a great way off Persia. The day following, having passed over the great mountains southward, we entered into a most beautiful plain, having high mountains on our right hand, and on the left hand of us a certain sea or lake, fifteen days journey in circuit. All the plain is most commodiously watered by trenches distilling from the said mountains; all which fall into the lake in summer time. We returned by the north side of the lake, and there were great mountains on that side also. Upon this plain there used to be formerly many villages; but for the most part they were all wasted in regard of fertile pastures, that the Tartars might feed their cattle there.

We found one great city there named Cailac, which was a market, and great numbers of merchants frequented it. In this city we remained fifteen days, staying for a certain scribe or secretary of Baatu, who ought to have accompanied our guide for the dispatching of certain affairs in the court of Mangu. All this country was wont to be called Organum, and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kind of writing; but it was now inhabited by the people called Contomans. The Nestorians likewise in those parts use the very same kind of language and writing; they are called Organa, because they were wont to be most skilful in playing upon organs, as was reported unto me. Here did I first see worshippers of idols; concerning whom, let me observe to Your Majesty, that there be many sects of them in these eastern countries.

31. The first sort of these idolaters are called Jugures, whose country borders upon the land of Organum, within the said mountains eastward; and in all their cities Nestorians inhabit, and they are dispersed likewise towards Persia in the cities of the Saracens. The citizens of the aforesaid city of Cailac had three idol temples, and I entered into two of them, and beheld their foolish superstitions. In the first I found a man, having a cross painted with ink upon his hand; whereupon I supposed him to be a Christian, for he answered like a Christian unto all questions which I demanded of him; and I asked him, "Why therefore have you not the cross with the image of Jesus Christ thereupon?" and he answered, "We have no such custom,"

I thereupon conjectured, that they were indeed Christians, but that for lack of instruction they omitted the aforesaid ceremony; for I saw there behind a certain chest, which was unto them instead of an altar, whereon they set candles and oblations, an image having wings like unto the image of St. Michael, and other images also, holding their fingers as if they would bless somebody. That evening I could not find any thing else, for the Saracens only invite men thither, but will not have them speak of their religion, and therefore when I required of the Saracens concerning such ceremonies, they were offended thereat.

On the next day after was the new moon, and the Saracens feast of Passover, and, changing my inn or lodging the same day, I took my abode near another idol temple; for the citizens of the said city of Cailac courteously invite, and lovingly entertain all messengers, every man of them according to his ability and station; and entering into the temple, I found the priests of the said idols there; for always at the new moons they set open their temples, and the priests adorn themselves, and offer up the people's oblations of bread and fruits. First, therefore, I will describe to you those rites and ceremonies which are common unto all their idol temples, and then the superstitions of the aforesaid Jugures, which are, as it were, a sect distinguished from the rest. They all of them worship towards the north, clapping their hands together, and prostrating themselves on their knees on the earth, holding also their foreheads in their hands: whereupon the Nestorians in those parts will in no case join their hands together in the time of prayer, but they pray, displaying their hands before their breasts.

They extend their temples in length east and west, and on the north side they build a chamber in the manner of a vestry, for themselves to go into, or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a four-square temple, in the midst of the temple towards the north side thereof, they take in one chamber in that place where the choir should stand, and in the said chamber they place a chest long and broad like a table, and behind the said chest towards the south stands their principal idol, which I saw at Caracurum, and it was as big as the idol of St. Christopher; also a certain Nestorian priest, who had been in Cathay, said, that in that country there is an idol of such bigness, that it may be seen two days journey before a man came at it; and so they place other idols round about the principal idol, being all of them finely gilt over with pure gold, and upon the chest, which is in a manner a table, they set candles and oblations. The doors of their temple are always open towards the south, contrary to the custom of Saracens: they have also great bells like us, and that is the cause, as I think, why the Christians of the east will in no case use great bells, notwithstanding they are common among the Russians and Grecians of Casaria.

32. All their priests had their heads and beards shaven quite over, and they are clad in saffron-coloured garments; and being once shaven, they lead an unmarried life from that time forward, and they live an hundred or two hundred of them together in one cloister. Upon these days, when they enter into their temples, they place two long forms therein, and so sitting upon the said forms like singing-men in a choir, one half of them directly over against the other, they have certain books in their hand, which sometimes they lay down by them upon the forms, and their heads are bare so long as they remain in the temple, and there they read softly to themselves, not uttering any voice at all. On my coming in among them at the time of their superstitious devotions, and finding them all sitting mute in a manner, I attempted several ways to provoke them unto speech, and yet could not by any means possibly. They have with them also, whithersoever they go, a certain string with an hundred or two hundred nut-shells thereupon, much like our beads which we carry about with us; and they do always utter these

these words, *Ou mam bactavi*; "God, thou knowest," as one of them expounded it unto me. And so often do they expect a reward at God's hands as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God.

Round about their temple they always make a fair court like a church-yard, which they environ with a good wall; and upon the south part thereof, they build a great portico, wherein they sit and confer together: and upon the top of the said portico they pitch a long pole upright, exalting it if they can, above all the buildings in the town; and by the view of the same pole, people may know that there stands a temple of the idols. These rites and ceremonies are common to all idolaters in those parts. Once I made a visit to this idol-temple, and found certain priests sitting in the outward portico, and those which I saw seemed, by their shaven beards, as if they had been our countrymen. They wore certain ornaments upon their heads like mitres, made of paper. The priests of the Jugures above mentioned use those ornaments wherever they go. They go always in their saffron-coloured jackets, which are very strait laced or buttoned, from the bosom downwards, after the French fashion: and they have a cloak upon their left shoulder descending under their right arm, like a deacon carrying the collector's box in time of Lent. Their letters or writings, the Tartars use as well as they. They begin to write at the top of their paper, drawing their lines right down, and so they read and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They use certain little papers and uncouth characters in their magical practices, and their temples are full of such short scrolls hanging round about them.

Mangu-Khan hath sent letters unto Your Majesty, written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, but in the characters of these Jugures; they burn the dead, according to the ancient custom, and lay up their ashes on the top of a pyramid. After I had sat a while with these priests, and entered into their temple, and seen many of their images both great and small, I demanded of them, What they believed concerning God? They answered, "We believe that there is only one God."—"Whether do you believe that he is a spirit, or some bodily substance?" They said, "We believe that he is a spirit." "Then," said I, "do you believe that God ever took man's nature upon him?" They answered, "No." Again, I said, "Since you believe that he is a spirit, to what end do you make so many bodily images to represent him? Since also you believe that he was not made man, why do you rather represent him by the image of a man than of any other creature?" Then they answered, "We frame not these images to represent God; but when any rich man amongst us, or his son, or his wife, or any of his friends dieth, he causeth the image of the dead person to be made, and to be placed here, and we, in remembrance of him, do reverence thereunto." I replied then, "Do you these things only for friendship and out of flattery to men?"—"No," said they, "but out of regard to their memories."

Then they demanded of me, in scorn and disdain, "Where is your God?" To whom I answered, "Where is your soul?" They said, "In our bodies."—"Then," said I, "is it not in every part of our body, ruling and guiding the whole body, and yet, notwithstanding, it is not perceived? Even so, God is every where, and rules all things, and yet he is invisible, being understanding and wisdom itself." I was very desirous to have had some farther conference with them, but on account that my interpreter was weary and not able to express my meaning, I was constrained to keep silence. The Moals, or Tartars, are in this regard of their sect, that is to say, they believe there is but one God, yet they make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, covering them with five most rich and costly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare touch; and these are in the custody of their soothsayers,

fayers, who are their priests ; concerning whom I will give Your Highness an account more at large hereafter.

These soothsayers or diviners always attend upon the court of Mangu, and of other great personages ; as for the poorer or meaner sort, they have them not, except such only as are of the kindred of Zingis ; and when they are to remove or take any journey, the said diviners go before them, as the cloudy pillar went before the children of Israel, and they appoint ground where the tents must be pitched ; and, first of all, they take down their own houses, and after them the whole court does the like. Also on their festival days, or new moons, they take out these images, and place them in order circlewise within the house ; then come the Moals or Tartars into the same house, bowing themselves before the images, and worship them. It is not lawful for any stranger to enter the house. And, on a certain time, I myself would have gone in, but was very rudely turned out, and obliged to remove, so that I never after attempted to pry any further into this matter.

32. But it is my opinion, that these Jugures, who live among the Christians and Saracens, by frequent disputes with them, have been brought to believe that there is but one God ; and they dwell in certain cities, which were brought into subjection to Zingis-Khan, and he gave his daughter in marriage unto their King : also the city of Caracarum itself is in a manner within their territories ; and the whole country of King or Presbyter John, and of his brother Unc, lieth near to their dominions, except that they inhabit in certain pastures northward, and the said Jugures between the mountains towards the south.

The Moals received their letters or characters from them ; and they are the Tartars' principal scribes, and all the Nestorians almost can read their letters. Next unto them, between the aforesaid mountains eastward, inhabiteth the nation Tangut, who are most valiant people, and took Zingis in battle ; but after the conclusion of a peace he was set at liberty by them, and afterwards subdued them. These people of Tangut have oxen of great strength, with tails like horses, and with long, sharp hair upon the backs and bellies. Their legs are larger than those of other oxen, and they are exceeding fierce ; these oxen draw the houses of the Moals ; and their horns are slender, long, straight, and very sharp pointed, insomuch that the owners are obliged to cut off the ends of them. A cow will not suffer herself to be coupled to one of them, unless they whistle or sing unto her. They have also the qualities of a buffalo ; for if they see a person clothed in red, they run upon him immediately to kill him.

Next to this nation are the people of Tibet ; men, who had formerly a custom to eat the bodies of their deceased parents, that they might make no other sepulchre for them than their own bowels. But of late they have left off this custom, because thereby they became odious to all other nations ; notwithstanding which, at this day, they make fine cups of the skulls of their parents, to this end, that when they drink out of them, they may, in the midst of all their jollities and delights, call their dead parents to remembrance : this was told me by one that saw it. The said people of Tibet have vast plenty of gold in their land ; whosoever therefore wants gold digs till he hath found some, and then taking so much thereof as will serve his turn, he lays up the remainder in the earth, because, if he should put it into his chest, or storehouse, he is of opinion that God would withhold from him all other gold.

I saw some of these people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I saw lusty, tall men, but brown and swarthy in colour. The Jugures are of a middle stature, like Frenchmen. The language of the Jugures is the original and root of the Turkish and Comanian languages. Next to Tibet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whose ambassadors,

ambassadors I saw in the Tartars' court; and they brought ten great carts with them, every one of which was drawn by six oxen. They are little brown men, like Spaniards. These people wear jackets, like the upper vestment of a deacon, saving that the sleeves are somewhat streighter, and they have mitres upon their heads like bishops; but the forepart of their mitre is not so hollow within as the hinder part, neither is it sharp-pointed, nor cornered at the top; but there hang down certain square laps, compacted of a kind of straw, which is made rough through extreme heat, and is so trimmed that it glittereth in the sun-beams like a glass, or a helmet well burnished. On their brows they have long bands of the same manufacture fastened to their mitres, which hover in the wind as if two long horns grew out of their heads; and when the wind tosses them up and down too much, they tie them over the midst of their mitre, from one temple to another, and so they lie across their heads. Their principal ambassador to the Tartars' court, had a table of elephant's teeth about him, of a cubit in length, and a handfull in breadth, very smooth; and whensoever he spoke to the Emperor himself, or to any other great personage, he always looked on that table as if he had found therein those things which he spake; neither did he cast his eyes to the right hand or to the left of those with whom he talked.

Beyond them, as I was certainly informed, there are other people called Muc, having villages, but no one man of them appropriates any cattle to himself, notwithstanding there are many flocks and droves of cattle in their country, and nobody appointed to keep them; but when any of them want a beast, he goes upon a hill, and there makes a shout, and all the cattle which are within hearing of the noise come flocking about him, and suffer themselves to be taken as if they were tame. And when any messenger, or stranger cometh into their country, they shut him up in a house, allowing him things necessary, till his business be dispatched; for if any stranger should travel through that country, the cattle would fly away at the very scent of him, and so become wild. Beyond Muc is the grand Cathaya, the inhabitants of which, as I suppose, were of old called Seres, for from them are brought most excellent stuffs and silk; and this people are called Seres of a certain town in the same country. I was credibly informed, that in the said country there is a town having walls of silver, and bulwarks of gold. There are many provinces in that land, the greater part of which are not as yet subdued by the Tartars, and the sea lieth between them and India. These Cathayans are men of little stature, speaking much through the nose.

This is a general remark, that all the people of the east have small eyes. They are excellent workmen in every art, and their physicians are well skilled in the virtue of herbs, and judge very exactly of the pulse, but know not any thing concerning urine. Some of them I saw, for there are many at Caracurum, and they always bring up their children in the same trade of their father, and therefore they pay so much tribute; for they give the Moals, or Moguls, every day, one thousand five hundred Cassinos, or Jascots (Jascot is a piece of silver weighing ten marks); that is to say, every day fifty thousands marks, besides silks, and a certain quantity of victuals, and other services which they do them. All these nations are between the mountains of Caucasus; on the north side of those mountains to the east sea, on the south part of Scythia, which the shepherds of Moal inhabit, all are tributary unto them, and all given to idolatry, and report many fables of a multitude of gods, and certain deified men, and make a pedigree of their gods, as our poets do.

The Nestorians are intermixed with them as strangers, so are the Saracens as far as Cathay. The Nestorians inhabit fifteen cities of Cathay, and have a bishop there in a city called Segin; but if you proceed further, they are mere idolaters: the priests

of

of the idols of those nations have all broad yellow hoods. There are also among them certain hermits, living in the woods and mountains, of an austere and strange life. The Nestorians there know nothing, for they say their service, and have holy books in the Syrian tongue, which they know not; so that they sing as our monks do, who are ignorant of grammar, and hence it cometh that they are wholly corrupted. They are great usurers and drunkards, and some of them also, who live among the Tartars, have many wives in the same manner as the Tartars have.

When they enter into the church they wash their lower parts, as the Saracens do; they eat no flesh on Friday, and hold their feasts on that day, after the manner of the Saracens. The Bishops come seldom into the countries, perhaps once in fifty years; then they cause all their little children to be made priests, even in the cradle, so that all their men almost are priests, and, after this, they marry wives, which is directly against the decrees of the Fathers. They are also bigamists, for their priest themselves, when their wife is dead, marry another. They are all Simonists, for they give no holy thing freely. They are very careful of their wives and children, wherefore they apply themselves to gain, and not to the spreading of the faith; whence it comes to pass, while some of them bring up the nobility's children of Moal, although they teach them the gospel, and the articles of the faith, yet by their evil life and covetousness, they drive them further from Christianity, because the life of the Moals, or Moguls, and Tuinians, who are downright idolaters, is more just and upright than their's.

34. We departed from the city Cailac on St. Andrew's day, and within three leagues found a village of Nestorians. Entering into the church, we sang *Salve Regina*, &c. with joy, because it was long since we had seen a church. Departing thence, in three days we came to the entrance of that province, not far from the sea before mentioned, which seemed to us as tempestuous as the ocean, and therein we saw a great island. My companions drew near the shore, and wet a linen cloth therein, to taste the water, which was somewhat salt, but however might be drunk. There was a valley over against it, between the great mountains south and east, and between the hills was another salt lake or sea; and there ran a river through that valley from the other sea into this, and there came such a continual wind through the valley, that men pass along the road with great danger, fearing the wind should carry them into the sea.

Therefore we left the valley, and went towards the north, to the hilly countries, covered with deep snow, which then lay upon the earth, so that upon St. Nicholas's day we began to hasten our journey, and because we found no people but the Jani, or men appointed from day's journey to day's journey to conduct the messengers; for in many places in the hilly countries the way is narrow, and there are but few fields: so that between day and night we meet with two Jani, and therefore of two days journey we made one, and travelled more by night than by day: it was extremely cold there, so that they lent us their goat-skins, turning the hair outward. On the 7th of December, in the evening, we passed by a certain place, between very terrible rocks, and our guide sent unto me, intreating me to pray to God, which I did. Then we sang with loud voice, *Credo in Deum*, &c. and by the grace of God we passed through unhurt.

After that, they began to intreat me that I would write them papers, and I told them I would teach them words which they should carry in their hearts, whereby their souls and bodies should be saved; but when I sought to teach them, I wanted an Interpreter, yet I wrote them the Creed and Lord's Prayer, saying, "Here is written whatsoever a man ought to believe concerning God; here also is that prayer wherein we beg of God whatsoever is needful for a man; now therefore believe firmly what is written here, although you cannot understand it, and ask God to do that for you which

is contained in this written prayer, because with his own mouth he taught it his friends, and I hope he will save you." I could not do any thing else, because it was dangerous to speak by such an interpreter, nay, almost impossible, because he was ignorant.

35. After this, we entered into the country where the court of Kon Khan was, which was formerly called the country of Naymans, who were the peculiar subjects of Prestre, that is, Presbyter John, but I saw not that court till my return; yet here I shall briefly mention what befel his son and wives. Kon Khan being dead, Baatu desired that Mangu should be Khan, but I could not well understand in what manner happened the death of Khan. Friar Andrew said, that he died by a certain medicine given him, and it was suspected that Baatu caused it to be administered: yet I heard it otherwise, for he summoned Baatu to come and do him homage, and Baatu took his journey with great pomp and splendor, but he and his servants were much afraid, and he sent one of his brothers before, called Stichin, who, when he came to Kon, and ought to have presented him with his cup, high words arose between them, insomuch that they slew one another. The widow of Stichin kept us a whole day, that we might go to her house, and bless her, or pray for her.

Kon being dead, Mangu was chosen by the consent of Baatu, and was then chosen while Friar Andrew was there. Kon had among others a brother called Siremon, who, by the counsel of Kon's wife and her vassals, went with a great train towards Mangu, as if he went to do him homage, and yet in reality he purposed to kill him, and destroy his whole court; and when he was near Mangu, and within one or two days journey, one of his waggons happened to break in the way; while the waggoner endeavoured to mend it, came one of the servants of Mangu who helped him; he was so inquisitive of their journey, that the waggoner revealed unto him what Siremon purposed to do. Then turning out of the way, as if he lightly regarded it, he went unto the herd of horses, and took the best horse he could, and, posting night and day, came speedily to the court of Mangu, reporting what he had heard.

The plot being thus discovered, Mangu quickly assembled all his forces, caused four lines of armed men to encompass his court, that none might go in or out, and sent the rest against Siremon, who took him and brought him to the court with all his followers, who, when Mangu laid the matter to his charge, confessed it immediately. Then he and his eldest son Kon Khan were slain, and three hundred of the nobility of the Tartars with them. The noble women also were sent for, who were all beaten with burning firebrands, to make them confess, and, having confessed, were put to death. His youngest son Kon, who was not capable of entering into the conspiracy, was left alive, and his father's palace was left him with all belonging unto it, and we passed by it in our return, nor durst my guide turn in unto it, either going or coming: "For the lady of the nations sat there in heaviness, and there was none to comfort her."

36. We now went up again into the high countries, steering always towards the north. At length, on St. Stephen's day, we entered into a great plain, where there was not so much as a Mole-hill, and the next day, on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, we came unto the palace of that great Lord; but when we were near it, that is to say, within five days journey, our host where we lay would have directed us much about, so that we should have travelled more than fifteen days; and this was the reason, as I understood, that we might go by Onam Kerule, their proper country, where the court of Zinghis Khan is. Others said, that he did it for this purpose, that he might make the way longer, and might shew their power the more, for so they are wont to deal with men coming from countries not subject to them; and our guide obtained with great

difficulty, that we might go the right way, for they held us debating this from the morning till three o'clock.

By the way also the secretary told me, that it was contained in the letters which Baatu sent to Mangu-Khan, that we required an army and aid of Sartach against the Saracens. Then I began to wonder much, and to be greatly troubled, for I knew the contents of the letters, and that no mention of any army was made therein, only you advised him to be a friend to all Christians, and that he should exalt the cross; and bear enmity to all the enemies of the cross; and because also the interpreters were Armenians of the greater Armenia, who greatly hated the Saracens, lest perhaps they had interpreted any thing in evil part, to make the Saracens more odious and hateful at their pleasure. I therefore held my peace, not speaking a word for them or against them; for I feared to gainsay the words of Baatu, lest I should incur some false accusation, and without reasonable cause.

We came therefore the day after into the said court, our guide had a great house appointed him, and we three a little cottage, wherein we could scarce lay our baggage, make our beds, and have a little fire. Many came to visit our guide and brought him drink made of rice, in long strait-mouthed bottles, in which I could discern no difference from the best wine, except that it had not the scent of wine. We were called soon after, and most strictly examined upon what business we came; "I answered, that we having heard Sartach was a Christian, we came therefore unto him. The King our master sent him a packet by us, he sent us to Baatu his father, and his father sent us hither, he should have written the cause." Whereupon they demanded, whether we would make peace with them? I answered, "he had sent letters unto Sartach as a Christian, and if he had known he were not a Christian, he would never have sent him letters. That as to a treaty of peace, there was no ground for it, since he has done you no wrong; if he had not done any, why should you war upon him or his people? He willingly (as a just man) would reform himself and desire peace. If ye without cause will make war with him or his nation, we hope that God (who is just) will help them." At this they wondered, always repeating, why came ye not to make peace. For they are now so puffed up with pride, that they think the whole world should desire to make peace with them; whereas, if I might be suffered, I would preach war against them to the utmost of my power. But I would not plainly deliver the cause of my coming, lest I should speak any thing against that which Baatu commanded; I told them therefore the sole cause of my coming thither was, because he sent me.

The day following we were brought to the court, and I thought I could go barefoot, as I did in our country, and therefore I laid aside my shoes; but such as come to the court, alight far from the house, where the great Khan is, as it were a bow-shot off, where the horses remain, and a boy to keep them. When we alighted there, and our guide went with us to the house, a Hungarian boy was present there, who knew our order; and when the men came about us, and stared at us as monsters, especially because we were barefooted, and demanded whether we did not need our feet, because they supposed we should by cold have lost them, that Hungarian told them the reason, shewing them the rules and practice of our order. Then the chief secretary, who was a Nestorian, and a Christian, by whose council and advice almost all is done, came to us to see us, looked earnestly upon us, and called the Hungarian, of whom he asked many questions. Then we were directed to return to our lodging.

37. When we returned, at the end of the court, towards the east, as far from the court as a cross-bow could shoot at twice, I saw a house, upon which there was a little cross,

cross, at which I rejoiced much, supposing there was some Christian there, and I went in boldly, and found an altar there, very well furnished; for there, in a golden cloth, were the images of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and St. John Baptist, and two Angels; the lineaments of their bodies and garments distinguished with pearl, and a great silver cross with precious stones in the corners, and the middle thereof, and many other embroiderings, and a lamp burning with oil before the altar, having eight lights; and there sat an Armenian monk, somewhat black and lean, clad with a rough hairy coat to the mid-leg having upon it a black cloak of bristles, furred with spotted skins, girt with iron under his hair-cloth.

Presently after we entered in, before we saluted the monk, falling flat upon the ground, we sang *Ave Regina Calorum*, &c. and he rising, prayed with us; then saluting him, we sat by him, having a little fire before him in a pan; therefore we told him the cause of our coming, and he began to comfort us, saying, that we should boldly speak, because we were the messengers of God, who is greater than all men. Afterwards he told us of his coming, saying, he came thither a month before us, and that he was a hermit of the territories of Jerusalem, and that the Lord appeared unto him three times, commanding him to go to the Prince of the Tartars; and when he deferred to go the third time, God threatened him, and overthrew him upon the ground, saying, he should die, unless he went; and that he told Mangu-Khan that if he would become a Christian, the whole world should be obedient to him. Then I answered, "Brother, I will willingly persuade him to become a Christian; I will promise him also that the French and the Pope will much rejoice thereat, and account him a brother and a friend; but I will never promise that they shall become his servants, and pay him tribute, as these other nations, because in so doing, I should speak against my conscience." On which he held his peace. We afterwards went together to our lodging, which I found a cold habitation.

We had eaten nothing that day, so we boiled a little flesh and millet, of which we made broth for our suppers. Our guide and his companions were drunk at the court, and little care was had of us. At that time the messengers of Vestace were there, hard by us, which we knew not, and the men of the court made us rise in great haste at the dawning of the day. I went barefoot with them a little way unto the house of the said messengers, and they demanded of them whether they knew us. Then the Grecian soldier calling our order, and my companion to remembrance, because he had seen him in the court of Vestace, with friar Thomas, our minister, and all his fellows, gave great testimony of us. Then they demanded whether we had peace or war with Vestace? We have, said I, neither war nor peace; and they demanded how that might be? Because, said I, their countries are far from each other, and meddle not together. Then the ambassador of Vestace said we had peace, giving me a caution; so I held my tongue. That morning my toes' ends were so frozen, that I could no longer go barefoot; for in these countries the cold is extreme sharp, and from the time when it beginneth to freeze, it never ceases till May; nay, in the month of May it froze every morning, but in the day-time it thawed, through the heat of the sun; but in winter it never thaws, but the ice continues with every wind. And if there were any wind there in winter, as there is with us, nothing could live there; but it is always mild weather till April, and then the winds rise; and at that time when we were there (about Easter) the cold rising with the wind, killed multitudes of living creatures.

In the winter little snow fell there, but about Easter, which was in the latter end of April, there fell so great a snow, that all the streets of Caracaram were full; so that they were forced to carry it out with their carts. Then they first brought us (from the

court) ram skin coats, and breeches of the same, and shoes, which my companion and interpreter received; but I thought I had no need of them, because I supposed my furred garment, which I brought from Baatu, was sufficient for me. On the 5th of January we were brought to the court, and there came Nestorian priests to me, whom I knew not to be Christians, demanding which way we worshipped? I said, to the east, and this they demanded, because we had shaven our beards, by the advice of our guide, that we might appear before the Khan according to the fashion of our country, whereupon they thought we had been Tuinians, or idolaters: they made us also expound out of the bible. Then they demanded what reverence we would pay to the Khan, whether after our own fashion or theirs? To whom I made answer, "We are priests dedicated to the service of God; noblemen in our country will not suffer priests to bow their knees before them for the honour of God: nevertheless we will humble ourselves to all men for the Lord's sake. We came from a far country, if ye please we will first sing praises unto God who hath brought us safe hither from afar, and afterwards we will do whatsoever pleaseth this Lord, with this exception, that he command us nothing which may be against the worship and honour of God." Then they entering into the house, delivered what we had said; so their Lord was contented, and they set us before the entrance of house, lifting up the felt which hung before the gate, and because it was Christmas, we began to sing, *A Solis ortus cardine, &c.*

38. When we had sung this hymn, they searched our bosoms to see we had no knives about us. They made our interpreter ungird his self, and leave his girdle and his knife without, in the custody of a door-keeper. When we came in, there stood in the entrance a bench with cosmos, by which they made our interpreter stand, and caused us to sit upon a form before the ladies; the whole house was hung with cloth of gold, and on a hearth, in the middle of the house, there was a fire made of thorns and wormwood roots (which grew there very big) and ox dung. The Khan sat upon a bed covered with a spotted skin or fur, bright and shining like a seal's skin; he was a flat nosed man, of a middle stature, about the age of five and forty, and a little pretty young woman his wife sat by him, and one of his daughters, whose name was Cerina, a hard-favoured young woman, with other children that were younger, sat next unto them upon a bed; for that was the house of a certain Christian lady he loved, by whom he had this daughter, and he married the young wife afterwards; yet the daughter was mistress of all that court which was her mother's.

Then he made them ask us what we would drink, whether wine or caracina, that is, drink made of rice, or caracosmus, that is, clear cow's milk, or ball, that is, mead made of honey; for they use these four kinds of liquor in the winter? Then I answered, Sir, we are not men who take pleasure in drink, what pleaseth you shall content us. Then he commanded drink of rice to be given us, clear and good as white wine, whereof I tasted a little for reverence of him, and our interpreter, to our misfortune, stood by the butlers, who gave him much drink, so that he was quickly drunk; then the Khan caused falcons and other birds to be brought unto him, which he took upon his fist, and looked upon them, and after a long time he commanded us to speak. We were then to bow the knee; and he had his interpreter, a certain Nestorian, whom I knew not to be a Christian; and we had our interpreter, such a one as he was, who by this time was drunk. Then I said, "We first give thanks and praise to God, who hath brought us from so remote parts of the world to see Mangu-Khan, to whom God hath given so great power upon earth; and we beseech our Lord, by whose command we live and die, that he would grant him a long and prosperous life" (for this they desire, that men pray for their lives); then I told him, "Sir, we have heard of Sartach, that he

was

was a Christian, and the Christians who heard it, but especially the French King, rejoiced; wherefore we come unto him, and our Lord and King hath sent him letters by us, wherein were words of peace, and amongst other things he testifieth of us whole servants we are, and entreated him to suffer us to abide in his country; for it is our office to teach men to live according to the law of God, and he sent us to Baatu his father, and Baatu hath sent us hither unto you; you are they to whom God hath given great dominions upon earth; we therefore intreat Your Highness to give us leave to continue in your country to do the service of God for you, your wives, and children. We have neither gold, nor silver, nor precious stones to present unto you, but ourselves, whom we present to serve and pray unto God for you: at least give us leave to continue while the cold be past. My companion is so weak, that he cannot by any means travel on horseback without hazard of his life;” for my companion begged me and adjured me to crave leave to stay. Then he began to answer, even as the sun spreads his beams every where, so our power and Baatu’s shews itself every where, so that we had no need of your silver and gold.

Hitherto I understood my interpreter, but farther I could not perceive any perfect sentence, whereby I easily found he was drunk, and Mangu-Khan himself was drunk too, at least I thought so; yet he was displeas’d that we came first to Sartach, before we came to him. Then seeing the defect of my interpreter, I held my peace, this only excepted; I entreated his Highness not to be displeas’d for that which I spake of gold and silver, because I spoke it, not that he had need of such things, or desired them, but because we would willingly honour him with spiritual things. Then he made us rise, and sit down again, and after some few words, and paying our duty to him, we went out, and his secretaries, and that interpreter of his (who had the bringing up of one of his daughters) went with us. They began to be very inquisitive concerning the kingdom of France, whether there were many rams, oxen, and horses there, as if presently they should enter and take all? And oftentimes I was fain to bridle myself much in dissembling anger and indignation. I answered, however, there are many good things there which ye shall see if you happen to come thither. Then they appointed us one who should have care of us, and we went to the monk; and when we came out again ready to go to our lodging, the interpreter came to us, saying Mangu-Khan hath compassion on you, and gives you two months to stay, then the extrem cold will be past; and he offers to send you ten days journey, where is a good city called Caracurum; if you will go thither he will cause necessary things to be given you, but if ye will stay here ye may have necessaries; yet it will be a troublesome thing for you to follow the court.

I said the Lord preserve Mangu-Khan, and grant him a good and long life. We have found this monk here, who we think to be a holy man, and that by the good pleasure of God he came into these parts; wherefore we would willingly stay with him, and we will pray together for the life of Khan. Then he held his peace, and departed, and we went to our house, which we found very cold, and without any fuel, as yet fasting, though it was night. Then he to whom we were recommended, provided us fuel, and a little meat. Our guide was now to return to Baatu, who desired a carpet of us, which we left in the court of Baatu, which we gave him, and he peaceably departed; so kissing our right hand, and confessing his fault if he suffered us to endure hunger and thirst upon the way, we pardoned him, craving pardon of him and his whole family, if we had given them any evil example.

39. A certain woman of Metz in Lorraine, called Pacha, found us, who made us good cheer, according to her power, who belonged to the court of that lady who was a Christian

a Christian, of whom I spoke before, who told us of her strange poverty which she endured before she came to the court; but now she was well to live, for she had a young husband, a Rutenian (by whom she had three very fair children) who was skilful in building, which amongst them is an excellent art. She told us farther, that at Caracurum there was a certain goldsmith called William, born at Paris, whose surname was Bouchier, and his father's name Lawrence Bouchier, and she believed he hath a brother yet living upon the great bridge, called Roger Bouchier; and she told me that he hath a certain young man which he brought up, whom he accounted as his son, who was an excellent interpreter; but Mangu-Khan delivered to the aforesaid goldsmith three hundred jaseots, that is, three thousand marks, and fifty workmen, to make a piece of work, so that she feared he could not send his son to me; for she heard some say in that court, the men which came from your country are good men, and Mangu-Khan would willingly speak unto them, but their interpreter is good for nothing; therefore she was careful for an interpreter.

Then I wrote unto the goldsmith, certifying him of my coming hither, and requesting him, that if he could he would send me his son, and he wrote me answer, that he could not that moon; but the next his work should be perfected, and then he would send him unto me. We stayed therefore with other ambassadors and it is otherwise with ambassadors in Baatu's court than in the court of Mangu-Khan: for in the court of Baatu there is one Jani on the east side, who receiveth all such as come from the west, and so of other countries of the world; but in the court of Mangu they are all together under one Jani, and they may see and visit one another. In Baatu's court they know not one another, or whether a man be a messenger or no, because they know not one another's lodging, nor see one another, but in the court; and when one is called by accident, another is not, for they go not to court unless they be sent for. We found there a certain Christian in Damascus, who said he came in the behalf of the Sökian of Mons Regalis, and of Crax, who desired to become friend and tributary to the Tartars.

40. The year before I came thither there was a certain clerk of Acon or Ptolemais, in Syria, who called himself Raimund, but his true name was Theodolus, and he took his journey from Cyprus with friar Andrew, and went with him into Persia, and procured certain instruments of Amoricus, then in Persia, who remained after friar Andrew. Friar Andrew returning, he went forward with his instruments, and came to Mangu-Khan, and being demanded upon what account he came, said, "That he was with a certain holy bishop, to whom the Lord sent letters from heaven, written in golden characters, and commanded him to send them to the Emperor of the Tartars, because he should be Lord of the whole earth, and that he should persuade men to make peace with him." Then Mangu said unto him, if thou hadst brought these letters which come from heaven, and the letters of thy Lord, thou hadst been welcome. He answered, that he brought letters, but they were with other things of his on a wild and pampered gelding, which escaping, fled from him through the woods and mountains, so that he had lost all.

Then Mangu demanded the name of the bishop; he said he was called Odo of Damascus, and informed him also of Master William, who was clerk of the Lord Legate. The Khan demanded in whose kingdom it was? to whom he made answer, that it was under a certain king of the Franks, called Moker; for he had heard of that that happened at Massora, and he would have said, that they were of your servants. He also told the Khan, that the Saracens were between the Franks and him, who hindered his way; but if the way had been open, he would have sent ambassadors, and willingly have made peace with him. Then Mangu-Khan asked him, if he would bring his messengers

messengers to that King, and that Bishop? He told him he would, and also to the Pope.

Then Mangu caused an exceeding strong bow to be made, which two men could scarce bend, and two arrows of silver, whose heads were full of holes, which sung, when they are shot, like a whistle; and he chose a Moal, whom he should send with the said Theodolus, and to whom he said, "Thou shalt go to the King of the Franks, to whom this man shall bring thee, and present him with these on my behalf; and if he will have peace with us, we will win the country from the Saracens, even home to him, and will grant him the rest of the country unto the west; if otherwise, bring back the bow and arrows unto us, and tell him we shoot far and strongly with such bows." Then he caused Theodolus to go forth, whose interpreter Master William's son was, and in his hearing, he said unto the Moal, "Thou shalt go with this man, mark well the ways, the countries, and their castles, men and mountains." For this reason the young man blamed Theodolus, saying, he had done ill in conducting the messengers of the Tartars with him, for they went for no other cause but to spy.

He answered, that he would set them on the sea, that they should not know which way to return. Mangu gave also unto Moal his golden bull or tablet, to wit, a plate of gold of an hand breadth, and half a cubit long, wherein his orders are engraven: who carryeth that, may command what he will and it is done without delay. So then Theodolus came to Vestacius, determining to pass over to the Pope, that he might deceive the Pope, as he had deceived Mangu-Khan. Then Vestacius demanded of him, whether he had letters to the Pope, because he was a messenger, and should conduct the messengers of the Tartars; but not being able to shew the letters, he took him and spoiled him of all that he had got, and cast him in prison, and the Moal fell sick and died there.

But Vestacius sent back the golden tablet to Mangu-Khan by the servants of the Moal, whom I met at Assron in the entrance into Turkey, who told me what had happened to Theodolus. Such sharpers run through the world, whom the Tartars kill when they can take them. Now the Epiphany was at hand; and that Armenian monk, Sergius by name, told me that he should baptize Mangu-Khan upon that holy day. I entreated him to labour, by all means, that I might be present, that I might bear witness that I saw it; and he promised me he would.

41. When this festival day came, the monk called me not, but at six of the clock I was sent for to court, and I saw the monk with the priests returning from the court with his cross, and the priests with the censor, and the gospel for that day. Mangu-Khan made a feast, and his custom is, that on such days as his soothsayers appoint him, or the Nestorian priests make holy days, he held his court; and on these days the Christians come first, with their furniture, and pray for him and bless his cup; then they departing, the Saracen priests come and do the like: next after them come the idolatrous priests, and do the same. The monk told me that he only believes the Christians, yet will have all to pray for him; but in this he lied, for he believes none; yet all follow his court as flies do honey. He giveth to all, and all men think they are his familiars, and all prophesy prosperity to him. Then we sat before the court a long space, and they brought us flesh to eat; to whom I made answer, that we would not eat there, but if they would provide us meat, they should provide it for us at our house; to which they answered, get home to your house, you were invited here for nothing else but to eat: therefore we returned to the monk, who blushed at the lie he had told me, and therefore would not speak a word of the matter; yet some of the

the Nestorians affirmed that he was baptized; to whom I said, that I would never believe it, nor report it to others, seeing I saw it not.

We came at last to our old and empty house, where they provided us bedding and coverlids; they brought us also fuel, and gave us three the carcase of one little lean ram, as meat for six days, and every day a little platterful of millet, and lent us a cauldron, and a trivet to boil our flesh, which being boiled, we boiled our millet in the broth of the flesh. This was our meat, and it had well sufficed us, if they had suffered us to eat in peace; but there were so many starved fellows, who were not provided with meat, that as soon as they saw us dress ours, they thrust in upon us, and would eat with us. The cold began then to prevail, and Mangu-Khan sent us three fur coats with the hair outward, which we thankfully received: they demanded also how we were provided with necessary food; to whom I answered, that little meat sufficed us, but we have not an house wherein to pray for Mangu-Khan; for our cottage was so little, that we could scarce stand upright in it, nor open our books for smoke after the fire was lighted. Of this they gave him an account, and he sent to the monk, to know if he would be pleased with our company, who gladly answered that he would. From that time we were provided with a better house, and we went down with the monk before the court, where none lodged but we and their foothfayers; but they lodged nearer before the palace of the greatest lady, and we at the farthest end towards the east, before the palace of the last lady; and that was on the thirteenth of January.

On the next morning, all the Nestorian priests came together before day at the chapel, and smote upon a board instead of ringing a bell, and sang matins solemnly, and put on their ornaments, preparing the censor and the incense; and while they were waiting thus, behold, in the morning the principal wife, Cotata-Caten by name, (Caten is of the same import as lady, and Cotata is her proper name,) came into the chapel with many other ladies, and with her eldest son called Baltu, and other children, and they cast themselves down upon the earth, ducking after the manner of the Nestorians; and after this, they touched all the images with their right hands, always kissing their hands after they had touched; and after that they gave their right hands to all that stood by them in the church, for this is the custom of the Nestorians when they come into the church; then the priests sang many things, giving the lady incense in her hand, and she put it upon the fire; then they perfumed her: after this, when the day was clear, she began to put off the ornament from her head, which is called Bacca, and I saw her bare head; then she commanded us to go forth, and as I went out I saw a silver basin brought, whether they baptized her or no I know not; but I know they celebrate not mass in a tent, but in a standing church; and at the feast of Easter I saw them baptize and consecrate a font with great solemnity, which now they did not.

While we went into our house, Mangu-Khan himself came and went into the church or Oratory, and a golden bed was brought, on which he sat by his Queen, over-against the altar; then we were sent for, who knew not then that Mangu was come, and the door-keeper searched us, lest we should have knives about us; but coming into the Oratory, having a bible and a breviary in my bosom, I first bowed down to the altar, and after to Mangu-Khan, and so passing by we stood between the monk and the altar; then they made us sing a psalm after our manner, and chant it; but we sang *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, &c. and Khan caused our books to be brought unto him, the bible and the breviary, and diligently enquired concerning the images, what they signified; the Nestorians answered him at their pleasure, because our interpreter

came not in with us; and when I was first before him, I had the bible in my bosom, which he commanded to be brought unto him, and he looked earnestly on it; then he departed, and his lady remained there, and distributed gifts to all the Christians there; she gave the monk a Jaseot, and to the archdeacon of the priests another; she caused a nassic to be spread before us, that is, a piece of cloth as broad as a coverlid of a bed, very large, and a buckram, which, when I would not receive, they sent them to my interpreter, who had them to himself. He brought the nassic to Cyprus, which he sold for eighteen sultanines of Cyprus, but it was much the worse for the carriage. Then drink was brought us, viz. drink made of rice and red wine, like a wine of Rochelle, and cosmos; then the lady holding the cup full in her hand, desired a blessing upon her knees, and all the priests sung with a loud voice, and she drank it up, and I and my companion were obliged to sing.

Another time, when all of them were almost drunk, there was brought the carcase of one ram, which was presently devoured, and after that great fishes, which are like our carp, without salt or bread, whereof I eat a little, so they passed the day till the evening; and when the lady herself was drunk, she took her chariot, the priests singing, and went her way. The next Sunday, which was the twenty-third of January, the Khan's son came (whose mother was a Christian) and did the like, but not with so great solemnity, for he gave no gifts, but made the priests drink, and gave them parched millet to eat. Before the first Sunday in Lent, the Nestorians fast three days, which they call the fast of Jonas, when he preached to the Ninevites. And the Armenians fast five days, which they call the fast of St. Lorkis, who is the greatest saint among them. The Nestorians begin their fast on Tuesday, and end it on Thursday; so that on Friday they eat flesh: and all that time I saw the chancellor, who is there called Bulgai, give them small pieces of flesh upon the Friday, and they blessed the flesh with great solemnity, as the paschal lamb is blessed, but he eat none with them; and this I learned of the French goldsmith, who was his very familiar friend.

The monk sent to Mangu to fast that week, which he did; so that on the Easter of the Armenians we went in procession to the House of the Mangu, and the monk and we too went in with the priests before him; and while we went in, one of the servants went out, carrying out the shoulder bones of rams burnt as black as coals. I wondered at this greatly, as not knowing what it should mean; but after I had enquired, I understood, that the Khan never does any thing before he has consulted these bones, which kind of divination is thus performed: when the Khan undertakes any thing, or rather before he undertakes it, he causes three of these bones to be brought to him unburnt, and holding them, he considers in his mind the thing he consults about, and whether he shall do it or not, and then delivers the bones to be burnt; and there are always two little rooms by the house where he lies, where these bones are burnt, which are diligently sought for every day through all the leskar or camp of the Tartars. When they are burnt black, they bring them to him; then he looks upon them, whether the bones, by the heat of the fire, be cleft lengthways, for then he may do it; but if the bones are cracked athwart, or round pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not; for the bones are always cleft in the fire or the thin skin which covers the bone; and if one be cleft downright, he proceeds in his design, be it what it will.

When therefore we went in before him, having a caution to avoid touching the threshold, the Nestorian priests brought him incense, and he put it upon the censor, and they perfumed him; then they sung, blessing his cup; after them the monk pronounced his blessing, and we blessed last: and when he saw us holding up the bible towards our breasts, he caused it to be brought to him that he might see it, which he earnestly

earnestly looked upon; then after he had drunk, and the chief priest had waited on his cup, they gave the priests drink, but we went out; but my companion staying last, when we were gone, turned his face to the Khan, bowing himself to him, and then hastily following us, he stumbled at the threshold of the house, while we went in haste towards the house of Baltu, the Khan's eldest son. They that observed the threshold seized my companion and made him stay, calling one, and commanding him to be carried to the Bulgai, who is the chancellor, or secretary of the court, who judgeth those that are arraigned of life and death, but I knew it not; yet, when I looked back, and did not see him coming, I thought they kept him to give him some lighter garments, for he was weak, and so laden with felt garments that he could scarce go.

Then they called our interpreter, and made him sit with him, but we went to the Khan's eldest son's house, who had two wives, and was lodged at the right side of his father's court; who, as soon as he saw us coming, leaping from his bed whereon he sat, cast himself upon the earth, smiting his forehead against the ground, where kissing the cross, and then arising, caused it to be laid upon a new cloth, in an high place by him, very honourably. He hath a schoolmaster, a Nestorian priest called David, a drunkard, who instructs him. Then he made us sit, and gave the priests drink, and he also drank, receiving the blessing from them; then we went to the court of the second lady, which was called Cota, who followed idolaters, whom we found lying sick a-bed; then the monk made her rise out of her bed, and worship the cross, bowing her knees thrice, and bowing towards the ground, he standing with the cross at the west side of the house, and she on the east; this being done, they changed places, and the monk went with the cross unto the east, and she unto the west, and he boldly commanded her, though she was so weak that she could scarce stand upon her feet, that she should cast herself down thrice, and worship the cross, towards the east, after the manner of the Christians; which she did, and he taught her to make the sign of the cross upon her forehead, after she laid down upon her bed; and praying for her, we went unto the third house, where a Christian lady used to be, who being dead, a young woman succeeded her, who, together with the daughter of her lord, joyfully received us; and all that whole house reverently worshipped the cross, and he set it upon a velvet cloth, in an high place, and she ordered meat to be brought, which being set before the lady, she caused it to be distributed to the priests; but I and the monk were very weary of the meat and drink, for the meat being eaten, and much drink drunk, we were to go to the young lady Cerina, who lodged behind that great house, which was her mother's, who, at the coming in of the cross, cast herself down upon the earth, and worshipped it very devoutly, because she had been taught so to do, and she set it in an high place, upon a piece of silk, and all those cloths whereon the cross was set, were given to the monks.

A certain Armenian brought his cross, who came with the monk as he said, from Jerusalem, and it was of silver, weighing about some four marks, and it had four precious stones in the corners, and one in the middle. It had not the image of our Saviour, and he had presented it to Mangu-Khan, and Mangu demanded of him what he desired? to whom he answered, that he was the son of an Armenian priest, whose church the Saracens had destroyed, and craved his help for the building again that church. Then he asked him for how much it might be built again? he answered, for two hundred jafots, that is, for two thousand marks; and he commanded letters to be given him, to him who received the tribute in Persia and Armenia the Greater, that they should pay him the said sum in silver. This cross the monk carried with him every where, and the priests seeing the gain he made thereof began to envy him. We were therefore

in the house of the young lady, and she gave the priests much drink; from hence we went up into the fourth house, which was the last, for he used not to come often unto that lady, and her house was very old, and herself not over gracious; but after Easter, the Khan made her a new house, and new chariots. She likewise, as well as the second, knew little or nothing of christianity, but followed foothifayers and idolaters; yet at our coming in, she worshipped the cross as the monk and the priest taught her. There also the priests drank again, and from this place we returned to our oratory, which was not far from thence, the priests accompanying us with great howling and outcries in their drunkenness, which is not considered there as blameable, either in man or woman. A little after, my companion was brought home, and the monk sharply rebuked him, because he touched the threshold. The next day Bulgai came (who was a justice) and diligently enquired whether any had warned us to take heed of touching the threshold; and I answered, Sir, we had not our interpreter with us, and if they did, how could we understand? Then he pardoned him, but would never after suffer him to come into any of the houses of Mangu-Khan.

43. Sometime afterwards, it happened that the lady Cota was sick, almost to death, and the divination by lot of the idolaters did her no good at all; then Mangu sent unto the monk, demanding of him what might be done for her, and the monk indiscreetly answered, that if she were not cured he should cut off his head. Having made that answer, the monk called us, declaring the matter unto us with tears, intreating us to watch with him that night in prayer, which we did; and he had a certain root which is called rhubarb, and he beat it almost to powder, and put it in water, with a little crucifix which he had, whereon the image of our Saviour was advanced, whereof he reported, that by it he knew whether the sick would recover or die; for if they should escape, it stuck to the breast of the sick, as if it were glued; if otherwise, it stuck not at all; and I still thought that rhubarb had been some holy relick, which he had brought from the holy land of Jerusalem. And he gave all sick persons of that water to drink; so that it could not be, but their bowels should be griped with so bitter a potion; which alteration in their bowels they accounted a miracle. Then I told him, he should prepare some of that holy water which is made in the church of Rome, which hath great virtue to expel devils, because I understood she was vexed of a devil; and at his request, we made him some holy water, and he mingled rhubarb, and put his crucifix all night long in the water to temper it. I said, moreover, that if he were a priest, that the order of priesthood had great power to expel devils; and he said it was very true, yet he lied, because he had no order, nor knew any one letter; but was a weaver, as I understood after, in his country, when I returned.

The next morning therefore, I and the monk, and two Nestorian priests, went unto the lady, and she was in a little house behind her greater house. When we came in, she sat in her bed, and worshipped the cross, and set it honourably by her, upon a cushion of silk, and drank of the blessed water with rhubarb, and washed her breast, and the monk requested me to read a gospel over her; so I read the passion of our Lord according to John; at length she was cheered, and felt herself better, and she caused four jascots to be brought, which the first laid at the feet of the cross, and after gave them to the monk, and reached me one, which I would not receive; then the monk stretched forth his hand, took it, and gave each of the priests one; so that at that time she gave forty marks. Then she caused wine to be brought, and gave it the priests to drink, and I was forced to drink thrice from her hand in honour of the Trinity: she began also to teach me the language, jesting with me, because I was silent, as not having any interpreter.

The next day again Mangu-Khan, hearing that we came that way, made us come in to him, because he understood that the lady was somewhat better; and we found him with a few servants, taking a sort of meat made of paste, for comforting the head, and the burnt shoulder-blades of a ram lay before him, and he took the cross in his hand, but that he worshipped it, I saw not; he looked upon it indeed, and asked some questions, but I know not what. Then the monk craved leave to carry the cross aloft, upon a lance, because I had spoken to the monk before concerning this, and Mangu answered, carry it as you think best; then paying our duty to him, we went unto the lady, and we found her strong and cheerful, and she still drank of the holy water, and we read the passion over her, and those miserable priests never taught her the faith, nor advised her to be baptized; but I sat there mute, not able to speak anything, yet she still taught me the language; the priests found no fault with any kind of sorcery, for there I saw four swords half drawn out of the sheath, one at the head of the lady's bed, another at the feet, and two others, on either side of the door one. I saw also there one silver chalice, of our chalices, which very probably was taken out of some church in Hungary, and it hung against the walls full of ashes, and upon those ashes there was a black stone, and concerning such things, the priests never teach them that they are evil; nay, they themselves do teach such things. We visited her three days, so that she was restored to perfect health; after that, the monk made a banner full of crosses, and got a cane as long as a lance, and we carried the cross aloft.

I honoured him as my Bishop, because he could speak the language, yet he did many things that did not please me; for he caused a chair, which may be folded, to be made for him, such as bishops used to have, and gloves, and a cap of peacock's feathers, and upon it a little cross of gold; I was well pleased with the cross. He had scabbed feet, which he endeavoured to palliate with ointments, and was very presumptuous in speech; the Nestorians also repeated certain verses of the Psalter upon two rods, which were joined together, being held by two men. The monk was present at such things, and many other vanities appeared in him, which displeased me; yet we joined ourselves to his society for the honour of the cross, for we carried the cross advanced through all the tents, singing, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, &c. Whereupon the Mohammedans were much dejected.

44. From the time we came to the court of Mangu-Khan, he rode but two journeys towards the south, and from that time he began to return towards the north, which was towards Caracorum; whereon I noted all the way a thing of which Master Baldwin of Hannonia had spoken to me at Constantinople, that he had seen this only wonderful, that he always ascended in going, and never descended; for all rivers came from the East to the West, either directly or indirectly, bending towards the South or the North, and I enquired of the priests which came from Cathaya, who testified the same. From the place where I found Mangu-Khan to Cathaya were twenty days' journey: going towards the south and east to Oman Kerule, which is the proper country of Moall, where the court of Zingis is, were ten days' journey right east; and in those parts of the east there was no city, yet there were people which are called Su-Moall, that is to say, Moal of the waters, for Su is water. These people live upon fish and hunting, having neither flocks or herds. Towards the north likewise there is no city, but a poor people feeding cattle, who are called Kerkis; the Orangin are also there, who bind smooth filed bones under their feet, and thrust themselves forward upon the congealed snow and ice with such swiftness, that they take birds and beasts; and many other poor people there are on the north side, so far as they may spread themselves for the cold; and they join on the west with the country of Pascatir, which is Hungary the Greater, whereof

whereof I have spoken before. The bound or summit of the north corner is not known for the extremity of the cold; for in that place there are continual mountains of snow.

I was inquisitive of the monsters, or monstrous men, whereof Isidorus and Solinus make report: they told me they never saw any such, and I therefore doubt whether it be true or no. All these nations are poor, yet they must serve in some trade, for it was the commandment of Zingis, that none should be free from service, till he were so old, that he could labour no longer by any means. Once I remember a certain priest of Cathaya sat with me clothed in a red-coloured cloth, and I demanded of him whence he had such a colour, and he told me, that in the east parts of Cathaya there were high craggy rocks, wherein certain creatures dwell, having in all parts the shape of men; but that they bow not the knees, but leap instead of walking, which are not above one cubit long, and their whole body is covered with hair, who have their abode in caves, which no man can come unto; and they who hunt them, go to them, and carry strong drink with them, and make pits in the rocks like wells, which they fill with that strong drink; for Cathaya hitherto has had no wine, though now they begin to plant vineyards; but the strong liquor before mentioned is made of rice. The hunters hide themselves, and then these creatures come out of their holes and taste the drink, and cry, chun-chin; on this they come together in great multitudes, and drink till they are made drunk, so that they sleep there. Then the hunters come and bind them hand and feet, while they are sleeping, and afterwards open the veins in their neck, and draw forth three or four drops of blood from every one, and let them go free; and that blood, as he told me, is the most precious purple.

He told us also a truth, (which, however, I do not believe,) that there is a province beyond Cathaya, into which, at whatever age a man enters, he continueth in the same age wherein he entered. Cathaya is on the ocean, and the goldsmith so often mentioned told me, that there arrived messengers from a certain people which are called Tante and Manse, who inhabit islands, the sea of which is frozen in the winter, so that the Tartars may invade them, who offered two thousand Tuemen or Jascots yearly, so they would let them live in peace. Tuemen is a piece of money containing ten marks. The common money of Cathaya is paper made like pasteboard, the breadth and length of an hand, upon which they imprint lines like the seal of Mangu; they write with a pencil, like that with which painters paint, and in one figure they make many letters comprehending one word. The people of Thibet write as we do, and they have characters very like ours. They of Tangut write from the right hand to the left, as the Arabians do, and multiply the line ascending upwards; the Jugures, as I said before, from above to the bottom of the line. The common money of the Rutenians are little spotted and grissled skins. When we came with the monk, he charitably admonished us to abstain from flesh, and that our servants should eat flesh with his servants; but he would promise us meal, and oil, or butter, which we did, though it much grieved my companion by reason of his weakness; wherefore our food was millet and butter, or paste boiled in water, with butter, or sour milk, and unleavened bread baked on ox-dung, or horse-dung.

45. When our *Quinquagesima* came, which is the Lent time of all the people of the east, the great lady Cota, with all her company, fasted that week, who gave every day to our Oratory, and gave meat to the priests and other Christians, of whom a great multitude flocked thither the first week to do their duty, and she gave me and my companion each a coat and breeches of grey Samito, furred with coarse hair, because my companion complained much of the weight of his skins, which I received for his sake,

fake, excusing myself, nevertheless, that I would not wear such clothes; I gave to my interpreter what belonged to me. Then the porters of the court, seeing that such a multitude came daily to the church, which was within the bounds of the keepers of the court, they sent one of their attendants to the monk, to let him know, that they would not have such a multitude come within the precincts of the court; to this the monk roughly answered, that he would know whether they commanded this from Mangu-Khan, and he added certain speeches, as if he would accuse them to Mangu-Khan; but they preventing him, accused him before Mangu, that he was too full of words, and that he gathered together too great a multitude to hear him speak.

Afterwards being called to the court, we came in before the Khan himself, who having the burnt shoulder-blade of a man in his hand, took I upon it, as it were reading it, began to reprove the monk severely, telling him, that seeing he was a holy man, he should pray unto God, and asked why he spoke so much with men? But I stood behind with my head bare. Then the Khan said to him, Why dost thou not put off thy cap when thou comest before me, as that Frank doth? and commanded me to be called nearer; then the monk being much abased, put off his cap contrary to the custom of the Greeks and Armenians, and when Khan himself had spoken sharply to him, we went out; the monk then delivered me the cross to bear to the Oratory, because he could not carry it for shame. After a few days he was reconciled to him, promising that he would go to the Pope, and that he would bring all the nations of the west to his obedience. Whereupon he returning to the Oratory, after that conference had with the Khan, began to enquire of me touching the Pope, if I believed he would see him, if he came unto him in the behalf of Mangu, and if he would furnish him with horses unto St. James in Galicia. He demanded also of Your Majesty, if I thought you would send your son unto Mangu? Then I counselled him, that he should take heed that he did not promise falsehoods to Mangu, because the last error would be worse than the first, and that God needeth not our lies, or that we should speak deceitfully for him.

At that time there arose a certain question between the monk and a priest, a learned man, whose father was an archdeacon, and the other priests accounted him an archdeacon. For the monk said, that man was created before Paradise, and that the Scripture said so; then was I called to be an arbitrator of the question, but I being ignorant that they contended about this, answered, that Paradise was made upon Tuesday, when the other trees were made, and that man was made the sixth day. Then the monk began to say, did not the devil bring earth the first day from the four parts of the world, and making clay, made the body of man therewith, and God inspired his soul? The hearing this hereof of the monk, and that he so publicly and shamefully recited it, I reprov'd him sharply, saying, he should put his finger upon his mouth, because he knew not the Scriptures, and that he should take heed what he said; and he began to scorn me, because I was ignorant of the language.

I departed therefore from him, going to our house; it fell out afterwards, that he and the priests went in procession to the court without calling me, because the monk would no longer speak to me as he was wont; when, therefore, they came before Mangu, he earnestly demanded where I was, and why I came not with them? The priests being afraid, excused themselves, but returning, they told me the words of Mangu, and murmured at the monk. After this the monk was reconciled to me, and I to him, entreating him, that he would help me with his language, and I would help him in the Holy Scripture: "For a brother that is holpen of a brother, is as a strong city." After the first week of fasting, he hadly ceased to come unto the Oratory, and to give

give meat and drink, which we were wont to have; for the monk suffered it not to be brought, saying, that mutton fat or suet was put in the sauce; and he gave no oil, but very seldom; so that we had nothing but brown bread and paste, boiled in water, though we had no water but of dissolved snow or ice, which was exceeding bad. My companion began to be much grieved; so I acquainted David, the schoolmaster of the Khan's eldest son, with our necessity, who made report thereof to the Khan, and he commanded to give us wine, flour, and oil.

Neither the Nestorians or Armenians eat fish by any means in lent; but the monk had a chest by him under the altar, with almonds and raisins, and dried prunes, and many other fruits, which he eat all day, whenever he was alone. We eat once a day, and that in great affliction; for as soon as they knew that Mangu had given us wine, most impudently they came in upon us like dogs, both the Nestorian priests, who were drunk all the day in the court, and the Moals also, and the servants of the monk. The monk also, when any came unto him to whom he would give drink, he sent to us for wine, so that the wine caused us more trouble than comfort, because we could not deny it without offence. If we gave, we wanted ourselves; nor durst we, that being spent, desire any more from the court.

46. About the middle of lent the French goldsmith's son came, bringing with him a silver cross made after the French fashion, having the image of Christ all of silver fastened upon it at the top, which the monks and priests seeing, put it away. This cross he was to present in the behalf of his master to Bulgai, who was the chief secretary of the court, which when I heard I was offended. The same young man also declared to Mangu-Khan, that the work which he had commanded to be made, was finished, which work I described unto you. Mangu hath at Caracarum a great court hard by the walls of the city, inclosed with a brick wall, as the priories of monks are inclosed with us. In that court there is a great palace, wherein he held his feasts twice a year, once in Easter, when he passeth that way, and once in summer, when he returneth; but the latter is the greater, because then all the nobles meet together at his court, and then he gives unto them garments, and shews all his magnificence. There are many other houses there, as large as our farms, wherein his victuals and treasures are stored. In the entrance of that great place, because it was indecent to have flaggons going about, as in a tavern, William the goldsmith made him a great silver tree, at the root whereof were four silver lions, having one pipe sending forth pure cows' milk; and the four pipes were conveyed within the tree unto the top thereof, whose top spread back again downward, and upon every one of them was a golden serpent, whose tails twined about the tree; and one of these pipes run with wine, another with caracosmos, that is, clarified whey, another with ball, that is, drink made of honey, another with drink made of rice, called teracina; and every drink had a vessel prepared of silver at the foot of the tree to receive it. Between these four pipes, at the top, he made an angel holding a trumpet, and under the tree he made an hollow vault, wherein a man might be hid, and a pipe ascending up the heart of the tree unto the angel. He first made bellows, but they gave not wind enough. Without the palace there is a chamber, wherein the liquors were laid, and there were servants ready to pour it out when they heard the angel sounding the trumpet; and the boughs of the tree are of silver, and so are the leaves and pears that are on it; when, therefore, they want drink, the butler commands the angel to sound the trumpet; he who is hid in the vault hearing, blows the pipe strongly, which ascending to the angel, he sets his trumpet to his mouth, and the trumpet soundeth very shrill; then the servants hearing, which are in the chamber, pour liquor into the proper pipe, and the pipes pour it from above, and they are received below

below into vessels prepared for that purpose. Then the butlers draw them, and carry them through the palace to men and women.

The palace is like a church, having the middle aisle and the two sides beyond two rows of pillars, and three gates on the south; before the middle gate stands the tree, and the Khan himself sits in the north front on an high place, that he may be seen of all; and there are two flights of steps ascending to him; by one he that carries the cup goes unto him; and by the other he comes down. The space which is in the middle, between the tree and the steps by which they ascend, is void; for there stands he that waits on his cup, and the messengers which bring presents, the Khan sitting there above like a god. On the right side, towards the west, are the men; on the left, women; for the palace stretched out in length from north to south: on the right side are places full of seats, on which his sons and brethren sit; on the left side are the like, where his wives and daughters sit; one woman only sits above by him, but not so high as he. When, therefore, he had heard that the work was finished, he commanded the chief workman to set it up in its place, and make it fit.

About Passion Sunday he went before with his small houses, leaving his greater houses behind; and the monk and we followed him; and he sent us another bottle of wine. The Khan, in his march, passed between the hilly countries, where there was great wind, and extreme cold, and there fell a great snow; whereupon he sent about midnight to the monk and us, entreating us to pray unto God, that he would mitigate the wind and cold, because all the beasts which were in the train were in jeopardy; especially because all that time they were with young, and ready to bring forth. Then the monk sent him incense, requiring him to put it upon the coals, and offer it to God; which whether he did I know not; but the tempest ceased, which had continued two days.

On Palm Sunday we were near Caracaram in the dawning of the day; we blessed the willow-boughs, whereon as yet there appeared no bud; and about nine we entered the city, carrying the cross aloft, with the banner, passing through the middle of the street of the Saracens, where the market and fair are, to the church, and the Nestorians met us in procession; and entering into the church, we found them prepared to celebrate the mass; which being celebrated, they all communicated; and they asked me whether I would communicate? I answered, that I had drank before, and the sacrament should not be received but fasting. Mass being said, it was evening, and Master William the goldsmith brought us with joy to his inn to sup with him. He had a wife who was the daughter of Mohammedan parents, though born in Hungary herself, who could speak French, and the language of Comania. We found also there one other man, called Bassilius, the son of an Englishman, born in Hungary, who also was skilful in the same languages. Supper being ended, they brought us to our cottage, which the Tartars had appointed in a certain plat of ground near the church, with the Oratory of the monk.

On the next morning the Khan himself entered into his palace, and the monk and I and the priests went to him; they suffered not my companion to go because he stumbled on the threshold. I much deliberated with myself what I should do, whether I should go or no; and, fearing offence, if I should depart from other Christians, and because it pleased him, and fearing lest that good might be hindered which I hoped to obtain, I chose rather to go, though I saw their actions full of idolatry and sorcery, nor did I any other thing there but pray for the whole church with a loud voice, and also for the Khan himself, that God would direct him to the way of eternal Salvation. We therefore went into the court, which was very neat, for in the summer

rivers are conveyed into every place whereby it is watered. After this we entered into the palace full of men and women, and stood before the Khan, having the aforefaid tree at our backs, which with the vessels thereof took up a great part of the palace. The priests brought two little loaves and fruit in an earthen dish, which they presented unto him, blessing them; and the butler brought them unto him, sitting above on a very high place, and he presently began to eat one of the loaves, and sent the other to his son and a younger brother of his, who was brought up by a Nestorian, and knew the gospel, who also sent for my bible, that he might see it. After the priests, the monk said his prayer, and I after the monk; then he promised that the next day he would come unto the church, which is great enough and fair, and all the ceiling above was covered with silk wrought with gold; the next day he departed, desiring the priests to excuse him, that he durst not come to the church, because he understood the dead were carried thither: but we and the monk remained at Caracaram with the other priests of the court, that we might celebrate Easter there.

47. The feast of Easter was now drawing near, and we had not our vestments; and I likewise considered the manner how the Nestorians made the sacramental bread, and was much troubled what I should do, whether I should receive the sacrament from them or should celebrate in their vestments and chalice, and upon their altar, or should altogether abstain from the sacrament. There was a great multitude of Christians; Hungarians, Allans, Rutenians, Georgians, and Armenians, all which had not seen the sacrament since they were taken prisoners, because the Nestorians would not admit them into their church, unless they were baptized by them, as they said; yet they made no mention of that to us, and they offered their sacrament freely to us, and made me stand in the door of the choir, that I might see their manner of consecration. On the vigil of Easter I stood by the fount that I might see their manner of baptizing. They say they have of the ointment where-with Mary Magdalen anointed the feet of our Lord; and they pour in as much as they think fit of that oil, with which they knead their bread; for all the people of the East put fat in their bread instead of leaven, which fat is butter, or suet out of a sheep's tail, or oil.

They say also, they have of the flour of which the bread was made which the Lord consecrated, and always add as much fresh as the quantity of the flour they lay aside; and they have a chamber, hard by their choir, and an oven where they bake their bread, which they next consecrate with great reverence. They therefore make one loaf of an hand's breadth, with the before-mentioned oil, which they first break into twelve pieces, according to the number of the apostles, and after divide those pieces according to the multitude of the people, and the priests give the body of Christ to every one in his hand; and then every one taketh it out of the palm of his hand with reverence, and stretcheth his hand to the top of his head. The Christians I mentioned before, and the monks, very earnestly intreated us, for God's sake, that we would celebrate. Then I made them be confessed by an interpreter as I could, reckoning the ten commandments, and the seven deadly sins, and other things, for which every man ought to be penitent and confessed; all of them publicly excused themselves concerning theft, saying, that without theft they could not live, because their masters provided them neither food nor raiment. Then considering that they had taken away their persons and their substance without just cause, I said unto them, that they might lawfully take necessaries of the goods of their masters, and I was ready to maintain it to the face of Mangu-Khan.

Some of them also were soldiers, who excused themselves, that they must go to the wars or else they should be slain: I forbid them to go against the Christians, and that they should not hurt them, and that they should rather suffer themselves to be slain, for so they should become martyrs. And I said, that if any would accuse me of this doctrine

before Mangu-Khan, I would be ready to preach the same in his hearing: for the Nestorians themselves of the court were present when I taught this, of whom I was suspicious they might report ill of us. Then master William the goldsmith caused an iron to be made for us to make hosts; and he had certain vestments which he had made for himself, for he had some knowledge in learning and officiated as a clerk. He caused the image of the blessed Virgin Mary to be graven after the French fashion, and engraved the history of the gospel very fair; and made a silver box to lay up the body of Christ, and the relics in certain little holes, curiously wrought in the side of the box.

He made also a certain oratory upon a chariot, very fairly painted with scripture histories; I therefore took his vestments and blessed them; and we made hosts after our manner, very fair: and the Nestorians assigned me their fount for baptism. And their patriarch sent them from Baldach a square hide like a portable altar, made with chrism, which they use instead of consecrated stone, therefore I celebrated on the day of the Lord's supper, in their silver chalice and dish, which were very great vessels. I did the like also on Easter-day, and we communicated the people with the blessing of God, as I hope; but they were in the vigil of Easter more than threecore persons very orderly. There was great joy for this generally among all Christians.

48. After this, it happened that master William the goldsmith was grievously sick, and when he was upon the recovery, the monk visiting him, gave him rhubarb to drink, so that he had almost killed him. Then visiting him when I found him so ill, I asked him what he had eat or drank? and he told me the monk had given him the potion, and he drunk two little dishes full, thinking it had been holy water. Then I went to the monk, and said to him, either go as an apostle, doing miracles indeed by virtue of prayer and the Holy Ghost, or as a physician according to the art of medicine; you give a strong potion of physick to drink to men not prepared, as if it were an innocent thing; for which you will incur a foul scandal, if it come to the knowledge of men. From that time he began to fear and to be weary of him.

It happened at that time, that the priest too was sick, who was as it were the arch-deacon of the rest, and his friends sent for a certain Saracen, who was a foothfayer, who said unto them, a certain lean man, who neither eateth or drinketh, nor sleeps in a bed, is angry with him; if he can obtain his blessing, he may recover; then they understood it was the monk, and about midnight the priest's wife, his sister, and his son came, intreating that he would come and bless him; they also raised us up to intercede with the monk, who answered us upon this occasion, let him alone, because he, with three others, who likewise took evil courses, consulted to go to the court, to procure Mangu-Khan, that I and you should be expelled from these parts; for there arose a contention among them, because Mangu and his wives sent four Jascots, and pieces of silk, upon Easter eve, to the monk and priests, to distribute among them; and the monk had kept unto himself one Jascot for his part and of the other three one was counterfeit, for it was copper. The priests thought therefore that the monk had kept too great a share to himself, whence (it might be) that they had some words among themselves, which were reported to the monk.

When day came, I went to the priest, who had extreme pain in his side, and spit blood, whence I thought it was an impostume: then I advised him, that if he had any thing that was another: to restore it; he said he had nothing. I spoke unto him also of the sacrament of extreme unction; who answered, we have no such custom, neither do our priests know how to do it; I intreat you that you would do it for me, as you know best. I advised him also, concerning confession, which they frequent not; and he spake a little in the ear of a certain priest, one of his companions. After this, he grew better, and intreated

intreated me to go for the monk; so I went, but the monk would not come at first; but when he heard he was somewhat better, he went with his cross, and I also went, and carried the body of Christ, which I had reserved upon Easter-day, at the intreaty of master William; then the monk began to kick him with his feet, and he most humbly embraced his feet; then I said unto him, it is the custom of the church of Rome, that the sick should receive the body of Christ, as it is the best provision for their journey, and a defence against all the deceits of the enemy; turning next to the sick man, I said, "Behold the body of Christ, which I consecrated on Easter day, you must be confessed and desire it." Then said he, with great faith, "I desire it with all my heart;" which when I had offered to him, he with great affection said, "I believe that this is my Creator, and my Saviour, who gave me life, and will restore it again unto me after death in the general resurrection;" and so took the body of Christ (from my hand), made after the manner of the church of Rome; the monk then stayed with him, and gave him, in my absence, I know not what potions.

The next day he began to have the pangs of death upon him; then taking their oil, which they said was holy, I anointed him according to the church of Rome, as they entreated me. I had none of our oil, because the priests of Sartach kept it all. When we should have sung a dirge, and I would have been present at his end, the monk sent to me, bidding me depart, because if I were present, I could not come into the house of Mangu-Khan for one whole year; which, when I had told his friends, they said it was true, and desired me to depart, lest I might be hindered in that good which I might promote. As soon as he was dead, the monk said unto me, "Never mind it, I have killed him with my prayers; this man only was learned, and opposed himself against us, the rest know nothing; henceforth Mangu-Khan himself, and they all will couch at our feet." Then he declared unto me the before-mentioned answer of the soothsayer; which not believing it, I enquired of the priests who were friends of the deceased, whether it were true or no, who said it was; but whether he was pre-instructed or not, that they knew not.

Afterwards I found that the monk called the soothsayer and his wife into his chapel, and caused dust to be sifted for him to divine to him, for he had a certain Rutenian deacon who divined to him; which, when I understood, I was amazed at his foolishness, and said to him, Brother, a man full of the Holy Ghost, which teacheth all things, should not demand answers or counsels from soothsayers, seeing all such things are forbidden, and they are excommunicated who follow such things. Then he began to excuse himself, that it was not true that he sought after such things; but I would not depart from him, because I was placed there by the commandment of the Khan himself, nor could I remove without his special command.

49. As to the city of Caracarum, Your Highness may be pleased to know this; that, excluding the palace of the Khan himself, it is not so good as the castle of St. Dennis, and the monastery of St. Dennis is worth ten times that palace and more too. There are two streets there, one of the Saracens or Mohammedans, where the fairs are kept, and many merchants resort thither, by reason of the court which is always near, and for the number of embassadors. There is another of the Cathayans, who are all artificers. Without those streets there are great palaces, which are the courts of the secretaries; there are there twelve kinds of idolators of divers nations, two mosques, where the law of Mohammed is proclaimed, and one church of the Christians at the end of the town. The town is enclosed with a mud wall, and hath four gates; on the east part millet and other grain is fold, which, as yet, is seldom brought thither; on the west sheep and goats, on the south oxen and waggons are fold; and on the north horses.

Following the court, we came thither on the Sunday before the Ascension; the next day after we were called before Bulgai, who is their justice and chief secretary; both the monk and all his family, and we and all the messengers and strangers likewise who frequented the house of the monk, were called before Bulgai severally, first the monk, and after us, and they began diligently to enquire whence we were, and for what purpose we came, and what our errand was? and this enquiry was made because it was told Mangu-Khan, that four hundred assassins or secret murderers were gone forth in divers habits to kill him. About that time the Khan's lady was restored to health, and she sent for the monk, and he, not willing to go, answered, she hath sent for idolators about her, let them cure her if they can, I will go no more.

Upon Ascension eve, we were all in the house of Mangu-Khan: and I saw as often as he was to drink, they cast Coffins to their idols of felt; then I said to the monk, "What fellowship hath Christ with Belial? what part hath our cross with those idols?" Mangu-Khan hath eight brethren, three by the mother, and five by the father. One of them of his mother's side he sent into the country of Assassines, who are called by them Mulibet, and he commanded him to kill them all. Another went to Persia, and is now entered therein to go, as is thought, into Turkey, from thence to send armies to Baldach and Vastacius. One of the others he sent into Cathaia against some that rebelled: his youngest brother of the same venter, he kept himself, whose name was Arabucha, who holds his mother's court, who was a Christian, whose servant master William is: for one of the brothers on the father's side took him in a certain city called Belgrade, where there was a Norman bishop, of Belle Ville near Roan with a nephew of the bishop's, whom I saw there at Caracorum, and he gave master William to Mangu's mother, because she was desirous to have him. But when she was dead, master William came back again to Arabucha, with all things else pertaining to the court of his mother; and from him he came to the knowledge of Mangu-Khan, who, on finishing of the aforesaid work, gave unto master William one hundred Jascots, that is, a thousand marks.

On the Eve of the Ascension, Mangu-Khan said, he would go to his mother's court and visit her, and the monk said he would go with him, and give his blessing to his mother, with which Khan was well contented. In the evening of the day of the ascension, the aforesaid lady was very ill and the chief of the soothsayers sent to the monk, commanding him that the table should not be smitten. On the morrow, when the whole court removed, the court of the lady remained still: and when we came to the place where the court should stay, the monk was commanded to depart farther from the court than he was wont, which he did: then Arabucha met his brother the Khan: so the monk and we, seeing that he was to pass by us, met him with the cross; and he calling us to mind, because sometimes he had been at our Oratory, stretching forth his hand made a cross unto us like a bishop; then the monk taking horse followed him, bearing certain fruits; but he alighted before his brother's court, waiting while he came from hunting: the monk alighted there also, and offered him the fruit, which he received; and hard by him sat two Saracens of the nobility of the court of Khan; but Arabucha understanding of the contention between the Christians and the Saracens, enquired of the monk if he knew these Saracens, and he answered, I know they are dogs, why have you them so near you? But they replied, why, say they, do you wrong to us, when we do none to you? To whom the monk said, I speak the truth, and ye and your Mohammed are vile dogs: then they began to blaspheme Christ, but Arabucha forbid them, saying, Speak not so blasphemously, for we know that the Messiah is
God.

God. That very hour there arose a great wind over all the street, and after a while there came a rumour that the lady was dead.

The next morning the Khan returned towards the court another way; for this is a rule amongst them, that they never return the same way they come. While the court remained here none dare pass that way (neither horse-man nor foot-man,) where the court stayed, so long as any shew of the fire made there remaineth. That day certain Saracens kept company with the monk, upon the way, provoking him, and disputing with him; and when he could not defend himself with argument, and they made light of him, he would have lashed them with the whip which he held in his hand, and he went so far that his words were reported at the court, and we were commanded to depart to the same place with other messengers; and not to abide before the court as we were wont. I hitherto always hoped the King of Armenia would come. There came some about Easter from Bolac, where those Germans are, for whose sake chiefly I went thither, who told me, that the Dutch priest should come to court; therefore I moved no questions to Mangu concerning our stay or departure; for at the beginning he gave us leave to stay two months, and now five months were past. This was done about the end of May, and we had continued there all February, March, April and May; but hearing no news of the King or the said priest, and fearing lest we should return in the winter, the sharpness of which we had experienced, I caused it to be demanded of Mangu-Khan, what his pleasure was concerning us, because we would stay there, if so he pleased, or if we must return, it were easier for us to return in summer, than in the winter.

He presently sent to me, commanding that I should not go far off, because his pleasure was to speak with me the next day: to which I answered, if he would speak with me, he should send for master William's son, for my interpreter was not sufficient, and he that brought this message to me was a Saracen, who had been a messenger to Vastacius, and, blinded with rewards, counselled Vastacius to send ambassadors to Mangu-Khan, and the mean while the time passed, for Vastacius thought he would presently enter their country, so he sent, and after he knew them, he little regarded them, nor made a peace with them; neither did they yet enter his country, nor will they be able so long as they dare defend themselves; nor did they ever take any country by force, but by deceit; and because men make peace with them, under colour of that peace they circumvent them and overthrow them. Then he began to be very inquisitive of the Pope, and of the King of the Franks, and of the way to go to them: but the monks hearing this, advised me secretly not to answer him, because he would procure that an ambassador should be sent. I therefore held my peace, and did not answer him; and he spake to me I know not what injurious words, for the Nestorian priests would have accused him, so that he had either been accused himself, but I would not agree to it.

50. The very next day they brought me to the court, and the chief secretaries of the court came to me, one of them a Moal, who waiteth upon the Khan's cup, and the rest Saracens, enquiring on the behalf of the Khan, wherefore I came? Then I told him in the very same words I did before, how I came to Sartach, and from Sartach to Baatu, and how Baatu sent me thither. Whereupon I said unto him, I have nothing to speak on the behalf of any man, unless I should speak the words of God unto him, if he would hear them, for the Khan should best know what Baatu hath written unto him. They stuck upon this, demanding what words of God I would speak unto him; thinking I would prophesy unto him some prosperous thing, as many use to do.

To whom I answered, if ye will that I speak the words of God unto him, get me an interpreter, who said, we have sent for him, yet speak by this interpreter as you may, we shall understand you well, and they urged me much to speak. Then I said, "This is the word of God. To whom more is committed, more is required at his hands. Another also, to whom more is forgiven, he ought to love more. Out of these true words of God, I said to the Mangu himself, that God hath given him much: for the power and riches which he hath, the idols of the Tuinians hath not given him, but the omnipotent God, who hath made heaven and earth, in whose hands all kingdoms are, and he translateth them from nation to nation for the sins of men, wherefore if he love him, it shall go well with him; if otherwise, let him know that God will require all these things at his hands, even to the uttermost farthing." Then said one of the Saracens, is there any man that loveth not God? I answered, "God saith, if any man love me, he will keep my commandments; therefore he that keepeth not the commandments of God, loveth not God." Then said he, Have ye been in heaven, that ye might know the commandments of God? "No, said I, but he hath given them from heaven to holy men, and at the last himself descended from heaven, teaching us, and we have these things in the scriptures, and we see by the works of men whether they keep them or no." -

Whereupon he replied, Will ye then say that Mangu Khan keeps not the commandments of God? To whom I said your interpreter will come as ye say. Then before Mangu-Khan, if it please him, I will recite the commandments of God, and he shall be his own judge, whether he keep them or not; so they departed and told him that I said he was an idolater, or a Tuinian, and kept not the commandments of God. The next day he sent his secretaries unto me, saying, Our Lord sends us unto you, saying, ye are here, Christians, Saracens, and Tuinians, and every of you saith, his law is better, and his books are true: wherefore he would that ye all come together, and make comparison that every one write his words, that he may know the truth. Then I said, "Blessed be God, that hath put this in the heart of Khan; but our scripture saith, the servant of God must not be contentious, but meek unto all. Wherefore I am ready without strife and contention to render an account of the faith and hope of Christians to every one that shall require it." Then they wrote my words, and brought them unto him.

Then the Nestorians were commanded to provide themselves, and write what they would speak, and the Saracens likewise, and the Tuinians also. On the next morning he sent the secretaries again, saying, Mangu-Khan would know wherefore ye came to these parts? To whom I said, he may know by the letters of Baatu: to this they answered, Baatu's letters are lost, and he hath forgotten what Baatu hath wrote to him. Wherefore he would know of you.

At this somewhat embolden, I said, "The duty or office of our religion is to preach the gospel unto all. Whereupon when I heard of the fame of the people of Moal, I had a desire to come unto them, and while I was thus minded we heard of Sartach that he was a Christian; then I directed my journey unto him, and my Sovereign Lord the King of the Franks sent him letters containing good words, and other words besides which testify of us unto him what men we are, when he made request that he would suffer us to remain with the people of Moal; then he sent us to Baatu, and Baatu to Mangu-Khan; whereupon we intreated, and yet intreat him to suffer us to stay." They wrote all, and made relation thereof unto him. On the morrow he sent to me again, saying, the Khan knows well enough that ye have no message unto him, but ye came to pray for him as many other priests do; but he demandeth whether ever any of your
ambassadors

ambassadors were with him, or ours with you. Then I declared all unto them concerning David and friar Andrew, so they putting all in writing, reported the same to him.

Then he sent again unto me saying, Our Lord Khan saith ye have staid long here; his pleasure is, that ye return unto your own country, and he further demands, whether ye would conduct his ambassadors with you? To whom I made answer, that I durst not carry his ambassadors beyond his own country, because there is a warlike nation between us and you, and the sea and mountains, and I am a poor monk, and therefore dare not take upon me to be their guide; so they having set down all in writing, returned and reported it to the Khan. When Whitfun-Eve came, the Nestorians wrote chronicles from the creation of the world to the passion of Christ, and passing over the passion, they spake of the resurrection of the dead, and of the ascension, and of the coming of judgment, wherein many things were to be reprehended, which I told them; and we likewise wrote the symbol or creed, *Credo unum Deum*. Then I demanded of them how they would proceed? They said they would first dispute with the Saracens; I shewed them this was not the proper method, for the Saracens in this agree with us, that they affirm there is but one God, and therefore you may have them to help you against the Tuinians, so they were contented. Then I asked them, if they knew how idolatry had its first original in the world, and they could not tell? I told them, and they said you shall clear these things to them, and then let us speak, for it is hard to speak by an interpreter; to whom I said, try how you can behave yourselves against them, I will take the Tuinians part, and you the Christians.

Suppose I am of that sect that say there is no God, prove ye there is a God, for there is a sect there which saith, that every virtue in what thing soever, is the God thereof, and that otherwise there is no God. Then the Nestorians knew not how to prove any thing, but only that which their writing declareth: I said, they believe not the scriptures, if ye shew one, they will shew another. Then I directed them to let me first talk with them, because if I should be overcome, they might still have liberty of speech; whereas if they should be overcome, I should have no hearing: they agreed unto it.

We therefore gathered together at our Oratory, and Mangu-Khan sent three writers to be judges, one Christian, one Saracen, and one Tuinian, and it was first proclaimed, "This is the commandment of Mangu-Khan, and none dare say that the commandment of God is otherwise. He commandeth that none speak contentious or injurious words to another, or make any tumult, whereby this business may be hindered, upon pain of his head." Then all were silent, and there was a great assembly there, for every party invited the wisest of their nation, and many others came flocking thither. Then the Christians set me in the middle of them, willing the Tuinians to speak with me. Then they began to murmur against Mangu-Khan, because never any Khan attempted thus to search into their secrets. Then they opposed one to me, who came from Cathaya, having his interpreter, and I had Master William's son. And he first said to me, "Friend, if thou be brought to a nonplus, who must seek a wiser than yourself?" But I held my peace.

Then he demanded whereof I would dispute, either How the world was made, or what becomes of the souls after death? To whom I answered, "Friend, this should not be the beginning of our speech. All things are of God, and he is the fountain and head of all, and therefore we ought to speak first of God, of whom ye think otherwise than ye ought to do, and Mangu desires to know who believes better?" Then the arbitrators allowed this to be reasonable, they would willingly have begun with the

following questions; because they hold them for the strongest, for they are all of the heresy of the Manichees, believing two principles, the one bad, and the other good; and concerning souls they all think they pass from body to body, inasmuch that one of the wisest of the Nestorian priests demanded of me concerning the souls of brute beasts, whether they could fly to any place where they should not be compelled to labour after death? For confirmation also thereof, as the goldsmith told me, a certain child was brought from Cathaya, who by the size of his body appeared to be three years old, yet was capable of any reason, who affirmed of himself, that he had been three times in several bodies, and knew letters, and how to write.

I said to the aforesaid Tuinian, "We firmly believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth, that there is a God, and there is but one God, and one in perfect unity, what believe you?" He said, fools say there is but one God, but wise men say there are many. Are not there great Lords in your country, and here is a greater Lord, Mangu-Khan? so it is of the Gods, because in divers countries there are divers. To whom I said, you make a bad comparison of men with God; for so every mighty man in his own country may be called a God. And when I would have solved the similitude, he prevented me, enquiring what manner of God is yours, whereof you speak, that he is but one? I answered, "Our God, beside whom there is no other, is omnipotent, and therefore needeth not the help of another. Nay, all we have need of his help, it is not so with men; no man can do all things, and therefore there must be many Lords in the earth, because no one can support all. Again, he knows all things, therefore he needs not a counsellor; nay, all wisdom is from him; moreover he is perfectly good, and needeth not our good. Nay, in him we live, move, and have our being: such is our God, and therefore you must not hold that there is any other." It is not so, said he. Nay, there is one highest in the heavens, whose generation we know not yet, and ten are under him, and under them there is one inferior, and in the earth there are infinite. Then he would have added other fables: so I asked him of that highest God, whether he thought him omnipotent, or of any other God? and fearing to answer, he demanded, if your God be such as you say, why made he the half of things evil? It is false, said I, who so maketh any evil is no God, and all things whatsoever are good. At this word all the Tuinians marvelled, and set it down in writing, as false and impossible. Then he began to ask, whence therefore cometh evil? You ask amiss, said I; for first you should demand what evil is before you ask whence it is. But to return unto the first question, whether do you believe that any God is omnipotent? and after I will answer you to whatsoever you demand. Then he sat a long time and would not answer, inasmuch that the writers on the behalf of the Khan were forced to command him to answer. At length he answered, that no God was omnipotent. Then all the Saracens broke out into a great laughter. Silence being made, I said therefore none of your Gods can save you in all dangers, because such a chance may happen wherein he hath no power. Again, no man can serve two masters. How then can you serve so many Lords in heaven and in earth? The auditory decreed him to answer, but he held his peace.

Then when I was about to alledge reasons to prove the truth of divine essence, and the Trinity, in every man's hearing, the Nestorians of the country said, that it was enough, because they meant to speak; so I gave them place; and when they would have disputed with the Saracens, they answered, we grant that your law is true, and whatsoever is in the gospel is truth, wherefore we will not dispute with you in any thing, and they confessed, that they beg at the hands of God in their prayers, that they may die the death of the Christians. There was there a certain old peace of the sect of Juguren,

who

who confels one God, yet they make idols, with whom they talked much, shewing all till the coming of Christ to judgment, declaring the Trinity to him, and the Saracens by similitudes; all of them hearkened without any contradiction, yet none of them said, I believe and will become a Christian. The conference ended, the Nestorians and Saracens sang together with a loud voice, the Tuinians holding their peace, and after that, they all drank most plentifully.

51. On Whitfunday, Mangu-Khan called me before him, and the Tuinian with whom I disputed; and before I went in, Master William's son, my interpreter, said to me, that we must return to our country, and that I should speak nothing against it, because he understood it for a thing determined. When I came before him, I kneeled, and the Tuinian by me, with his interpreter. Then he said unto me, "Tell me the truth, whether you said, when I sent my writers unto you, that I was a Tuinian?" Then I answered, "My Lord, I said not so; but if it please Your Highness, I will tell you the words I spake;" then I recited what I had spoken, and he answered, "I thought well you said not so; for it was a word which you should not speak, but your interpreter hath ill interpreted it." So he reached forth his staff towards me whereon he leaned, saying, "Fear not." I smiling, said softly, "If I had feared, I had not come hither; then he demanded of the interpreter what I said? So he repeated my words unto him: afterwards he began to confels his faith unto me.

"We Moalians," said he, "believe that there is but one God, through whom we live and die, and we have an upright heart towards him;"—"Then," said I, "God grant you this, for without his gift it cannot be;" and he demanded what I said, so the interpreter told him; then he added further, "That God who hath given to the hand divers fingers, so he hath given many ways to men: God hath given the Scriptures to you, and the Christians keep them not: ye find it not in the Scriptures, that one of you shall dispraise another: do you find it?" said he. "No," said I; "but I signified unto you from the beginning, that I would not contend with any;"—"I speak it not," said he, "touching you. In like manner ye find it not that for money a man ought to decline from justice."—"No, Sir," said I, "and truly neither came I into these parts to get money, nay, I refused that which was given me;" and there was a scribe present there, who gave testimony that I had refused a jaseot, and certain pieces of silk. "I speak it not," said he, "for that God hath given you the Scriptures, and ye keep them not; but he hath given us soothsayers, and we do that which they bid us, and we live in peace." He drank four times, as I think, before he disclosed these things; and while I hearkened attentively, whether he would confels any thing else concerning this faith, he began to speak of my return, saying, "You have staid a long time here, my pleasure is therefore that you return: you said, you durst not carry my ambassadors with you, will you carry my messenger, or my letters?" And from that time I could neither have place nor time to shew him the Catholic faith; for a man cannot speak before him save what he pleaseth, unless he were an ambassador, but an ambassador may speak what he will, and they always demand, whether he have any thing else to say.

But he suffered me to speak no more; but I must hear him, and answer as to interrogatories. Then I answered, that if he would make me understand his words, and that they were set down in writing, I would willingly carry them to my power. Then he asked me if I would have gold or silver, or costly garments? I answered, "We receive no such things; but we have not wherewith to bear our expences, and without your help, we cannot get out of your country." Then said he, "I will provide you all necessaries throughout my country, will you have any thing more?" I answered, "It sufficeth

me. Then he demanded, "How far will you be brought?" I said, "Let our pass bring me to the Armenian country; if I were there, it were enough." He answered, "I will cause you to be conveyed thither, and after look to yourself;" and he added, "there are two eyes in one head, and though they be two, yet there is one object to both: and whither the one directeth the sight the other doth. You came from Baatu, and therefore you must return by him." When he had thus said, I craved leave to speak; "Speak on," said he; then said I, "Sir, we are not men of war; we desire that they have dominion of the world, who would most justly govern it according to the will of God; our office is to teach men to live according to the will of God; for this purpose came we into these parts, and would willingly have remained here, if it had pleased you; but seeing it is your pleasure that we return, it must be so; I will return, and carry your letters according to my power, as ye have commanded. I would request Your Magnificence, that when I have carried your letters, it may be lawful for me to return to you, with your good liking, chiefly because you have poor servants of yours at Balac, who are of our language, and they want a priest to teach them and their children their law, and I would willingly stay with them." To this he answered, "Know you whether your Lords would send you back to me?" I answered, "Sir, I know not the purpose of my Lords; but I have licence from them to go whither I will, where it is needful to preach the word of God; and it seems to me as if it were necessary in those parts: whereupon, whether they send ambassadors or no, if it please you, I will return." Then he held his peace, and sat a long space, as it were in a muse; and my interpreter desired me to speak no more, and I carefully expected what he would answer.

At length, he said, "You have a long way to go, make yourself strong with food, that you may come lusty into your country," and he caused them to give me drink; then I departed from his presence, and returned not again. If I had been endowed with power to do wonders, as Moses did, peradventure he had humbled himself.

52. The soothsayers therefore, as he confessed, are their priests, and whatsoever they command to be done, is performed without delay; whose office I shall describe unto you, as I could learn of Master William, and others, who reported unto me things like to be true. They are many, and they have always one head, or chief priest, who always places his house before the great house of Mangu-Khan, within a stone's cast; under his study are the chariots which bear their idols, the others are behind the court, in places appointed for them, and they who have any confidence in that art, come unto them from divers parts of the world. Some of them are skilful in astronomy, and especially the chief of them, and they foretel to them the eclipses of the sun and moon. And when they are to come to pass, all the people prepare them food, so that they need not go out of the door of their house; and when there is an eclipse, they play upon their timbrels and organs, and make a great noise, and set up loud shouts. When the eclipse is past, they give themselves to feasting, and drinking, and make great cheer. They foretel fortunate and unlucky days for all business; therefore they never levy an army, or undertake war, without their direction: and they had long since returned into Hungary, but that their soothsayers will not suffer them: they make all things that are sent to the court pass between fires, and have a due portion of them.

They also purify the household stuff of the dead, drawing them between these fires; for when any one dieth, all things whatsoever which appertain to him are separated, and not mingled with other things of the court: all be purged by the fire; so did I see it done to the court of the lady who died while we were there; whereupon there was a double reason why Friar Andrew and his fellows should go between the fires,
both

both because they brought presents, and also for that they belonged to him who was dead, to wit, Khon-Khan; no such thing was required of me, because I brought nothing. If any living creature, or any thing else, fall to the ground while they thus make them pass between the fires, that is theirs; they also on the ninth day of the month of May, gather together all white mares of the herd and consecrate them. The Christian priests also must come together with their censors; then they cast new cosmos upon the ground, and make a great feast that day, because then they think they drink cosmos first, as it is the fashion in some places with us, as for wine on the feast of St. Bartholomew, or Sixtus; and for fruits, on the feast of St. James and Christopher.

They also are invited when any child is born, to foretel its destiny. They are sent for also when any is sick, to use their charms, and they tell whether it be a natural infirmity, or by forcery; in regard to which that good woman of Metz I mentioned before, told me a wonderful thing. On a certain time, very costly furs were presented, which were laid down at the court of her lady, who was a Christian, as I said before, and the soothsayers drew them through between the fires, and took more of them than was their due, and a certain woman under whose custody the treasure of her lady was, accused them thereof unto her lady, whereupon the lady herself reproved them. It fell out after this, that this lady herself began to be sick, and to suffer certain sudden pains in divers parts of her body; the soothsayers were called, and they sitting far off, commanded one of those maidens to put her hand upon the place where the grief was, and if she found any thing, she should snatch it away; then she arising did so, and she found a piece of felt in her hand, or of some other thing: then they commanded her to put it upon the ground, which being laid down, it began to creep, as if it had been some living creature; then they put it into the water, and it was turned as it were into a horse-leech; and they said some witch hath hurt you thus with her forceries, and they accused her that had accused them of the furs, who was brought without the tents into the fields, and received the bastinado seven days together there, and was afterwards tormented with other punishments to make her confess; and in the mean time her lady died, which she understanding, said unto them, "I know my lady is dead, kill me that I may go after her, for I never did her hurt;" and when she confessed nothing, Mangu-Khan commanded she should live.

Then the soothsayers accused the lady's daughter's nurse, of whom I spake before, who was a Christian, and her husband was the chief among all the Nestorian priests; so she was brought to punishment, with a maid of her's, to make her confess, and the maid confessed, that her mistress sent her to speak with a certain horse to demand answers. The woman also herself confessed something she did to be beloved by her lady, that she might do her good, but she did nothing that might hurt her. She was demanded also whether her husband were privy to it; she excused him, for that he had burnt the characters and letters which she had made. Then she was put to death, and Mangu-Khan sent the priest her husband to the Bishop, who was in Cathaya, to be judged, although he was not found culpable.

In the mean time it fell out, that the principal wife of Mangu-Khan brought forth a son, and the soothsayers were called to foretel the destiny of the child, who all prophesied prosperity, and said he should live long, and be a great Lord. After a few days it happened that the child died; then the mother enraged called the soothsayers, saying, "You said my son should live, and he is dead." Then they said, "Madam, behold, we see that soothsayers, the nurse of Christia, who the other day was put to death, she hath killed your son, and behold we see she carries him away." Now there remained one son and a daughter of that woman, grown to full age, in the tents; and the lady sent

presently for them in a rage, and caused the young man to be slain by a man, and the maid by a woman, in revenge of her son, whom the soothsayers affirmed to be killed by their mother. Not long after Mangu-Khan dreamed of these children, and demanded in the morning what was become of them? His servant was afraid to tell him, and he being troubled, the more demanded where they were, because they had appeared to him in a vision by night: then they told him; after which, he, presently sending for his wife, demanded whence she learned that a woman should give sentence of death, without the privity of her husband? And he caused her to be shut up seven days, commanding to give her no meat; but the man (who slew the young man) he caused to be beheaded, and the head to be hung about the woman's neck who had killed the maid, and ordered her to be cudgelled with burning firebrands through all the tents, and after to be put to death; he had also put his wife to death, but for the children he had by her; and he went out of his court, and returned not till after one moon.

The forcerers also trouble the air with their charms; and when the cold is so great naturally, that they cannot apply any remedy, then they search out some in the camp, whom they accuse that the cold comes through their means; so they are put to death without inquiry or delay. A little before I departed from thence, one of the concubines was sick, and languished long, and they mumbled their charms over a certain German slave of hers, who slept three days, who, when she came to herself, they demanded what she had seen, and she had seen many persons, of all which she judged they should shortly die; and because she saw not her mistress there, they judged she should not die of that sickness. I saw the maid, while her head was yet aching by reason of that sickness. Some of them also call upon devils, and gather them together (who will have answers from the devil) in the night, unto their house; and they put boiled flesh in the midst; and that Knan who invoceth, beginneth to say his charms, and having a timbrel, smites it strongly against the ground; at length he begins to rave, and causeth himself to be bound; then the devil comes in the dark and gives him flesh to eat, and makes him answer. Once at such a time, (as Master William told me) a certain Hungarian hid himself with them, and the devil being upon the house, cried that he could not come in, because a certain Christian was with them; he hearing this, fled with haste, because they began to search for him. These things, and many other they do, which are too long for me to repeat.

53. After the feast of Pentecost, they began to prepare their letters, which they intend to send unto Your Majesty; in the mean time, the Khan returned to Caracaram, and held a great feast about the 15th of June, and he desired that all the ambassadors should be present. The last day he sent for us, but I went to church to baptize three children of a certain poor German whom we found there. Master William was chief butler at that feast, because he made the tree which poured the drink, and all the poor and rich sung and danced, and clapped their hands before the Khan. Then he began to make an oration unto them, saying, "I have sent my brethren far off, and have sent them into danger, into foreign nations: now it shall appear what you will do when I shall send you, that our commonwealth may be enlarged." Every day in those four days he changed garments, which he gave them, all of one colour, every day, from the shoes to the ornament of the head. At that time I saw the ambassador of the Khans of Bagdad who caused himself to be carried upon a horse litter between two mules, to the court, of whom some said that he made peace with them, on condition that they should give him ten thousand horses for his army; others said, that Mangu declared he would not make peace with them, unless they would destroy all their ammunition;

munition; and the ambassador answered, when you will pluck off your horse's hoofs, we will destroy our ammunition.

I saw also there the ambassadors of a Soldan of India, who brought with him eight leopards, and ten hare-hounds, taught to sit upon the horse's buttocks, as leopards do. When I enquired of India which way it lay from that place, they shewed me towards the west, and these ambassadors travelled with me almost three weeks together, always westward. I saw also the ambassador of the Soldan of Turkey, who brought him rich presents; and he answered, as I heard, he needed neither gold nor silver, but men, wherefore he required of him an army. On the feast of St. John, he held a great feast, and I caused one hundred and five carts, and ninety horses to be numbered, all laden with cow's milk; and on the feasts of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, in like manner. At length, the letters being dispatched which he sent to you, they called me, and interpreted them, the substance whereof I wrote, as I could understand them by my interpreter, which is this: "The commandment of the eternal God is this: there is but one eternal God in heaven, upon earth let there be but one Lord, Zengis-Khan, Son of God, and Mangu-Tingij, that is to say, the found of iron. This is the word which is spoken to you; whatsoever Moals we are, whatsoever Namans, whatsoever markets, whatsoever Mussulmen, wheresoever ears may hear, wheresoever horse may go, cause it to be heard and understood; that such as have heard my commandment, and would not believe it, and would levy an army against us, shall be as having eyes and not seeing; and when they would hold any thing they shall be without hands; and when they would walk they shall be without feet. This is the commandment of the eternal God, by the virtue of the eternal God, by the great Monarch of the Moals, the commandment of Mangu-Khan is given to the French King, King Lodowick, and all other Lords and Priests, and to the great world of the Franks, that they understand my words, and the commandments of the eternal God, made to Zengis-Khan; neither but from Zengis-Khan ever came this commandment unto you. A certain man, called David, came unto you as an ambassador of the Moals, he was a liar; and with him you sent your ambassador to Khen-Khan. After Khen-Khan was dead, your ambassador came to his court; Charnis, his wife, sent you cloth, called Nassick. But to know matters appertaining to war and peace, and to settle the great world in quiet, and to see to do good, that wicked woman, more vile than a dog, how could she know how to do it? Those two monks which came from you unto Sartach, Sartach sent them to Baatu; but Baatu, because Mangu-Khan is the greatest over the world of the Moals, sent them unto us. But now, that the great world, and the priests, and the monks might live in peace and enjoy their goods, that the commandment of God might be heard among you, we would have sent our ambassadors of Moal with your priests; but they answered, that betwixt us and you there was a warlike nation, and many bad men and troublesome ways, so as they were afraid they could not bring our ambassadors safe unto you. But if we would deliver unto them our letters, containing our commandments to their King Lodowick, they would carry them. For this cause we sent not our ambassadors with them; but we have sent the commandments of the eternal God by your said priests. It is the commandment of the eternal God which we have given you to understand; and when you shall hear and believe it, if you will obey us, send your ambassadors unto us, so shall we be satisfied whether you will have peace with us or war. When, by the power of the eternal God, the whole world shall be in unity, joy, and peace, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, then shall it appear what we will do. But if ye shall see and hear the commandment of the eternal God, and will not hearken to it, or believe it, saying, Our country is far off, our hills are strong,

strong, our sea is great; and in this confidence shall lead an army against us to know what we can do; He that made that which was hard easy, and that which was far off near, the eternal God himself knows that alone." And as they called us your ambassadors in the letters, I said unto them, call us not ambassadors, for I said to the Khan that we were not the ambassadors of the King Louis: then they went unto him and told him; but when they returned, they said unto me that he held it much for our good, and that he commanded them to write as I should direct them: then I told them they should leave out the name of ambassadors, and call us monks and priests. In the mean time, while those things were doing, my companion hearing that we must return by the wilderness to Baatu, and that a man of Moal should be our guide, he ran, without my knowledge, to Bulgai, the chief scribe, signifying to him by signs, that he should die if he went that way; and when the day came wherein we should have our pass, viz. a fortnight after the feast of St. John, when we were called to the court, the scribe said unto my companion, Mangu's pleasure is, that your companion return by Baatu; and you say you are sick, and it appeareth so: Mangu therefore grants, if you will go with your companion, go, but let it be your own fault, because it is possible you may remain with some Jani that will not provide for you, and it will be a hindrance to your companion; but if you will stay here, we will provide necessaries for you, till some ambassadors come, with whom you may return more easily, and by a way where there are villages.

The friar answered, God grant the Khan a prosperous life; I will stay: then I said to my companion, Brother, be advised what you do, I will not leave you. You leave not me, said he, but I leave you, because, if I go with you, I see the death of my body and soul, because I have no patience under intolerable labour. Then they brought us three garments, or coats, and said unto us, Ye will not receive gold or silver, and yet ye have stayed long here, and prayed for the Khan; he entreats you, that, at the least, every one of you will receive a single garment, that ye depart not empty from him. Then we were forced to receive them for reverence of him, for they account it a very evil thing when their gifts are contemned. First he caused us to be asked what we would have? and we always answered the same thing; so that the Christians insulted over the idolaters, who seek nothing but gifts; and they answered that we were fools, because, if he would give them his whole court they would willingly take it, and would do wisely too; receiving therefore the garments, they entreated us to make our prayers for the Khan, which we did, and afterwards we went to Caracaram.

But it happened, while we were with the monks, far from the court with other ambassadors, that the monk caused the table to be struck so hard that Mangu-Khan heard it, and demanded what it was; they told him. Upon which he asked why he was removed so far from the court; they told him, because it was troublesome to bring him horses and oxen every day to the court; and said further, that it were better that he should stay at Caracaram. Then the Khan sent unto him, saying, if he would go to Caracaram, and stay there near about the church, he would give him all things necessary: but the monk answered, I came from the holy land of Jerusalem hither by the command of God, and left that city, wherein are a thousand better churches than that of Caracaram; if he please that I stay here, and pray for him as God commanded me, I will stay; if not I will return to the place from whence I came. So that every evening oxen were brought him yoked to the carts, and in the morning he was brought to the place where he used to be before the court; and a little before we departed thence, a certain Nestorian came, who seemed to be a wife man; Bulgai, the

chief

chief secretary, placed him before the court, to whom the Khan set his children that he should bless them.

54. We came therefore to Caracaram, and while we were in Master William the goldsmith's house, my guide came to me and brought me ten jaseots, five of which he left in Master William's hands, commanding him to spend them on the behalf of the Khan, for the friar's use, while he remained there; he also left the other five in the hands of my interpreter, commanding him to spend them in the way, for my subsistence; for Master William had given them such instructions without our knowledge. I presently changed one into small money, and distributed it to the poor Christians which were there, for all their eyes were fixed upon us. We spent another in buying things necessary for us, as garments and other things, which we wanted. With the third my interpreter himself bought some things, by which he gained somewhat. We spent the rest, because after we came into Persia sufficient necessaries were no where given us, nor yet among the Tartars, amongst whom we seldom found any thing to be sold.

Master William, Your Majesty's citizen and subject, sends you a certain girdle set with a precious stone, which they used to wear against thunder and lightning, and most humbly salutes you, always commending you to God in his prayers. We baptized there in all six souls. When we departed from each other, it was with tears, my companion remaining with Master William, and I returning with my interpreter, my guide, and one servant, who had directions to take one mutton in four days for us four. We came, therefore, in two months and ten days from Caracaram to Baatu, and never saw a town, nor so much as the appearance of any house, but graves, except one village, wherein we did not so much as eat bread, nor did we ever rest in these two months and ten days, save one day, because we could not get horses. We returned for the most part by the same kind of people, and yet through other countries, for we went in the winter, and returned in the summer, and by the higher parts of the north, except that fifteen days journey we were obliged to go and return by a certain river between the mountains, where there is no lodging but by the river side. We went two days, and sometimes three, without taking any other food but cosinos. Once we were in great danger, not being able to find any people, our provision failing us, and our horses tired.

When I had travelled twenty days, I heard that the King of Armenia had passed by. In the end of August I met with Sartach, who went to Mangu-Khan with flocks and herds, and with his wives and children, yet the bulk of his families remained between Tanais and Ptilia. I sent my duty to him, saying, I would willingly stay in his country, but Mangu-Khan would have me return and carry his letters. He answered, that I must perform the will of Mangu-Khan. Then I asked Coiac for the children? He answered, they were in the court of Baatu, carefully provided for. I also asked him for our cloaths and books again? He answered, did ye not bring them to Sartach? I said I brought them unto Sartach, but I did not give them unto him, as you know; and I put him in mind what answer I made when he demanded whether I would give them to Sartach? Then he answered, you say truth, and none can resist truth. I left your goods with my father, who remaineth near Sarai, which is a new town Baatu hath made upon Etilia on the east shore; but our priests have some of the vestments. If any thing please you, said I, keep it, so my books be restored.

Then he told me he would report my words to Sartach. I must have letters, said I, to your father, to restore me all. But he was ready to be gone, and said unto me, the train of the ladies followeth us near at hand, ye shall alight there, and I will send Sartach's.

tach's answer by this man. I was very careful he should not deceive me, yet I dare not contend with him: late in the evening the man came unto me, and brought two coats with him, which I thought had been all of silk, and he said unto me, behold two garments, the one Sartach hath sent unto you, and the other, if so it please you, you shall present to the King on his behalf; to whom I answered, I wear no such garments, I will present them both to my King, in honour of your Lord. Then said he, do with them what you please; now it pleased me to send them both unto you, and I send them to you by the bearer of these presents. He delivered me letters also to the father of Coiae to restore me all which appertained unto me, because he had no need of any thing which was mine; so we came to the court of Baatu, the same day I departed thence a year before, viz. the second day after the exaltation of the blessed cross, and I found our young men in health, yet much afflicted with poverty, as Goffet told me; and if the King of Armenia had not comforted them, and recommended them to Sartach, they had perished, for they thought I had been dead. The Tartars also demanded of them, if they could keep oxen, or milk mares: for if I had not returned, they had been brought into servitude by those people.

After this Baatu ordered me to come to him, and made the letters which Mangu-Khan sends unto you to be interpreted unto me; for so Mangu wrote unto him, that if it pleased him to add any thing, or leave out, or change, he should do it. Then said he, Ye shall carry these letters, and cause them to be understood. He demanded also what way I would go, whether by sea or land? I said, the sea was froze, because it was winter, and I must go by land, for I thought you had been still in Syria, so I directed my journey towards Persia, for if I had thought you had passed into France, I would have gone into Hungary; for I should sooner have come into France, and by a more easy way than through Syria; then we travelled a month with him before we could obtain a guide; at length they appointed me a certain Jugure, who understanding I would give him nothing, and that I would go forthwith into Armenia, caused letters to be made to conduct me to the Soldan of Turkey, hoping he should receive gifts of the Soldan, and that he should gain more that way; then we took our journey speedily fifteen days before the feast of All Saints, towards Sarai, going directly southward, descending near to Etilia, which is there divided into three arms, every one whereof is almost twice as big as the branch of the river of Nile at Damietta.

It divides afterwards into four lesser arms, so that we passed the river in seven places by boats. Upon the middle branch is the village called Sumerkant, without a wall, but when the river overflows, it is compassed with water. The Tartars were eight years about it before they could take it, and the Alani and the Saracens were nine. There we found one German with his wife, a very good man, with whom Goffet stayed in the winter; for Sartach sent him thither to ease his court. About these parts was Baatu on the one side of the river and Sartach on the other about Christmas, and they go no farther down; and when it happens that all the river is frozen they pass over. Here is great store of grafs; and there among the caves, thieves hide themselves till the ice melt. Coiae's father receiving Sartach's letters, restored my vestments unto me, except my albs, and an almic trimmed with fine silk, a stole, a girdle, and a tualia, adorned with golden embroidery, and a surplice. He restored also to me all the silver plate, except the censer, and the little box where the chrism was, all which the priest which was with Sartach had. He returned my books, except our lady's psalter, which he kept with my leave, because I could not deny him; for he said Sartach took much delight in it. He also requested me, that if it happen that I return unto those parts again, I would bring them a man that knew how to make parchment, for he had built

a great

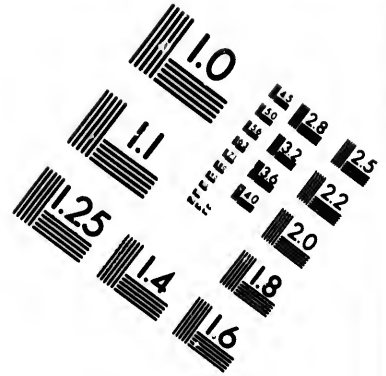
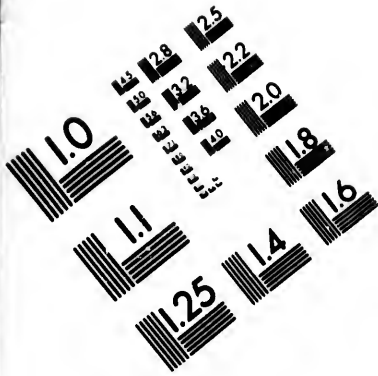
a great church by the command of Sartach upon the west side of the river, as he said, and a new town; yet I knew that Sartach meant no such matter. Sarai and the palace of Baatu are upon the east side of the river, and the valley through which the arms of the river are spread abroad containeth more than seven leagues in breadth. There is great store of fish there, a bible also in verse, and a certain book in the Arabian language worth thirty Sultaines, and many other things I never recovered.

55. After our departure from him on the feast of All Saints, going towards the south until the feast of Saint Martin, we came to the mountains of the Alani, between Baatu and Sarai. In fifteen days, we found no people but one of his sons, who went before him with falcons and his falconers, who were many, at one little village; from the feast of All Saints for five days we met not with so much as a man, and we were in great danger by reason of thirst, one whole day and a night, finding no water till about three of the clock the next day. The Alani in some mountains yet do dwell, so that of ten of the Tartars, Sartach two must come and guard the narrow passages of the hills; left they should descend the mountains, and carry away the cattle in the plain. Between the Alani and Porta Ferrea, which is two days journey from thence, where the plain of the Alani lies between the Caspian sea and the mountains, there are certain Saracens, called Lelch, who inhabit the mountains, who likewise are free; so that those Tartars who dwell at the foot of the mountains of the Alani were obliged to give us twenty men to bring us beyond the Iron Gate, or Porta Ferrea; and I was glad, because I hoped to see them armed, for I could never see their armour, though I had been very desirous of seeing it; and when we came to this dangerous passage, of the whole twenty there were but two who had harbergions, and I demanded of whom they had them? They said they had them of the Alani, who were able workmen in such things, and excellent smiths. I think they have small store of armour, but quivers and bows, and leather jackets; I saw them presented with iron plates, and iron skull-caps out of Persia, and saw two also who presented themselves to Mangu, armed with coats made of hogs' skins, bent inward, of rough leather, which were very clumsy and unweildy.

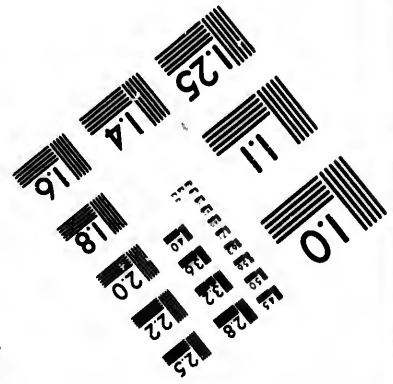
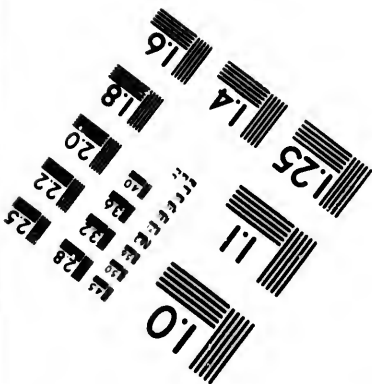
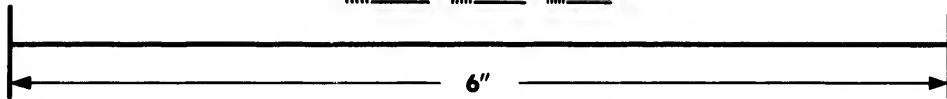
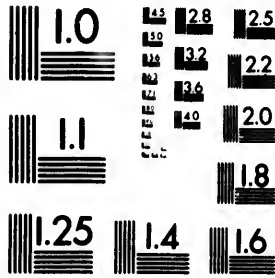
Before we came to Porta Ferrea, we found one castle of the Alans, which was Mangu-Khan's, for he had subdued that country. There we first found vineyards and drunk wine; the day following we came to Porta Ferrea, or the Iron Gate, which Alexander the Macedonian King made, and it is a city whose east end is upon the sea shore; and there is a little plain between the sea and the mountains, through which the city extends in length to the top of the mountain, which bordereth upon it on the west, so that there is no way above for the ruggedness of the mountains, nor below for the sea, but immediately through the midst of the city, where there is an iron gate, from whence the city hath its name. This city is more than a mile long, and on the top of a hill is a strong castle; and it is as much in breadth as a stone's cast. It hath very strong walls, without trenches and turrets, of large polished stones. But the Tartars have destroyed the tops of the turrets and the bulwarks of the walls, laying the turrets even with the wall. Below that city, the country was formerly like a paradise. Two days journey from hence we found another city called Samaron, wherein there were many Jews, and when we passed it, we saw walls descending from the mountains to the sea; and leaving the way by the sea by those walls, because it turns towards the east, we went up into the high countries towards the south.

The next day we passed through a certain valley, wherein the foundations of walls appeared from one mountain to another, and there was no way through the tops of the mountains. These were in times past the inclosures, or walls erected by Alexander for restraining the fierce nations, the shepherds of the wilderness, that they could not invade





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the inhabited countries and cities. There are also other walls and inclosures where Jews are. The next day we came to a certain great city called Samach, and after this we entered into a great plain called Moan, through which the river Cur or Cyrus runs, from which the Curgi or Curdi have their names, whom we call Georgians; and it runneth through the middle of Teflis, which is the metropolis of the Curgines, and comes directly from the west, running to the east into the Caspian sea, and in it are excellent salmon. In that plain we found Tartars again. Also by that plain runs the river Araxes, which cometh from the Greater Armenia, from betwixt the south and west, from which it is called the land of Ararat. Whereupon in the book of the Kings it is said of the sons of Senacherib, that having slain their father, they fled into the land of the Armenians. And in Isaias it is said that they fled into the land of Ararat. To the west then of that most beautiful plain is Curgia. In that plain the Crofmini were settled formerly. And there is a great city in the entrance of the mountains called Ganges, which was their metropolis, stopping the Georgians that they could not come down into the plain. Then we came to the bridge of boats, which was fastened together with a great iron chain, stretched forth cross the river, wherein Cur and the Araxes met together, but the Cur loseth its name there.

56. We proceeded thence, till travelling up the Araxes, of which it is said, *Pontem indignatus Araxes*, Araxes disdaineth a bridge, leaving Persia and the Caspian mountains on the left hand towards the south, having on the right hand Curgia and the Great Sea towards the west; going all the way southward, we passed through the meadows of Bacchu, who is General of that army which is there within the river Araxes; he has likewise made the Curgi, and Turks, and Persians, subject to him. There is likewise another governor in Persia, at Tauris, over the tribute called Argon, both which Mangu-Khan hath called home to give place to his brother, who is going into those countries. The country which I have described to you is not properly Persia, but was sometimes called Hyrcania. I was in Bacchu's house, and he gave us wine to drink, and he himself drank cosmos, which I would willingly have drunk if he had given it me; yet it was the best new wine, but cosmos is more wholesome for a half-starved man as I was. We went up therefore by the river Araxes from the eve of St. Clement until the second Sunday in Lent, till we came to the head of the river, and beyond the mountains where it riseth, there is a good city called Arforum, which belongs to the Soldan of Turkey, and near thereabouts Euphrates riseth towards the north, at the foot of the mountains of Curgia, to whose spring I had gone, but the snow was so great that no man could go out of the common path, and on the other side of the mountains of Caucasus towards the south riseth the Tigris.

When we departed from Bacchu, my guide went to Tauris to speak with Argon, carrying my interpreter with him; but Bacchu caused me to be brought to a certain city called Naxuam, which heretofore was the head or capital of a great kingdom, and the greatest and fairest city in those parts, but the Tartars have made it a wilderness; and there were anciently eight hundred churches of the Armenians there; now there are but two little ones, for the Saracens have destroyed them; in one of which I held the feast of Christmas as I could with our clerk, and the next day following the priest of the church died, to whose burial came a certain bishop with twelve monks from the high countries; for all the bishops of the Armenians are monks, and of the Greeks likewise for the most part. The bishop told me that there was a church near this place where St. Bartholomew, and likewise St. Judas Thaddeus were martyred, but there was no way open for snow. He told me also that they had two prophets, the first or chief Methodius the martyr, who was of their country, and plainly prophesied of the Ismaelites, which prophecy is fulfilled in the Saracens. The other prophet is called Acacron,

who, when he died, prophesied of a nation of archers that should come from the north, saying, "That they should conquer all the countries of the east, and should spare the kingdoms of the east, to assist them in obtaining the kingdoms of the west; and they shall possess the countries from the north to the south, and shall come to Constantinople, and shall take the gate of Constantinople, and one of them who shall be called a wife man, shall enter the city, and seeing the churches and rites of the Franks, shall cause himself to be baptized, and shall counsel the Franks how they may kill the Emperor of the Tartars, and there they shall be confounded. Hearing this, the Franks which shall be in the middle of the land, viz. at Jerusalem, shall set upon the Tartars who shall border upon them, and with the help of our nation, that is, the Armenians, shall pursue them; so that the French King shall place his royal throne at Taurinum in Persia, and then all the east countries and all the unbelieving nations shall be converted to the faith of Christ; and there shall be so great peace in the world, that the living shall say to the dead, Woe be unto you wretches! that lived not until these times." And I read this prophecy brought to Constantinople by the Armenians which remain there, but I made light of it. Yet when I spake with the Bishop, calling it to mind, I regarded it somewhat the more. But throughout all Armenia they as firmly believe this prophecy as they do the Gospel.

He said to us also, even as the souls in Limbo expect the coming of Christ for their delivery, so do we look for your coming, that we may be freed from this slavery wherein we have so long lived. Near the city Naxuam there are mountains on which they say the ark of Noah rested; and there are two, one greater than the other, and Araxes running at the foot of them; and there is a little town there called Comanium, which is in their language Eight; for they say it was so called of the eight persons which came forth of the ark and built it. Many have attempted to climb the great hills, and could not; and the Bishop told me that a certain monk being very much troubled thereat, an angel appeared to him and brought him a piece of the wood of the ark, bidding him to trouble himself no more. That piece of wood they had in their church as he told me, neither is the hill so high in appearance but the men might well get up it. A certain old man gave me however this worthy reason why no one should climb it. They call that mountain Massis; and as this word is of the feminine gender in their tongue, no man, said he, must climb up Massis, because it is the mother of the world.

In the city of Naxuam, Friar Barnard, a Catalan, of the order of the preaching friars, found me, who lives in Georgia, with a certain friar of the sepulchre, who possesseth great lands there, and he had learned somewhat of the Tartar language; he formerly went with a certain Hungarian friar, who returned with me to Teflis, with one servant; but Friar Barnard remained at Tauris with a certain lay friar, whose language he understood not. We went out of the city of Naxuam, about the Epiphany, for we had stayed long there, by reason of the snow; we came therefore in four days to the country of Sabensia, a Curdish Prince, heretofore mighty, but now tributary to the Tartars, who destroyed all his ammunition, whose father Zacharias possessed himself of the country of the Armenians, having delivered them from the hands of the Saracens; and there are many fair villages of true Christians, having churches like the Franks; and every Armenian hath in his house, in an honourable place, a wooden hand, holding a cross, and sets a burning lamp before it; and that which we do with holy water, sprinkling it to drive away wicked spirits, they do with frankincense; for every evening they burn frankincense, carrying it through all the corners of the house, to rid them of all kinds of enemies. I eat with Sabensia, and he did me great reverence, both he and his wife, and his son Zachary, a very comely and wise young man, who demanded of me, whether if

he should come to you; you would entertain him; for he is so uneasy under the dominion of the Tartars, that though he hath a plenty of all things, he had rather travel into a strange country, than endure their violent exactions. They said further, that they were true sons of the church of Rome, and if the pope would send them any aid; they would bring all the bordering nations unto the subjection of the church of Rome.

From that town of his, in fifteen days, we entered the country of the Soldan of Turkey, on the first Sunday in Lent: and the first castle we found is called Marfeugen; all in the castle were Christians, Armenians, Curgines, and Greeks: the Saracens only have the dominion. There the captain of the castle said, he had received commandment, that no victuals could be given to any Franks, or to the ambassador of the King of Armenia, or of Vestacius; so that from the place where we were the first Sunday in Lent, quite to Cyprus, whither I came, eight days before the feast of St. John the Baptist, we were forced to buy our own provision. He who was my guide procured me horses, and took money for the victuals, and put it in his purse. When he came into the fields, seeing a flock, away he went, and without more to do, took one sheep, and gave it to his family to eat, and wondered I would not take part of his robbery. In the purification, I was in a certain city called Ayni, which was Sabensa's whose situation is strong; and there are an hundred Armenian churches, and two mosques, of the Saracens: the Tartars place an officer there.

At this place five preaching friars met me, whereof four came from Provence in France, and the fifth joined himself to them in Syria, they had but one sick boy who could speak the Turkish language and a little French, and they had the pope's letter to Sartach, and to Mangu-Khan, and to Buri, such as Your Highness gave me letters of request, that they would suffer them to continue in their country, and preach the word of God, &c. But when I told them what I had seen, and how they sent me back again, they directed their journey to Teflis, where there are friars of their order, to consult what they should do; I answered them, they might well pass by those letters if they would; but they should be well assured, to endure much labour, and render an account of their coming; for seeing they had no other message but the office of preaching, they would care but little for them; and chiefly because they had no interpreter; what they did after, I know not, and cannot therefore report.

58. On the second Sunday in Lent we came to the head of Araxes, and passing beyond the top of the mountain, we came to Euphrates, by which we descended eight days going to the west a certain castle called Camath; where Euphrates bends to the south towards Halapia. But we passing the river went through very high mountainous countries, and through the deepest snow to the west. There was so great an earthquake there that year, that in one city called Arfengan, ten thousand persons, according to their register, perished, beside poor men of whom there was no notice taken. Riding three days together, we saw the gaping of the earth, as it was cleft by the earthquake, and the heaps of earth that came from the mountains, and filled the vallies, so that if but a little more of the earth had been moved, that which Isaiah speaketh had been literally fulfilled, "Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and little hill shall be humbled." We passed through the valley where the Soldan of Turkey was vanquished by the Tartars. It were too long to write how he was overcome; but a servant of my guide's who was with the Tartars said, that the Tartars were not above ten thousand in the whole; and a certain Curd of the Soldan's said that there were two hundred thousand with the Soldans all horse-men. In that plain where the battle was, there broke out a great lake at the time of the earthquake; and it came into my mind, that all the earth opened her mouth to receive yet more blood of the Saracens. We were in Sc-

bastia a town of the Lesser Armenia in Easter week; here we visited the tombs of forty martyrs; there the church of St. Blase standeth, but I could not go thither, because it was above in the castle.

On the succeeding Sunday we came to Cæsaria of Cappadocia, where there is a church of St. Basil the Great. About fifteen days after, we came to Iconium, making small journies, and resting in many places, because we could not readily procure horses, and my guide did this on purpose, taking upon him to solicit his own business three days in every town, at which I was much dissatisfied, but durst not speak because he might have sold or slain me and our servants, and there was none to hinder it. I found many Franks at Iconium, and a certain merchant called Nicholas de Sancto Syrio, who with a companion of his, a Venetian, called Boniface de Molandino, carried all the alum out of Turkey, so that the Soldan could not sell any but to those two; and they made it so dear, that what was worth but fifteen Bizantines, is now sold for forty. My guide presented me to Soldan; the Soldan said he would willingly cause me to be conveyed to the sea of Armenia, or Sicilia, though the above-mentioned merchant knowing that the Saracens made little account of me and that I was much burthened with the company of my guide, caused me to be conveyed to Curuma, a port belonging to the King of Armenia. I came thither before the Ascension, and stayed till the day after Pentecost; then I heard that ambassadors came from the King to his father; then I went speedily to the King's father to demand whether he had heard any news from his son, and I found him set with all his sons, one excepted, called Barum Usin, who resided in a certain castle, and he received news from his son that he was returned, and that Mangu-Khan had much eased his tribute, and had given him a privilege that no ambassador should come into his country; whereupon the old man himself, with all his sons, made a banquet, and he caused me to be conveyed to the sea, to the haven called Aijax; and thence I passed over into Cyprus; and at Nicosia I found our provincial, who the same day carried me with him to Antiocha, which is in a very weak state. We were there on the feast of St. Peter and Paul, and from thence we came to Tripolis, where our chapter was held on the assumption of the blessed Virgin.

59. Our provincial being determined that I should have my residence in our convent at Acon, would not suffer me to come to you; but commanding me to write unto you what I would by the bearer of these presents; and not daring to resist contrary to my obedience, I did, according to my power and understanding, craving pardon of your clemency for my superfluities or wants, or for any thing that shall be indiscreetly or foolishly spoken, as for a man of little understanding, not accustomed to write long histories. The peace of God which passeth all understanding preserve your heart and fortify your mind. I would willingly see Your Highness, and certain spiritual friends, which I have in your kingdom. Wherefore if it should not be contrary to Your Majesty's liking, I would beseech you to write to our Provincial, that he would let me come unto you and return shortly again into the Holy Land. Concerning Turkey, Your Majesty shall understand, that the tenth man there is not a Mohammedan, nay, they are all Armenians and Greeks, and children rule over them; for the Soldan, who was conquered by the Tartars, had a lawful wife of Iberia, by whom he had one feeble son, concerning whom he charged that he should be the Soldan. He had another of a Greek concubine, whom he committed to a certain great admiral. The third he had by a Turk, to whom many Turks and Turcomans being gathered together, they proposed to have slain all the sons of the Christians. They had determined also, as I understood, that after they had got the victory, they would destroy all the churches, and kill as many as would not become Mohammedans; but he was overcome in battle, and many

many of his men slain. He recruited his army however, a second time, and then was taken, and is still in prison. Paceser the son of the Greek concubine, procured soon after that he might be Soldan, because the other was weak whom they sent to the Tartars; whereupon his kindred on the mother's side, such as the Iberians and the Curds, were angry; so that, at present, a child ruleth in Turkey, having no treasure, few soldiers, and many enemies. The son of Vestacius is weak, and at war with the son of Assau, who likewise was a child, and worn out with the servitude of the Tartars. If therefore an army of the church should come to the Holy Land, it were a very easy thing to subdue all these countries, or to pass through them.

The King of Hungary hath not above thirty thousand soldiers. From Cologne to Constantinople, are not above threescore days journey by waggons; from Constantinople are not so many days journey to the country of the King of Armenia. In old time, valiant men passed through those countries and prospered; yet they had most valiant opponents, whom God hath now destroyed out of the earth, and we need not be in danger of the sea, or the mercy of sailors; and the price which we should give for freight were sufficient for expences by land. I speak it confidently, if our countrymen would go as the Kings of the Tartars go, and be contented with such victuals, they might win the whole world. It seemeth not expedient, as I think, that any friar should go to the Tartars any more, as I did, or as the preaching friars do; but if our lord the pope would send a bishop in an honourable manner and answer their follies, about which they have thrice writ to the Franks, once to Pope Innocent the Fourth, of sacred memory, and twice to Your Majesty, once by David, who deceived you, and now by me, he might speak unto them what he would, and also cause them to put these things in writing, for they hear whatsoever an ambassador will speak, and always demand if he will say any more; but he must have a good interpreter; nay, many interpreters, and be at large expences.

60. Such is the relation of the monk Rubruquis, who had the best opportunity that any man had to that time, of looking into the affairs of the Tartars, of examining their force, of enquiring into the form of their government, and making himself perfectly acquainted with their manners and customs, of which he has given so large, so curious, and so accurate an account. Before we proceed to our remarks thereon, it may not be amiss to clear up a few difficulties that occur in this relation, and which, for want of being clearly resolved, may occasion some doubts in the mind of our inquisitive reader; and this is the more necessary, because hitherto nothing of this kind has been done, at least in our language; but the relation has been left naked and unsupported to the censure of the peruser, without the least notice taken of those facts that must necessarily embarrass him, and in a great measure affect the credit of the author. I am very sensible, that many of my readers may be of opinion, that I might spare myself some part of the trouble I take in illustrating those old writers; but I beg leave to observe once for all, that it is not either for their interest or mine, that I should do so. If I had not been thoroughly satisfied that these travels were the best in their kind, I should not have inserted them: but with respect to the world, this is not enough; for though I have it in my power to give them what seems to be most proper for such a collection, yet I owe it to them, and to myself, to make it as evident as it is possible, that I discharge this trust as I ought, and that I give them nothing which is not truly worthy of their perusal; and this can no otherwise be done, than by obviating every difficulty that may possibly incline them to differ from me in sentiment, and therefore I hope this will justify me in the pains I am still to take with regard to this author, who, as he was a writer of great candour and sincerity, so he has mentioned many particulars,

lars, which, though they were well known in his time, and more especially to the Prince, to whom this work was addressed, yet are so imperfectly known to us, that without a strict search into the histories of those times, it is not easy to conceive, how they can be reconciled to the rest of his narration.

We will state these plainly, and then the truth of my observation will be manifest. In the first place, it seems extraordinary that the King of France should be so much deceived with respect to the embassy that was sent him from the Tartars, which occasioned the whole of this transaction; but with respect to this, it appears clearly from the historians that have written the reign of St. Louis, that these ambassadors came from a Tartar prince called Ercalthay, and brought with them letters which are still extant, and which positively assert, that it was the design of the Khan to co-operate with the Christians in order to reduce the power of the Mohammedans. At the head of this embassy was one David, who is named in the letters as one to whom the King of France might give entire credit, to which His Majesty might be more inclined, because he had in his company Friar Andrew de Lontumal, whom the pope had formerly sent into Tartary, and who assured the King, that he had known David in a post of distinction. This ambassador it was, that positively asserted, that the Khan was become a Christian, and that there was no difficulty in procuring a close alliance between him and the Christians. Upon this the King first sent Friar Andrew with a considerable number of persons in his train, back with the Tartar ambassadors, in the beginning of the year 1250, but as to the success of this negotiation, we have no account. There is another thing a little dark in our author's account, and that is with respect to his character, for though it appears plainly, that he was sent by the King his master with letters to Sartach, yet he frequently tells us, that he did not affect to be thought an ambassador, but desired rather to be considered as a monk, who visited Tartary from his zeal for the Christian Religion.

His reason for acting thus, was to preserve the honour of the King, from suffering through any ill treatment that he might meet with, to which he was induced by many reasons, but particularly by these two. In the first place, he was perfectly satisfied, that what had been reported as to the conversion of Sartach was false; and next because he was aware the Tartars were informed, that the King his master had been beat in Egypt, and taken prisoner there by the infidels; whence he concluded, that he should not meet with a very good reception. He therefore takes great care to inform the King that whatever usage he received, could reflect no dishonour upon His Majesty, because of the precaution he had taken to assume no higher character than that of a monk, who came to preach the Christian religion to the Tartars. But the readers may very probably wonder why the Tartar prince Ercalthay, should take such a step as this in order to mislead so great a monarch, and yet, if he adverts to the account our author has given of the genius and dispositions of the Tartars, he will easily perceive, that this was a stroke of their policy, and no very bad one. They had a mind to be perfectly acquainted with the design of the Franks, their forces, and the manner in which they intended to carry on the war against the Saracens; nor could they fall upon a way more proper than this for accomplishing their ends. The character afforded, by our author of the Tartars, is justified by all writers, both antient and modern; for their policy with respect to foreign countries consists entirely in cunning and subtilty; for not having the advantages that other nations have of free commerce and constant intercourse with the inhabitants of distant countries, they supply themselves with intelligence by such artifices as these. Some petty Tartar prince takes upon him to send ministers to foreign courts, whose business it is, under colour of a negotiation, to get the

the best accounts they can of the regions in which they reside, in order to serve their countrymen whenever occasion offers as harbingers or guides; and as they depend on these arts in time of peace, so they place all their confidence in war in the quickness of their motion, and in that rapidity with which they over-run even great countries, before the inhabitants have time to take proper measures for their defence.

It was for these reasons, and to save the honour of the King his master, that our author denied that any ambassadors had been sent to Mangu-Khan, for he considered Friar Andrew as sent only to the Prince, who wrote to the King his master, and not to the great Khan, of whom it does not appear that the French had any just ideas, till they were derived to them by this relation. We may add to all this, that our author was something diffident as to the character which David assumed, by his giving us to understand, that in those days there were a certain bad sort of people, who in these remote parts of the world, made a practice of giving themselves out for the ministers of Princes they scarce knew, and made a livelihood by such strange exploits. He likewise seems to be fully satisfied that the eastern Christians in general were men of great vivacity, and so fertile in their imaginations, that every thing they saw or heard appeared to them in the light of a wonder, and as such they reported it wherever they came, to serve their own purposes.

Upon these principles he grounds the political part of his work, in which he seems to labour with all his force to establish these two maxims. The first, that it was not either safe or honourable to aim at making alliances with the Tartars, who were in his sentiments a fierce intractable sort of people, very proud of their extraordinary successes and who understood all applications made to them as proceeding from fear. The second, that their power was nothing near so great as it had been represented, so that there was far less danger like to accrue from the regarding them as enemies, than from treating with them as friends, into which notion he was led by observing, that their discipline was not exact, that they were utterly unacquainted with the regular art of war, and no way capable of carrying it on against such as stood upon their guard, and were prepared to meet them in the field with well disciplined armies. That which seems to be the least defenceable part of his work, is his strong attachment to the pope, and his high notions of his power, both of which, however, are in some measure excusable, considering the age in which he lived, and the conduct of the popes in those times, who took upon them to excommunicate and depose the greatest princes in Christendom, as the case then was with the Emperor, or to send them into the most distant parts of the world, under pretences of religion, as appears from the expeditions undertaken by his master King Louis, which were as unfortunate in their event, as ill founded in their principles.

But it is now time to add a few observations with respect to the usefulness of this work, as it stands in this collection, and to shew how far the travels of Rubruquis contributed to make the western parts of the world acquainted with the passages into the east, as well as with what was doing there, and the force of the several monarchs that were in possession of those countries at the time he visited them.

61. The travels of Rubruquis are equally astonishing in whatever light they are considered. Take them with respect to length, and they extend to upwards of five thousand miles one way, and to near six thousand another. I mean from Constantinople in his going out, and to Acon or Ptolemais in his return, which is such a space of ground as it will not be easy to find any man that has traversed, and left us so distinct an account of what he has seen. But if travels are not so considerable from their length as from the nature of the countries that are travelled through, then here again

is a new proof of the value of this performance, since it is certain no European, except John Carpin, ever travelled so far before, neither have we any accounts of travels of the same kind since, that only excepted, which follows in the next section, and from which we have received here in Europe the first certain accounts of China, and the first notice we had of there being in the world such a country as Japan. We shall apprehend this matter better, if we take a short view of the countries through which our monk passed, by the names they are known to us at present. It is plain, that from Constantinople he sailed cross the Black sea to the port of Cassa; from thence he travelled by land all the rest of the way, this is to say, first through Crim Tartary, then crossing the great rivers Tanais and Volga; he came in the country of Bolgar, and to the camp of Baatu, thence through the vast country of the Calmukes, and so north-eastward to the court of Mangu-Khan, which according to his description, must have lain in the latitude of fifty degrees north, or somewhat more, and considerably higher than what is now called the Chinese Tartary. In his return he passed through all the vast desarts of Great Tartary, through the country of the Moguls, and so by the head of the Caspian sea, and then along the west side of it through the countries of Georgia, Armenia, Curdistan, Diarbeck, and so into Syria; all which countries then were, and most of them are still, in the hands of the Tartars, of whom he has given us such an account as is not only very consistent with itself, and carries therein the strongest marks of veracity, but is very agreeable also to the best accounts we have since received of those countries.

As our author was not acquainted with the language of the Tartars, and did not remain long enough amongst them to acquire it in that degree of perfection which was necessary to read and to understand their histories, we need not at all wonder at some small errors that have escaped him in points of no great consequence. As for instance, in what he tells us of Zingis-Khan, whom he makes a farrier, as other writers have done a blacksmith. I shall not trouble the reader with remarks of the right spelling of this word Zingis, which I have already given them as it ought to be spelt, and have since conformed to our author's manner of writing it, that the reader might find less difficulty in comparing this with other books of the same kind. I say, I shall not insist on such trifles, but shall content myself with observing, that Zingis, however spelt, is an adjective, and signifies properly the glittering or shining of steel; whence sprung the notion, that this Prince was originally of some trade in which iron or steel was employed, because all the Tartars represented him as a man who from low beginnings had raised himself to universal empire, and dispersed him at the same time, from the consideration of his having deprived them of their freedom and independency; but among the Tartars themselves, this appellation was taken in an honorable sense, Zingis signifying with them illustrious, and Zingis-Khan signifies literally the most illustrious monarch.

As to the religion of this Prince, it was undoubtedly that of his country, concerning which we have a great deal in Rubruquis agreeable to what he saw or heard, but not so clearly expressed, as that we should be able to say precisely what is the faith of the Tartars. Our author is certainly in the wrong as to Presbyter John, of whom such a noise has been made in the world, and about whom so little can still be said with any certainty. What led him into the mistake was this; Tujan was the Khan of the Naimans, defeated and killed by Zingis-Khan, and it was from the likeness of his name to John, that our author took it for granted he was that John the priest so well known to the world. But after all, the Presbyter John is still in being, and is no other than the Grand Lama, or supreme pontiff of the Tartars, who resides, as we have before ob-

served, in the kingdom of Tangut, and is, in the opinion of the whole Tartar nation, immortal. The truth of the matter is, that he is an ecclesiastical Prince, whose fame and credit is very extensive, though his power be very restrained. He resides in a monastery surrounded by his monks, who, whenever he dies, supply his place from among themselves, and keep this secret so religiously, that all the Tartars are as firmly persuaded that their Grand Lama lives for ever, as that the sun always shines. This serves to explain another circumstance, that at first sight might seem very idle and ridiculous to the reader, I mean the question put to Rubruquis, whether the Pope was not four or five hundred years old. It is very plain from hence, that they considered the Pope as the Grand Lama of the West, and having heard the Romish priests insist much on the perpetuity of the church, they referred all this to the person of the Pope, and supposed this spiritual monarch to be immortal like their own.

If I durst avow my own sentiments plainly, I should say, that there is no better evidence of the idolatry of the Tartars than of the Papists; and this without intending any high reflection on the members of the Romish church; for both have images or idols, both seem to worship them, and yet both, when charged with it, absolutely deny the fact. Our author plainly owns, that Mangu-Khan told him expressly he worshipped but one God, and that the Tartar priests, whom he charges very freely with idolatry, disowned it themselves, and affirmed that they reverence their images only, and did not worship them. But after all, it plainly appears, that they kept the secret of their religion so well, that our author never so much as heard of the Grand Lama, and consequently could know nothing at all of the grounds of their religion, which, to deal plainly with the reader, remains full as great a mystery to this day.

It is a point that the Tartars will never be brought to explain in any manner whatever; and after all the pains that I have been able to take in order to obtain some sort of certainty on this head, I am able to say no more of it than this, that what doctrines the lamas or priests teach publicly, are restrained to these three points: 1. That there is one God the fountain of being, the Creator of all things, the Ruler of all things, and the sole object of Divine worship. 2. That all men in general are his creatures, and therefore ought to consider each other as brethren descended from one common parent, and alike entitled to all the blessings he bestows, and that therefore it is great impiety to abuse those blessings, or to injure each other. 3. That inasmuch as the common reason of mankind hath taught them to establish property, it is necessary that it should be preserved, and that it is therefore the duty of every man to be content with his own, and to be just to his neighbours. This religion these priests not only teach, but practise with irreproachable exactness; and therefore Rubruquis very fairly owns, that the regularity of their manners hindered the progress of the Christian religion, not because the doctrines of the latter were at all inferior in sanctity to those of the former, but because in point of purity of manners the Nestorians and other Christians were very deficient.

After setting this subject in the best light we are able, the reader will not find it at all difficult to apprehend a thing that extremely puzzled, not only our author, but all who have wrote of the affairs of the Tartars, and it is this; that they are absolutely indifferent as to other religions, entertaining all with equal respect, whether Christians, Mohanmedans, or Jews, which proceeds from their finding the fundamental principles of their own religion taught by them all, and practised by none that come amongst them better than by themselves, or by their priests.

We find in Rubruquis some mention made of a nation called Alhassin, of whom it will be requisite to give the reader some account; they are the same that are mentioned by
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our ancient historians, under the several names of Hassessins, Assessins, Assassins, Afanites, and Chasians, and were in truth as odd a sort of people as ever existed. They possessed a tract of country which contained twelve castles and villages in the neighbourhood of Tyre, were a mixed race of men, and for a long time made no profession of any religion, but practised a loose kind of Mohammedism, and were tributaries, first to the Knights Templars, and then to the Christian Earls of Tripoly. In the eleventh century they would have declared themselves Christians, if they might have been released from that tribute; but this was refused, and they grew thenceforward the most bitter enemies the Christians had.

These people were governed by a Prince styled by our old historians, the old Man of the Mountain, who finding himself surrounded by states much more powerful than his own, devised a new and strange way of making himself equally dreadful to his neighbours and to strangers. He gave out, that he only was the true vicar of Mohammed, and that he had the keys of Paradise in his hands; to support which notion, he caused a fine garden to be laid out in a valley near his palace, adorned in every respect, so as to resemble the Paradise of that prophet; he likewise provided a sort of opiate, and whenever he saw a young man of a daring and resolute temper, he sent for him; and promised him the perpetual enjoyment of all sensual delights, if he would execute boldly whatever he commanded; and by way of earnest, having given him the opiate to drink, caused him to be carried while asleep into his garden, where, when he awoke, he found every thing he could wish for, and many beautiful women to attend him; when he had remained there a certain time, the opiate was again administered, and he was conveyed back, when asleep, to the palace, where the Old Man of the Mountain promised him, that provided he fulfilled all his commands during life, he should dwell after death perpetually in that garden.

By this artifice, he established an order of men ready to venture on whatever he commanded, and when any Prince made war upon him, he dispatched three or four of these young villains to his court, or camp, with instructions to murder him, which they never failed to perform. It was by their hands that Louis of Bavaria was killed in the year 1231, and in 1251 he dispatched four of them with the like commission to the court of Louis IX.; but suddenly altering his mind, he dispatched four more with counter orders, who made such haste, that they arrived at the French court before the former, and discovering themselves to King Louis, remained always near his person, to preserve him from their companions, whom they likewise discovered at their arrival, and for this service the French monarch sent them back to their master loaded with presents. By this means the Old Man of the Mountain became terrible, even to the most powerful monarchs; and from the practice of his desperate bravos, we have the word assassins, and the phrase of assassination, for murders of this nature. This practice was continued to the time of which our author speaks, a little after which the whole nation was extirpated by the Tartars.

These are all the facts mentioned in his writings, that seem to stand in need of explanation, unless we except what he has delivered concerning the witchcraft and forceries of the Tartars. As to these we can only say, that they are still much addicted to such superstitions, and are thereby exposed, as he has shewn us, to many impostures, and abundance of mischiefs that attend them. But in one particular he is mistaken, which is in confounding the forcerers with the lamas, or Tartar priests, whereas they are quite different persons. What he relates of the divination by the blade-bones, is confirmed by all other travellers, and is a sort of folly practised by the Laplanders and other northern nations. A folly ridiculous and absurd indeed, but not more so than the

other arts of divination, which have prevailed in politer countries, and which are not perhaps wholly extinguished at this day. What he says in relation to the sprinkling of ashes on the floor, relates to another superstitious custom of the same kind, which gave birth to that kind of fortune-telling called geomancy, which was transferred to Europe; and about which several treatises have been written, and one particularly in our tongue, not many years ago, which I mention to shew not only the probability of what Rubruquis has related, but likewise to demonstrate, that the giving into such foolish practices is not peculiar to such nations as we esteem barbarous; though I shall readily allow, that it is a mark of stupidity and barbarity wherever it appears.

We have no certain account how this relation of Rubruquis was received by the King his master, but in all probability it was very agreeable to him, since, though that Prince, after his return to France, took all imaginable pains to set the affairs of his kingdom in order, and to reform the abuses that had crept into it during his absence, yet he still retained a strong desire of repairing also the disgrace he had sustained in his former expedition, by renewing the war against the Infidels, which determined him to make another expedition against them, and this, notwithstanding all the opposition that could be made to it, he undertook in the spring of the year 1270. He transported on this occasion a numerous army into Africa, resolving to begin the operations of the war with reducing the kingdom and city of Tunis, to which he laid siege. But before he had made any great progress towards taking the place, the plague broke out in his army, and the King being infected therewith, died on the 25th of August the same year.

The best French historians, as well as those of other nations, condemn these kinds of expeditions as idle and romantic; and yet it cannot be denied, that if this spirit of making war against the Infidels had not been raised at that time, it is more than probable, that the Mohammedans would have over-run the best part of Europe; whereas in consequence of this spirit, they were driven out of Portugal and Spain, to which I must crave leave to add, that the travels of Rubruquis and others into different parts of the East, first inspired that passion for discoveries, which has since produced such mighty effects. Before that time, we knew little or nothing in this part of the world of the situation of distant countries; and those who affected to be thought great wits, laboured to discredit whatever was delivered in relations of this kind, which prevailed in some places; and if it had prevailed in all, we had been at this day as ignorant, as poor, and as much slaves as our ancestors were before that spirit of commerce arose, that has not only discovered both the Indies, but has taught men of courage, that the whole world is their country; and that he who improves useful knowledge, if not properly encouraged at home, will be a welcome guest wherever he goes.

THE
CURIOUS AND REMARKABLE VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

OF
MARCO POLO, A GENTLEMAN OF VENICE,

Who in the Middle of the thirteenth Century passed through a great part of Asia, all the Dominions of the Tartars, and returned Home by Sea through the Islands of the East Indies.

[Taken chiefly from the accurate Edition of Ramusio, compared with an original Manuscript in His Prussian Majesty's Library, and with most of the Translations hitherto published.]

1. A succinct Introduction to this Work.— 2. An Account of the Author from Ramusio and other Writers.— 3. The several Editions and principal Translations that have been published of these Travels.— 4. An Account of the Objections that have been raised against them.— 5. The Characters given of this Performance by several eminent Critics.— 6. The Author's introductory Account, containing an Abridgment of his Travels to the Time of his Return to Venice.— 7. A Description of Armenia the Lesser, of the Country of the Turks, of Armenia the Greater, of the Province of Zorzanian, the Kingdom of Mosul, of the City of Baldach, or Bagdat, of the City of Tauris, with an Account of a remarkable Earthquake.— 8. Of the Country of Persia, the City of Jasdi, the City of Cerman, of the Town of Camandu, and of the Country where Rhubarb grows.— 9. Of several other Countries, and the principal Curiosities in them.— 10. The History of the Assassins, and of the Manner in which their Prince was killed, together with the Description of many other Countries.— 11. Of the City of Samarcand, the Town of Lop, and of the great Desert in its Neighbourhood, with other remarkable Passages.— 12. Of the Province of Camul, and several other Countries to the City of Ezinu, and another great Desert.— 13. Of the City of Caracorum, and of the Tartars, with a complete History of that Nation, and of their Monarchs.— 14. Of the vast Countries to the Northward of Tartary, and many other curious Particulars.— 15. Of the great Power of Cublai-Khan, of his Government, Family, Dominions, &c.— 16. Of his Palace in the City of Cambalu, a particular Description of that City, and other remarkable Observations.— 17. Of the Magnificence of the Court of the Grand Khan, and of the Manners and Customs of his Subjects.— 18. A copious Account of the Countries between the Place of his Residence, and the Country of Thibet.— 19. A large Description of the last mentioned Province, and of many others, with an Account of the Observations made by the Author in his Progress through them.— 20. Of the Province of Mangi, and of the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the Tartars, together with an Account of the Provinces and Cities afterwards reduced under their Dominion.— 21. Of the noble City of Quinsai, and of the vast Revenues drawn from thence by the Emperor of the Tartars.— 22. Of the Island of Zipangri, and of the Attempt made by the Tartars to conquer it, and their Miscarriage in them.— 23. A large Account of various Countries, Provinces, Cities, and Islands in the East Indies.— 24. Of the great Island of Ceylon, of the Kingdom of Malabar, and the State of other Countries visited by the Author.— 25. Of the Kingdom of Murfili, the Diamond Mines there, and other Countries adjacent.— 26. Of the Island of Madagafcar

car, the Country of Ethiopia, and other Parts of Africa. — 27. Of the Province of Aden, and of several Countries reputed to be inaccessible. — 28. Many obscure Passages in this Performance explained. — 29. Remarks and Observations.

1. IT is with ancient writers as with ancient coins, such as understand them value them above measure, while such as will not be at sufficient pains to examine them, not only despise them, but also such as admire them. Thus none are more governed by prejudice than those who declaim against it, and none greater bigots than such as are attached to their own opinions, from a notion that they think freely. Yet this zeal for freedom of thought ought to be amended rather than discouraged, as being in itself commendable, though sometimes dangerous, by being misapplied. It may, and to say the truth, to many it does seem a tedious and disagreeable labour to look so far back as the first springs and dawnings of knowledge; yet, however, they may colour this with pretences to refined taste, it is in fact no better than an excuse for idleness, and a dislike to the taking those pains which are requisite to succeed in such enquiries.

The travels of Marco Polo are indeed very old, and are come into our hands with considerable defects, but they are very valuable for all that, and very well worthy of our attention. He was the Columbus of the East Indies, the first that gave a certain and distinct account of the sea beyond China, and of the free passage thereby through all the islands of the East Indies, back into those countries that are very well known. It is true, that a great part of what he related, though delivered with much solemnity, and confirmed by the strongest asseverations, was much called in question, and thought in some measure beyond all belief. But subsequent discoveries have banished this incredulity, and what were once esteemed fables have been since found true relations; and the discourses of Marco Polo, that were rejected by the supercilious wits of his own time, have been raked out of the dust of old libraries, decyphered in a manner from the barbarous Latin of monkish translators, and brought into the form we now have them by the indefatigable pains of the learned Ramusio; a man whose countenance alone might be sufficient to give credit to this, or any other work; though from the notes we have added, it will appear that there are intrinsic marks of its value in the performance itself: yet we owe to Ramusio the being able to discover these, and therefore to him we willingly ascribe all the glory that results from the vindication of this curious piece, and the honour of its illustrious author. To the same excellent person is due the account we have received of several particulars relating to the personal history of Marco Polo and his family, of which in as few words as possible we shall give the reader a relation; which, though not absolutely necessary to the understanding of the book, will be found useful and entertaining.

2. Signior Nicolo Polo, the father of our author, and his brother Signior Maffio, began their travels from Constantinople in the year 1250, and having proceeded to the court of the Grand Khan of Tartary, resided there for many years, and returned, as the reader will see, to Venice about the year 1269, where they found the wife of Signior Nicolo deceased, and her son, of whom she was left big at the time of their departure, a well accomplished youth, of nineteen years of age. Him they carried back with them to the court of the Khan, and after having spent twenty-six years more without any news being heard of them by their friends at Venice, returned safely thither in the year 1295. On their arrival at their own house in St. John Chrystom's street, they found themselves in a strange situation, being not only worn entirely out

of the memory of their family and acquaintance, but having lost in a manner the very tokens of their country, being become Tartars in their speech as well as their habit, and therefore under a necessity of taking some extraordinary steps to recover the respect and reverence due to them, by convincing the world that they were really noble Venetians, and the individual persons who had been so long lost to their country and friends.

It was with this view that they gave a magnificent entertainment to their relations, at which they all three came forth in rich suits of crimson satin; of which, when the guests were seated, they stripped themselves, and gave them to the servants; appearing next in crimson damask, these also they put off at the last service, and bestowed likewise on the servants, being then dressed in crimson velvet. When dinner was over, and all who waited withdrawn, Marco Polo brought out their coats of Tartarian cloth or felt, and out of their foldings produced an incredible quantity of rich jewels, among which there were some well known to those present, and which indisputably proved these strangers of the Polo family. Signior Mathio Polo became a worthy magistrate of Venice, and lived and died in peace.

As for our author Signior Marco, a few months after his return, the Genoese Admiral Lampa Doria coming with a fleet of seventy gallees to the island of Curzola, they fitted out from Venice, under the command of Andrea Dondalo, a great naval force, in which he had the command of a galley, and was so unlucky as to be taken prisoner and carried to Genoa, where he remained in spite of all the offers that were made for his ransom several years; so that his father, despairing of his return, and desirous that his own offspring might inherit his riches, married a second time, and had three children. In the time of this imprisonment all the young nobility of Genoa resorted to our Marco to hear the recital of his voyages and adventures, which gave them so great satisfaction, that one of them prevailed upon him to send for his notes from Venice; and when thus assisted, wrote from his own mouth the following history in Latin; from whence it was translated into Italian; and this Italian was again translated into Latin, and abridged; whence grew that prodigious corruption so justly complained of in the first printed copies. This work of Marco's was supported by the testimony of his father, and by that of his uncle on his death bed. At last Marco himself obtained his liberty, returned to Venice, married, and had two daughters, Moretta and Fautina, but had no male issue. He died as he lived, beloved and admired by all who knew or conversed with him; for with the advantages of birth and fortune he was humble, and made no other use of his great interest in the state than to do good.

3. We have already shewn, that this work was originally written in Latin, and if not by the author's hand, at least from his mouth; but after the Italian version that was made of it, the copies of the Latin manuscript became extremely rare, inasmuch that the Italian translation was taken for the original. One Francis Pepin, a monk, translated it into Latin, and abridged it at the command of his superiors; and it is a copy of this manuscript that is in the library of the King of Prussia. It was printed at Basil by the care of the celebrated Reinecius, and afterwards in other places. It was from one of these copies that it was translated by Hakluit, of which Purchas so heavily, and at the same time so justly complains. Ramusio took a great deal of pains, as well in restoring the sense of the text of our author, as in justifying his character, and supporting the credit of his work by his learned discourses. He was assisted therein by a copy of the original Latin manuscript, which was lent him by his friend Signior Chisi, without which it had been impossible for him to have brought it into so good order as we now see it.

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There has been, besides the translations already mentioned, at least two in the German language. It was printed in Portuguese at Lisbon in 1502, and it has been several times translated into Dutch. I have been the more particular in the account of these additions and translations, because they differ very much from each other; so that the only way to come at a complete view of the author, is by collecting and comparing these; a work of infinite pains and labour, in which however we have the assistance of Andrew Muller, a learned German critic, and of Peter Bergeron, a Frenchman, who, next to Ramusio, was, of all others, the most capable of such an undertaking, and has succeeded in it the best.

There was, however, one thing wanting, which was the justifying the dates, verifying the facts, and explaining the obscure names of places which occur in these travels; and this we have done to the best of our ability in this translation, so that the reader may be satisfied that he has the work of this ancient writer as entire, and in as good condition as it was in our power to give it him.

4. There have been abundance of objections raised against the credit and authority of this writer, many of which, as they were founded on the errors of transcribers and translators, are taken away by restoring our author's genuine sense, and therefore we need not mention them particularly; but there are others which deserve more regard. It is said, that our author mentioned some countries and many places that were never heard of before or since. A shrewd objection this, inasmuch as it seems to represent all the pains that has been taken about his writings, as entirely thrown away. In answer to this we must observe, that he wrote according to the lights he received, and those lights were chiefly from the Tartars; whence it might very well happen that the names of places mentioned by him should appear strange and uncouth in this part of the world. But it so happens, that we have since received such helps as enable us to get pretty well clear of this difficulty; for though we have retained in the text the names used by our author, yet we have afforded, from the assistance given us by oriental writers, such explanations as remove, in every respect, these geographical obscurities, so as to leave no sort of doubt either as to the capacity, or the veracity of Marco Polo.

Another charge against him is, that he does not agree with other writers, or rather other writers do not agree with him: but when examined to the bottom, this charge will not be found to have any great weight, as having chiefly arisen from the mistakes made as to the true sense of what this writer delivered; so that very often, what was imputed as ignorance to him, was, in fact, no more than temerity in those who pretended to find fault with them. The last, and indeed the greatest objection is, that he has related many things that are absurd, some that are incredible, and not a few that are impossible. Against this charge we cannot pretend to vindicate him, though much may be said to excuse him. The facts he tells us of his own knowledge are surprisingly verified by authentic and indisputable evidence; and grant that he might be imposed upon in what he gives us on the authority of others, we must be content, the rather because it is our happiness to live in an age when men are less liable to be cheated and misled; therefore this ought to make us the more ready to bear with failings in one who wanted this advantage, who lived in a time of darkness and obscurity, when credulity passed for faith, and when consequently errors of this sort were rather a man's misfortune than his fault.

5. In spite however of all these charges, there have been some great men in all ages who have done justice to our author's merit. Among these we may reckon the famous Vossius, in his account of the Latin historian, the great geographer Sebastian Muntser,

Munster, the learned naturalist Conrad Gesner, the accurate historian Leunclavius, the celebrated Joseph Scaliger, and many others. The learned German critic William Hickard, in his history of the Kings of Persia, gives our author this character: "Marco Polo, the Venetian, says he, is a very good writer, and those things which he reports, and were heretofore thought incredible, are now verified daily by later discoveries." But of all who have undertaken the cause of our author, none has done it with greater capacity, with more good will, or better success, than Father Martini, to whom we owe the best description of China, and who was consequently a better judge than any other of the merit or demerit of this work. He assures us, that there is not the least reason to doubt the truth of our author's relations on account of the obscurity of the names of places; for, says he, he wrote them after the Tartar pronunciation, whereas later writers study to imitate as well as they are able the pronunciation of the Chinese.

I will add to these but one testimony more, which is that of an author very able to have detected him, if he had caught him in untruths, and who was far enough from being tender of men's reputations if he thought them to blame. The author I mean is Athanasius Kircher, who in his account of China confesses, that none of the old authors have more fully or more accurately described the remotest countries of the east than Marco Polo has done; yet he readily admits, that there are many things in him so very dark, that they may be in a manner stiled inexplicable; but then, with great good sense and candour, he attributes this to the author's want of skill in geography and astronomy; and if we consider how young he was when his father carried him into Tartary, and how little opportunity he had of acquiring that sort of knowledge that was most necessary for preventing those mistakes, we may easily concur in opinion with so many eminent and learned writers, that in consideration of the many curious and useful passages in his writings, these blemishes, especially as they were in a manner unavoidable, may very well be forgiven. After having thus cleared the way, we will no longer detain the reader from the perusal of these travels, which their author has thus digested. He first gives a succinct account of his father's and uncle's peregrinations, and then of his own; after which, he enters into a more particular description of the countries and places through which they passed, and relates also such remarkable things as he was informed of in the course of his voyages.

6. At the time that Baldwin was Emperor of Constantinople, in the year of our Lord 1250, two gentlemen of the most illustrious family of Paolo or Polo, at Venice, embarked on board a vessel freighted with various kinds of merchandize on their own account; and having traversed the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus, they came with a fair wind, and the blessing of God, to Constantinople. There they continued for some time to repose themselves, and then crossing the Pontus Euxinus, arrived at a certain port called Soldadia, from whence they went to the court of a great Tartar prince, called Barha, to whom they shewed the fine jewels they had brought, and presented him with some of the most valuable. That monarch was far from being ungrateful; he kindly accepted their presents, and in return gave them others of greater value. They remained a full year at his court, and then disposed all things for their return to Venice. But before they had an opportunity of departing, there broke out a war between this Prince Barha and another Tartar king, whose name was Alan; and this dispute being decided by a battle, the army of Barha was defeated. This unlucky accident exceedingly embarrassed the Venetians, who knew not what measures to take, or how to get safely back into their own country. At length, however, they took a resolution of escaping, as well as they could, out of the

country where they were; and by several by-roads escaped to a city called Gúthacarr, seated on the river Tygris. They continued their journey from hence through a great desert, where there were neither inhabitants nor villages, till at last they arrived at Bochara, a considerable city on the confines of Persia. It was, at the time of their arrival, the residence of a Prince called Barach, in whose court, meeting with a good reception, and not knowing how otherwise to dispose of themselves, they remained three years. At that time a certain person of distinction was sent ambassador from the said Prince Alan to the Great Khan, who is the superior monarch of all the Tartars, residing in the remotest countries of the earth, betwixt the north-east and the east, called Cublai Khan; who coming to Bochara, and finding there these two brethren, who were now well versed in the Tartarian language, he rejoiced exceedingly, and persuaded these men to go with him to the great Emperor of the Tartars, knowing that he should gratify him in this, and that they also should be entertained with great honour, and rewarded with large gifts, especially seeing, through the conference had with them, he perceived their pleasing behaviour. These men therefore, considering that they could not easily return home without danger, consulting together, agreed to go with the said ambassador, and accompany him to the Emperor of the Tartars, having certain other Christians in their company, whom they brought with them from Venice; and departing towards the north-east and the north, were a whole year in going to the said court of the said King.

The cause of their long time spent in this journey, was the snows and waters being much increased, so that they were forced in their travel to stay the wasting of the snow, and decreasing of the floods. Being therefore brought before the presence of the Great Khan, they were most courteously received by him. He questioned them concerning many things; as of the countries of the west, the Roman Emperor, and other kings and princes, how they carried themselves in government, and in warlike affairs; how peace, justice, and concord continued among them; also what manner of life and customs were observed among the Latins, and especially of the Pope, of the Christians, of the church, and of the religion of the Christian faith; and M. Nicholo and M. Maffio, as wise men, told him the truth, always speaking well to him, and orderly, in the Tartarian tongue; insomuch that he often commanded they should be brought to his presence, and they were very acceptable in his sight; having well understood the affairs of the Latins, and resting satisfied with their answers.

The Great Khan intending to send them his ambassadors to the Pope, first consulted with his great lords, and then calling to him the two brethren, desired them to go to the Pope of the Romans, with one of his barons called Chogatal, to pray him to send an hundred men learned in the Christian religion unto him, who might shew his wise men that the faith of the Christians was to be preferred before all other sects, and was the only way of salvation, and that the gods of the Tartars were devils, and that they, and others, the people of the east, were deceived in the worship of their gods. He gave them also in charge, to bring, in their return from Jerusalem, of the oil of the lamp which burneth before the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, towards whom he had great devotion, and held him to be the true God; they therefore yielded due reverence to the Great Khan, promised that they would faithfully execute the charge committed unto them, and present the letters which they received from him, written in the Tartarian tongue, according to his command, unto the Bishop of Rome.

He, according to the custom of the kingdom, commanded a golden tablet to be given them, engraven and signed with the King's mark; carrying which with them, throughout his whole empire, instead of a passport, they might be every where safely conveyed

conveyed through dangerous places, by the governors of provinces and cities, and receive their expences from them; and lastly, how long soever they would stay in any place, whatsoever they needed, for them or theirs, should be furnished them. Taking their leave therefore of the Emperor, they took their journey, carrying the letters and golden tablet with them; and when they had rid twenty days journey, the lord who was associated with them, began to fall grievously sick; whereupon consulting, and leaving him there, they prosecuted their intended journey, being every where courteously received, by reason of the Emperor's tablet; yet in many places they were compelled to stay, occasioned by the overflowings of the rivers, so that they spent three years before they came unto the port of the country of the Armenians, named Giazza; from Giazza they went to Acre, about the year of our Lord 1269, in the month of April.

But having entered into the city of Acre, they heard that Pope Clement the Fourth was lately dead, and that no other was substituted in his place, for which they were not a little grieved. At that time there was a certain legate of the apostolic see at Acre, viz. Master Tibaldo Nisconti di Piacenza, to whom they declared all they had in commission from the Great Khan, and he advised them to expect the creation of a new Pope. In the mean space therefore departing to Venice, to visit their friends, Master Nicolo found that his wife was dead, whom at his departure he had left with child, but had left a son named Marco, who was now nineteen years of age. This is that Marco who composed this book, who will manifest therein all those things that he hath seen. The election of the Pope of Rome was deferred two years. They fearing the discontent of the Emperor of the Tartars, who expected their return, went back again to Acre to the legate, carrying with them Marco aforesaid, and having gone to Jerusalem, and fetched the oil with the legate's letter, testifying their fidelity to the Great Khan, and that a Pope was not yet chosen, they went again towards Giazza.

In the mean time messengers came from the cardinals to the legate, declaring to him that he was chosen Pope, and he called himself Gregory. Hearing this, he presently sent messengers to call back the Venetians, and admonishing them not to depart, prepared other letters for them, which they should present to the Great Khan of the Tartars, with whom he also joined two preaching friars, men famous for their honest conversation and learning. The one was called Friar Nicholo Davicenza, the other Friar Gulielmo de Tripoli; to these he gave letters and privileges, and authority to ordain priests and bishops, and of absolution in all cases, as if himself were present, with presents also of great value, to present to the Great Khan, together with his benediction. They came to Giazza, a sea-port in Armenia, and because Benticodas and the Sultan of Babylon, leading a great army, then invaded the Armenians, the two friars above mentioned began to be afraid of themselves, and delivering the letters and presents to Signiors Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco, desiring to avoid the danger of the ways and peril of wars, remained with the master of the temple, and returned with him.

But the three Venetians exposing themselves to all danger, with many labours and much difficulty, travelled many days always towards the north-east and north, till they, after three years and a half, came to the Emperor of the Tartar's great city of Clemensu; for in the winter time their journey had often long hindrances by reason of the snow and extreme cold, with inundations of waters. However, King Cublai hearing of their coming, though they were yet very far off, sent messengers forty days' journey to meet them, who should conduct them, and furnish all necessaries for their journey.

Going therefore to the King's court, and being brought to his presence, they fell down before him on their faces, yielding the accustomed reverence; of whom being courteously received, they were ordered to rise, and he commanded them to declare how they passed the many dangers of the ways, and what they had treated with the Bishop of Rome; then they related it distinctly and at large, and gave the Emperor the Pope's letters and presents, which they brought; at which the Khan wonderfully rejoicing, commended their faithful cares. The oil also brought from the Lord's sepulchre, and offered unto him, he reverently received, commanded it should be honourably preserved, and asking of Marco, who he was? Master Nicolo answered, that he was His Majesty's servant, and his son; he entertained him with a friendly countenance, and taught him to write among other of his honourable courtiers; whereupon he was much esteemed of all the court, and in a little space learned the customs of all the Tartars, and four different languages, being able to write and read them all.

The great Khan, to make his wisdom more apparent, committed an ambassage unto him to be performed in a city called Carachan, unto which he could scarcely travel in six months' space; but he carrying himself wisely in all things, discharged what he had in commission with the commendation and favour of the Prince, and knowing the Emperor would be delighted with novelties, in the places which he passed through, he diligently searched the customs and manners of men, and the conditions of the countries, making a memorial of all that he knew and saw to divert the Great Khan; and in six-and-twenty years which he continued one of his court, he was so acceptable to him, that he was continually sent through all his realms and signories for the affairs of the Great Khan, and sometimes for his own, but by the Khan's order; and this is the true reason that the said Master Marco learned and saw so many particulars relating to the East, which follow in order in these memoirs; but these Venetians, having stayed in that court many years, and grown very rich in jewels of great value, were inspired with desire to visit their country, fearing that if the Khan (now old) should die, they should not be able to return. One day Master Nicolo, seeing the Khan merry, craved licence to depart in the name of all the three: whereat he was moved, and asked why they would put themselves on so dangerous a journey, and if they wanted riches, he would give them twice as much as they had, and out of pure affection would not permit their departure.

Yet not long after it happened, that a King of the Indians, named Argon, sent three of his counsellors unto the court of the great Cublai, whose names were Ullatai, Apusea, and Coza, to treat with him, that he would deliver him a wife; for his wife, named Bolgana, being lately dead, begged this favour of the King at the point of death, and left in her will; that he should not marry a wife of another family than her own, which was of Catha. King Cublai, therefore, yielding to his request, caused to be sought out for them a fair young maiden of seventeen years of age, named Cogalin, descended of the former Queen's family, to be the wife of Argon. Those ambassadors departing, rode eight months the same way they came, but found bloody wars among the Tartars, so that they were constrained to return, and acquaint the Great Khan with their proceedings. In the mean time Master Marco had returned from those parts of India, where he had been employed with certain ships, and declared to the Khan the singularities of the places, and the security of those seas; which reaching the ears of the ambassadors, they conferred with the Venetians, and agreed, that they with the Queen should go to the Great Khan, and desire leave to return by sea, and to have the three Latins, men skilled in sea affairs, with them, to the country of King Argon. The Great Khan was much displeas'd with their request, yet upon their petition granted it;

and

and caused Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco to come into his presence, and after much demonstration of his love, would have them promise to return to him after they had spent some time in Christendom, and in their own house; and he caused to be given them a tablet of gold, in which was written his command for their liberty and security through all his dominions, and that expences should be given them and theirs, and a guide or convoy for safe passage, ordering also that they should be his ambassadors to the Pope, the Kings of France and Spain, and other Christian Princes.

He caused fourteen ships to be prepared, each having four masts, and able to bear nine sails in sailing, the form of which is too long here to be related; four or five of them had from two hundred and fifty to two hundred and sixty mariners in each of them. In these ships the ambassadors, the Queen, with Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco, set sail, having first taken leave of the Great Khan, who gave them many rubies, and other precious stones, and their expences for two years. After three months they came unto a certain island called Java, and from thence sailing through the Indian sea, after eighteen months they came into the country of King Argon; six hundred men of the mariners, and others, and but one of the women, died in the passage; but only Coza of the three ambassadors survived. When they came to the country of King Argon, they found that he was dead, and that one Chiacato governed the kingdom for his son, who was under age; they sent to acquaint him with their business, who answered, that they should give her to Casan the King's son, then in the parts of Arbor Secco, in the confines of Persia, with sixty thousand persons for the guard of certain passages against the enemy. Having done so, Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco returned to Chiacato, and staid there nine months.

After this taking leave, Chiacato gave them four tables of gold, each a cubit long, and five fingers broad, of the weight of three or four marks, in which were written, that in the power of the eternal God the name of the Great Khan should be honoured and praised many years, and every one who should not obey should be put to death, and his goods confiscated. In them were further contained, that these three ambassadors should be honoured, and service done them in all lands and countries as to his own person, and that horses, convoys, expences, and necessaries should be given them; all which was so duly put in execution, that sometimes they had two hundred horses for their safeguard. In this their travel, they heard that the Great Khan was dead, which took from them all desire of returning thither.

They rode till they came to Trebizond, and from thence to Constantinople, and after to Negropont, and at last came with great riches safe to Venice, A. D. 1295.

Here ends the historical introduction of our author, which shews us how he came to be qualified for writing the following description of the remotest countries in the East. The reader will naturally observe, that our author wrote under very particular circumstances, as having no other knowledge than what he acquired amongst the Tartars; and therefore, though the harsh and uncouth names that occur in the subsequent relation of his travels, may both disfigure and perplex them, yet they very plainly prove the sincerity and authority of our author's writings, since taking things as he has stated them, it was simply impossible that he should have written them any otherwise than as they stand; for it was his hard lot to travel with the Tartars, and to pen the history of his travels in a prison, so that their imperfections ought not to be ascribed to the man, but to his circumstances.

7. There are two Armenias, the Greater and the Less. In the Lesser Armenia the King resides, in a city called Sebaste, and in all his country is observed justice and good government. The kingdom itself hath many cities, fortresses, and castles; the soil

soil also is fertile, and the country abounds with every thing necessary, nor is there any want of game or wild-fowl; the air indeed is not very good. The gentlemen of Armenia, in times past, were stout men, and good soldiers, but are become now effeminate and nice, giving themselves up to drunkenness and riot. There is a certain city in this kingdom seated near the sea, which is called *Giazza*, having an excellent haven, whither merchants resort from divers countries, and even from Venice and Genoa, on account of several sorts of merchandize brought thither, especially spices of sundry kinds, and abundance of other valuable goods brought thither out of the east countries; for this place is, as it were, the settled mart of all the east*.

In Turcomania are three sorts of nations, viz. the Turcomans or Turkmen, who observe the law of Mohammed: they are men illiterate, rude, and savage, inhabiting the mountains, and inaccessible places, where they can find pastures; for they live only by their cattle. There are good horses in this country, which are called Turkish horses: mules are also in that country of great estimation. The other nations are Grecians and Armenians, who possess the cities and towns, and bestow their labour on merchandize and arts. They make the best carpets in the world, and they have many cities the chief whereof are *Cogno*, *Iconium*, *Cæsarea*, and *Sebaste*, where *St. Basil* suffered martyrdom for Christ, and they acknowledged one of the Khans, Kings of the Tartars, for their lord.

Armenia the Greater is a very large province, tributary to the Tartars, and hath many cities and towns, the chief city whereof is called *Arzugia*, and the best buckram in the world is made there. Most wholesome hot waters also spring there for the washing and curing of mens' bodies; and the other more famous cities next to the metropolis are *Argiron* and *Darziz*. In the summer time many Tartars resort there with their flocks and herds, drawn thither by the fatness of their pastures; and again in the winter depart for a certain time, by reason of the abundance of snow. The Ark of Noah remained in the mountains of this Armenia.

This country hath the province of *Moxul* and *Meridin* bordering on the east; but on the north is *Zorzania*, in the confines of which a fountain is found, from which a liquor like oil flows, and though unprofitable for the seasoning of meat, yet is very fit for the supplying of lamps, and to anoint other things; and this natural oil flows constantly, and that in plenty enough to lade camels. In *Zorzania* is a King called *David Melic*, or *King David*; one part of the province is subject unto him, the other pays tribute to a Khan of the Tartars; the woods there are of box-trees. The country extends to the two seas, *Marmaggiore*, or the *Euxine*, and that of *Baccu*, or the *Caspian*, which containeth in circuit two thousand eight hundred miles, and is like a lake having no communication with other seas. In it are many islands, cities, and castles, some of which are inhabited by those that fled from the Tartars out of *Persia* †.

The people of *Zorzania* are Christians, observing the same rites with other Christians. They keep their hair short like the western clergy; the inhabitants have many cities, and their country abounds with silk, of which they make very fine manufactures. *Moxul* is a province in which there are many sorts of people, some called *Arabians*, are *Mohammedans*, others are *Christians*, some *Nestorians*, others *Jacobites*, and others *Armenians*; and they have a patriarch called *Jacolet*, who ordains arch-

* There is nothing obscure in this description of Armenia the Less; and I added this note only to put the reader in mind, that our author shews that a great part of the trade from Europe to the Indies was carried on this way by the Venetians and Genoese.

† *Zorzania* is indeed a name not to be met with in any other author; but the account given us by *Marco* is so clear and exact, that there can be no doubt about it.

bishops, bishops, and abbots, and sends them through all parts of India, and to Cairo and Baldach, or Bagdat, and wherever Christians dwell, as is done by the Pope of Rome; and all the stuffs of gold and silk called musleims are wrought in Moxul.

But in the mountains of this kingdom dwell the people called Curdi, of whom some are Nestorians, others Jacobites, and some followers of Mohammed; they are wicked men, and rob merchants. Near to them is another province called Mus or Meridin, wherein grow great quantities of cotton, whereof they make buckrams, and other works; they are subject to the Tartars. Baldach, or Bagdat, is a great city, in which resided the great Khaliff, that is the Pope of all the Saracens; a river runs through it, from whence to the sea is accounted seventeen days journey. They sail by a city called Chifi; but before they reach the sea they come to Balsora, about which grow the best dates in the world. In Baldach, or Bagdat, are many manufactures of gold and silk. There are wrought damasks and velvets, with figures of various creatures: all the pearls in Christendom come from thence. In that city is an university, where is studied the law of Mohammed, physic, astronomy, and geomancy. It is the chief city in those parts.

When the Tartars began to extend their conquests, there were four brethren, the eldest of which, Mangu, reigned in Sedia. These purposing to subdue the world, went one to the east; another to the north; to the south a third, which was Ulan; and the other to the west. In the year of our Lord 1250, Ulan having a great army of one hundred thousand horse, besides foot, used policy, and having hid a great part of his men, brought, by pretending flight, the Khaliff into his ambuscade, and took him and the city, in which he found infinite store of treasure, inasmuch that he was amazed. He sent for the Khaliff, and reproved him, that in that war he had not provided himself with soldiers for defence, and commanded that he should be inclosed in that tower where his treasure was, without other sustenance*.

This seemed a just judgment from our Lord Jesus Christ on him; for in the year 1225, seeking to convert the Christians to the Mohammedan religion, and taking advantage from that place of the Gospel, "That he which hath faith, as the grain of mustard-seed, shall be able to remove mountains." He summoned all the Christians, Nestorians, and Jacobites, and propounded to them in ten days to remove a certain mountain or turn Mohammedans, or be slain, as not having one man amongst them which had the least faith. They therefore continued eight days in prayer: after which a certain shoemaker, in consequence of a revelation made to a certain bishop, was fixed upon to perform it. This shoemaker, once tempted to lust by sight of a young woman, in putting on her shoe, zealously had fulfilled that of the gospel, and literally had put out his right eye. He now on the day appointed with other Christians followed the cross, and lifting his hands to heaven, prayed to God to have mercy on his people, and then with a loud voice commanded the mountain in the name of the Holy Trinity to remove; which presently, with great terror to the Khaliff and all his people was effected, and that day is since kept holy by fasting also on the evening before it.

8. Tauris is a great city in the province of Hircania, and is a most populous place. The inhabitants live by the exercise of arts and merchandize, they make stuffs of gold and silk; foreign merchants residing there make very great gain, but the inhabitants

* There is nothing gives so much credit to our author's relation as these historical facts, which are capable of being verified by other authors. The prince he mentions, was Halaku-Khan, who was brother to Mangu-Khan; he entered these countries A. D. 1255, with an army of Tartars, and in 1251, put an end to the empire of the Abyssinian Khaliffs, by taking Bagdat, as our author relates it.

are generally poor. They are a mixed people of Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, Persians and Mohammedans: these last are perfidious and treacherous, thinking all well gotten which they steal from men of other religions; and this wickedness of the Saracens had converted many Tartars thereto. If the Christians kill them in their robbery, they are reputed martyrs. From Tauris into Persia are twelve days journey. In the confines is the monastery of St. Barafam, the monks whereof are like Carmelites; they make girdles which they lay on the altar, and give to their friends, who devoutly esteem them. Persia containeth eight kingdoms, whereof the first is called Casbin, the second Curdistan, the third Lor, the fourth Sufistan, the fifth Spahan, the sixth Shiras, the seventh Soncara, the eighth Timochaim, which is near Arborefecco towards the north. They have fine horses here, whence they are sold into India; there are also very excellent asses sold dearer than the horses, because they eat little, carry much, and travel far. They have camels, but not so swift. These are necessary in those countries, which sometimes for a long way yield no grass*.

The people of those countries are very wicked, covetous, thieves, and murderers, professing the faith of Mohammed. Merchants are every where slain by those thieves, unless they travel in caravans. There are excellent artificers in the cities, who make wonderful things in gold, silk, and embroidery. The countries abound with silk-worms, wheat barley, millet, and other kinds of corn, and plenty of wine and fruits; and though their law forbids wine, yet they have a gloss to correct or corrupt the text, that if they boil it then it changeth the taste, and therefore the name also, of wine, and may be drank. Isfidi is a great city in the confines of Persia, where there is great trade; it hath also many manufactures in silk. Chaiman is a kingdom in the confines of Persia to the east, subject to the Tartars. In veins of the mountains stones are found, commonly called Turquoises, and other jewels. There also are made all sorts of arms and ammunition for war, and by the women excellent needle-works in silks, with all sorts of creatures very admirably wrought therein. There are the best falcons in the world, very swift of flight, red-breasted, and under the train less than those of other countries. Proceeding further, you go through a great plain, and having ended eight days journey, you come to a certain descent. In the plain are many castles and towns, but in that steep descent are many trees, and those fruitful, but no habitation, except a few shepherds huts. This country in winter time is intolerably cold. After this you come into a large open plain, where a certain city is seated, which is called Camandu, heretofore large and populous, but now destroyed by the Tartars, and the country is called Reobarle. There grow pomegranates, quinces, peaches, and other fruits, which grow not in our cold countries. It hath also very great oxen, and all white, thin haired, with thick, short, blunt horns, with a camel's bunch on the back, accustomed to bear great burthens; and when the pack-faddles are set upon the bunch, they bow their knee like camels, and having received the burthen, rise again, being so taught. The sheep of that country are as big as asses, having so long and broad tails, that they weigh thirty pounds weight. They are very fair, and fat, and good meat.

Moreover, in the plain of this country are many cities and towns, with high walls of earth to defend them from the Caraons, that is, Mestizos, that is a mixed sort of people between Indian women and Tartars, ten thousand of which are commanded by one

* In the several copies of this work, there are great variations in the names of these eight parts, into which the kingdom of Persia is divided; but as it is very apparent that they are corruptions only of the cities, and provinces of that kingdom, it is not necessary to trouble the reader with a long explanation of them.

Nugodar, the nephew of Zagathai, who formerly ruled in Turkestan. This Nugodar, hearing of the Malabars subject to Soldan Afiden, without his uncle's knowledge, went and took Dely with other cities, erected a new feignory, and mixing with the Indian women, raised these Caravans, which go up and down to rob and spoil in Roobarle, and other countries. The plain whereof I now speak is five days journey, extending towards the south; but at the end thereof the way begins by little and little to descend for twenty miles together, and the road itself is very bad, and not without danger by reason of thieves. At length you come to very good plains, which extend themselves two days journey in length, and the place itself is called Ormus.

That country abounds with rivers and palm-trees; there is also plenty of divers fowls, especially poppin jays, which are not like ours. From hence you come unto the ocean wherein an island is seated called Ormus, to which many merchants resort, bringing spices, pearls, precious stones, cloth of gold and silver, elephants' teeth, and all other precious things from India. That city is a great mart, having cities and castles under it, and is head of the kingdom of Cherman. The King is called Ruchined Ben Achomach, who yields obedience to the King of Cherman. He makes himself heir, if any merchant dies there. In summer, by reason of the heat, they betake themselves to their summer-houses, built in the waters; and from nine till noon there blows a wind with such extreme heat from the sands, that it swallows a man's breath, and stifles him, which makes them lie in the water. The King of Cherman sent an army of sixteen hundred horse, and five thousand foot, against the Lord of Ormus, for not paying his tribute, which were all surprized, and stifled with that wind. The inhabitants of the place eat no bread made of corn, or flesh, but feed upon dates, salt fish and onions. They have not very stout ships, for they do not fasten them with iron nails, by reason the wood is brittle, and would cleave; but with wooden pins, with certain threads made of the shells of Indian nuts. These shells are dressed after the manner of leather, out of which threads are cut, of which threads exceeding strong cords are made which are able to endure the force and violence of the waters, and are not easily corrupted thereby. Those ships have one mast, one sail, one beam, and are covered but with one deck. They are not calked with pitch, but with the oil and fat of fishes; and when they cross the sea to India, carrying horses and other freight with them, they lose many ships, because that sea is very tempestuous, and the ships are not strengthened with iron*. The inhabitants of that country are black, and have embraced the law of Mohammed. It is the custom of this country, when any master of a family dies, that the wife left behind him should mourn for him four years, once a day. They have women which profess the practice of mourning, and are therefore hired to mourn daily for their dead. Returning from Ormus to Cherman, is a fertile plain, but the bread made there cannot be eaten, but by such as are accustomed thereto, it is so bitter, by reason of the water put therein: here are excellent hot baths, which cure many diseases.

9. From Cherman, in three days riding, you come to a desert, which extends to Cobinham, seven days journey from thence. In the first three days you have no water, save a few ponds, and those salt and bitter, of a green colour in shew, as if it were the juice of herbs; and whoever tasteth but a little thereof cannot escape a looseness; the like also happeneth if any taste the salt made of the water: it is therefore

* It is very evident from this account, that our author extends the name of Ormus to the coast opposite to the island so called; and as to the other country he speaks of, it is plainly the province of Kherman.

necessary that travellers carry some water with them, if they would escape the inconvenience of thirst; the beasts also which are compelled to drink that water escape not without scouring: in the fourth day they find a fresh river under ground; the three last days are as the first. Cobinham is a great city, inhabited by Mohammedans, where great looking-glasses of steel are made. Tutia, or tutty also, which cureth the eyes, and spodio, is prepared after this manner. That country hath mines, out of which they dig earth, which they boil, casting it into a furnace, an iron gate receiving the ascending vapour from above, in which the conglutinated and clammy vapour becometh tutia, but the grosser matter remaining in the fire is called spodio. Leaving the city of Cobinham, you meet with another desert, eight days journey in length, and grievously barren; it hath not either trees, or fruits, or water, except what is very bitter, so that the very beasts refuse to drink it, except they mix meal therewith, and travellers carry water with them.

But having passed over this desert, you come to the kingdom of Timochaim, in the north confines of Persia, where are many cities and strong castles. There is a great plain, in which a great tree grows, called the Tree of the Sun, which the Christians call the Dry Tree. This tree is very thick, and hath leaves which on the one side are white, and on the other side green. It produceth prickly husky shells, like those of chestnuts, but nothing in them. The wood is solid and strong, in colour yellow, like box. There is no tree within one hundred miles, except on one side, on which are trees within ten miles. In this place the inhabitants say, that Alexander the Great fought with Darius. The cities are plentifully furnished with good things; the air is temperate, the people are handsome, but especially women, the most beautiful in my judgment in the world.

10. Mulehet, in the Saracen language, is as much as to say, a place of heretics, and of this place they call the men Mulchetici, that is, heretics in their law, as with us Patarines. As I have spoken of the country, the Prince of it, who is called the Old Man of the Mountain, shall be next spoken of, concerning whom Marco heard much from many. His name was Aloadine, and he was a Mohammedan. He had, in a lovely valley, betwixt two mountains, which were very high and inaccessible, caused a pleasant garden to be laid out, furnished with the best trees and fruits he could find, adorned with divers palaces and houses of pleasure, beautified with gilded bowers, pictures, and tapestries of silk. Through this place, by pipes to different parts of these palaces, run wine, milk, honey, and clear water; in them he had placed beautiful damsels, skilful in songs and instruments of music and dancing, and to make sports and delights unto men whatsoever they could imagine. They were also richly dressed in gold and silk, and were seen continually sporting in the garden and palaces. He made this palace, because Mohammed had promised such a sensual paradise to his devout followers. No man could enter it; for at the mouth of the valley was a strong castle, and the entrance was by a secret passage. Aloadine had certain youths, from twelve to twenty years of age, such as seemed of a bold and dauntless disposition, whom he instructed daily as to the delights in Mohammed's paradise, and how he could bring men thither; and when he thought proper, he caused a certain drink to be given to ten or twelve of them, which cast them into a dead sleep, and then he caused them to be carried into several chambers of the said palaces, where they saw things as of gold; as soon as they awaked, each of them had those damsels to supply them with meats and excellent wines, and yield all varieties of pleasures to them; insomuch that the fools thought themselves in paradise indeed.

When they had enjoyed these pleasures four or five days, they were cast into a sleep, and carried forth again; after which he caused them to be brought into his presence,

and questioned them where they had been? who answered, By your grace, in paradise; and recounted before all what hath been before mentioned. Then the Old Man answered, This is the commandment of our Prophet; that whosoever defends his Lord, he allows him to enter paradise; and if thou wilt be obedient unto me, thou shalt have this grace; and having thus animated them, he was thought happy whom the Old Man would command, though it cost him his life; so that other lords, and his enemies, were slain by these assassins, who exposed themselves to all dangers, and contemned their lives. Hereupon he was esteemed a tyrant, feared in all those parts, and had two vicars, one in the parts of Damascus, and another in Curdistan, which observed the same order with the young men. He used also to rob all which passed that way. Ulan, in the year 1262, sent and besieged his castle, which, after three years siege, they took, slew him, and undermined his paradise, not being able for want of provisions to hold out longer*.

Departing from the aforesaid place you come unto a country pleasant enough, diversified by hills, plains, and excellent pasture, in which are fruits in great plenty, the soil being very fruitful: this continues six days, and then you enter a desert of four or fifty miles, without water; after this you come to the city of Sapurgan, where plenty of provisions are found, but especially melons, the best in the world, sweet like honey. Passing from hence we came to a certain city called Batach, which formerly was large and famous, having sumptuous marble palaces, but now overthrown by the Tartars.

In this city they report that Alexander took the daughter of King Darius to wife. To this city on the east and north-east continue the confines of Persia; but if you go from hence, and proceed between the east and the north-east, you cannot find any habitation for two days journey, because the inhabitants of that place having endured many great grievances by thieves, are compelled to fly unto the mountains, to place of more safety. Many rivers are found there, and much game. Lions also are found there; and because travellers find no food in that journey, they carry as much victuals with them as is necessary for two days. The two days journey ended, we met with a castle called Thaicau, where is great plenty of corn, and very pleasant fields; the mountains also on the south are high, some of which are of white and hard salt; and the inhabitants for thirty days journey about fetch it from thence, being the best in the world, and so hard that they must break it with iron instruments, so much that the whole world might have a sufficient quantity of salt from thence. The other mountains have store of almonds and pistaches.

Going between the east and north-east from hence, the country is fruitful; but the inhabitants are murderers, perfidious Mohammedans, and drunkards. Their wine is boiled, and truly excellent. They go bare-headed, save that the men bind up their heads with a certain string of ten hands-full long; but they make clothing of the skins of the wild beasts, such as breeches and shoes, and use no other garments. After three days journey is the city Seafom, seated in a plain, and there are many castles in the mountains round about it: a certain great river also flows through the middle thereof. There are

* It is necessary to observe, that those people inhabited several mountainous countries in the east, and had much the same customs in all the countries where they were settled. At the close of the former section, I gave some account of this nation, and shall only add here, that the Prince was called the Old Man of the Mountain, because they generally made choice of the oldest man amongst them for their chief, who had his residence on a mountain, the strongest and best fortified in the country. They pretended to be the descendants of the royal family of Arsaces, and from thence affected to be called Arsacides, from whence came the word Assassins. The last of their Princes was called Moadin, and he and his subjects were entirely destroyed by the before-mentioned Halaku-Khan.

many porcupines in that country, which they hunt with dogs, and they, contracting themselves with great fury, cast their prickly quills at men and dogs, and wound them. That nation hath a particular language, and the shepherds abide in the mountains, having made caves for their habitations. You go hence three days journey, without meeting any inhabitants, to the province of Balaxiam, which is inhabited by Mohammedans, who have a peculiar language. Their Kings, who succeed each other hereditarily, are reported to have derived their descent from Alexander the Great, and from the daughter of Darius, and are called Dulcarlen, that is to say, Alexandrians. There are found the ballastias, and other precious stones, of great value.

No man, on pain of death, dare either dig such stones, or carry them out of the country, but with the licence and consent of the King; for all those stones are the King's, and he only sends them to whom he pleases, either as presents, or in payment of tribute: he exchanges also many for gold and silver; and this he doth left the stone, whereof there is so much plenty, should become too common and cheap. Other mountains also in this province yield stones called Lapis Lazuli, whereof the best azure is made, the like is not found in the world. These mines also yield silver, brass, and lead. The country itself is very cold: there are many horses, and those excellent, large, strong, and swift, which have so hard and tough hoofs, that they need no iron shoes, although they run over rocks. It is said, that not many years ago, there were horses of the race of Alexander's Bucephalus, which had the same forehead mark as he had, in the possession only of the King's uncle, who was killed for refusing the King to have some of them; whereupon his widow, in spite, destroyed the whole race. There are also excellent falcons. The soil of this country bears excellent wheat and barley without husk, and oil made of nuts, and mustard, which is like flax-seed, but more favoury than other oil. There are straight passages and difficult places. The men are good archers and huntsmen, clothed in beasts' skins. The hills are steep and high, large plains, fine rivers; and if any have an ague, by living two or three days on the hills he recovers, which Marco experienced himself after a year's sickness. The women in the skirts of their garments put sixty or eighty yards of cotton; the burlier a woman looks, she is in their eyes the handsomer.

The province of Bascia is ten days journey towards the south from the country of Balaxiam. The country itself is very hot, which is the reason the people are brown. They have a language of their own, and wear gold and silver ear-rings, with pearls and other stones artificially wrought in them; they eat fish and rice, and are idolaters, crafty, and cruel. The province of Cheshmur is seven days journey distant from Bascia, the inhabitants whereof have also their own language, and are idolaters beyond all others, cunning enchanterers, forcing their idols to speak, and darkening the day. From hence you may go to the Indian sea. The men and women are brown, not wholly black; the heat being somewhat tempered. Their food is flesh and rice, yet are they exceedingly lean: there are many cities and towns in this country; their King is tributary to none. There are certain hermits in this province, who in monasteries and cells worship idols, honouring their gods with great abstinence of meat and drink, and observe great chastity, are very cautious not to offend their idols, and live long; of these are many reputed saints, and the people shew them great reverence. The men of this province kill no living creature, and shed no blood; and if they eat flesh, it is necessary that the Saracens, who live amongst them, kill the creature. Coral is here sold dearer than any where. We will leave the way to India now, and return to Balaxiam, and direct our way towards Cathay, betwixt the east and north-east. Beyond Balaxiam is a certain river, whereon stand many castles and villages belonging to the King of Balaxiam's brother; and after three days journey is the province Vachan, having in length and

breadth three days journey, the inhabitants whereof have a peculiar language, and worship Mohammed. They are however stout warriors and good hunters, for the country abounds with wild beasts.

If you depart thence betwixt the north-east and the east, you must ascend for three whole days together, until you come to an exceeding high mountain, than which there is said to be none higher in the world. There also between two mountains is a great lake, and through a plain runs a very fine river, near which are excellent pastures, so that in them a lean horse or an ox may be fat in ten days. There is also plenty of wild beasts, especially exceeding great wild sheep, having horns, some of them six spans long, of which they make divers kinds of vessels. The plain contains twelve days journey in length, and is called Pamer; nor is there any habitation there; and travellers must carry victuals with them. No bird also appears there, by reason of the cold; and it is reported, that if fire be kindled there it is not so bright nor so effectual to boil any thing as in other places. From hence the way leadeth forty days journey further between the east and north-east, through the mountains, hills, and valleys, in which many rivers are found, but no village or herbs, and the country itself is called Palow, and some huts and cottages of men are seen on the tops of those high mountains, but such as are savage and wicked idolaters, who live by hunting, and are clothed by the skins of the beasts they kill. After this you come to the province of Chafcar, which is tributary to the Great Khan, and the people are Mohammedans. In it are vines, pleasant gardens, fruitful trees, cotton, flax, and hemp, and a fertile soil. The inhabitants have a particular language, and are merchants and artificers, so covetous, that they eat that which is bad, and drink worse. Some Nestorian Christians are found there, who also have their churches. The country extends itself five days journey.

11. Samarcand is a great and famous city in that country, where are lovely gardens, and a fertile plain. It is subject to the nephew of the Great Khan; in it the Christians dwell with the Saracens, whence little agreement is betwixt them. It is reported, that on this account a miracle happened; the brother of the Great Khan, named Zagatai, who governed that country about an hundred years ago, being persuaded to become a Christian, the Christians, through his favour, built a church in honour of St. John the Baptist, with such cunning, that the whole roof thereof was supported by one pillar in the midst, under which was set a square stone, which, by favour of their Lord, was taken from a building of the Saracens. Zagatai's son succeeded after his death in the kingdom, but not in the faith, from whom the Saracens obtained that the Christians should be compelled to restore that stone; and when they offered a sufficient price, the Saracens refused to receive any other composition than the stone; whereupon the pillar lifted up, that the Saracens might take away their stone, and so continued.

Departing again from this city, you come into the province Charahan, about five days journey in length. This province hath plenty of provisions, being subject to the dominion of the nephew of the Great Khan. The inhabitants worship Mohammed, yet among them certain Nestorian Christians dwell. They are great artificers, and have most of them swelled legs, and a great wen or bunch in their throat, by reason of the waters which they drink. The province Cotam follows between the east and the north-east. It is subject to the dominion of the nephew of the great Khan, and hath many cities and towns. The chief city thereof is called Cotam. The province extends eight days journey in length. There is no want there of any thing needful to the maintenance of life. It hath plenty of cotton, flax, hemp, corn, and wine; but the people are not warlike, yet good artificers in various manufactures and merchandize. They acknowledge Mohammed for their prophet.

Proceeding

Proceeding farther through the same country, you come to the province Peim, extending four days journey in length; it is subject to the Great Khan, and hath many cities and castles; the chief city thereof is called Piem, near which runs a river wherein precious stones are found, such as jaspers and chalcedons. The inhabitants of the country follow the law of Mohammed, and are artificers and merchants. There is a custom in this province, that when any married-man goeth into another place and returneth not home in twenty days, it becomes lawful for the wife to marry another husband; and the men also, whensoever the women go away for the same time, do the like. All these provinces, viz. Cascha, Cotem, Piem, to the city of Lop, are in the bounds of Turkestan.

Ciafcian is subject to the Tartars; the name of the province and chief city is the same: it hath many cities and castles; many precious stones are found there in the rivers, especially jaspers and chalcedons, which merchants carry quite to Ouchach to sell and make great gain. From Piem to this province, and quite through it also, it is a sandy soil, with many bad waters, and few good. When an army passes through this province, all the inhabitants thereof, with their wives, children, cattle, and all their household-stuff, fly two days journey into the sands, where they know that good waters are, and stay there, and carry their corn thither also to hide it in the sands, after harvest, from the like fears. The wind doth so deface their steps in the sand, that their enemies cannot find their way. Departing from this province, you are to travel five days journey through the sands, where no other water almost than that which is bitter is any where to be found, until you come to the city called Lop, which is a great city, from whence is the entrance of a great desert, called also the Wilderness of Lop, seated between the east and north-east. The inhabitants are Mohammedans, subject to the Great Khan.

In the city of Lop, merchants who desire to pass over the desert, cause all necessaries to be provided for them; and when victuals begin to fail in the desert, they kill their asses and camels and eat them. They make it mostly their choice to use camels, because they are sustained with little meat, and bear great burthens. They must provide victuals for a month to cross it only, for to go through it lengthways would require a year's time. They go through the sands and barren mountains, and daily find water; yet it is sometimes so little that it will hardly suffice fifty or a hundred men with their beasts; and in three or four places the water is salt and bitter. The rest of the road, for eight-and-twenty days, is very good. In it there are not either beasts or birds; they say, that there dwell many spirits in this wilderness, which cause great and marvellous illusions to travellers, and make them perish; for if any stay behind, and cannot see his company, he shall be called by his name, and so going out of the way is lost. In night they hear as it were the noise of a company; which taking to be theirs, they perish likewise. Concerts of musical instruments are sometimes heard in the air, likewise drums and noises of armies. They go therefore close together, hang bells on their beasts neck, and set marks, if any stay*.

* This desert mentioned by our author still retains the same name in the most modern maps. His descriptions of this and other wildernesses are very exact; and the hardships he mentions in passing through them are not at all exaggerated. It is for this reason that it is so extremely difficult to pass from any part of the dominions of the Great Mogul to China, without taking a prodigious compass to avoid these deserts. It is not above forty years ago since a certain Rajah, who had incurred the Mogul's displeasure, attempted, with a train of thirty followers, to pass through these deserts, in which they all perished by hunger and thirst, except the nobleman himself, and four of his attendants, who reached the province of Chiensi, where he and one of his men died of the fatigue a few days after.

Having

Having passed over the desert, you come into the city Sachion, betwixt the east and north-east, subject to the Great Khan, in the province of Tangut, where, amongst the worshippers of Mohammed, a few Nestorian Christians are found; many idolaters are also there, who have their proper language. The inhabitants of this city live not by merchandize, but on the fruits of the earth. The city hath many monasteries, consecrated to divers idols, in which many sacrifices are offered with great reverence: and when a son is born to a man he presently commendeth him to some idol, and in honour thereof nourisheth a sheep that year in his house, which he presenteth before it, together with his son, the next festival day of that idol; with many ceremonies, and great reverence. Afterwards the flesh of the sheep is boiled, and left so long before the idol till their prayers are finished, which they make for the conservation of their son; and the idol hath, as they suppose, sucked the favour of the meat; after which, all his kindred being gathered together, eat the flesh at home with great devotion and joy, but religiously keep the bones in certain vessels. The priests have the feet, head, inwards, skin, and some part of the flesh for their share.

In celebrating the funerals of such as were men in esteem, the dead bodies are buried after this manner; the kindred send for the astrologers, and tell them what year, month, day, and hour he who died was born, who, having considered the constellation, assign the day when he is to be buried; so that when the planet suits not, they preserve the dead body sometimes seven days, and sometimes six months, preparing a chest for it at home, and joining the sides together with such art that no noisome smells issue forth. They also embalm the body itself with spices, and cover the chest, fairly painted, with embroidered cloth; and every day that the dead corpse is kept at home, at the hour of dinner a table is spread near the chest, wine and meat set thereon, for the space in which one might eat a meal's meat, supposing that the soul of the dead feedeth on the favour thereof. The astrologers sometimes forbid to carry it out of the chief gate, pretending some disastrous star, and cause them to carry it out another way, and sometimes break the wall which is opposite to that place, which the planet makes more lucky; for otherwise the spirits departed would be offended, and hurt those of the house; and if any such evil happen, they ascribe it to the dead thus wronged. When the body is carried through the city to be buried without, wooden cottages are erected in the way, with a porch covered with silk, in which they place the body, and set before it bread, flesh, and delicate meats, supposing the spirit to be refreshed therewith, which is held to be constantly present at the burying of the body; and when they come to the place where the body is to be buried, they diligently and curiously paint upon papers made of the bark of trees the images of men and women, horses, camels, money, and garments, all the instruments of the city founding, which are burned together with the dead body; for they say, that dead men shall have so many men-servants, and maid-servants, cattle, and money in another life, as pictures were burned with him, and shall perpetually live in that honour and riches.

12. The province of Camul lieth in the wide country of Tangut, subject to the Great Khan, having many cities and towns; the chief city is called Camul. This province is bounded by two deserts, viz. the great desert, of which we have spoken before, and another that is less, of three days journey. It abounds with all things for the convenient support of life. The inhabitants are idolaters, have a peculiar language, and seem to be born for no other purpose but to apply themselves to sporting, singing, dancing, writing and reading, after their fashion, playing on instruments, and giving themselves unto pleasure. When any traveller passing by goes into any man's house for entertainment, the master of the family receives him with great joy, and commands his wife, and all

all the family, that as long as he will abide with them, they obey him in all things. In the mean time he departs, and returns not so long as the guest remains at his house; and during all this space, the stranger lies with the wife, daughter, and the rest, as with his own wives. The women of the country are beautiful, and ready to obey all these commandments of their husbands, who are so besotted with this folly, that they think it a glorious thing for them, and believe it so acceptable to their idols, that through their favour thus obtained, they prosper, and enjoy plenty of all things. Mangu-Khan, having heard of this folly, commanded them not to observe this detestable custom any longer, and accordingly they forbore it for about three years; and then not seeing their wonted fertility, and troubled with some domestic crosses, they sent ambassadors to the Khan, and earnestly intreated that he would revoke so grievous an edict, and not abolish that ancient custom which they had received from their ancestors. The Khan answered, since you desire your reproach and shame, let it be granted you; go and do herein after your wont. The messengers returning with this answer, brought great joy to all the people; and this custom is observed by the whole nation to this day.

After the province of Camul, a traveller entered the province of Chinchintalas, which on the north is bounded by the desert, and is sixteen days journey in length, subject to the Great Khan. It hath large cities, and many castles; the people are divided into three sects; some few acknowledge Christ, and these are Nestorians; others worship Mohammed; and the third sort adore idols. In this province there is a mountain, wherein are mines of steel, and andanicum, and also, as was reported, salamanders, of the wool of which cloth was made, which if cast into the fire cannot be burned; but that cloth is in reality made of stone in this manner, as one of my companions, a Turk, named Curifar, a man endued with singular industry, informed me, who had the charge of the minerals in that province. A certain mineral is found in that mountain, which yields thread not unlike to wool; and these being dried in the sun, are bruised in a brazen mortar, and afterwards washed, and whatsoever earthy substance sticks to them is taken away. Lastly, these threads so cleaned, are spun like other wool, and woven into cloth; and when they would whiten those cloths, they cast them into the fire for an hour, and then take them out unhurt whiter than snow; after the same manner they cleanse them when they have taken any spots; for no other washing is used to them, besides the fire. But with regard to the salamander, or the serpent, which is reported to live in the fire, I could find nothing of such a creature in the east countries. They say there is a certain napkin at Rome woven of salamander wool, wherein the handkerchief of the Lord is kept wrapped up, which a certain King of the Tartars sent to the Bishop of Rome*.

After you are past this province, you travel on betwixt the east and north-east ten days journey, in which few habitations or things remarkable are found, and then you come to the province Succir, in which are many villages and towns; the chief city is called Succir. In this province, among many idolaters, a few Christians are found; they are subject to the Great Khan. They do not addict themselves to merchandize, but live on

* It appears from hence, that our author was not quite so credulous as some other writers, who have told us very strange stories of the salamander: but notwithstanding what is asserted of that creature's living in the fire is equally false and fabulous; yet as it is a fable generally known in all parts of the world, we need not wonder that in the East, where the people are so fond of figurative expressions, they should bestow the name of salamander's wool on cloth capable of resisting the fire. This is plainly the same kind of manufacture with what the Greeks call asbestos, of which there are small quantities still found in several countries, and of late years, particularly in the island of Anglesey, as I have been informed by a very curious and intelligent gentleman, who has made several experiments on it.

the fruits of the earth. The best rhubarb is found in this province in great quantities, which is carried thence by merchants to divers parts of the world. Strangers dare not go to the mountains where it grows, by reason of venomous herbs, which if their beasts should eat, they would lose their hoofs; but those of that country know and avoid them.

The general name of this province, and of the two following, is Tangut: Campion is a great city, the principal in the country of Tangut. In it are Christians, which have three great and fair churches; Mohammedans, and idolaters. The idolaters have many monasteries, where they worship their idols. Those idols are made either of stone, wood, or clay, some of which are inlaid with gold, and very artificially wrought. Some are so great, that they contain ten paces in length, fastened to the earth, as if they lay upright, near which little idols are placed, which seem to give reverence to the greater, and both are much worshipped. The religious men seem to live more honestly than other idolaters, abstaining from whoredom, and other base things; yet wantonness is not held there any grievous sin; for they say, if a woman sues to a man, he may use her without sin, but not if he first sues to her. They reckon the whole compass of the year by moons. In the moons they observe in some five, in others four or three days, wherein they kill no beast, or bird, nor eat flesh. The laymen marry twenty or thirty wives, or as many as they are able to maintain; yet the first is accounted more worthy, and more legitimate. The husband receives no dowry from the wife, but he himself assigns sufficient dowry in cattle, servants, or money, according to his ability. If the wife becomes hateful to the husband, it is lawful for him to divorce her from him when he pleases. They take for wives, without scruple, their kinswomen or mothers-in-law. Our author, together with his father and uncle, remained a year in this city for the dispatch of certain affairs. From the city Campion you proceed twelve days journey to the city Ezina, bordering on a sandy desert towards the north, being still in the province or kingdom of Tangut. Many camels are there, and many other beasts and animals of several kinds. The inhabitants are idolaters, living on the fruits of the earth, neglecting merchandize, or manual labour, other than husbandry. All the provinces and cities aforesaid, Sachion, Camul, Chinchintalos, Succair, Camion, and Ezina, are comprehended in Tangut.

13. Having passed over the aforesaid desert, you come unto the city Careoran, or Caracarum, a large place, which is in compass three miles, strongly fortified with earth, for stone they have none. Near it is a great castle, and in it the Governor's fair palace. This was a place, near which in old times the Tartars assembled themselves, and here therefore we will declare how they began to reign. They dwelt in the north parts, viz. in Curza and Bargu, where are many vast plains, without cities and towns, but abounding in pastures, rivers, and lakes. They had not a prince of their nation, but paid tribute to a certain great King, named, as I have heard in their language, Umcan, which, in some men's opinion, in our language signifieth presbyter, or priest John. To him the Tartars gave yearly the tenths of all their beasts. In process of time the Tartars so increased in multitudes, that Umcan was afraid of them, and thought to disperse them into several parts of the world, and therefore when any of them rebelled, he sent three or four hundred Tartars into those parts, so diminishing their power: and the like he did on other occasions, deputed some of their nobility for that purpose. They seeing their ruin intended, and loth to be separated one from another, went from the places where they dwelt to the desert towards the north, where they might be safe, and denied Umcan their accustomed tribute.

It happened, that about the year A. D. 1162, the Tartars having continued for some time in those parts, chose a king among themselves, a wise and valiant man, named Zingis-Khan; he began to reign with such justice, that he was beloved and feared of all as a God rather than a Prince, insomuch that his fame brought all the Tartars in all parts to his subjection, and he seeing himself Lord over so many valiant men, determined to leave these desarts, and commanding them to provide bows and other weapons, began to subdue cities and provinces, in which conquests he placed such just governors, that the people were not displeas'd. The chief of them he carried along with him, bestowing on them provisions and gifts. Seeing therefore that he was advanced to so great glory and power, he sent ambassadors politely to Umcan, to entreat that he would bestow his daughter upon him to be his wife, which he taking in very evil part, answered with indignation, and rejecting the ambassadors of Zingis, said, "Doth my servant demand my daughter? Get ye out of my sight, and tell your master, if he ever make such demand again, I will make him die a miserable death."

But King Zingis levying a great army, marched boldly, and encamped in a certain great plain named Tanduc, sending unto the King, and signifying unto him that he should defend himself; but he commanding a mighty army, descended to the plains, and pitched his tent within ten miles of the camp of the Tartars. Then Zingis commanded his astrologers to shew him what event and success the battle should have. They cutting a reed lengthwise, in two parts, stuck the pieces by themselves into the ground, and wrote upon the one Zingis, and the other Umcan, and said unto the King, In the near space while we read, it shall come to pass, by the idol's power, that these two parts of the reed shall fight together, and whose part shall fall on the other, the King shall obtain victory in the battle. The multitude therefore running together to behold that spectacle, the astrologers began to mumble their prayers, and read their enchantments; when presently the parts of the reed being moved, fought together, until the part of Zingis ascended upon the part of Umcan; which being seen by the Tartars, assured of the future victory, they were encouraged to the battle, and Umcan being slain, the victory and kingdom, and Umcan's daughter, remained to Zingis.

Zingis reigned six years after this, in which he conquered many provinces; and lastly, when he endeavoured to win a certain castle called Thaigin, and came somewhat too near, being shot in the knee by an arrow, he died, and was buried in the mountain Altai. The first King of the Tartars was called Zingis, the second Khen-Khan, the third Bathyn-Khan, the fourth Efu-Khan, the fifth Mangu-Khan, the sixth Kublai-Khan, whose power is greater than all his predecessors, having inherited theirs, and adding by conquest in a manner the rest of the world; for he lived near sixty years in his government. The name Khan signifieth Emperor. All the great Khans and Princes of the blood of Zingis are carried to the mountain of Altai to be buried, wheresoever they die, although one hundred days journey from it; and they which carry the corpse to the burial kill all those that they meet in the way, saying, Go and serve our Lord the King in another life; they kill also the best horses. When the body of the Great Khan-Mangu, the predecessor of Khan-Kublai, was brought unto the mountain Altai to be buried, the soldiers accompanying the funeral are reported to have slain above ten thousand men upon the aforesaid occasion*.

The

* Our author has been charged with many mistakes in this list of the Princes who succeeded Zingis-Khan, but he has been charged by those who knew much less of the matter than he did; and therefore to set this matter right, we will give a short account of that succession, from the authentic work of Abulgasi-Bayadar-Khan. Two years after the death of Zingis-Khan, the Tartar Princes, in compliance with the Emperor's

The Tartarian women are most faithful to their husbands. Adultery is the greatest shame amongst them; yet it is accounted lawful and honest that every one may marry as many wives as he is able to maintain, although the first be looked upon as principal, and more honourable than the rest. These live together in one house, without one ill word, in admirable concord, make their merchandizes, buy and sell, and procure all things necessary to their husbands and household, the men meddling with nothing but their hunting, hawking, and things pertaining to arms. They have the best falcons in the world, and also dogs; they live only on flesh and milk, and what they take in hunting. They eat horses, camels, dogs, if fat; and drink mares' milk, called *cofinos*, so managed, that it is like white wine. If the father dies, the son may have all his wives, except his own mother and sisters; so the brother being dead, it is lawful for the brother who remaineth alive to marry the widow of his deceased brother. The husbands receive no dowry of the wives, but they themselves assign dowry to the wives, and their mothers. Through the multitude of their wives, the Tartars have many children; nor is this multitude burthenfome, seeing they gain much through their labour; besides they are very careful for the government of the family, and the preparation of their food, and with no less care execute the other duties of the house; but the men apply themselves wholly to hunting, fowling, and the exercise of arms.

The Tartars feed many herds of oxen, flocks of sheep, and other beasts and cattle, and remain with them in places of pasture, in the summer time, in the mountains, and colder places, where they find pasture and wood; but in the winter, they remove to the hotter countries, where they find pasture for their cattle, marching forwards two or three months together. Their houses are covered with sticks and felts, and are commonly round, which they carry with them in carts or waggons, with four wheels; for they can fold and extend them, set them up and take them down; and they turn, wherever they go, the door of those moveable houses always to the south. They have also neat carts of two wheels, covered with felt, so close that the rain cannot pierce through them, drawn by oxen and camels, wherein they carry their wives, children, and necessary household stuff, and defend them from the injury of foul weather and rain.

The Tartars, if they be rich, are clothed in fables, ermins, and cloth of gold, and all their furniture is costly. Their arms are bows, swords, pole-axes, and some lances; but they can best use their bows, to which they are used from their childhood: they are hardy, active, brave, but somewhat cruel, will continue two days and nights on horseback armed, exceeding patient, and obedient to their Lords; their cattle also are strong and hardy. The law and faith of the Tartars is this, they say, that there is one Great God, supreme in heaven, of whom with daily incense, they desire good understanding and health. They have another which they call *Natigay*, which is a little image covered

Emperor's will, would have exalted Ugadai-Khan to that dignity, which he absolutely refused, because he had an uncle and two elder brothers living. This dispute lasted forty days, when at a great council his elder and younger brother rose up and said, You have heard our father's will, your modelly shall not render us guilty of impiety, we will execute his will, if you will not; and by taking him, one by one arm, and the other by the other, they forced him into the imperial chair against his consent, A. D. 1230. This Prince died suddenly in 1235. He was succeeded by his son Kajuk-Khan, whom our author styles *Khen-Khan*, who died in the year 1247, and was succeeded by *Mangu-Khan*, who held the empire to the year 1257, when he was succeeded by *Koplai-Khan*, the same with whom our author lived, and whom he calls *Kublai Khan*. He reigned in all thirty-five years, and died in the year 1292, which agrees very well with *Marco Polo's* relation.

with felt, or some other thing, which every one hath in his house. To this God they make a wife and children, placing the wife's image at the left hand, and the representations of the children before his face. This they call the God of earthly things, which keeps their children, and their beasts, and corn, and give it great reverence. Before they eat themselves, they anoint the mouths of the images with fat of the sodden flesh; and they call the broth out of doors, in honour of other spirits, saying, that now their God with his family has had their part; and after they eat and drink at pleasure.

If the son of a Tartar die before he has been married, and the daughter of another die also unmarried, the parents of the deceased meet together, and celebrate a marriage between the dead, and making a draught in writing of that contract, they paint men and women for servants, horses, and other creatures, with cloaths of all sorts, and monies in paper, and burn them together with the contract; by the smoke whereof they say that all these things are carried to their children in another world, where they are married; and the fathers and mothers conceive they are joined together in such a bond of affinity, as if these marriages had been celebrated while the married couple were still living.

When the Tartars go to war, their Prince conducts about a hundred thousand horse, appointing heads over tens, hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands, by which subordination commands are easily maintained; every hundred is called a *tuc*, every ten a *tonan*: when they begin their march, they send out men every way as scouts, that no enemy assault them unprovided. Of horses and mares every man has about eighteen. They carry also their felt-houses, under which they shelter themselves in times of rain. When there falls out some important employment, they will ride ten days together without victuals dry or boiled, and live on the blood of their horses, cutting a vein, and sucking it. They have milk dried like paste, which they make by boiling the milk, and skimming the cream which swims on the top, into another vessel, and make butter; afterwards they set the milk in the sun, and dry it, and when they go to the army, carry with them about ten pounds thereof, and every morning a man takes about half a pound, and puts it in a flask, or leather bottle, with as much water as he pleases, which while he rides, mixes together, and this is his dinner.

When they encounter with their enemies, they ride here and there shooting, and sometimes make a shew of flight, shooting as they fly; and finding the enemy broken, rejoin their forces, and pursue the victory, having their horses so at command, as with a sign to turn any way. But now the Tartars are mixed and confounded, and so are their fashions. They punish malefactors after this manner; if any steal a thing of small value, and is not to be deprived of life, he is seven times beaten with a cudgel, or seventeen, or seven and twenty, or thirty and seven, or forty-seven, giving the strokes according to the measure and quality of the offence, and that unto an hundred: some die through these strokes. But if any have stolen an horse, or other thing, for the which he deserves to die, he is cut asunder with a sword in the middle; but if he will redeem his life he may, by restoring the theft nine-fold. Such as have horses, oxen, or camels, brand them with their marks, and send them to feed in the pastures without a keeper. Leaving the city of Caracaram and the mountain Altai, we come unto the champaign country of Bargu, which extends itself northwards about sixty days journey in length. The inhabitants of these places are called Medites, and they are subject to the Great Khan, and in manners like the Tartars; they are a sort of savage men, and eat the flesh of beasts which they take by hunting, especially stags, of which they have plenty, and they make them so tame that they can ride them; they have no corn or wine. In the summer they chiefly practise hunting of wild beasts and fowls, on the flesh whereof they

they may live in the winter; for in winter fowls as well as other living things fly from thence on account of the extremity of the cold.

14. After forty days journey you come to the ocean, near which is a mountain, where storks and fine falcons breed, which are carried thence unto the court of the Great Khan. Here we must return unto the city Campion; if therefore you proceed farther five days journey from the city Campion towards the east, you come to the kingdom of Erginul, in the province of Tangut, subject to the Great Khan. In this kingdom are many idolaters; there are some Nestorian Christians and Turks; as also many cities and castles, of which Erginul is chief. From hence, if you proceed farther to the south-east, you may go to the parts of Cathay. Going south-east towards Cathay, there is a certain famous city named Cinguy, the name also of the province, tributary unto the Great Khan contained in Tangut; the people are some Christians, some Mohammedans, and others idolaters. There are also found wild oxen, very near as big as elephants, very fair, having white and black hair, short in other parts, and on the shoulder three palms long, fine, white, and in many respects beyond filk, of which hair our author brought some to Venice as a rare thing. Many also of these oxen are tamed, and made to couple with tame kine, and the breed of them are fitter for business than any other countries, bear great burthens, are yoked to the plough, and do twice as much service as others.

The best musk in the world is found in this province, and is taken from a beast of the bigness of a goat, having hair like a stag, feet and tail like a gazel, but without horns. It hath four teeth, two above and two beneath, of the length of three fingers, as white as ivory, and is a very beautiful creature. When the moon is at full, near the navel, under the belly, there grows to this beast an imposthume or bladder, full of blood, and at the full moon they go to hunt them, and take away that swelling, which is dried in the sun, and is the best musk; the flesh is also good to eat: Master Marco brought to Venice the head and feet of this beast dried. The men live by merchandize and arts, and have abundance of corn. They are idolaters, of a fat body and little nose, black hair, having no beard but four hairs on their chin. The women are wonderfully fair, and when the men desire to marry wives, they rather make choice of the beautiful than the noble or rich. It often happens from hence, that a great nobleman marries a poor wife, if beautiful, assigning a dowry to her mother. This province extends itself five-and-twenty days journey in length, and is very fertile; in it are exceeding large pheasants, having trains eight or ten handsfull long; many other kinds of birds are also found there, which have very beautiful feathers of various excellent colours*.

After eight days journey further east, you meet with the province Egrigaia, in the which are many cities and castles; all but this lies still in Tangut. The principal city is called Callacia, the inhabitants thereof are idolaters; there are three churches of Nestorian Christians, who are subject to the Great Khan. In this city camblets are made, woven with white wool, and the hair of camels, than which there are scarce any better in the world. East from this province of Egrigaia lies that of Tandach, in which are many cities and castles, and here Presbyter John resides, who now pays tribute to the Great Khan. The king of that nation is called George, and is a priest and

* This account of the musk animal is very exact, and contains nothing in it liable to exception, which shews that where our author relates things of his own knowledge, and which fall within the compass of his understanding, he may very well be relied on.

a Christian, and most of the people are Christians. All the Great Khans after his death (who was slain in battle by Zingis) give their daughters to those kings to wife. This King George holds not all that the Priest John before held, and is the fourth of that family*. There is a nation there called Argons, more mighty men, and fitter for merchandize than the rest, descended of idolaters and Mohammedans. There are also two regions, where they dwell, which in those parts are called Og and Magog; but they which dwell there call them Ung and Mongul; in Ung are Gog, and in Mongul the Tartars. Riding east seven days towards Cathay are many cities peopled with idolaters, Mohammedans, and Nestorians. There is one city called Sindicin, where very excellent arms are made of divers sorts fit for armies. In the mountains of this province are great mines of silver, and much game, and the country of the mountains is called Idifa.

Three days journey from the city last mentioned stands another city Jangamur, that is, the White Lake, where there is a palace, in which the Great Khan delights, because there are many lakes and rivers, many swans, and in the plains, cranes, pheasants, partridges, and other fowls. There are five sorts of cranes there, some have black wings like crows, others are white and bright, having their feathers full of eyes like peacocks, but of a golden colour, the neck black and white, very beautiful; a third sort for bigness not unlike ours; a fourth little, and very fair, intermingled with red and blue colours; the fifth of a grizzle, or grey colour, having red and black heads, and these are very large; and near to this city lies a valley, where are many cottages, in which a great number of partridges are maintained, which are kept against the King's coming to lodge there for some time. Three days journey north-eastward, is the city Ciandu, which the Great Khan Kublay now reigning built, erecting therein a marvellous palace of marble, and other stones, which extends to the wall on the one side, and the middle of the city on the other. He included sixteen miles within the circuit of the wall on that side where the palace joins the city wall, into which none can enter but by the palace. In this inclosure or park are pleasant meadows, springs, rivers, red and fallow deer, fawns, carried thither for the hawks, of which are mewed there about two hundred ger-falcons, which he goes once a week to see; and he often useth one leopard or more, sitting on horses, with which he hunts the stag and deer, and having taken the best, gives it to the ger-falcons, and in beholding this spectacle, he takes much delight. In the midst of a fair wood he hath built a royal house on pillars gilded and varnished, on every one of which is a dragon all gilt, which winds his tail about the pillar, with his head bearing up the roof, as also with his wings displayed on both sides; the cover also is of reeds gilt and varnished so that the rain can do it no injury, the reeds being three handfuls thick, and ten yards long, split from knot to knot; the house itself also may be pulled in pieces, and taken down like a tent, and erected again; for it is sustained, when it is set up, with two hundred silken cords. The Great Khan useth to dwell there three months in the year, viz. June, July, and August. On the 28th day of August he departeth to make a solemn sacrifice. He hath an herd of white horses and white mares, about ten thousand, of the milk whereof none may drink, except he be of the imperial race

* There is the same mistake here, as in the relation of Rubruquis. The people in Europe were extremely desirous of learning some news of this Christian monarch, as they would needs have him to be; and therefore when our author heard that this Prince was a Nestorian, he took it for granted that he must be Presbyter John; but as we have already set that matter in a clear light, we shall not trouble the reader any further with it at present.

of Zingis-Khan, and except one family called Baint, who hold this ground by Zingis for their valour; and these beasts, as they go up and down feeding, are much revered, nor dare any go before them, or hinder them in their way.

The astrologers or forcerers tell the Khan, that on the twentieth of the month of August, he shall disperse that milk here and there for the honour of all spirits, and his idols, that they may be careful preservers of all things which he possesses. There are two sorts of idolaters called Chebeth and Cheshni, which in the midst of storms ascend the palace, and suffer no rain to fall thereon, which they make the people believe comes to pass by their sanctity, and therefore they go slovenly and negligent of their persons, never washing nor combing themselves. They also have a horrible custom to dress and eat such as are condemned to death, but not those which die naturally. They are called also Bachfi, which is the name of their order, as friars predicants or minors with us; they seem by magic to do what they list. When the Great Khan in his hall sits at his table, it is raised eight yards high; and in the midst of the hall, a good distance from the table, is a great cupboard of plate, from whence these forcerers cause wine or milk to fill the goblets, without any hand touching them; this they do in the presence of any man, whenever their lord commands it. These Bachfi also, when they have a mind to make feasts to their idols, go to the Khan, and address him thus: "Sir, you are to know that if our idols be not honoured with sacrifices, they will bring plagues on corn and beasts, and therefore we intreat you to give us the flesh of so many sheep, with black heads, and so many pounds of incense, and lignum aloes, that we may make them due sacrifice and honour." This they spake not to him themselves, but by certain lords deputed to that office, who speak to the Khan, and obtain it. On the feast day, they sacrifice these beasts, and sprinkle the broth before the idols.

They have great monasteries, some of the bigness of a city, in several of which are about two thousand monks, who serve an idol sequestered from the laity, as appears by their shaving and garments; for they shave their heads and beards, and wear a religious garment. These, in the solemnities of their idols, sing with solemn songs, and lights; some of them may marry. There are some who observe strict abstinence, called Sensim, leading an austere life; for they eat nothing but meal mingled with water, till all the flour be gone, and eat the bran without any savour. These worship the fire; and the men of other rules say, that these, which are so austere, are heretics against their law, because they worship not idols as they do; and there are great differences between them, and these marry not at all. They shave their head and beard, wear black hempen garments, or of a bright yellow. They sleep on thick mats, and live the severest life in the world.

15. In this book I purpose to write all the great and marvellous acts of the present Khan, called Cublai-Khan, which is, if expressed in our tongue, Lord of Lords, the greatest Prince in people, cities, and treasures, that ever was in the world, he being descended from the progeny of Zingis, the first Prince of the Tartars, the sixth Emperor of that country, beginning to reign in the year of our Lord 1256, being twenty-seven years old*, and ruling the people with great wisdom and gravity. He is a valiant

* The year of this Emperor's age, at the time of his accession, is put in a different character, because none of the MSS. have it at all, and it is also omitted in several of the printed editions; we cannot therefore fairly charge the author with the mistake in it, which consist of ten years, that Prince at the time of his accession being thirty seven years old, or rather in the thirty-eighth year of his age. There seems also to be an error in the year of his reign, but that is easily corrected, since, as that Prince was raised to the imperial

liant man, exercised in arms, strong of body, and of a lofty mind, for the performance of matters before he attained to the dignity of the empire, which by his wisdom he did, against the will of his brethren. He often shewed himself a valiant soldier in the wars, and carried himself like a wiser and bolder captain than ever the Tartars had; yet since he swayed the kingdom, he went but once into the field, and sends his sons and other captains on expeditions.

In the year of our Lord 1286, his uncle, whose name was Naiam, being thirty years of age, and having the command of many people and countries, so that he was able easily to bring together four hundred thousand horse, being puffed up through youthful vanity, would no longer be subject, but would needs take away the kingdom from his Lord Cublai, and sent to another great Lord named Cadu, Lord of the parts towards Great Turkey, who was nephew of the Emperor Cublai, yet hated him, who yielding to his motion for rebellion, promised to come in person with an hundred thousand horse.

Both of them began to gather forces, which could not be done so secretly, but Cublai heard of it, and presently took order to set guards on the ways, that no intelligence might pass, and then assembled all the forces, within ten days journey of Cambalu, with great speed, so that in twenty days were gathered together three hundred and sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, a great part of them falconers, and men of his household; with these he made haste day and night towards Naiam's country, where, at the end of twenty-five days he arrived, altogether unlooked for, and rested his men two days; then he called his astrologers, and caused them, before all the army, to divine who should have victory; a thing they use to encourage their men, and they promised it to Cublai. One morning, while Naiam was sleeping negligently in his tent, having not so much as sent out any scouts to gain intelligence, Cublai made shew of his army upon a hill, himself sat in a certain castle of wood, full of archers and cross-bow men, borne by four elephants, on the top whereof was the royal standard, with the images of the sun and moon. He divided his army into three bodies, of which he sent that on the right hand, and the other on the left against Naiam's army. To every ten thousand horse were assigned five hundred foot, with lances, taught to leap up behind the horsemen, if any occasion of flight happened, and suddenly, on advantage, to light and kill the enemies' horses with their lances. Caydu was not yet come.

The battles joined, and made a cruel fight, which continued from morning till noon, and then was Naiam taken and brought before Cublai, who commanded that he should be sewed betwixt two carpets, which should be tossed up and down till the breath was out of his body, that so the imperial blood might not be exposed to the sun or to the air. The remainder of his people swore obedience to Cublai, which were four nations, Ciazza, Carli, Barfcot, and Sitinqui. Naiam was secretly baptized,

imperial dignity in the month of January; Marco Polo, who reckons according to the Tartar year, places it in 1256, whereas we, computing from the beginning of the month of January, make it 1257. The genealogical history of the Tartars informs us of the breaking out of a civil war upon the election of this Emperor, though it gives us somewhat a different account of the conclusion of it, in which our author might be easily mistaken, since he owns what he delivers was from hearsay. However, the exactness as to dates is truly wonderful, since, in the compass of one hundred years after these travels were published, we had no authentic history of the Tartars in Europe, and consequently neither Marco Polo nor his editors could have any opportunity of correcting their accounts, so as to make them correspond with the genealogical history before mentioned. This remark is an invincible proof of our author's veracity, and of the value of his work.

and

and by profession a Christian, but no follower of the works of faith, yet he signed his principal ensign with the sign of the cross, having with him infinite numbers of Christians, who were all slain.

The Jews and Saracens that were in the army of Cublai, began to upbraid the Christians with this disaster of the cross, who complained of it to Cublai; he sharply reproved the Jews and Saracens for this behaviour, and then turning to the Christians, he said, "Surely, your God and his cross would not give any aid to Naïam; but be not you therefore ashamed, because God being good and just ought not to defend injustice or iniquity. Naïam was a traitor to his Lord, and contrary to all equity raised rebellion, and fought the help of your God in his mischievous purpose; but he, as a good and upright God, would not favour his designs."

He returned after this with great triumph to Cambula, and staid there till Easter, On that day he called the Christians before him, and kissed their gospels, and made his barons do the same. He does the like on the great feasts of the Saracens, Jews, and Heathens, that Segomanber-Khan, the god of the idols, Mohammed, Moses, or whosoever is greatest in heaven, might help him; yet he made best shew of liking to the Christian faith, but pretended the ignorance of the Nestorian priests, and the mighty acts of the forcerers, hindered his professing it.

For the better rewarding his soldiers he kept twelve barons or counsellors, who gave him notice of each captain's merit; and accordingly he raised them from the command of one hundred to a thousand, and from one thousand to ten thousand, and so on, giving them vessels of plate and tablets. The captain of one hundred hath a tablet of silver; and the captain of a thousand, of gold or silver gilded; the captain of ten thousand has a tablet of gold, and a lion's head on it. The weight of the tablets differs also according to the dignity. On the said tablet is written a command in this manner: "By the strength and power of the great God, and by the grace which he hath given to our empire, the name of Khan be blessed, and let them all die and be destroyed which will not obey him." All officers who have these tablets have privileges in writing of all things, which they are to do and demand; and the generals when they ride in public have a cloth borne over their heads, and when they sit, it is on a chair of silver. Their tablet is of three hundred sagi, which is equal to fifty ounces of gold, with the images of the sun and moon; such as have a tablet with a ger-falcon thereon, may take with them for their guard the whole army of a great commander. Cublai is a comely handsome man, of middle stature, of a very fresh complexion, black and bright eyes, well fashioned nose, and all the lineaments of his body consisting of due proportion. He has four wives, who are esteemed lawful, and the first born of them is to succeed him in the kingdom, and every one of them is called Empress, and holdeth a peculiar court, and that in a magnificent palace, having about three hundred women to attend her, and many eunuch servants, and at least ten thousand persons in their families.

The Grand Khan hath also many concubines. There is likewise a nation of fair people among the Tartars called Virgut, where every second year he sends ambassadors to make search for the fairest young women for him; who returning, bring him four or five hundred more or less, as they see cause. There are examiners appointed to take a view of all their beauties, examining eyes, nose, mouth, &c. apart, and set a price on them at sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, or more carats, and they bring those of that rate which their commission appoints; these he causes to be received by other examiners, and of so many perhaps chuses thirty of the chief for his chamber, which he puts to some of his barons' wives to see if they snore

not in their sleep, if in smell or behaviour they be not offensive; those which are approved are by fives divided, each fifth part waiting three days and nights in his chamber by course, the other in the next lodgings preparing whatsoever these command them. The less prized are put to cookery and other offices; and sometimes the Khan bestows them on gentlemen, with great portions. The men of that country esteem it a grace and credit to have daughters worthy his liking; and think themselves born under an ill planet if they are not kept when sent to court.

Cublai had two-and-twenty sons by his four legitimate wives, and the first-born of his first wife was called Zingis, who would have succeeded him in the empire if he had not died before his father. He left a son named Timur, a valiant man, wife, and experienced in arms, who is to succeed his grandfather in the empire, instead of his deceased father; but by his concubines he hath five-and-twenty sons, all which are daily exercised in feats of arms, and are great lords; seven of his sons by his wives are Kings of great provinces, and maintain their states with great reputation.

16. Three months of the year, that is December, January, and February, Cublai resides ordinarily in Cambalu*, which is at the north-east border of Cathay; and there, on the south part by the new city, is seated a great palace; first there is a great wall, each square being eight miles, with a deep ditch environing, and a gate in the middle of each; after which is the space of a mile in circuit, where soldiers stand; after this is another court of six miles square, with three gates on the south square, and three on the north; that which is in the midst being in both the greater, and kept shut, except when the Khan passeth that way; the other is always open to others; in each corner of this wall, and in the midst is a fair palace, eight in all, very large, in which are kept the Khan's ammunitions, and furniture of all sorts; horses in one; in another bows and shooting artillery; in a third castlets, cuirasses, and leather armour; and so in the rest.

Within this circuit is another walk like the former, very thick and ten paces high, all the battlements white, the walls square, each square a mile in length, with six gates as the former, and eight palaces also very large, wherein are the Khan's provisions; between these two last walls are also many fair trees and meadows, in which are deer with other game, and store of grass, the paths being raised two cubits to spare it; no dirt or puddles of water being therein. Within this last wall is the palace of the Great Khan, the greatest that hath been seen, extending to the wall on the north and south, and opening where the barons and soldiers pass. It hath no ceiling, but a very high roof; the foundation of the pavement ten palms high, with a wall of marble round about it two paces wide, as it were a walk. At the end of the wall without is a fair turret with pillars. In the walls of the halls and chambers are carved dragons, soldiers, birds, beasts of divers kinds, histories of wars gilded; the roof is so made that nothing is seen but gold and imagery; in every square of the palace is a great hall, capable of holding a multitude of people; the chambers are disposed the best that may be devised. The roof is red, green, azure, and of all colours. Behind the palace are

* There have been large dissertations written upon this description of our author, and great disputes about the city here described; some will have it one place, some another, because it is a Tartar appellation; and modern writers speak of this city by another name. We have not either time or room to waste in this controversy; and therefore we shall cut it short. Marco Polo wrote by the ear chiefly, and therefore set down Cambalu for Khan-balick, i. e. the imperial city; and it is allowed, that Khan-balick is the city of Peking, the present metropolis of China, of which we shall hereafter have occasion to speak at large in another place; and shall therein take an opportunity of justifying the accounts given us in the text by Marco Polo.

great rooms and private storehouses for his treasure and jewels, for his women, and other private purposes.

Over against the said palace of the Khan is another for Z'ngis his son, whose court was in all things like his father's. Near this palace towards the north is a mount made by hand, a mile in compass, one hundred paces high, adorned with trees that are always green; unto this mountain the King commands all the trees to be brought from remote parts, lading elephants with them, for they are taken up with the roots, and are transplanted in this mountain; and because this mountain is always green, it is called the green mountain: and where the earth of the mount was taken away, are two lakes answering each other, with a small river supplying them with stored fish, and so grated that the fish cannot get out.

The city of Cambalu in the province of Cathay, seated on a great river, was famous, and the royal seat in ancient times; and this name Cambalu signifies the city of the Lord or Prince. This city the Great Khan removed to the other side of the river where the palaces are, for he understood by the astrologers that it would rebel against the empire. This new-built city is called Taidu, and he commanded all the Cathayans to go out of the old city into the new; which contains in compass four-and-twenty miles, every side of the square containing six miles. It hath walls of earth ten paces thick at the bottom, and at the top but three, as growing by little and little thinner. The battlements are white; every square of the wall hath three principal gates, which are twelve in all, having sumptuous palaces built over them. There are also certain pavilions in the angles of the walls where the arms of the garrison, which are one thousand at each gate, are kept. The buildings are squared, and the streets laid very strait by line throughout the city; so that from one gate a free prospect opens throughout the city to the opposite gate; having very stately houses built on both sides like palaces, with gardens and courts, divided according to the heads of families. In the midst of the city is a certain noble building, wherein hangeth a very great bell; after the tolling whereof in the night, no man must go out of his house until the beginning of the day following, except it be for some extraordinary cause, as for a woman in travail, and then they are compelled to carry lights with them.

Without the city of Cambalu are twelve large suburbs, three or four miles long, adjoining to each of the twelve gates, more inhabiting in the suburbs than in the city; here merchants and strangers live, each nation having several store-houses, or burfes, in which they lodge. No dead corpse of any man is burned within this city, but the bodies of idolaters are burned without the suburbs, where the dead bodies of other sects are buried; and because an huge multitude of Saracens inhabit there, they have above twenty-five thousand harlots in the suburbs and in the city; and these have a chief captain appointed over every hundred and thousand, and one general, whose office is, that when any ambassadors come, or such as have business with the Khan, whose charges he defrays, then this captain giveth every ambassador, and every man of his family, a change of women every night at free cost, for this is their tribute. The guards, every night, carry such to prison whom they find walking late; and if they be found guilty, they are beaten with cudgels, for the Bachfi tell them that it is not good to shed man's blood; but many die of these beatings. The Great Khan hath in his court twelve thousand horsemen, which they call Casitan, faithful soldiers of their lord, who guard his person, more for state than fear; and four captains have the charge of these, whereof every one commandeth three thousand. When one captain, with three thousand soldiers within the palace, hath guarded the King for three days and nights, another captain

with his soldiers succeeds; and so, throughout the year, this course of watching by turns is observed*.

When on account of any festival day he keeps a solemn court, his table, which is higher than the rest of the tables, is set at the north part of the hall, his face is to the south, having the first Queen on his left hand, that is, his principal wife; and his sons and nephews, and those of the royal blood, on his right; yet their table is in a lower place, so that they scarce touch the King's feet with their hands, the seat of the eldest being higher than the rest; the Princes sit in a lower place than that; their wives also observe the like order: first, the Khan's sons' wives and his kinsmen sit lower on the left hand, and after those of the lords, and of every captain and nobleman, each in their degree and order; and the Emperor himself, while he sits at his table, may cast his eyes upon all that feast with him in that hall. There are not tables for them all to sit; but the greatest part of the soldiers and barons eat on carpets. At all the doors stand two gigantic fellows with cudgels, to see that none touch the threshold, which, if he does, they take his garments away, which he must redeem by receiving so many blows as shall be appointed, or else lose them. They who serve the King, and those sitting at the table, all of them cover their mouths with silk, lest their breathing should by any means touch the King's meat or drink: and when he hath a mind to drink, the damsel who giveth it goes back three paces and kneels down, and then the barons and all the people kneel, and the musicians sound their instruments. There is no cause, since I would avoid prolixity, why I should write any thing concerning the meats which are brought to the table, how dainty and delicate they are, and with what magnificence and pomp they are served in.

All the Tartars observe this custom, to celebrate the birth-day of their lord most honourably. The birth-day of Kublai is kept the 28th of September, and this day he accounteth more solemn than any in the whole year, except the first of February, on which they begin the year. The King, therefore, on his birth-day, is clothed in a most precious garment of gold, and about two thousand barons and soldiers are clothed in the same colour of gold, though of silk stuff, and a girdle wrought in gold and silver, which is given them, with a pair of shoes. Some wear pearls and garments of great price, who are next to the Khan; and these garments are not worn but on thirteen solemn feasts, according to the thirteen moons of the year; all are then clothed like Kings. This custom is also observed by the Tartars, that on the birth-day of the Great Khan, all the kings, princes, and nobles, who are subject to his dominions, should send presents unto him, as to their Emperor; and they who desire to attain any place of dignity or office of him, offer their petitions unto twelve barons appointed for that purpose; and what they decree is all one as if the Emperor himself had answered them. All people also, of what faith or sect soever, whether Christians or Jews, Saracens or Tartars, and Pagans, are bound solemnly to call upon their Gods, for the life, safety, and prosperity of the Great Khan †.

On

* This method of posting guards and relieving them, was extremely ancient in the East, as appears from the accounts given us by the Greek writers of the œconomy in this respect of the Persian Emperors; and it is still practised by almost all the Tartar Princes, and particularly by the Great Mogul, as we shall have occasion to shew in the second volume.

† This account agrees exactly with what is related from authors of good credit in Dr Hyde's most learned treatise of the Religion of the ancient Persians, with respect to the ceremonies observed on the birth-day of the Emperor, and at the beginning of the new year. Indeed the conformity is so great, that one might be tempted to believe there is a nearer relation between the Tartars and the ancient Persians than is commonly

On the first of February, which is the beginning of the Tartar year, the Great Khan, and all the Tartars, wheresoever they are, celebrate a very solemn feast, and all, as well men as women, desire to be clothed in white garments as a token of good luck; therefore, that fortune may favour them all the year, they wear white at the beginning thereof. The rulers of cities, and governors of provinces, mindful of their duty, send unto their Emperor this day presents of gold and silver, pearls and precious stones, many white clothes, and other white things, and many horses of a white colour. The rest of the Tartars, at the beginning of the year, send white presents one to another. It is the custom of those who bring presents, if they can, of each to present nine times nine; as, if they send horses, to present nine nines, that is eighty-one; and so of gold, of cloths, and other things; that sometimes he hath, by this reckoning, one hundred thousand horses. Also at this happy season, all the elephants which the Emperor hath (five thousand in number), are brought into the court, covered with tapestry, the similitudes of divers beasts and fowls being portrayed thereon, carrying upon their shoulders chests full of gold and silver vessels; many camels are also brought, covered with fine silken cloths, which bring other things necessary for the court.

On this day, in the morning, all the King's captains, barons, soldiers, physicians, astrologers, and governors of provinces and armies, and other officers of the empire, assemble in the great hall before the King, and they who happen to have no place there, for the multitude stand in another place, where they may see them, all being placed in their order and degree. One riseth, who is amongst their clergy as a prelate, and crieth with a loud voice, "Bow down and adore," and presently all do reverence, bending down their foreheads to the earth; then he saith, "God preserve our Lord with long life and joy;" and all answer, "God grant;" then he saith, "God increase and advance his empire, and preserve his subjects in peace, concord, and prosperity;" and all answer, "God grant;" and this they do four times; then the adoration being finished, the same prelate goes to an altar, richly adorned, on which is a red table, whereon is written the name of the Khan; and taking a censer, and putting spices therein, they perfume the table and the altar with great reverence, in honour of the Great Khan, and so return to their places; after which are offered the gifts of which we have spoken; and then the tables are prepared, and a most solemn dinner held, eating and drinking with great joy with their wives, in manner before described. And lastly, a tame lion is brought to the King, which, lying at his feet like a gentle whelp, acknowledgeth and caresses his lord.

In those three months in which we said before the Emperor resides in the city of Cambalu, viz. in December, January, and February, all the hunters which the Emperor hath in all his provinces round about the province of Cathay, apply themselves to hunting, and bring all the larger wild beasts, such as stags, bears, roe-bucks, wild boars, and deer, to their governors; who, if they be distant from the Emperor's court less than thirty days' journey, send such beasts as are taken by waggons or ships to the Emperor, having first bowelled them; but such as are forty days distant from his court, send only the skins, which are necessary for making of armour. He hath many leopards and wolves for hunting, and many lions also, greater than those which are in Babylon, in the hair whereof certain little beams appear of divers colours, viz. white,

commonly imagined; and I must confess, that I cannot, for my own part, help thinking that the religion of the Tartars is very nearly the same with that of the old Persians, that is to say, I apprehend the Lamas of the one correspond with the Magi among the others.

black. and red, and they are bred to catch bears, boars, stags, roe-bucks, wild asses, and wild oxen, and it is marvellous to see the lion's fierceness and dexterity in this sort of hunting; two lions are commonly carried in one waggon when they go to hunt, and with them a dog, with which they are tamed; and they carry them in this fashion because of their fury and unruliness; and they must carry them contrary to the wind, for else the beasts would scent them and flee. He hath also many tame eagles, which are so taught, that they take hares, roe-bucks, deer, and foxes; among which some of them fear not to seize upon wolves, and vex them so grievously, that without labour and danger they may be taken by them.

The Khan hath in his court two which are brethren; one called Boyan, the other Mingan; called in the Tartar language Ciurco, that is, masters of the game; each of them hath the command of ten thousand men. They which are under one of them are clothed in red; the others in sky colour; when they hunt, these keep diverse sorts of dogs, to the number of five thousand mastiffs and others. In hunting they go with their people one on the right hand, and the other on the left; and the King and they take up so great a length of the plain, that from one end to the other is a day's journey, so that no beast can escape them; and it is great pleasure when the Khan goes in the midst, to see the dogs follow hares, bears, and all other wild beasts. These brethren are bound by covenant from the beginning of October to the end of March, to bring to the court one thousand head of beasts and birds, besides quails and fishes, the best they can, in such proportion.

17. The month of March coming in, the Great Khan departeth from the city of Cambalu, and proceedeth north-eastward towards the ocean, distant thence two days' journey, bringing with him about ten thousand falconers, who have falcons, hawks, ger-falcons, and other kind of fowls of prey, fit for hawking. These falcons disperse themselves by an hundred or two hundred in a company, and the birds that are taken for the most part are brought unto the King, who, by reason of his gout, sitteth in a wooden house, which two elephants carry, covered with the skins of lions, and within hung with cloth of gold, having with him for his recreation twelve choice hawks, and twelve courtiers; many noblemen and soldiers ride by, who guard the King's person, who when they see pheasants or cranes, or other birds flying in the air, speak to the falconers, who are near the King, and they signify the same unto the King, uncover the King's house, and let their falcons and hawks fly, and the King sitting on his bed, beholds the pastime of the birds. Other ten thousand men go also with the King, who in that hawking run hither and thither by two and two, and mark whither the falcon and hawks fly that are cast from the fist, that if need be they may help them; and these in the Tartar language are called Toscaol, that is to say, watchmen, or marksmen, being skilful in a certain kind of whistle, wherewith they call in the hawks that are flown; nor is it needful that the falconer, who let the hawks fly, should follow them, seeing those of whom I now speak are busily employed in taking up the hawks, and are careful that by no means they are hurt or lost; and every flying hawk carrieth a little table of silver on her foot, signed with the mark of her master or falconer, that if she be lost, she may be restored to her owner*.

* It may not be amiss to remind the reader, that this passage of our author confirms what we have before met with in the accounts of the Arabian travels, and in the relation of the monk Rubruquis. It is also clear from the whole of this account, that the notions generally received of the barbarity, stupidity, and want of genius among the Tartars, are not extremely well founded, but are rather to be ranked among those prejudices which are the effects of speaking or thinking without just motives, or in plain English, are the effects of ignorance.

But

But if the mark cannot be known, the hawk is delivered to a certain baron, who for this cause is called Bulangazi, to whom are brought all lost things (otherwise the finder would be punished as a thief), and to him losers resort to enquire of things lost. He hath a most eminent place noted by his ensign, that in so great an assembly of people he may always be known. While they are thus buſied in ſporting and hawking, they come into a certain great plain called Carzarmodin, where the tents of the King and all the courtiers are prepared, about ten thouſand in number.

The firſt is the Khan's pavilion, under which ten thouſand ſoldiers ſtand, beſides barons and noblemen, with the door to the ſouth, ſuſtained by three pillars, wrought with curious and excellent carved work, and covered with the ſkins of lions, and other wild beaſts, which keep out rain; but within, the walls of the pavilion are covered with moſt coſtly ſkins of ermines and fables, although in thoſe countries theſe ſkins are accounted moſt precious, ſo that ſometimes ſkins worth two thouſand ſultanines of gold, are ſcarce ſufficient for one pair of veſts. The Tartars call the ſable the Queen of furs; the cords wherewith theſe pavilions are ſupported are of ſilk. There are alſo other pavilions erected, wherein the wives, ſons, and concubines of the King remain. Further alſo the falcons, hawks, ger-falcons, and other birds, which ſerve for hawking, have their tents; for there is ſo great a multitude of tents, that to them that come thither it ſeems at a diſtance as if a famous city was built there.

The King remains all March in that plain, and takes innumerable beaſts, and infinite multitudes of fowl; for no man may in this time hunt in all the provinces of that kingdom, at the leaſt within five days' journey one way, ten another, and fifteen a third way, of the Khan's court, nor keep an hunting dog or an hawk from the beginning of March until the month of October. No man is permitted to uſe any device or engine whatſoever to take ſtags, deer, roe-bucks, or hares, leſt he ſhould hinder their breed; and hence it is, that there is ſuch plenty of game. It is incredible what multitudes of people, merchants, and merchandizes of all ſorts are ſeen in Cambalu. The money of the Great Khan is not made of gold, or ſilver, or other metal; but they take the middle bark from the mulberry tree, and this they make firm, and cut into divers round pieces, great and little, and imprint the King's mark thereon; of this paper money therefore the Emperor cauſeth an huge maſs to be made in the city of Cambalu; which ſufficeth for the whole empire, and no man under pain of death may coin any other, or ſpend any other money, or reſuſe it in all his kingdoms and countries, nor any coming from another kingdom dare ſpend any other money in the empire of the Great Khan. Hence it follows, that merchants, often coming from remote countries unto the city of Cambalu, bring with them gold, ſilver, pearl, and precious ſtones, and receive the King's money for them; and becauſe this money is not received in their country, they change it again, in the empire of the Great Khan, for merchandize, which they carry away with them. He alſo payeth ſtipends to his officers and army in the above-mentioned money. And laſtly, whatever thing he needs in his court, he buyeth with this money. Wherefore there is not a King to be found in the world who exceedeth him in treaſure, not expended on the mint, as elſewhere.

The Great Khan hath twelve barons, as is ſaid, before which are the council of war, who diſpoſe of martial affairs, and the exalting or diſgracing of captains or ſoldiers. Their office is called Thai, that is, the high court, becauſe they have none above them but the Khan. Other twelve barons are appointed counſellors for the four-and-thirty provinces, which have a fair palace in Cambalu, in which is for every province a judge, and many notaries. Theſe have power to chooſe governors of the ſaid provinces, and preſent their names to the Khan, who confirms them. Theſe alſo have
the

the charge of the treasure to collect and dispense the same; their office is called Singh, that is, the second court, subject to none but the Khan, yet reputed less noble than the former, that being a military establishment.

There are many public roads from the city of Cambalu, which conduct to the neighbouring provinces, and in every one of them, at the end of five-and-twenty or thirty miles, are lodgings or inns built, called lambs, that is, post-houses, with large and fair courts, chambers furnished with beds and other provisions, every way fit to entertain great men, nay, even to lodge a King. The provisions are laid in from the country adjacent; there are about four hundred horses, which are in readiness for messengers and ambassadors, who there leave their tired horses, and take fresh; and in mountainous places, where are no villages, he sends people to inhabit, about ten thousand at a place, where these lambs or post-houses are built, and they cultivating the ground for their provisions. These excellent regulations continue unto the utmost limits of the empire, so that in the public ways throughout the whole empire, about ten thousand of the King's inns are found; and the number of the horses appointed for the service of the messengers in those inns are more than two hundred thousand, a thing almost incredible; hence it is that in a little while, with change of men and horses, intelligence comes without stop to the court; and if any wonder how so many men and beasts should be provided for, he must consider, that the Moors and Gentiles have many women, and by them abundance of children, some having thirty sons, which follow them armed; and for victuals they sow three kinds of seeds, rice, panike, and millet, which yield an hundred fold. They make no bread, but boil these with milk or flesh. Wheat will not so encrease with them, nor suffer they any ground which will bear, to lie untilled; and the cattle continually encrease, so that each of them carries with him six, eight, or more horses into the field, for his own person. The horses are employed by turns, so that of the four hundred, two hundred are in the stables ready, the other two hundred at grass, each a month at a time. Their cities also that are adjoining to rivers or lakes are appointed to have ferry-boats in readiness for the posts, and cities on the borders of deserts are directed to have horses and provisions for the use of such as pass through those deserts; but have a reasonable allowance for this service of the Khan. In cases of great consequence, the post rides with a ger-falcon table, and is equipped so, that he will ride two hundred miles in a day, or two hundred and fifty sometimes; also they ride all night, foot-posts running by them with lights, if the moon does not shine.

They found a horn, that the fresh horses may be brought forth for them to mount presently, and having their bellies and heads girded, they run as fast as the horse can go; and those which are able to endure this excessive riding, are on that account in great reputation among them, who admire nothing so much as horsemanship. There are also between these inns other habitations, three or four miles distant one from another, in which there are a few houses, where foot-posts live, having each of them his girdle hung full of shrill sounding bells. These keep themselves always ready, and as often as the Khan's letters are sent to them, convey them speedily to the posts at the next village, who, hearing the sound of the foot-post coming when at a distance, expect him, and receive his letters, presently carry them to the next watch; and so the letters, passing through several hands, are conveyed, without delay, to the place whither they ought to come: and it often happens, that the King by this learns news, or receives new fruits, from a place ten days' journey distant, in two days. As for instance, fruits growing at Cambalu in the morning, by the next day at night are at Xandu; but all the before-mentioned posts are free from all tribute, and receive a great recompence

ponce for their labours from the King's rent-gatherers besides. Some also are appointed to examine these posts monthly, and to punish their faults, if they are fairly convicted.

He sends yearly to the divers provinces of his empire, to enquire whether any prejudice be done to the corn by tempests, locusts, worms, or any other means; and when he hath notice given him that any province or city hath sustained any damage, he remits his tribute to that people for that year, and sends grain for victual and for seed out of his own granaries; for in a time of great plenty the King buys abundance of corn, and keeps it with great care by his officers, three or four years in granaries, that when there happens to be a scarcity of corn in one country, that defect may be supplied out of the King's storehouses in another. He selleth his grain for a fourth part of the common price, and always provides that his storehouses are kept fully supplied. Likewise when any murrain lights among cattle he sends them other cattle, which he has for tenths in other provinces; and if a thunderbolt has stricken any beast of any herd or flock, he receives no tribute from it for three years, let the herd be ever so great; neither will he receive any custom of a thunder-stricken sheep, as thinking God is angry with them, that are so stricken.

Likewise that travellers may discern all places able to bear trees, he hath caused trees to be planted, at a convenient distance one from another, near the principal roads; and in the sandy and desert places he hath caused stones and pillars to be erected for that purpose, and officers are appointed to look to these things. He plants trees the rather, because his astrologers tell him that planting trees lengthens the life of man. They make excellent drink, in the province of Cathay, of rice and divers spices, which in the taste thereof excels the flavour even of wine; and they who drink more greedily thereof than is fit, or the nature of the drinker can bear, become sooner intoxicated than if they had drunk wine.

Through the whole province of Cathay, certain black stones are dug out of the mountains, which put into the fire, burn like wood, and, being kindled, preserve fire a long time, and, if they be kindled in the evening, they keep fire all the night*; and many use those stones, because that though they have plenty of wood, yet is there such frequent use of stones and laths, that the wood would not serve.

It is not amiss, having spoken of his provision abroad, to mention his care for the poor of Cambalu. When he hears of any honourable family decayed by misfortune, or of any which cannot work, and have no subsistence, he gives to such families the whole year's expences, each head of such families going to the officer for that purpose, and shewing their bill of allowance, receive provisions accordingly. There is a place set apart for those officers; they are provided also with garments for winter and for summer. The Khan having the tenths of all wool, silk and hemp, which he causes to be made into cloaths, in a house for that purpose appointed; for all trades are bound one day in the week to work for him. He provides also apparel for his armies, and in every city causeth cloth to be made of his tythe

* The reader will easily discern, that what our author speaks of here with so much wonder, is, in truth, nothing more than a coal-mine, which might appear very strange to him, who very probably had never seen or heard of any such thing; but some of the missionaries seem to be inexcusable, who have dressed up this matter with such pompous expressions, as might induce unwary readers to believe that the Chinese dug fire out of the earth, and that they laid it up in cellars or vaults; whereas after all, there is nothing stranger in their digging and keeping coals there, than what we see practised every day in our own country, and very probably, if we were to examine other wonders that are told us, as closely and severely as they deserve, we might be able to discover that they were rather rendered marvellous by the ignorance of relaters, than by any thing supernatural in themselves.

wool. You must understand, that the Tartars, according to their ancient customs, bestowed no alms, but rather upbraided those that were in necessity, as hated of God; but the idolaters, especially those Bachsi, have propounded it as a good work acceptable unto God, and have taught him to be thus bountiful; so that in this court, bread is never denied to any who ask it, and there is no day in which are not given away twenty thousand crowns in rice, millet, and panike; whence he is esteemed as a God by his subjects.

There are in Cambalu, Christians, Saracens, and Catayans, about five thousand astrologers and diviners, which the Great Khan provideth yearly in food and raiment, as he doth those poor above-said. These have an astrolabe, in which are marked the signs of the planets, the hours and points of all the year. Herein all those astrologers, each religion apart, view the course of the year according to every moon, observing the disposition of the weather, referring always to God to do more or less after his own pleasure. They write also upon certain squares they call Tacuini, the things which are to come that year, which they sell to those that will buy them, and such as speak most truth are most honoured. If any intend any great work, or to go a far journey, and will know the event before hand, he has recourse to these astrologers, to see it with their eyes in the heavens, which they pretend to do, comparing the present constellation with that of his birth, which they demand of him; so foretelling him the good or evil. The Tartars reckon the computation of their years by twelves, the first signified by a lion, the second by an ox, the third by a dragon, the fourth by a dog, and so through the whole twelve; so that if it be demanded of a man when he was born, he will answer, such a point of such an hour of such a day, in the year Lion. This their fathers exactly set down in a book, and when the twelve is complete, they go over the same again*.

Of their religion, we have said, that they are idolaters; and for their gods, have a table set aloft in the wall of their chamber, on which is written a name representing the high God of Heaven, and there every day with a censor of incense they adore it in this manner; they lift up their hands aloft, and strike their teeth thrice, praying it to give them a good understanding and health, and desire thereof nothing else. Besides, on the ground they have another statue called Natigai, the god of earthly things, with his wife and children, whom likewise they worship with incense, striking or gnashing the teeth, and lifting up their hands, and desire thereof temperature of the air, fruits of the earth, children, and the like. They hold the soul to be immortal, and that when a man dies, it enters into another body, better or worse, according to the merits of the former life; as of a poor man to become a gentleman, and after a prince or lord, and so higher, till it be absorbed in God; and if it have ill deserved, to be a poorer man, after a dog, always descending to the lowest rank of baseness. They have a comely speech, salute cheerfully and honestly, have a graceful carriage, and feed cleanly. They bear great reverence to their parents, and if any be undutiful or regardless of their necessity, there is a public tribunal assigned for this particular to punish ungrateful or disobedient children: prisoners are released at three years end, and marked in the cheek, that they may be known for malefactors.

The barons and people which go to the Grand Khan, observe these rights: first, within half a mile of the place where the Khan is, all is still and quiet, without noise

* The Tartarian cycle was a very good contrivance, and, as such, has been not only preserved amongst them, but spread itself also into other countries; we shall hereafter have occasion to explain it more at large; at present it shall suffice to observe, that something of the same kind was antiently used in the northern nations of Europe, and is still practised among the savages in some parts of America.

or any loud speech; that every baron carries continually a little vessel to spit in, after which he covers it, none daring to spit in the hall; they have fur buskins of white leather, which they put on when they enter the hall, putting off the former, and giving them to the servants, lest they should foul the carpets.

18. Ten miles off Cambalu is a certain great river named Pulifangan, emptying itself into the ocean, by which many ships with much merchandize ascend; and in that place there is a very fair bridge, all of serpentine stone, curiously wrought, containing three hundred paces in length, and eight in breadth, so broad that ten men may ride abreast; on each side it is secured with a wall of marble, and pillars set in a row, and in the height of this ascent is a great and high pillar, at the feet whereof is a great lion, and on the top another, and so quite through the bridge: one pace and a half distance are pillars with lions on the tops, and a fair wall with wrought marble work betwixt, to keep men from falling. Having passed over the river and bridge, and proceeding thirty miles westward (in which palaces are continually seen, with vineyards and fertile fields), you come to the city Gouza, both fair and great, having many monasteries of idols. Cloths of gold and silk are made there, and the purest and finest cambricks or lawns; and many common inns for strangers or travellers are found in that city. The citizens are artificers and merchants. A mile without this city the way parteth, one leading west, the other south-east; that to the west leadeth through the province of Cathay, but the other, towards the country of Mangi, from the city of Gouza to the kingdom of Tainfu*.

You ride ten days through Cathay, always finding many fair cities, well furnished with vineyards, and tilled fields, from whence wine is carried to Cathay, where there is none; there are many mulberry-trees for silk-worms, the people civil, and cities very numerous and populous. Tainfu is the name of the kingdom, and of the chief city, which is great and fair, hath much trade, with store of ammunition, fit for the Khan's armies. The wine about this city serveth the whole province. Seven days further westward is a pleasant country beautified with many castles and cities in which also there is great trade in different merchandize carried on. After which you come to a city very great, named Pianfu, in which there is vast abundance of silk and much trade. Westward from Pianfu stands a very pleasant castle, named Thaignin, anciently built by a King called Dor; in it is a spacious palace, wherein is a fine hall, in which are painted all the famous kings which have reigned there, and it is a fair spectacle. Of this King Dor, they say he was potent, and was attended only by young damsels, of which he had many in his court. These also, when he had a mind to take his pleasure, carried him in a small light chariot through the castle, which was so fortified by art and nature, that the governor thereof feared none, no not Umcan his lord, against whom he rebelled.

But seven men, professing fidelity and service to Dor, took him at a disadvantage in hunting, and brought him prisoner to presbyter John, or Umcan, who put him on vile cloths, and appointed him to keep his cattle, and set over him a strong guard, till two years were ended: after which he commanded him to be brought before him, and

* It must be acknowledged, that the description here given by our author is a little dark and perplexed, and that at the same time it is no easy matter to settle the places he mentions; but on the other hand it must be considered, that this is the first account that was received here in Europe of the great country of China, and that this account was written by a man little, if at all, acquainted with the sciences, and who aimed at nothing more than transcribing from his note-book the names of places and provinces, their distances from each other, with such other circumstances relating to them as at to great a distance of time he was able to recollect.

being dressed in princely apparel, he giving him his pardon, after a sharp admonition, sent him well attended to the re-possession of his kingdom. About twenty miles beyond the castle Thaigin is the river Caramaran, which, by reason of the exceeding breadth and depth thereof, hath no bridge over it in all the space from thence, till it floweth to the ocean. On the shore thereof are many cities and castles built, wherein great trade is carried on. This country abounds with ginger, silk, and fowl, especially pheasants; so that three of them are bought for a Venetian groat. There grow reeds in vast plenty, so thick that some are a foot, and others a foot and a half in compass, which are applied to many uses. Passing this river, after two days' journey, is the famous city called Carianfu, where many cloths of gold and silk are made. Here grow ginger, galigale spike, and many spices. The people are idolaters.

Proceeding seven days journey westward, many cities and towns, lovely fields and gardens are found, and every where mulberries for silk-worms. As for the people, they are mostly idolaters; but there are also Christians, Turks, Nestorians and some Saracens. There is a vast abundance here of wild beasts and fowl. If you proceed seven days journey farther, you shall come to a certain great city named Quensanfu, which is the chief city of the kingdom, in which have reigned many famous kings; and, at this day, the son of the Great Khan, called Mangalu, hath the command thereof. That country yields great plenty of silk, cloth of gold, and all other things necessary for furnishing an army, and for the preservation of man's life. The inhabitants worship idols, and there are some Christians, Turks, and Saracens. Five miles without this city standeth the palace of Mangalu, seated in a plain, where are many springs, rivulets and places of game. There is a high wall encompassing a park of five miles, where are all sorts of wild beasts and fowls. In the midst is an excellent palace, having many halls and chambers, great and fair, all painted with gold and azure, and pumberless statues adorning it. The King, with his courtiers, delights himself in hunting the wild beasts, and taking of fowl, and following his father's examples in justice and equity, is much beloved of his people.

Proceeding three days journey westward from the said palace, through a very beautiful plain, where many cities and castles are, which abound with silk merchandize and manufactures, you come to a country where in the mountains and vallies are frequent habitations, and many villages of the province of Chunchian. The inhabitants as to religion are idolaters; and as to employment, husbandmen. Also in that country they hunt lions, bears, stags, roe-bucks, deer, and wolves. The plain is two days journey over, and the country is about twenty days journey westward, well inhabited, being finely diversified into mountains, vallies, and woods. After these twenty days, towards the west, there lies a province called Achbaluch Mangi, that is, the white city, on the borders of Mangi, which is well peopled. This province, for two days journey, hath a plain, in which are an infinite number of villages: beyond these lie mountains, vallies, and wood, all well inhabited. It hath plenty of wild beasts, and of those creatures that yield milk. In this province ginger grows in great plenty, as also corn and rice.

After twenty days journey through those hills is a plain, and a province in the confines of Mangi, named Sindinfu. The chief city hath the same name, and is very great, and exceeding rich, being twenty miles in circuit. It hath had many rich and mighty kings; but an old king dying, left three sons successors in the kingdom, who divided the city into three parts, compassing every part with their proper walls; all which, notwithstanding, were contained within the former wall; but the Great Khan subjected nevertheless that city and kingdom. Through this city run many rivers, and

many places round about, some half a mile over, some two hundred paces, very deep: on them are many bridges of stone, very fair, eight paces broad, set on both sides with marble pillars, which bear up a timber frame that covers the bridge, each bridge having streets and shops thereupon. When the rivers have passed through the city, they become one great river, called Quian, which runs one hundred days journey hence to the ocean. Near these rivers are many cities and castles, and on them innumerable ships for merchandize. Proceeding four days journey farther, through a very fine plain, many cities, castles, and villages are found, in which five lawns extend in beautiful order. There are also many wild beasts there. Beyond the plain, which we have now mentioned, is the wide province of Thebet, which the Great Khan vanquished and wasted; for in it lie many cities destroyed and castles overthrown, by the space of twenty days journey; and because it is become a wilderness, wanting inhabitants, wild beasts and lions are increased excessively, and it is requisite therefore that travellers carry victuals with them. Very large cane grows in this country, ten paces in length, and three palms in thicknes, and as much from knot to knot. When travellers therefore will rest at night secure from beasts, they take great bundles of the greener reeds, and putting fire under, kindle them, which makes such a crackling, and so great a noise, that it may be heard two miles off; which terrible sound the wild beasts hearing, flee away, but it has sometimes happened, that horses and other beasts, which merchants use for their journey, hearing this noise, and cracking, have grown also much afraid, and betaking themselves to flight have escaped from their masters; and therefore wiser travellers binding their feet together detain them in their proper places.

19. These twenty days journey ended, having passed over the province of Thebet, we met with cities, and many villages, in which, through the blindness of idolatry, a wicked custom is used; for no man there marrieth a wife that is a virgin; whereupon, when travellers and strangers, coming from other places, pass through this country and pitch their pavilions, the women of that place having marriageable daughters, bring them unto strangers, desiring them to take them, and enjoy their company as long as they remain there. Thus the handsomest are chosen, and the rest return home sorrowful, and when they depart, they are not suffered to carry any away with them, but faithfully restore them to their parents. The maiden also requireth some toy or small present of him who hath deflowered her, which she may shew, as an argument and proof of her condition; and she that hath been loved and abused of most men, and shall have many such favours and toys to shew to her wooers, is accounted more noble, and may on that account be advantageously married, and when she would appear most honourably dressed, she hangs all her lovers favours about her neck, and the more acceptable she was to many, so much the more honour she receives from her countrymen. But when they are once married, they are no more suffered to converse with strange men, and the men of this country are very cautious never to offend one another in this matter. They are idolaters, and cruel, thinking it no sin if they rob and exercise theft. They live by hunting and the fruits of the earth: many beasts also are found with them, yielding musk, called in this country Gadderi. They have a language of their own, and have no money, not so much as the paper money of the Khan, but use corals for money, and are clothed with the skins of beasts, or coarse hemp. This country belongs to the province of Thebet, for Thebet is a very large province, and has been sometimes divided into eight kingdoms having many cities and towns, with mountains, lakes, and rivers, where gold is found. The women wear coral about their necks, and hang it about the necks of their idols, as a precious thing. In this country

try there are very large dogs, as big as asses, which take wild beasts, especially wild oxen, called Boyamini.

There are in this province many sorts of spices, which are never brought into these parts. This Thebet is (as all the former provinces) subject to the Khan. On the west of the province of Thebet bordereth the province of Caidu, which was formerly governed by her own king, now by the governors of the Khan. By the west, you must not understand that the countries are in the west; but that we, departing from those parts which are betwixt the east and north-east, came hither westward, and therefore reckon them westward. The people are idolaters, have many cities, the chief called by the name of the province, Caidu, built on the frontiers of the province. There is a large salt lake, in which are abundance of pearls, white, but not round, so many, that in point of price they would become little worth, if they were suffered to be carried away at men's pleasure. It is therefore provided, upon pain of death, that none should presume to fish for pearl in this lake, without the licence of the Great Khan. There is also a mountain, in which is found a mine of Turquoise stones, the digging of which is restrained by the like licence. Many Gadderi are also in this province, which yield musk. That lake also which breeds pearl in such plenty, abounds with fish, and the whole country is full of wild beasts, that is to say, of lions, bears, stags, deer, ounces, roe-bucks, and divers kinds of birds. Cloves are found there in great plenty, which are gathered from small trees, which have boughs and leaves like the bay-tree, but somewhat longer, and straiter, white flowers, and brittle, as are the cloves, and when they are ripe they are black and dusky. Ginger, cinnamon, and several other spices, grow there in great plenty, which are not brought into our countries. Wine, however, though plentiful with us, groweth not in it, but instead thereof they make a most excellent drink of corn, rice, and divers spices.

The inhabitants of this country worship idols, to which they are so besotted, that they think they deserve their favours, if they prostitute their wives, sisters and daughters, to be abused by travellers; for when any stranger cometh amongst them, every master of a house seeketh to give him entertainment, and leaving the females and house to the strangers, will not return until they depart, which he doth for the glory of his idols, hoping they will be more gracious to him. Certain sprigs of gold are their money, using weights, and according to the weight of the sprig is the value of the money, and this money is their larger sort of money without stamp. They have also a lesser, which they make after this manner. They boil salt in a cauldron, for about an hour, and of this, being congealed they make little lumps like two-penny loaves, which being solid, is signed with the prince's stamp, and they make vast profit thereof in places remote from cities, which have store of musk and gold, and want chapmen. These barter their gold for salt, to use with their meats.

Leaving this province, they proceed fifteen days journey further, and in that space meet with castles, and many villages whose inhabitants have the same customs that the province of Caidu hath, and at length they come unto a river called Brius, by which the province of Caidu is bounded. In this river gold is found in great plenty, which they call Di Paiola, washed in vessels to cleanse it from the sand and earth. On the banks thereof cinnamon grows in great abundance. This river falls directly into the ocean. Having passed over the river Brius, they come westward to the province Caraiian, which contains seven kingdoms. It is subject to the Great Khan, whose son named Sentemur, is made Vice-King of that kingdom, and is a young prince, rich, wife, and just.

The

The inhabitants thereof are idolaters; you ride five days journey through it, and find it all well peopled: they live on their beasts and fruits. The country breeds excellent horses, and it hath a peculiar and difficult language. Having finished these five days journey, you come to the chief city called Jaci, which is both great and famous, hath in it many merchants and artificers, and many sorts of people, idolaters, Christians, Nestorians, and Saracens, but the greatest part of the inhabitants are idolaters. It hath corn and rice, notwithstanding which they eat no bread of corn, because it is not wholesome, but they make bread of rice; they make drink also of it, and several spices, which is very pleasant; they use white porcelane instead of money, and for ornaments, shells which are found at sea. Much salt is made in this city of the water of salt-wells, from whence the Vice-King hath great profit. The men of this country care not if any man come to their wives, so they give their consent. There is also a lake there very full of fish, containing an hundred miles in compass. These men eat raw flesh of hens, beef, mutton, and buffaloes, but prepared after this manner: they first cut it into small pieces, and after season it with excellent spices; but the poorer sort shred it, and lay it in garlic sauce, and eat it as we do boiled meat. Departing from the city of Jaci, having travelled ten days journey westward, we came to the province called, as the chief city, Carazan, which Cogatin, son of Cublai, governeth. The rivers there yield great quantities of washed gold, and also that which is solid, and on the mountains they find gold in the vein, and they give one pound of gold for six of silver. They spend porcelane for money brought thither from India.

The inhabitants are idolaters; very great serpents are bred in this country, some of which are ten paces in length, and in thickness ten spans. They have two little feet before near the head, with three talons or claws like lions, and the eyes bigger than a loaf, shining very bright. They have their mouths and jaws so very wide, that they are able to swallow a man, great and sharp teeth; nor is there any man, or other living creature, which can behold these serpents without terror. There are also some less, of eight, or six, some of five paces long, which are taken after this manner: in the day-time they use to lie hid, by reason of the heat, in holes, out of which they go by night to seek their prey, and devour whatsoever they get, lions, wolves, as well as other beasts, and then go to seek water, leaving such a track through their weight in the sands, as if a piece of timber had been drawn there; whereupon the hunters fasten under the sands great iron spikes, in their usual tracks, whereby they are wounded and slain. The crows presently proclaim the serpent's fate, and by their cries, invite the hunters, who come and flea him, taking out his gall, which is used for divers medicines, amongst other things, for the biting of mad dogs, a pennyweight given in wine; and for women in travail, for carbuncles, and other distempers, and they sell the flesh dear, as being exceeding delicate.

There are stout horses bred in this province, which by their merchants are carried into India. They commonly take one bone out of the tail, lest he should bend his tail hither and thither, and esteem it more comely, that it hang downright. They use long stirrups as the French, which the Tartars and other nations, for their shooting, use short, because when they shoot they rise up. They use targets and armour in the wars, made of the hides of buffaloes; they have lancets and cross-bows, and poison all their arrows. Some of them, who are villains, are said to carry poison about them continually, that if they be taken they may suddenly swallow it, and so dying at once prevent torture; for which cause the great lords have dog's dung ready, which they force them to swallow, and that makes them vomit the poison. Before the Great Khan subjected them, they used, when any stranger which seemed of good presence and parts lodged

with

with them, to kill him by night, supposing that those good parts of that man would abide afterwards in that house; and this silly notion has proved the death of many.

Travelling forwards from the province of Carazan, after five days journey westward, is the province of Cardandan, which also is subject to the Great Khan: the chief city thereof is called Vociam, the inhabitants whereof use porcelane, and weighed pieces of gold instead of money; for in that country, and many others lying round about, silver mines are not found, and they give an ounce of gold for five ounces of silver, and according to this exchange great gain is made. The men and women in that country cover their teeth with thin plates of gold, which they so fit to themselves, that the teeth themselves seem, as they were, set in those plates. The men about their arms and legs make lists, pricking the places with needles, and putting therein a black indelible tincture; and these lists or marks are esteemed with them as a mark of great gallantry. They give their minds to nothing but riding, hunting, hawking, and the exercise of arms, leaving the household cares to the women, who are assisted therein by slaves, which they buy, or take in war. When a woman is once delivered, she forsakes the bed, washes the child, and dresses it; and then the husband lieth down, and keeps the child with him forty days, not suffering it to depart; is visited all that time by friends and neighbours, to cheer and comfort him. The woman looks to the house, and carries the husband his broths to the bed, and gives suck to the child by him. Their wine is made of rice and spice; their ordinary food is rice, and raw flesh, dressed as before mentioned. In this province there are no other idols, save that every family adoreth the oldest man in the house, of whom they say, come themselves and all they have; they dwell for the most part in wild and mountainous places, but foreigners come not to those mountains, because the air would kill them, being in summer very corrupt.

They have no letters, but make their contracts and obligations by tallies of wood, one half whereof one keepeth, and the other the other, which being afterwards paid, the tally is destroyed. There are no physicians in this province; nor in Caidu, Vociam, and Caraian; but when any is sick, they call the magicians or idol priests together, and the sick person declares his disease unto them; then the magicians dance, and sound certain instruments, and bellow forth songs in honour of their gods, till at length the devil entereth into one of them, skipping and playing in the dance. Then leaving the dance, they consult with him that is possessed, for what cause this disease happened unto him, and what is to be done for his recovery. The devil answereth by him, because he hath done this or that, or because he hath offended this or that god, therefore he fell into this disease. Then the magicians intreat that god to pardon him this offence, promising that if the sick person recovers, he shall offer a sacrifice of his own blood; but if the devil, or the priest, think the patient to be sick of such a disease that he cannot be freed from the same, he useth to answer; this man hath so grievously offended that god, that he cannot by any sacrifices be appeased; but if he think he shall recover, he commandeth to offer so many rams, having black heads, and to prepare so many magicians with their wives, by them to offer sacrifices, and that god may then be appeased towards him; which being heard, his kinsmen quickly cause those things to be done which the devil commanded. They kill rams, and sprinkle their blood in the air, and the magicians assembled, light great candles, and perfume the whole house with incense, making great smoke of lignum aloes, and sprinkle the broth of the flesh in the air, with the potion made of spices; all which being duly performed, they skip about again, and dance in honour of that idol, which is supposed to have been favourable to the sick, singing and making a horrible noise with their voices. These things being performed, they ask the possessed again, whether the idol be pleased? And if he answer,

swer, no, they presently prepare themselves to fulfil any other command of his ; but if he answer that he is satisfied, they sit down at the table, and eat the flesh offered to the idol with great joy, and drink the liquors ; and dinner being ended, and the magicians paid, every one returns to his own home ; and when the sick hath thus escaped the disease, through the providence of God, and hath been restored to health, they attribute it to the idol, to whom they sacrificed ; but if he die, then they say, the idol was defrauded, and that some of the sacrificers tasted thereof first : this is not done to all, but by the richer, the devil, or his priests in his name, imposing on their blindness.

The Great Khan, A. D. 1272, sent an army into the kingdom of Vociam and Guran to reduce it, his forces being to the number of twelve thousand veteran troops, under the conduct of a Nestorian, an experienced officer. As soon as the King of Mein and King of Bengala heard of their coming, assembling their forces, they joined horse and foot together about threescore thousand, and about a thousand elephants bearing castles, and in every castle twelve or sixteen armed men were placed ; with this army the King of Mein marched speedily towards the city of Vociam, where the army of the Tartars lay encamped. Nestardin, however, marched forth with invincible courage to fight the enemy, and drawing near them, encamped near a certain great wood, knowing that the elephants with their towers on their backs were not able to enter the wood. Then the King of Mein seeing this, resolved to meet them ; but the Tartarian horse perceiving the elephants which were placed in the front of the battle were terrified, so that they could not by any means be brought to charge the elephants ; the Tartars therefore were compelled to alight from their horses, and tying them to the trees, they came to fight on foot against those beasts, and very wisely shot a multitude of arrows against the elephants, which not able to endure the wounds received by the arrows, betook themselves to flight, and went all to the next wood, broke their castles, and overthrew the armed men sitting in them ; which the Tartars seeing, run to their horses, and getting upon them, furiously fell upon the King's army with great violence, and many of either army fell. At length the King of Mein being put to flight, left the victory to the Tartars, who hastened to the wood, and taking many captives, used their help to seize two hundred of these elephants, and ever since the Great Khan hath used elephants in his army, to which before he was not accustomed : hereupon also he vanquished the countries of the King of Mein and Bengala, and subjected them to his empire*.

Departing from the province of Caraim, there is a great desert, which continueth two days and a half, nor is there any habitation there, but a very large plain, in which three days in the week multitudes meet together for trading. Many descend from the great mountains of that country, bringing gold with them to change for silver, that is, giving an ounce of gold for five ounces of silver, and therefore many merchants from

* The great conquests made by the Tartars in the east have so overturned all monuments of antiquity among the nations they have subdued, that if it were not for these travels of Marco Polo, we should be at a loss for any of the particulars relating to them. The Chinese historians, indeed, very fully confirm the truth of what he has delivered, but in general terms only ; so that they add nothing circumstantial, or capable of giving us a clearer or more distinct idea of what he has laid down, in respect to which it is sufficient for us to observe, that most of the facts he mentions either happened at the time when he was actually present in the court of the Great Khan, or a very little before it ; so that he could not but be well informed as to the truth of what he asserts. Strange indeed to us, who live at so great a distance from these countries, and are so little acquainted with the manners of their inhabitants, but at the same time very agreeable to the best accounts that have been afforded us of these countries by modern travellers, and more especially by the missionaries, who have been at great pains to collect and reduce into order such passages as they have met with in Chinese and other oriental writers.

foreign nations come thither, who bring silver and carry gold away, and bring thither merchandize to sell to these people; for to those high mountains in which they who gather gold in the country dwell no stranger can come, because the way is intricate and unpassable. When you are past that plain, going toward the south, Mein bordereth upon India, and the distance is about fifteen days journey through places uninhabited and woody, in which innumerable elephants, unicorns, and other wild beasts wander.

After that fifteen days' journey you come to Mein, a great and noble city, the head of the kingdom, and subject to the Great Khan. The inhabitants thereof have a peculiar language, and are idolaters. In this city there was a King, who being ready to die, commanded that near to his sepulchre there should be erected two towers in the form of pyramids, one at the head, the other at the feet, both of marble, of the height of ten fathom. On the top was placed a round ball; he caused one to be covered all over with gold, a finger thick, and the other with silver; and upon the top round about the balls, many little gold and silver bells were hanged, which, at the blowing of the wind, gave a certain shrill and pleasant sound. The monument or sepulchre was also covered with plates, partly of gold, partly of silver. He commanded this to be made in honour of his soul, and that his memory should never die among men. And when the Great Khan undertook to subdue this city, he sent a valiant captain, and the greatest part of his army were cavalry, of which the better part of his troops consists; these winning the city would not demolish that monument without the Khan's knowledge; who hearing that the deceased had erected it for the honour of his soul, would not suffer it to be injured; for the manner of the Tartars is not to violate the things which belong to the dead. In this province are many elephants, wild oxen, great and fair stags, and deer, and other wild beasts of divers kinds.

The province Bengala bordereth upon India towards the south, which the Great Khan subdued when Marco Polo lived in this country. This country has its own proper King and language, the inhabitants whereof are all idolaters; they have masters which keep schools, and teach idolatries and enchantments, a thing common to all the great men of that country. They eat flesh, rice, and milk; they have cotton in great plenty, and by the manufacture thereof, much trade is there carried on. They abound also with spike, galingal, ginger, sugar, and diverse other spices; huge oxen also are there, comparable unto elephants in height, but not in bulk. Many eunuchs are made in this province, which are afterwards sold to merchants. This province continueth thirty days journey, in the end whereof, going eastward, is the province of Cangigu, which is a country having also its proper King and peculiar language, the inhabitants whereof worship idols, and are tributary to the Great Khan; their King hath about three hundred wives; much gold is found in this province and many spices, but they cannot easily be transported, because that country is far distant from the sea: there are also many elephants in it, and much game. The inhabitants live on milk, flesh, and rice; they have no wine, but they make very good drink of rice and spices. As well the men as the women use to embroider their faces, necks, hands, bellies, and legs, making the images of lions, dragons, and birds, and so firmly imprint them, that they cannot easily be put out; and the more such images any one has upon his body, so much he is esteemed the finer and the more gallant. And there are also in this country professors of this foolish art of flesh-embroidery, which use no other trade but this needle-work and dying of fools skins.

Amu lies to the east of that province, and is subject to the Great Khan, whose inhabitants worship idols, and have to themselves a peculiar language. They abound with

herds of cattle, and have plenty of victuals, and many horses, and these excellent, which merchants carry for sale to India. They have also many buffaloes and oxen, because there are delicate pastures there. As well men as women wear bracelets of gold and silver, of great value, on their arms, as also the like on their legs; but those of the women are most valuable: from Amu to Cangigu are above five-and-twenty days journey. The province of Tholoman is still eight days journey farther distant to the east from Amu, subject to the Great Khan, having a peculiar language, and worshipping idols. The men and women in this country are tall, well-shaped, and of a brown complexion. The country is very well inhabited, having many and strong castles and cities. The men are practised in arms, and accustomed to war; they burn the bodies of their dead, and, inclosing the relics of their bones in a chest, hide them in the caves of the mountains, that they cannot be touched either by man or beast. Gold is found in great plenty there, and instead of money, they use porcelain brought from India, as also in Cangigu and Amu. From the province of Tholoman the high road leads towards the east, by a river, on the bank of which are many cities and castles, and at the end of twelve days you come to the great city Cintiqui. The country is subject to the Great Khan, and the inhabitants therefore addicted to idolatry. Excellent cloths are made in this country of the bark of trees, with which they are clothed in the summer. Many lions are there, so that for fear of them, none dare sleep without doors by night; the vessels which sail up and down the river for fear of these lions, are not fastened to the bank. There are great dogs in the same country so hardy and strong, that they fear not to attack the lion; and it often happeneth, that two dogs and one archer kill a lion: for the dogs, set on by the man, give the onset, and the lion's nature is presently to take shelter from some tree, that the dogs may not come behind him, neither will his great heart suffer him to run from the dogs, lest he should seem afraid; but he holds his stately pace, the man mean while shooting, and the dogs fastening on his hinder parts, but with such agility, that when the lion turns on them they are gone; and then this magnanimous beast holds on his way again, to seek a tree for succour, till what with bitings and arrows, he sometimes comes short, and, with expence of blood, dieth by the way. This country abounds with silk, which by merchants is carried to diverse provinces by the river; they live therefore chiefly by their merchandize: their money is paper, and they are valiant in arms.

At the end of ten days is the city of Sidinfu, and twenty days from thence is Gingui, and four days thence is Palanfu, towards the south, and is in Cathay, returning by the other side of the province. The people are idolaters, and burn their dead; there are also certain Christians which have a church, are all under the Khan, and use paper money. They make cloths of gold and silk, and lawns, very fine. By this city, which has many cities under it, runs a great river, which carries store of merchandize to Cambalu, made by many channels to pass thither; but we will leave this place, and proceeding three days' journey, speak of Ciangu, a great city towards the south, of the province of Cathay, subject to the Khan. The inhabitants are idolaters, and burn their dead. Their money is the (mulberry) paper coin of the Khan. In this city, and the territories that depend upon it, they make large quantities of salt, for the earth abounds therewith, and out of it they get salt after this manner; they heap up the earth in the manner of an hill, and pour water upon it, which draws the saltness of the earth into it, and then runs into certain conduits, and is boiled in pans, till it be congealed to salt, fair and white, to the great gain of the people and of the Great Khan, being carried into other countries to sell. There are large peaches, high flavoured, and weigh two

pounds à-piece. Five days journey beyond the city Ciangu, in Cathay, southward, standeth another city, named Ciangli, in which road are many cities and castles, subject to the Khan, through the midst of which runs a great river, very convenient for shipping laden with merchandise.

Six days journey hence to the south is the noble kingdom and great city of Tudin-fu, which had formerly its proper King, before it was subdued by the Great-Khan, A. D. 1272, and hath eleven royal cities famous for traffic under the jurisdiction thereof. It is very pleasantly seated for gardens and fruits, rich in silks; their Khan sent to be governor thereof one of his Barons named Lucanfer, with eight thousand horse, who rebelled against this Lord, but was reduced and slain by an army of one hundred thousand horse, under two other Barons sent against him, and the country reduced to obedience. Seven days off towards the south is the famous city named Singuimatu, to which on the south a great river runs, which being divided by the inhabitants of the place into two rivers, flows one branch to the east towards Cathay, and the other to the west toward Mangi; by these rivers innumerable vessels, and incredible for their size and wealth, bring necessaries to both provinces. If you proceed sixteen days journey towards the south from Singuimatu, you will meet with cities and towns where prodigious trading is exercised. The inhabitants of these countries are idolaters, subject to the Great Khan. After that, sixteen days, you come unto a great river named Caramoran, which is said to take its rise in the kingdom of Uncan, or Presbyter John, in the north. It is very deep, and carries ships of great burthen; it is also well stocked with fish, within one day's journey of the sea. There are in this river fifteen thousand sail, each of which carries fifteen horses and twenty men, besides victuals and mariners. This is the Khan's fleet, kept there in readiness to carry an army to any of the islands, if they should rebel, or to any remote region. Near the bank of the river where these ships are kept is Coiganzu, and over against it Quanzu, one a great city, the other a small one. After you are past that river, you enter into the noble kingdom of Mangi; but you must not think that we have handled in order the whole province of Cathay, having not spoken of the twentieth part; for Marco Polo passing by the said province, hath only described the cities in his way, leaving those on both hands, and those betwixt these to prevent tediousness, and to avoid writing from hearsay.

20. The province of Mangi is the richest and most famous that is founded in the east; and in An. Dom. 1269, was governed by a certain King, called Fanfur, who was richer and mightier than any which had reigned there in an hundred years, but a man peaceable and charitable, so beloved of his subjects, that thereby, and by the strength of the country, he seemed invincible. It was from a persuasion of this that the King, as well as the people, lost the use and exercise of war and arms. All the city was encompassed with ditches full of water. He held in pay no horses, because he feared nobody; and, in process of time, the King, betaking himself to pleasure more than was fit, employed his whole time in delights. He maintained about a thousand concubines, with whom he passed his time in pleasure. He maintained justice, and preserved peace, no man durst offend his neighbour and disturb the peace, for fear of severe and impartial punishment; so that artificers would often leave their shops full of wares open by night, and yet none would presume to go into them. Travellers and strangers safely walked day and night through that whole kingdom, fearing no man. The King himself was also merciful towards the poor, and did not overlook them that were oppressed with necessity, or punished with penury. Besides, every year he took up twenty thousand young infants, cast off by their mothers, who, through poverty, were not able to keep them,

them, which he brought up, and put them, when they were grown up, to some trade, marrying the young men with the maids, which he had in like manner so educated*.

Cublai-Khan was of a different disposition from Fanfur, and delighted only in wars and conquests; and to make himself great, he levied an army of horse and foot, and made one, named Chinfan-Baian, i. e. an hundred eyes, General thereof, he therefore coming with his army and a fleet to the province of Mangi, first summoned the city Coiganzu to yield obedience to his Emperor, who refused the same; he departed without any assault given to the city, and required the same of the second city, which likewise refusing, he marched forwards to the third and fourth, and received the like answer of them all; but he assaulted the next with great courage, and vanquished the same by force, and slew every creature of what sex or age soever therein, which so frightened and terrified the rest, that they all presently yielded. The Great Khan sent out another great army after the former, with both which armies he marched against the chief city Quinfai, where the King of Mangai resided, who being mightily terrified, as never having seen any war, fled with his wealth on board the ships he had prepared, to certain impregnable islands in the Ocean, where he afterwards died, committing the custody of the city of Quinfai to his wife, bidding her to defend it as well as she could, for being a woman, she needed not fear death if she was taken.

It is to be observed, that King Fanfur had been told by his diviners, that his kingdom would never be taken from him but by one who had an hundred eyes, which the Queen knew, and therefore was still in hopes not to loose the city however straightened, thinking it impossible for one man to have an hundred eyes; but one day she heard the commander of the Tartars was called Baian Cliinfan, that is to say, an hundred eyes, and was much terrified; wherefore calling for the commander of the Tartar army, thinking him to be the man which the astrologers spoke of, she delivered the city unto him, which being heard, the citizens and inhabitants of the whole province yielded to the obedience of the Great Khan. The Queen was sent unto the court of the Great Khan, and was most honourably received by him, and maintained like a Queen. And now we will speak of the cities in the country of Mangi. Coiganzu is a very fair and rich city situate towards the south-east and east, in the entrance of the province of Mangi, where are always great numbers of ships, being seated on the river Carama, and a great quantity of merchandize is carried thither; salt is also made there in abundance. Proceeding from Coiganzu, you ride towards the south-east one day's journey on a stone causeway, on both sides whereof are great fences, with deep waters, through which they may pass with proper vessels; neither is there any entrance into Mangi but by shipping, excepting this causeway.

* The Chinese histories agree exactly, as to the character of this Prince, with what we find delivered concerning him by our author; but they differ widely with respect to the name; since, according to them, he was called Tou, and from the name of his family Tsong. He was the fifteenth Emperor of the nineteenth dynasty, and succeeded to the throne in the year 1264. It was to his indolence, debauchery, and excessive love of pleasure, that the Chinese attribute the destruction of their country, and the total conquest of it by the Tartars. This Monarch died in the midst of his misfortunes, and left three young children under the tutelage of the Empress their mother. These historians give us a great character of the Tartar General, mentioned by our author; but then they give him quite another name, viz. Pe Yen; but what the signification of that is, I cannot inform the reader. He is said to have commanded an army of two hundred thousand men, with the same ease as if it had been only a small body of troops, and to have shewn so great modesty in the midst of his conquests, as never once to have valued himself on the many and great services he rendered to his master.

At the end of that day's journey is a city called Paughin, large and fair; the people make stuffs of Gold and silk, are merchants, and idolaters. The paper-money of the Great Khan is received throughout the whole country. It is plentiful in all necessaries of life. To the city Caim is from Paughin one day's journey south-east; and this is also a famous city. The country thereabouts abounding with fish, beasts, and fowl, especially pheasants, are found in exceeding great plenty, as large as peacocks, of which you may have three for a Venetian groat. Proceeding farther from hence one day's journey, you come through a well watered, most fruitful, and well peopled country, to the city of Tingui, which though it be not over large, yet hath in it exceeding great plenty of victuals. They are merchants, and have a vast resort of ships: there is plenty of beasts and fowls. It is seated to the south-east, and on the left hand towards the east, three days journey off the ocean, and in the country between, are very many salt-pits, and they make great quantities of salt. After this is Cingui, a great city, whence the country is furnished with salt, whereof the Khan makes immense profit, almost beyond belief: they are idolaters, and have paper-money. From Cingui, riding towards the south-east, you meet with the noble city Jangui, under the government whereof are other cities, seven and twenty in number; and in that city resides one of the twelve barons, which are governors of provinces, chosen by that Great Khan; they are idolaters, and live on merchandize. They make arms and harness for war, and Master Marco had the sole government thereof, by commission from the Great Khan, three years together, instead of one of these barons. Naughin is a province to the west, one of the greatest and noblest of Mangi; a place of great merchandize; they are idolaters, have none but paper money, have vast quantities of beasts and fowl, wild and tame. They make cloths of gold and silver, and are rich merchants, and the country is very advantageous to the Khan, especially by custom of merchandize; there is likewise great plenty of corn.

Sianfu is a noble and great city in the province of Mangi, and hath twelve rich and great cities under her jurisdiction. They make great quantities of silks, and cloths of gold; have plenty of game, fowl, and all things pertaining to a city of note; so strong that it was three years besieged, and could not be vanquished by the army of the Tartars, when the province of Mangi was subdued, for it is encompassed on every side with lakes, that there was no way to it but on the north; so that ships came and went, continually bringing plenty of victuals, which not a little afflicted the Great Khan. The two brethren, Master Nicolo, and Master Maffio, then in his court, hearing thereof, went to him, and offered him their service to devise certain engines, after the manner of the west, able to shoot a stone of three hundred weight, thereby to kill men and ruin houses. The Khan appointed carpenters, which were Nestorian Christians, who made three of these engines in a short space, which were proved before him, and by ships sent to his army. Planting them therefore against the city Sianfu, they began to cast great stones into the city; and the first falling upon a certain house, broke the most part of it with the violence thereof, which the besieged inhabitants seeing, were very much astonished, and yielded themselves, and became subject to the Great Khan, on the same conditions with the rest of Mangi, to the great repute of the two Venetian brethren, the one the author's father, and the other his uncle.

From the city of Sianfu to a certain city called Singui, are accounted fifteen miles south-eastward, which, although it is not very large, yet has a prodigious number of ships, being seated upon the greatest river in the world, called Quian, the breadth of which in some places is ten miles, in others eight, and in many six; but the length thereof

thereof extendeth above an hundred days journey from the source of it into the sea. Innumerable other rivers flow into it, which run through divers regions, and are navigable; and these make it so great, that incredible quantities of merchandize are brought by this river. There are also many other cities, in number about two hundred, which participate of the advantages of this river, for it runs through the bounds of sixteen provinces. The greatest commodity is salt, wherewith all the cities which communicate by these waters are supplied. Master Marco saw at one time at Singui five thousand vessels, and yet other cities on the river have more; all these ships are covered, and have but one mast, and one sail, and usually carry four thousand, and so upwards, some of them twelve thousand Venetia Cantari; neither do they use cordage of hemp, except for the mast and sail, but have canes, fifteen paces long, which they split into thin parts from one end to the other, and binding the cut parts together, and wreathing them, make very long ropes, so that some of them contain three hundred fathom in length; and those ropes are as strong as hemp, and serve for halves and cables to draw their ships up and down the river, each vessel having ten or twelve horses for that purpose.

On that river, in many places, are rocky hillocks, on which are built monasteries to their idols, and all the way are vallies and places inhabited. Cayngi is a little city upon the same river south-eastward, where every year is brought plenty of corn and rice, carried for the most part to Cambalu; for they pass thither by lakes and rivers, and by one large canal, which the Khan caused to be made for a passage from one river to another, and from Mangi to Cambalu, without going to sea; which work is beautiful and wonderful for the sight and length, and more for the profit which accrues thereby to the cities. He hath made also great causeways to go on land by these waters commodiously. In the midst of the said river is an island, or rock, on which is erected a great temple and monastery, in which are two hundred idolatrous monks. Cinghianfu is a city of Mangi, rich in merchandize, plentiful of game, having all kind of wild beasts and fowl, and of victual. In it are two churches of Nestorian Christians, built A. D. 1274, when the great Khan sent a governor thither, Marfachis, a Nestorian who built them. From the city Cinghianfu, in three days journey south-eastward, you find many cities and castles, all idolaters, and at last come to Tinguigui, a great and fair city, abounding with all kind of provisions*.

When Baian Chinfan, general of the army of the Tartars, conquered the province of Mangi, he sent many Christians called Alani against the city, which was double walled; into the inner they retired, into the other the Alans entered, and found there abundance of wine, whereof, after a bad journey, they began to drink so largely, that they were all drunk, and the citizens, in their sleep, suddenly falling upon them, slew

* This happened the year before the death of the Emperor Tou-Tsong, and in about four years more all his children, who succeeded one after the other to the empire, perished. The first was taken prisoner by the Tartars, and sent by them into their own country, where he died in captivity. The second was driven to Canton, where he died of a consumption at the age of eleven years. The third, whose name was Ti-Ping, having lost all his country, was obliged to take refuge on board the fleet, which was pursued, and forced to an engagement by that of the Tartars. When the Chinese Lord, who had the care of the Emperor's Person, found his vessel surrounded, he took the young Prince in his arms, and jumped with him into the sea. The Empress seeing the last of her sons thus unhappily destroyed, followed his fate, and threw herself also into the sea. One whole squadron of the Chinese fleet forced a passage through that of the Tartars, but was afterwards destroyed by a tempest, so that not a vessel or a man escaped of the whole navy; and the Chinese writers say, that there perished in the whole a hundred thousand men. The loss of this battle put an end to the Chinese empire, and left the Tartars totally masters of the whole country.

them.

them all, not one escaping; but Baian hearing this, sent another great army against those citizens which in a short space of time vanquishing the city, in revenge, put them all to the sword, leaving none alive. The great and excellent city Singui contains in circuit twenty miles: multitudes of people are in it, it hath many rich merchants and industrious artificers, and it hath also very many physicians and magicians, and wife men, or philosophers. In the mountains of this city, rhubarb and ginger grow in great plenty. This city hath sixteen cities under the jurisdiction thereof, in each of which much trade is carried on, and many curious arts are exercised, many sorts of silk are made there. The word Singui signifies the city of the Earth: also they have another city which they call Quinfai, that is to say, the city of Heaven. From Singui, at the distance of one day's journey, is Vagiu, where is also abundance of silk, and able artificers, with many other merchants, as there are in general in all the cities in this country.

21. In a journey of three days, you find cities, castles, and villages, well peopled and rich. The people are idolaters, under the dominion of the Great Khan. At the end of these days you come to Quinfai, i. e. the city of Heaven, which for the excellency thereof hath that name; for in the world there is not the like, or a place in which are found so many pleasures, that a man would think he were in paradise. In this city our author Marco Polo hath often been, and considered the same with great diligence, observing the whole state thereof, setting down the same in his memorials, as here from them shall be declared briefly. This city by common report, is an hundred miles in circuit. The streets and lanes are very long, and very wide; there are market-places exceeding large; on the one side a clear lake of fresh water, on the other a great river, which enters in many places, and carries away all the filth of the city, and so runneth into that lake, thence continuing its course into the ocean. This course of water causeth a good air, and commodious passage both by land and by those canals. There may go both carts and barks to carry necessaries; and the report is, that there are twelve thousand bridges great and small, and those on the chief channels are so high, that a ship without her masts may pass under, and at the same time chariots and horses pass over it. On the other side the city is a large canal forty miles long, which encloses it on that side, large and full of water, from the river, made by the ancient Kings of that province, both to receive the overflowing of the water, and besides that to fortify the city, the earth which was taken out being laid within as a bank or hill encompassing it*.

There are ten great market-places, besides others in the great streets, which are square, half a mile in each square; and from the great entrance is a principal street, forty paces wide, running right from one end of the city to the other, with many bridges crossing it, and every four miles is found such a market-place, two miles, as is said, in compass. There is also one large canal, which runs against the said street behind the market-places, on the next bank whereof are erected great store-houses of

* This description of the city of Quinfai has occasioned many reflections upon our author, as if writing of countries at so great a distance, he took the liberty of imposing on his readers the fictions of his imaginations for the facts which he had seen. Under this imputation he for a long time laboured, especially with such as were desirous of maintaining the reputation of sagacious and penetrating people; but by degrees the credit of our author has got the better of all such insinuations, and the relations given by the Portuguese, and other Europeans, who went thither after the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, have put it out of doubt that he did not invent any part of his relation, but represented things fairly as they appeared to him, though certainly with fewer circumstances, and less accuracy, than succeeding travellers, who had more time to examine, and greater capacities for describing what they saw.

stone, where the merchants from India, and other parts, lay up their merchandize, being at hand, and commodious for the market-places. In each of these market-places the people meet three days in a week, to the number of between forty and fifty thousand, who bring thither all things that can be desired for man's life, beasts, game and fowls, that lake yielding such advantages for bringing them up, that for a Venetian groat you may have two geese, and four ducks for the same. Then follow the butcher-rows, of veal, beef, kid, and lamb, which the great and rich men eat; for the poor eat all the offal, and unclean meats, without respect. There are all sorts of herbs and fruits continually, and amongst the rest huge pears, weighing ten pounds apiece, white within like paste, and very fragrant. Peaches yellow and white, very delicate. Grapes grow not there, but are brought from other places dried; very good wine also, but it is not esteemed in those parts as with us, that of rice and spices contenting them. Every day from the ocean are brought up the river, which is the space of five-and-twenty miles, great quantities of fish, besides that of the lake, so much that a man would think would never be bought, and yet in a few hours all his gone. All these market-places are encompassed with high houses, and underneath are shops for artificers and all sorts of merchandize, as spice, jewels, pearls, and in some only rice-wine. Many streets answer one to another in the said market-places; in some of them are many cold baths, accommodated with attendants of both sexes, a thing to which from children they use themselves. There are chambers also in the same baths, with hot waters for strangers, which are not accustomed to the cold waters; they wash every day, neither do they eat before they have washed.

In other streets are mercenary prostitutes, in such numbers, that I dare not report it, and not only near the market-places, where they have their places appointed, but through all the city; they stand pompously adorned with rich perfumes, many servants, and their houses finely furnished. These are very skilful in making sports and dalliances, and contriving pleasures for ravishing men out of themselves. In other streets are the physicians, the astrologers, they which teach to read and write, and infinite other trades. At each end of every market-place is a palace, where lords and governors are appointed by the King to determine difficulties which happen betwixt merchants and others, as also to look to the guards on the bridges, punishing such as are negligent. Along the principal street on both sides are great palaces with gardens, and near them houses of artificers, and such multitudes of people going to and fro, that a man would wonder whence such multitudes could be provided with victuals; and Master Marco learned of an officer of the custom-house in Quinsay, that by a very accurate computation, it appeared, the daily expence of pepper in Quinsay was three-and-forty Scunna and every Scunna is two hundred and twenty-three pounds. Hence may be guessed the quantity of victuals, flesh, wine, and spices, were there spent. The inhabitants are idolators, use none but paper money, are of a very fair complexion, apparelled for the most part in silk, which grows in all that territory abundantly, besides that which is brought from other places. There are twelve principal companies or corporations, each of which have one thousand shops, and in each shop or standing are ten, fifteen or twenty men at work, and in some forty under one master.

The rich tradesmen do not work with their hands, but stand in their shops, well, or rather pompously dressed, especially their wives, with jewels invaluable. And although their old Kings ordained, that the child should be of the father's trade, yet the rich are permitted not to work at it, but to keep their shop, and men working in the same trade. Their houses are well built, and very richly furnished with pictures and other orna-

ments of immense price. The natives are peaceable, know not how to manage arms, nor keep them in their houses, neither is there strife and debate among them. They exercise their trades with great sincerity. They live in such amity, that one street seems as one house without jealousy among their wives, which they hold in great respect, and it would be reputed a great disgrace to speak a dishonest word to a married woman. They entertain foreign merchants kindly, both in their houses, and with best advice for their affairs; but they are not over fond of the soldiers, and guards of the Grand Khan, because by them deprived of their natural lords and Kings. About the lake are very fair buildings, and great palaces of the principal men, and temples of their idols, with monasteries of many monks. In the midst of the lake are two islands, upon each of which is a palace with incredible numbers of rooms, whither they resort upon occasion of marriages, or other feasts, where provisions of vessels, linen and other things are maintained in common, for such purposes, one hundred sometimes accommodated at once in several rooms. In the lake also are boats and barges for pleasure, adorned with fair seats and tables, and other provisions for a banquet, covered above, and flat, upon which men stand with poles to push the boat on, the lake being but shallow: within they are painted, without are windows to open and shut at pleasure; nor can any thing in the world seem more pleasant than in this lake to have such various objects, the city so fully presenting itself to the eye, with so many temples, monasteries, palaces, gardens, with high trees, and on the water barges and people; for their custom is to work one part of the day, and to spend some part in their diversion with their friends, or with women on the lake, or else in chariots, riding through the city, which is also another of the Quinsay pleasures; for all the streets are paved with stone, as also are all the highways in the province of Mangi only for the foot; posts are left on the side a space unpaved: the principal street of Quinsay is paved ten paces on each hand, and in the midst it is full of gravel, with passages for the water, which keep it always clean.

In this street are innumerable long close chariots, accommodated with cloths and cushions of silk for six persons, who divert themselves in the street, or go to the gardens, and there pass the time in bowers, fine walks, &c. which are kept for that purpose, and return at night in the same chariots. When a child is born, the father sets down the exact point of time, and with that note goes to the astrologer to consult of his future fortunes; of these astrologers are a great number in every market-place. These people will not celebrate a marriage without such consultation. When one dies that is of note, the kindred cleath themselves in canvas, and so both men and women accompany him to the burying-place, playing on instruments, and singing all the way prayers to their idols, and being come to that place, cast into the fire many papers of cotton whereon are painted slaves, horses, camels, stuffs of gold, and silk, and monies which they think he shall really possess in another world, and make a grand concert of music, in conceit of the joy wherewith the idols there receive his soul, where he beginneth, as they fancy, to live anew. In every street are towers of stone, to which, when in danger of fire, they use to carry their gods, their timber-houses being very subject to such casualties. The Khan hath ordered, that on the most of the bridges, day and night, there stand under a covert, ten soldiers, five by day, and five by night, and every guard-room is a tabernacle of wood, with a great bafon, whereby they know the hours of the day and night, which at every hour's end the warders strike, to signify what hour, one, two, &c. beginning at the sun-rising; and then again at the beginning of the night. They walk up and down, and if any have
a light

a light or fire after the appointed time, they cause him to answer it before the justices, or governors aforesaid, or if any walk later.

If any be not able to work, they carry him to some hospital, of which are exceeding many, founded by the old Kings with great revenues, through the city: when they are well again, they are compelled to work. If a fire happen, these from divers places come to and quench it, and to carry the goods to the islands, or those towers; for in the night none of the citizens dare go out, but those who are in danger. The Khan always keeps here a body of his best and most faithful soldiery, as being the best and richest place in the world. Within a mile of each other, are built ramparts of wood, where the same precautions are used for like purposes. When the Khan had reduced all Mangi to his obedience, he divided it, being before but one kingdom, into nine parts, and set them a Vice-King over each, who there administers justice. Every year they give account to the Khan's officers, of the revenues, and other accidents, and every third year are changed, as all other officers are. One of these deputy Kings is resident at Quinfay, who is governor of above one hundred and forty cities, all rich and great: nor let this be esteemed a wonder, seeing in Mangi there are twelve thousand cities, all inhabited by rich and industrious people, in every one of which the Khan maintaineth a garrison, proportionable to the greatness and occasions, one thousand, ten, or twenty thousand, not all Tartars, but Cathayans; for the Tartars are horsemen, and keep in such places as may be fit to exercise their horses. Into Cathay he sends those of Mangi, and Cathayans hither, such as are fit for arms, of which he makes choice every third year, and sends them for four or five years together, into places twenty days journey from their own country, and then suffers them to return home, a fresh body succeeding; and most part of the Khan's revenues are this way expended, and if any city rebel, he suddenly from the next garrison composes an army to reduce or destroy them. The city of Quinfay hath in constant garrison thirty thousand soldiers, and that which hath least, hath one thousand regular troops, horse and foot in garrison*.

I come next to speak of the palace of King Fanfur. His predecessors caused to be inclosed a place of ten miles circuit, with high walls, and divided it into three parts. That in the midst was entered by one gate on the one side, and on the other were great and large galleries, the roof sustained by pillars, painted and wrought in pure gold and fine azure. These were smaller at the entry, and the further the greater, the fairest at the end; the roof richly adorned with gold, and on the walls were painted the stories of the former kings, done very elegantly. Every year, on certain idol holidays Fanfur keeps his court, and feasts his principal lords, the great merchants and rich artificers of Quinfay. Ten thousand are at a time under these terraces. This feasting endured ten or twelve days with incredible magnificence, every guest endeavouring to present himself in greatest pomp. Behind this marble building was a wall, which divided the palace in which were, as it were, a cloister with pillars, sustaining the terrace

* The Tartars visibly depended upon a military force for the preservation of their empire in China, which whether it was an effect of their own policy, or a part of the Chinese system of government which they adopted, is uncertain; but it is most probable that it was the latter. However, it was far enough from answering the end, for the Tartar force becoming a mere standing army, and having nothing to do but to make a lazy livelihood of that profession, the soul of which is an active state; they soon degenerated, and became as soft and effeminate as the Chinese; while the latter, humbled by the Tartar conquest, impoverished by enduring the burthen of such a numerous army, and, above all, taught the value of liberty by the loss of it, began to form designs for bringing about a new revolution, which at last they were so lucky as to effect.

round about the cloister, wherein were chambers for the King and Queen, curiously wrought. From this cloister was an entrance into a gallery six paces wide, extending in length to the lake, all covered. On each side of this gallery were ten courts, answering to each other like cloisters, each court having fifty chambers, with their gardens, and in them one thousand concubines abode, which the king kept for his service, who, sometimes with the Queen, sometimes with them, went on his royal barge on the lake, for recreation, or to visit his idol temples. The other two parts of the Seraglio were divided into groves, lakes, and gardens, planted with trees, in which were enclosed all sorts of beasts, roe-bucks, stags, hares, conies, and there the King diverted himself with his damsels in chariots, or on horseback, no man entering there. There the ladies hunted with his dogs, and when weary, they went into those groves, which answered one another over the lake, and there leaving their garments, came forth naked, and fell to swimming in the King's presence. Sometimes he would eat a banquet in those groves, being served by those damsels, without once thinking of arms, which sweet meat cost him the four sauce ye have heard. All this was told me by a rich old merchant of Quinsay, while I was there, one who had been familiar with King Fanfur, and knew all his life, and had seen that palace flourishing, into which he would needs bring me.

The viceroy now resides there, and the first galleries remain as they were, but the damsels chambers are ruined. The walls also which encompassed the woods and gardens are fallen to the ground, the beasts and trees being gone, and all the other ornaments destroyed. Twenty-five miles from Quinsay is the ocean, between the east and north-east, near which is a city called Gampu, an excellent port, where arrive the Indian ships with merchandize. While Marco Polo was in Quinsay, account being given to the Grand Khan of the revenues, and the number of inhabitants, he hath seen that there have been inrolled one hundred and sixty toman of fires, reckoning for a fire the family dwelling in one house; every toman contains ten thousand, which makes sixteen hundred thousand families, of all which there is but one church of Christians, and those Nestorians. Every householder is bound to have written over his door the names of his whole household, males and females; also the number of horses, the names added or blotted out as the family increaseth or decreaseth; and this is observed in all the cities of Mangi and Cathay. Those also that keep inns write in a book the names of their guests, and the day and hour of their departure, which books they send daily to the lords or magistrates, who preside at the market-places. In Mangi the poor which are not able to bring up their children, sell them to the rich. The revenues which accrue to the Khan from Quinsay, and the other cities pertaining thereto, being the ninth part of the kingdom of Mangi, are first of salt, every year, eight toman of gold, every toman is eighty thousand Sazzi's of gold, and every Sazzi is more than one florin of gold, which will amount to six millions and four hundred thousand ducats. The cause is, that that province being nigh the sea, there are many lakes, where the water in summer is coagulated into salt, wherewith five other kingdoms in that country are served. There is plenty of fugar growing, which pay, as likewise all spices do, three parts, and a third in the hundred: the like of rice-wine. Also those twelve companies, which we said had twelve thousand shops, and the merchants which bring goods hither, or carry any hence by sea, pay the same price. They which come from remote countries and regions, as for example, from the Indies, pay ten per cent. Likewise all things there breeding, as beasts, and growing out of the earth, and silk, pay tith to the King, and the computation being made in the presence of Master Marco, besides salt before-mentioned, yearly amounts to

two hundred-and-ten tomans, which will be sixteen millions eight hundred-thousand ducats in gold*.

A day's journey from Quinfay to the south-east, are all the way houses, villages, fair gardens, and plenty of victuals; at the end whereof is Tapinzu, a fine city in the jurisdiction of Quinfay. Three days thence, south-east, is Uguini, and two days farther you may still ride that way, finding castles, cities, and well cultivated places, in such a neighbourhood that they seem to travellers all one city, and are all in the jurisdiction of Quinfay; there are great canes fifteen paces long and four palms thick. Two days journey farther is the city Congui, fair and large; and travelling farther south-east, are places full of people and trades; and in this part of Mangi are no sheep, but beavers, buffaloes, goats, and swine in great plenty. At the end of four days journey farther is the city Zengian, built on a hill in the midst of a river, which dividing into two branches, encompasses it, and then runs one to the south-east, the other to the north-west. This city is in the jurisdiction of Quinfay, and its inhabitants are merchants also and idolaters; this country abounds with all sorts of game. Three days journey from thence, through a most pleasant country, exceeding well inhabited, stands Gieza, a great city, which is the last of the Quinfay kingdom; after which you enter into another kingdom of Mangi, called Concha; the principal city thereof is called Fugiu, by which you travel six days journey south-east, through hills and dales, always finding places inhabited, and plenty of game, of beasts and fowl; they are idolaters, merchants subject to the Khan. There are stout lions and here grow ginger and galigale in great plenty, with other sorts of spices; eight pounds of ginger are sold for a Venetian groat. There is an herb, whose fruit hath the effect, and gives the colour and smell of saffron, but is not saffron, which is used in their meats. They commonly eat man's flesh, if the persons die not of sickness, as better tasted than others. When they go into the field they shade the ears, and paint their faces with azure: they serve on-foot, except the captain, who rides, and uses a sword and lance; they are very cruel, and when they kill an enemy presently drink his blood, and afterwards eat his flesh.

After six days journey is Quelinfu, a great city, with three bridges, each eight paces broad, and above an hundred long: the women fair and delicately shaped. They have abundance of silk and cotton, are great merchants, have plenty of ginger and galigale. I was told, but saw them not, that they have hens without feathers, hairy like cats, which yet lay eggs, and are good to eat. Here are many lions, which make the way very dangerous. After three days journey, you arrive in a populous country, inhabited by idolaters, who make abundance of silk manufactures, the chief city is Unguem, where is great plenty of sugar, sent thence to Cambalu, which they knew not how to make good till they became subject to the Khan, in whose court were Babylonians, which taught them to refine it with ashes of certain trees, they only boiling it before into a black paste. Fifteen miles farther lies Cangiu, still in the realm of Concha, and here the Khan keeps an army in readiness for a guard of the country. Through this city passes a river a mile broad, fairly built on both sides, and abounding with ships

* These particulars might very well appear (as indeed they did) absolutely incredible, at a time when there was not so much as an idea of a well peopled and regularly settled country beyond the limits of Persia, received among the Europeans. As the Chinese were amazed, and knew not what to think of our manners, when we came first among them, so the first news of such an empire as China, so extensive, so well peopled, so admirably governed, and in so flourishing a condition, must needs astonish us not a little. According to the latest account of this empire, its revenues amount to fifty millions sterling annually.

carrying sugar and other lading. This river difembogues from hence five days journey fouth-eaft at Zaitum, a fea-port, from which the rich fhips of India come to this pleafant city, as is all the country betwixt, in which are trees and fhrebs of camphire. Zaitum is a famous port, where all the fhips arrive with merchandize, thence difperfed through all India. There is here fuch a quantity of pepper, that what comes by Alexandria to the weft is little to it, and, as it were, one of a hundred. The concourfe of merchants is incredible, it being one of the moft commodious ports in the world, exceeding profitable to the Khan, who receives cuftom at the rate of ten in the hundred of all merchandize. They pay fo much for hire of fhips alfo, that there is not above one half of their merchandize remaining entire to themfelves, and yet that moiety yields vaft profit to them. The citizens are idolatrous, given to pleafure; in it are many artificers on embroidered and arras work. The river is great, very wide and fwift, and one arm of it runs to Quinfay, at the parting of which is Tringui fituated, where porcelane difhes are made. I was told of a certain earth, which they caft up in hills, and fo let lie expofed to all weathers for thirty or forty years without furring; after which refining by time, they make difhes, paint them, and then put them in the furnace. You may there have eight difhes for one Venetian groat. In this kingdom of Concha, the Khan has as great a revenue almoft as that of the kingdom of Quinfay. In thefe two Mafter Marco was, and in none of the other nine kingdoms of Mangi, in all which one language is ufed, with variety of dialect, and but one fort of writing; and therefore we will fpeak no more of them, but in the next book difcourfe of India the Greater, the Middle, and the Lefs, in which he was both in the fervice of the Khan, and alfo in his return with the Queen to Argon.

22. We will now enter into the affairs of India, and begin with their fhips, which are made of fir, with one deck, on which are twenty cabins, more or lefs, according to the bignefs of the fhips, each for one merchant. They have a good rudder, and four masts with four fails, and fome two masts, which they either raife or take down at pleafure. Some greater fhips have thirteen divifions on the infide, made with boards encafed, fo that if by a blow of a whale, or touch of a rock, water gets in, it can go no farther than that divifion, and the leak being found, is foon ftopped. They are double, that is, have two courfes of boards, one within the other, and are well caulked with oakum, and nailed with iron, but not pitched, for they have no pitch, but anointed with an oil of a certain tree mixed with lime and hemp, beaten fmall, which binds fafter than pitch or lime. The greater fhips have three hundred mariners, the others two hundred, or one hundred and fifty, as they are in bignefs and in burthen, from five to fix thoufand bags of pepper*; and they were wont to be larger than now they are, the fea having broken into parts and iflands, that the defect of water in fome places caufeth them to build lefs. They ufe alfo oars in thefe fhips, four men to one oar; and the greater fhips have with them two or three lefs fhips, able to carry a thoufand bags of pepper, having fixty mariners or upwards on board; which fmall fhips ferve fometimes to tow the greater. They have alfo with them ten fmall boats for fifhing and other fervices faftened to the fides of the larger fhips, and let down when they pleafe to ufe them. They fheath their fhips alfo after a year's ufage, fo that then they have three courfes of boards, and they proceed in this manner fometimes till there

* This account of the fhips ufed in the trade of the Eaft Indies agrees exactly with the modern relations; and though, without doubt, they fall very far fhort of our fhips for many purpofes; yet for fome, the nature of thofe feas confidered, they may be, and very probably are, more convenient.

be six courtes, after which they break them up. Having spoken of the ships, we will speak of India, and, first, of certain islands.

Zipangu, *i. e.* Japan, is an island on the east, one thousand five hundred miles distant from the shores of Mangi, very great, the people of white complexion, of gentle behaviour, in religion idolaters, and have a King of their own. They have gold in great plenty, for few merchants come thither, and the King permits no exportation of it; and they which have carried on commerce there, speak of the King's house covered with gold, as churches here with lead, gilded windows, floors of gold. There are also many pearls. Once the fame of these riches made Cublai-Khan to send to conquer it two of his Barons, with a great fleet of ships, one named Abbaca, and the other Venfanfin, who going from Zaitum and Quinsay, arrived there, but falling out between themselves, could take but one city, and there beheaded all they took, except eight persons, which by an enchanted precious stone, enclosed in the right arm between the skin and flesh, could not be wounded with iron; whereupon, with wooden clubs, at the command of the two Barons, they were slain. It happened one day that a northern wind blew hard, which was dangerous to the ships riding there, so that some were lost, some put out farther to sea, and others, with the two leaders and a few principal persons, returned home. Out of many broken ships some escaped by boards and swimming to an island not inhabited, four miles off Zipangu, and were about thirty thousand, without provision or arms, against whom the Zipanguaners, after the tempest was calmed, sent out a fleet of ships, and an army. These coming on land to seek the wrecked Tartars without order, gave occasion to the Tartars to wheel about, the island being high in the midst, and to get unseen to their ships, which were left unmanned, with the streamers displayed, and in them they sailed to the chief city of Zipangu, where they were admitted without suspicion, and found few others but women. The King of Zipangu besieged them six months, and they having no relief, yielded themselves, and their lives were saved. This happened A. D. 1264*.

The Khan, for the ill conduct of his two commanders, cut off the head of one, and sent the other to a desert island called Zerga, where he caused offenders to die, by sewing them, their hands bound in a new flayed hide of a buffaloe, which drying, shrinketh so as it puts them to vast tortures, which lead to a miserable death. The idols in this and the adjoining islands are made with heads of kine, swine, dogs, and in other fashions more monstrous, as with faces on their shoulders, with four, ten, or even an hundred hands; and to these they ascribe most power, and do most reverence, and say, that so they learned of their progenitors. They sometimes eat their enemies which they take, with great joy, and for great dainties; at least so it is reported of them. The sea, in which this island lies, is called the sea of Cin, or Chin, that is, the sea against Mangi, and in the language of that island Mangi is called Chin or Chint, which sea is so large, that the mariners and expert pilots, who frequent it, say, that there are seven thousand four hundred and forty islands therein, the most part of them inhabited; that there grows no tree which yields not a good smell, and that there grow many spices of divers kinds, especially lignum aloes, and pepper black and white. The ships of Zaitum are a year in their voyage, for they go in winter, and return in summer, having winds of two sorts, which keep their seasons, and this country is far from India; but I will leave them, for I never was there, nor are they subject to the Khan, and return to

* This attempt made by the Tartars to conquer Japan is a very curious circumstance, and of great consequence to the history of this country, because mentioned by no other author, which is the reason that Father Martini refers us hither on that head, in his most accurate work of the empire of China.

Zaitum;

Zaitum ; from hence sailing south-westward one thousand five hundred miles, passing a gulph called Cheinan, which continues two months sailing to the northward, still confining on the south-east of Mangi, and elsewhere with Ania and Toloman, and other provinces before named. Within it are infinite islands all in a manner inhabited : in them is found abundance of gold, and they trade one with another.

22. This gulph seems like another world ; and after one thousand and five hundred miles, sailing across this gulph, is the county Ziambar, rich and great, having a King and a language of their own, idolaters, and paying tribute to the Grand Khan of twenty elephants, and lignum aloes in great quantities yearly. A. D. 1268, the Khan hearing of the riches of this island, sent thither Sagatu with an army to invade it. Acambate the King thereof was old, and made his composition by paying the tribute, which has been mentioned. There are many woods of black ebony there, which are of infinite value. Sailing thence betwixt the south and south-east one thousand five hundred miles is Java, at present supposed by mariners the greatest island in the world, being above three thousand miles in circuit, under a King who payeth tribute to none, the Khan not offering to subject it, because of the length and danger of the voyage. The merchants of Zaitum and Mangi fetch thence abundance of gold and spices. South and south-westward six hundred miles from Java are two islands, one Sondur, which is the greater, the other Condur, less, both desolate.

Fifty miles south-east from them is a province, or firm land, very rich and great, named Lochae, the people idolaters, having a language of their own, as well as a King. There grows Brasil wood in great plenty, much gold, elephants, wild beasts, and fowl, a fruit called Bercias, large as lemons, very good ; the place is mountainous and savage, and the King permits not any one to come thither, lest they should know his country, and attempt to conquer it. There are abundance of porcelane shells for money transported to other places. Five hundred miles southward from Lochae is the isle Pentan, a savage place, which produceth in all the woods sweet trees ; sixty miles in the way, the sea is in many places but four fathom, after which sailing to the south-east thirty miles further, is the island and kingdom of Malaiur, which hath a peculiar King and language to itself, and here a great trade is carried on in spices from Pentan. One hundred miles south-east is Java the Less, in compass about two thousand miles, and hath in it eight kingdoms, and the people as many languages ; they are idolaters, have abundance of treasure, spices, ebony, and Brasil, and are so far to the south, that the north star cannot there be seen. Master Marco was in six of those kingdoms, of which he gives following account, leaving the other two which he saw not.

One of these eight kingdoms is Felech, where the idolaters, by frequent trade with Saracens, are converted to the law of Mohammed. In the cities the mountaineers are very beastly, eating man's flesh and all kinds of impure food, and worship all day what they first see in the morning : next to that is Basma, which hath a language by itself ; they live without law like beasts, and sometimes send hawks to the Khan, who lays claim to all the island. For savage beasts they have wild elephants, and unicorns much less than elephants, like the buffalo in hair ; their feet are like elephant's feet, they have one horn in the midst of the forehead, and hurt none therewith, but with the tongue and knee ; for on their tongue are certain long prickles, and sharp, and when they hurt any they trample on him, and press him down with their knees, and then tear him to pieces with their tongue. The head is like a wild boar's, which he carries downwards to the ground. They love to stand in the mire, and are slishy beasts, and not such unicorns are said to be in our parts, which suffer themselves to be taken by maids, but quite contrary. They have many apes, and of several kinds ; they have goshawks

black

black as ravens, great and good for prey. There are certain small apes, in their faces like men, which they put in boxes, and preserve with spices, and sell them to merchants, who carry them through the world, shewing them for pigmies, or little men.

Samare is the next kingdom, where Master Marco staid five months against his will, forced by ill weather. There none of the stars of Charles's Wain are seen. He once went on shore with two thousand people, and there fortified for those five months, for fear of those brutish men-eaters, and traded meanwhile with them for victuals. They have excellent fish, wine of the date-tree, very wholesome for phthisic, dropfy, diseases of the spleen; some white, some red, and Indian nuts as big as a man's head, the middle whereof is full of a pleasant liquor better than wine; they eat of all sorts of flesh without any difference. Dragoian is another of these kingdoms claimed by the Khan, having a King and language of their own. I was told of an abominable custom, that when one is sick, they send to enquire of the forcerers whether he shall escape? If the devils answer no, the kindred send for some, whose office it is to strangle the sick party; after which they cut him in pieces, and the kindred eat him with great jollity, even to the marrow of the bones; for, say they, if any substance of him should remain, worms would breed thereof, which would want food, and so die, to the great torture of the soul of the deceased. The bones they afterwards take and carry into some caves in the hills, that no beast may touch them. If they take any stranger, they eat him in the same manner.

Lambrai is the fifth kingdom of Java, in which is great plenty of Brasil, of the seeds whereof Master Marco brought to Venice, and sowed them, but in vain, the soil being too cold. They have unicorns in great abundance, and choice of beasts and fowls. Fanfur, the sixth kingdom, hath the best camphire, which is sold weight for weight with gold. In that province they make meal out of great and long trees, as thick as two men can fathom; whence, paring off the thin bark and wood about three fingers thick, the pith within is meal, which they put in water, and stir it very well, the lightest drops swimming, and the finest settling to the bottom, and then the water being cast away, they make paste, of which Master Marco brought some to Venice, tasting not much unlike barley-bread. The wood of this tree thrown into the water sinks like iron, of which they make lancets, but short; for if long, they would be too heavy to bear. These they sharpen, and burn at the tops, with which so prepared, they will pierce through armour sooner than if they were made of iron. About one hundred and fifty miles from Lambrai, sailing northwards, are two islands, one called Nocueran, in which the inhabitants live like beasts, go all naked, both men and women, and worship idols, have excellent trees, cloves, sanders white and red, Indian nuts, Brasil and other spices; the other Angaman, savage as the former, and where I was told they had dogs' heads and teeth.

24. Sailing hence one thousand miles to the west, and a little to the north-west, is Zeilan, two thousand and four hundred miles in circuit, and anciently three thousand and six hundred miles, as is seen in the maps of the mariners of those places; but the north winds have made a great part of it sea. It is the finest island in the world; the King is called Sendernaz. The men and women are idolaters, go naked, save that they cover their privities with a cloth, have no corn, but rice and oil of Sesamino, milk, flesh, wine of trees, abundance of Brasil, the best rubies in the world, sapphires, topazes, amethysts, and other gems: the King is said to have the very finest ruby that was ever seen, as long as one's hand, and as big as a man's arm, without spot, shining like a fire, not to be bought for money. Cublai-Khan sent and offered the value of a city for it; but the King answered, he would not give it for the treasure of the world, nor part with

it, because it had been his ancestors. The men are unfit for soldiers, and hire others when they have occasion. From Zeilan, sailing sixty miles to the west, lies the great province of Malabar, which is not an island but firm continent, called India the Greater, the richest province in the world: there are in it four Kings, the chief of which is Sinder Candi, in whose kingdom they fish for pearls, viz. betwixt Malabar and Zeilan, in a bay where the sea is not above ten or twelve fathom; in which divers descend, and in bags or nets tied to their bodies, bring up the oysters, in which are the pearls: and because there are some great fish which kill the fishermen, they hire certain Bramins to charm them, and these have the twentieth, and the King the tenth. These oysters are found through the whole month of April, and till the middle of May, and not at any time else. In September they find them in a place above three hundred miles off, and till the midst of October. The Khan goes as naked as the rest, save that he wears some honourable ensigns, as a collar of precious stones about his neck, and a thread of silk to his breast, with one hundred and four fair pearls strung thereon to count his prayers by, of which he must daily say so many to his idols. A sort of bracelets he wearth on three places on his arms, and likewise on his legs, on his fingers, and on his toes. The prayers which he says are *Pacauca, Pacauca, Pacauca*, one hundred and four times. This King hath one thousand concubines, and if any please him, he takes her, as once he did from his brother, whence wars had followed; but the mother threatening to cut off her breasts, which had nourished them, if they proceeded, the quarrel was composed. He hath many horsemen for his guard, which always accompany him, who, when the King dies, throw themselves voluntarily into the fire when he is burnt, to do him service in the next world.

This Prince and his brethren, the Kings of Malabar, buy their horses from Ormus, and other parts; the country breeds none, and if it sometimes falls out that it does, yet are they there bred ill-favoured and naught. Condemned persons will offer themselves to die in honour of such an idol, which is performed with twelve knives, and twelve wounds in divers parts of the body, at every blow, saying, "I kill myself in honour of that idol;" and the last he thrusts in his heart, and is then burnt by his kindred. The wives also cast themselves into the fire with their husbands, disrepute following those who refuse it. They worship idols, and most of them adore cows, and would not eat so holy flesh as beef for all the world. There are some called Gauri, who eat such oxen as die of themselves, but may not kill them, and daub over their houses with ox-dung. These Gauri are of the posterity of those which slew St. Thomas, and cannot enter the place where his body is. They sit on carpets on the ground in this kingdom: they have no corn but rice; are not a martial people; kill no beasts, but when they will eat any, get the Saracens to do it, or other people; wash twice a-day, morning and evening, both men and women, and will not otherwise eat, which they who observe not are accounted heretics. They touch not their meat with their left hand, but use that hand only to wipe, and for other unclean uses. They drink each in his own pot, and will not touch another man's pot, nor suffer their own to touch their mouth, but hold it over, and pour it in. To strangers who have no pot they pour drink into his hands, and oblige him to drink with them. Justice is severely administered for crimes, and a creditor may in some cases encompass his debtor with a circle, which he dares not pass till he hath paid the debt, or given security; if he does, he is to be put to death; and Master Marco once saw the King himself on horseback thus encircled by a merchant, whom he had long delayed and put off; neither would the King go out of the circle which the merchant had drawn, till he had satisfied him, the people applauding the King's justice. They are very scrupulous of drinking wine made of the grape, and they

which do it are not thought worthy or honest men, or admitted to be witnesses, a thing denied also to him who sail by sea, for they say such men are desperate. They think lechery no sin. It is very hot, and they have no rain but in June, July, and August; without which refreshing of the air they could not live. They have many physiognomers and soothsayers, which observe beasts and birds, and have an unlucky hour every day in the week called Choiach, as on Monday, betwixt two and three, on Tuesday the third hour, and on Wednesday the ninth, &c. through all the year, set down in their books. They curiously observe natiivities. At thirteen years old they put their boys to get their own livings, who run up and down to buy and sell, having a small stock given them to begin, and in pearl season they buy a few pearls, and sell them again to the merchants, which cannot well endure the sun, for little gain; what they get they bring to their mothers to dress for them, for they may not eat at their father's cost. They have idols, male and female, to whom they offer their daughters, who, when the monks or priests appoint, sing and dance to the idols, and very often set victuals before them, saying that they eat, leaving it the space of a meal, singing all the while, and then they fall to eating in earnest, after which they return home. The cause of these sacrifices is the household quarrels betwixt the god and goddess, which, if they should appease, they should lose their blessing. The great men have litters made of large canes, which they fasten artificially to some upper place to prevent tarantulas biting, and also fleas and other vermin, and for fresh air.

The place of St. Thomas's sepulchre is a small city, not much frequented by merchants, but very much by Christians and Saracens for devotion. The Saracens hold him a great prophet, and call him Ananias, that is, a holy man. The Christians take of the earth where he was slain, which is red, and carry it with them with great reverence, and give it, mixed with water, to the sick. A. D. 1288, a great Prince, having more rice than room to lay it in, made bold with St. Thomas's church, in the room where pilgrims were received; but by a vision of St. Thomas in the night, was so terrified that he quickly left the place. The inhabitants are black, not so born, but became so by often anointing themselves with jessamine oil, to obtain that beauty. They paint the devil white, and their idols black. The cow-worshippers carry with them to battle some of the hair of a wild ox, as a preservation against dangers, and therefore such hairs are sold at a high price.

25. Murfili, or Monsul, is northward from Malabar five hundred miles; the inhabitants are idolaters. They have diamonds in their hills, which they search for after great rains. Westward from St. Thomas is Lac, whence the Bramins have their original, who are the honestest merchants in the world, and will not lye for any thing, and faithfully keep any thing committed to their custody, or as brokers sell or barter merchandise for others. They are known by a cotton thread, which they wear over the shoulders, tied under the arm crossing the breast. They have but one wife, are great astrelogers, of great abstinence, and long life; observe their own shadow in the sun, when they are to buy, and thence conjecture according to the rules of their art. They constantly chew a certain herb, which makes their teeth good, and helps digestion. There are some religious among them, called Tangui, who go altogether naked, live austerely, worship cows, of which they have little brass images on their foreheads, and of the ox-bones they make an ointment, wherewith they anoint their bodies in divers places with great reverence. They neither kill or eat any live creature, nor herb green, or root before it is dried, esteeming every thing to have a soul. They use no dishes, but lay their victuals on dry leaves of apples of paradise. They ease themselves in the sands, and then disperse it hither and thither, lest it should breed worms, which

must die for want of food. Some of them live to one hundred and fifty years, and their bodies, after death, are burnt.

In Zeilan I had forgot to mention a high mountain, which none can ascend but by iron chains, as I was told, in the top whereof the Saracens say is Adam's sepulchre; the idolaters say it is the body of Sogoman Barchan, the first idol founder, son to the King of that island, who betook himself to a solitary life on the top of this hill, from whence no pleasures nor persuasions could draw him; his father made an image after his death to represent him, all of gold, adorned with garments, and commanded all the islanders to worship it: and hence, as they say, began idolatry. Thither they come from remote places in pilgrimage, and there his fore-teeth, and a dith of his, are reserved, and as holy relics solemnly shewed. The Saracens say they are of Adam, which report caused the Khan, A. D. 1281, to send ambassadors thither, who obtained two teeth and a dith, and some of his hairs, by grant, from the King of Zeilan, which he caused to be received by the whole people of Cambalu without the city, and brought to his presence with great honour.

Cael is a great city, governed by Aster, one of the four brethren, who is very rich, also very kind to merchants; he hath three hundred concubines. All the people have a custom to be continually chewing in their mouths a leaf called Tembul, with spices and lime. Coulam is five hundred miles south-west from Malabar: they are idolaters. There are also Christians and Jews, who have a speech by themselves. They have pepper, Brasil, Indico, lions all black, parrots of divers sorts, all white as snow, others azure, others red, and some small peacocks and peacocks, very different from ours, and larger, as are their fruits; they are lecherous, and marry their sisters and near kindred: there are many astrologers and physicians. In Camari are apes so large, that they seem to be men: and here we had a sight of the north-star. Delai hath a King, and the inhabitants have their own language: the people are idolaters, and have plenty of spices; the ships of Mangi come thither. Malabar is a kingdom in the west, in which, and in Guzerat, are many pirates, who sometimes put to sea with above an hundred sail, and rob merchants. They bring with them their wives and children, and there remain all summer. In Guzerat is abundance of cotton, the trees six fathoms high, and last twenty years; the cotton of these trees is not fit to spin after they are above twelve years old, but for quilts: there are many Rhinoceros's. In Canhau is store of frankincense. It is a great city, where is great trade for horses. In Cambaia is much Indico, buckram, and cotton. Semenath is a kingdom of a peculiar language, they are idolaters, merchants, and a good people. Resinacorán is a great kingdom of idolaters and Saracens. The last province of the Greater India, towards the north-west, is five hundred miles, near which are said to be two islands, one of men and the other of women, those coming to these, and there stay in March, April, and May. The women keep their sons till twelve years, and then send them to their fathers. It seems the air of that country admits no other course: they are Christians, and have their bishop, subject to the Bishop of Socotora; they are good fishermen, and have store of amber. Socotora hath an archbishop, not subject to the Pope, but to one Zatulí, who resides at Baldach, who chooseth him. The Socotorans are inchanters, as great as any in the world, though excommunicated therefore by their prelate, and raise winds to bring back such ships as have wronged them till they obtain satisfaction.

26. A thousand miles thence southward is Magaster, one of the greatest and richest isles in the world, three thousand miles in circuit, inhabited by Saracens, governed by four old men; the people live by merchandize, and sell great quantites of elephants' teeth.

teeth. The currents in these parts are of exceeding force. They report strange stories of fowls called Ruch, like an eagle, but of incomparable bigness. Zensibar also is said to be of great length, &c. There are elephants, giraffas, and sheep, very unlike to ours; the men and women very deformed. I have heard mariners and skilful pilots of those parts report, and have seen in their writings, which have compassed the sea of India, that there are in it twelve thousand and seven hundred islands inhabited and desert. In India Major, which is from Malabar to Chesmacoran, are thirteen kingdoms.

India Minor is from Ziambi to Murfili, in which are eight kingdoms, besides many islands. The second, or Middle India, is called Abascia, the chief King a Christian. There are six other Kings, three Christians, and three Saracens, subject to him; there are also Jews. St. Thomas having preached in Nubia, came to Abascia, and there did the like, and went afterwards to Malabar. They are very valiant foldiers, always in arms against the Soldan of Aden, and the people of Nubia. I heard that A. D. 1288, the Great Emperor of the Abissines would have visited Jerusalem, but being dissuaded by reason of the Saracen kingdoms in the way, he sent a Bishop of holy life to perform his devotions, who in his return was taken by the Soldan of Aden, and circumcised by force; whereupon the Abissine Monarch raised an army, discomfited the Soldan, with two other Mohammedan Kings, took and spoiled Aden. Abascia is rich in gold; Escier is subject to Aden, forty miles distant south-east, where is plenty of white frankincense, very good, which drops from small trees by incision of the bark, a rich merchandise, &c. Some in that country, for want of corn, make biscuit of fish, of which they have great plenty: they also feed their beasts with fish. They take them in March, April, and May.

27. After having spoken of the provinces on the coast, I will now return to some provinces more to the north, where many Tartars dwell, which have a King called Caidu, of the race of Zingis-Khan, but subject to none. These observe the customs of their ancestors, dwell not in cities, castles, or fortresses, but dwell with their King in the fields, plains, vallies, and forests, and are esteemed true Tartars. They have no sort of corn, but live on flesh and milk, in great peace. They have multitudes of horses, kine, sheep, and other beasts. There are found great white bears, twenty palms long, black foxes, very large, wild asses, and little beasts called Rondes, which bear the sable furs, and variarcolini, and those which are called Pharaoh's rats, which the Tartars are skilful in taking. The great lakes which are frozen, except for a few months in the year, are the cause that in the summer it is scarce to be travelled for mire, and therefore the merchants in going to buy their furs, for fourteen days journey through the desert, have set up for each day a house of wood, where they barter with the inhabitants, and in winter they use sledges without wheels, and plain on the bottom, rising with a semicircle at the top, or end, which are drawn on the ice by beasts like great dogs, by couples, the sledge-man only with his merchant and furs sitting therein.

At the extremity of the region of these Tartars is a country reaching to the farthest north, called the obscure land, because the most part of the winter months the sun appears not, and the air is thick and darkish, as betimes in the morning with us. The men there are pale and squat, have no Prince, and live like beasts. The Tartars often rob them of their cattle in those dark months, and, lest they should lose their way, they ride on mares which have colts sucking, which they leave with a guard at the entrance of that country, where the light beginneth to fail, and when they have taken their prey, give reins to the mares, which hasten to their colts. In their long continued summer, they take many of the finest furs (on occasion of the Tartars going to rob them), of which I have heard some are brought into Russia. Russia is a great country near
that

that northern darkness. The people are Greek Christians, the men and women fair, and pay tribute to the King of the Tartars of the west, on whom they border. On the east there is plenty of furs, wax, and mines of silver; it reaches, as I was told, to the ocean sea, in which are islands that abound in ger-falcons and falcons.

28. We are now arrived at the close of this author's writings, and therefore are more capable of judging of the particulars they contain, which was the reason that I left some points to be considered here, which I should otherwise have thrown under the head of objections. Some critical readers have affected to doubt, whether our author, or rather his performance, deserves credit, from the account that is given of the manner in which it was wrote, and from the different stories that we have told of the original. We have already accounted for the mistakes that have been made on this head, and shall here only take notice, that Francis Pipin, of the order of preachers, who made a Latin translation of our author's work, tells us in his preface, that from the report of his domestics, he was satisfied that Marco Polo was a man of great prudence, remarkably honest, and one who had the fairest character that could be. It is not very easy to conceive, that such a man should expose that credit which he had been at so much pains to establish, by sending into the world an indigested heap of fictions and romances. But the same person informs us farther, that Signior Nicolo Polo, the father of our author, was the most esteemed and best beloved man of his time, and that he constantly reported the very same facts during his whole life, which his son published in his works; and as for his uncle Signior Maffio, who enjoyed some of the principal offices in the government at Venice, and distinguished himself by his wisdom and integrity, when he was upon his death-bed he took particular care to assure his confessor, that he had reviewed his nephew's work, and that he was fully satisfied that there was nothing in it that was not strictly true, and this he gave him leave to declare for the satisfaction of the world. Here then are three credible witnesses to the same facts, and therefore, according to all the laws of evidence, they ought to be looked upon as thoroughly established.

We must however distinguish between such facts as our author reports from his own knowledge, and those which are grounded only on hearsay and information. We may accuse an author of credulity or imprudence, who inserts strange and improbable things in his writings, but we cannot with justice charge him with infidelity or falsehood on that head, and we ought also to make some allowance for the genius of the time in which he wrote, because it cannot be presumed, that even the wisest and most prudent men can be totally free from the errors of the age in which he flourished: it may not be amiss to give a few instances with regard to our author.

In the twenty-fifth chapter there is an account of diamond mines, in the kingdom of Murfili, where we have omitted a passage that is to be met with in most of the editions of our author, because it is reported on the credit of the inhabitants, and we were willing to examine it by itself, that the reader might perceive we had no intention to impose upon him those improbabilities which had been imposed upon our author himself. After having told us that diamonds are found there at the bottom of the rocky mountains, after the rainy season is over, he proceeds thus: "They also in the summer-time ascend these mountains, though with great difficulty, because of the vehemence of the heat, and find abundance of those precious stones among the gravel. In this they are likewise much exposed to danger from the vast number of serpents of enormous size, which shelter themselves in the holes and caverns of these rocks, where, nevertheless, they find diamonds in the greatest abundance. Among other methods of obtaining them, they make use of this: there are abundance of white eagles that rest in the upper

part

part of those rocks, for the sake of feeding on the serpents, and in the deep vallies and precipices, where men are afraid to venture themselves, they throw pieces of raw meat, which the eagles perceiving, immediately stoop and seize it, with all the little stones and gravel that adhere to these moist pieces of meat. Such as search for diamonds watch the eagles' nests, and when they leave them, pick up such little stones, and search likewise for diamonds among the eagles' dung. The Kings and great men in this country keep the fairest and finest of these stones to themselves, and suffer the merchants to sell the rest."

The famous Julius Cæsar Scaliger was extremely offended with this relation, which he treats with the utmost contempt, and seems to wonder at the assurance of a writer that expects stories of this kind should gain credit; yet, after all, I do not see that there is any great harm in our author's relating this tale, however improbable it may seem, since without doubt he received it from the inhabitants, and what motives they had to tell him such a story is not very difficult to guess. The native Indians, in all the revolutions that have happened in the countries where they live, have preserved this trade in their own hands, and by fables of one sort or other kept strangers from attempting to interfere with them. Our author was very probably the first European that was ever at the diamond mines, and therefore we have the less reason to be surpris'd at his being imposed upon in an affair of which he could not be a competent judge.

But to make the reader some amends for so imperfect a relation of the manner in which this valuable trade is carried on, I shall take this opportunity of inserting the best account of the matter that I believe has been hitherto given, by one who was an eyewitness of it in the year 1680, and that too in the very country known to our author by the name of the kingdom of Murfil. "The diamonds are so scattered and dispersed in the earth, and lie so thin, that in the most plentiful mines it is rare to find one in digging, or till they have prepared the stuff, and searched purposely for them: they are also frequently enclosed in clods; and some of those of Molwilleed, and the new mines in the kingdom of Golconda, have the earth so fixed about them, that, till they grind them on a rough stone with sand, they cannot move it sufficiently to discover they are transparent, or were it not for their shapes, to know them from other stones. At the first opening of the mine, the unskilful labourers sometimes, to try what they have found, lay them on a great stone, and striking them one with another, to their costly experience discover they have broken a diamond. One I know who had an excellent stone of eight mangellans, that is, thirty-two grains, served for by ignorant miners he employed. Near the place where they dig they raise a wall, with such rugged stones as they find at hand, whereof all the mines afford plenty, of about two feet high, and six feet over, flooring it well with the same; for the laying of which they have no other mortar than the earth tempered with water. To strengthen and make it tight, they throw up a bank against the side of it, in one part whereof they leave a small vent about two inches from the bottom, by which it empties itself into a little pit made in the earth to receive small stones, if by chance any should run through. The vent being stopped, they fill the cistern they have made with water, soaking therein as much of the earth they dig out of the mine as it can conveniently receive at once, breaking the clods, picking out the great stones, and stirring it with shovels till the water is all muddy, the gravelly stuff falling to the bottom; then they open the vent, letting out the foul water, and supply it with clean, till all the earthy substance be washed away, and none but a gravelly one remains at the bottom. Thus they continue washing till about ten of the clock before noon, when they take the gravelly stuff they have washed, and spread it on a place made plain and smooth for that purpose near the cistern, which being so dried by the heat of the sun at

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that time of the day, they very curiously look it over, that the smallest bit of a stone can hardly escape them. They never examine the stuff they have washed, but between the hours of ten and three, lest any cloud, by interposing, intercept the brisk beams of the sun, which they hold very necessary to assist them in their search, the diamonds constantly reflecting them when they shine on them, rendering themselves thereby the more conspicuous.

“ Some of the expertest labourers are employed in searching, he that sets them at work usually sitting by, and over-looking; but it is hardly possible, especially where many are employed, to watch them so narrowly but that they may steal part of what they find, as many a part of them do, and selling it privately, convert it to their own use. If they find a large stone, they carry it not presently to their employer, but keep on looking, having an eye on him, till they observe he takes notice of it, when, with the turn of their hand, they give him a glimpse of it, but deliver it not till they have done work, and then very privately, it being the general endeavour to conceal what they find, lest it should come to the knowledge of the governor of the place, and he requires a share, which in the kingdom of Golconda is usually practised, without any respect to the agreement made with them. The miners, those that employ them, and the merchants that buy stones of them, are usually Pagans, not a Musselman, that ever I heard of, followed the employment. These labourers, and their employers, are Telingas, commonly natives of or near the place. The merchants are the Banians of Guzerat, who for some generations have forsaken their own country to take up this trade, in which they have had such success, that it is now solely engrossed by them, who, corresponding with their countrymen in Surat, Goa, Golconda, Visiapore, Agra, and Dilu, and other places in India, furnish them all with diamonds.

“ The governors of the mines are also idolaters. In the King of Golconda's dominions a Tellinga Brammee rents most of them, whose agreement with the adventurer is, that all the stones found under a pagoda weight are to be their own; all of that weight and above is to be his, for the King's use. But although this agreement be signed and sealed, he minds not at all the performance thereof, but endeavours to engross all the profit to himself, by tyrannically squeezing both merchants and miners, whom he not only taxes very high, but maintaineth spies among them of their own people. On the least suspicion that they have been any ways fortunate, he immediately makes a demand on them, and raises their tax; else on a false pretence they have found a great stone, drubs them till they surrender what they have, to redeem their bodies from torture.

“ Besides, the excise is so high on all sorts of provisions, beetle, and tobacco, which with them are esteemed necessaries, that the price of all things is doubled; by which course there is hardly a man to be found worth five hundred pounds amongst them, most of them dealing by monies taken up at interest of usurers, who reside there purposely to furnish them, who with the governor eat up their gains, so that one would wonder any of them should stay, and not betake themselves to places where they might have better usage, as there are many in other governments, and some few that have the sense to remove; but many their debts, others hopes of a great hit, detains. Both merchant and miner go generally naked, only a poor cloth about their middle, and their sash on their heads; they dare not wear a coat, lest the governor should say they have thriven much, and are rich, and so enlarge his demands on them. The wisest, when they find a great stone, conceal it till they have an opportunity, and then with wife and children run all away into the Visiapore country, where they are secure. The government in the Visiapore country is better: their agreements observed, taxes easier,

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and no such impositions on provisions; the merchants go handsomely clad, among whom are several persons of considerable estates, which they are permitted to enjoy peaceably, by reason whereof their mines are much more populous, and better employed than those of Golconda."

It is for the same reason that I have omitted another improbable story of a bird called a Ruc, of such a monstrous size as to be able to carry an elephant into the air; which absurdities our author was probably induced to believe, by the strange things he daily saw in these parts of the world, and of which the people in Europe had not so much as the least idea. These omissions I thought requisite for keeping the work within bounds, as having no inclination to try the patience of my readers, by inserting any more of these old travels than seem absolutely necessary for connecting the several parts of this discourse, and shewing how, in what manner, and by whom those great discoveries were made, which enabled the different nations in Europe to carry on so great a trade as they do to all parts of the East Indies. This, without doubt, was originally owing to this work of Marco Polo, who, though no geographer or seaman himself, yet left such clear and evident proofs of the possibility of reaching the most distant parts of Asia by sea, that his work was more esteemed in Portugal, where the first spirit of discovery appeared, than in Italy itself. It remains, in this place, to give a short account of the names by which he has distinguished the countries he visited, and particularly to answer the great objection raised against his work, from his not making any mention of the famous wall in China for keeping out the Tartars, which shall be done in as few words as possible.

Our author following exactly the sentiments of the Tartars, distinguishes all this great country into two parts, viz. Cathay and Mangi, about which many doubts have been raised, and many disputes set on foot without any just grounds, since it is very plain, that, under the denomination of Cathay, Marco Polo comprehends the six northern provinces of China, and under that of Mangi the nine southern provinces, which are separated from the former by the great river Kiang; and when we come hereafter to treat of the present state of the empire of China, we shall take occasion to shew, that this description of his agrees very well with the best accounts of that empire. This will be the more intelligible to the reader, when he is informed, that the Tartars still preserve these very forms of speech, that is to say, give the name of Cathay to the northern parts, and that of Mangi to the southern provinces of China. As to this latter, it is a name of contempt, for Mangi, in the Tartar tongue, implies Barbarians, and so they esteemed the Chinese to be, not from the brutality of their manners, but from their extravagant haughtiness and pride, and especially from that intolerable hatred and contempt with which they treated the Tartars themselves. The plain reason why our author did not mention the famous wall in China was, because he entered it by the southern provinces; and as he confines himself to the places he saw, or to such as were in their neighbourhood, and prosecutes his description from the western parts of China to the sea, it was impossible he should take notice of it; so that when we consider this matter attentively, it is very plain, that this circumstance, instead of lessening the credit of Marco Polo, ought, in truth, to strengthen it very much, since it is a convincing proof of the truth of what he has asserted in relation to his own travels, and his descriptions of the countries through which he passed; and evidently shews he did not amuse himself with accounts of countries and provinces of which he could say nothing but from report, to which, if he had listened, his relation must have been much more obscure and perplexed than we find it at present. But it is now time to proceed to the conclusion of this section, by shewing the advantages that may be obtained by the perusal of Marco Polo's Travels, in order to the thorough understand-

ing of our subject. And this we shall perform as concisely as possible, and in such a manner as may disengage us from the necessity of looking into any more of these old writers for the future.

29. As the inhabitants of Europe, received the first distinct account of the vast country of China from our industrious Venetians, so from them likewise they had the clearest and best account of the revolutions that had happened in that empire by the power of the Tartars; a thing of such consequence to the right understanding what subsequent travellers have related, that I will be bold to say all the difficulties and discouragements that have been thrown in our way, and have so long hindered our making a right use of the many collections of travels already published, have arisen in part from a humour that for some time prevailed, of treating Marco Polo's relation as a romance, and partly through the mistakes made by those, who for want of having sufficient lights, and the materials that were requisite, undertook to explain the history of the irruptions of the Tartars into China, and endeavoured to make the dates and facts mentioned in these travels, fall in with their accounts, accusing, at every turn, the author of errors and faults, of which themselves only were guilty. To remedy these disorders, and to make the way plainer for the future, we shall, without running into a long discussion of what other writers have advanced, observe, that there have been three distinct conquests of China made by the Tartars, of each of which we shall give a clear and distinct account in very few words. The first of these was by the Eastern Tartars, who, before the time of Zingis Khan, made themselves masters of the northern provinces of China, and fixed the seat of their empire at Khanbalick, Cambalu, or Pekin; and this, as I conceive, gave rise to what is called the empire of Cathay; concerning which, all our ancient writers in general deliver themselves with so much confusion, sometimes representing Cathay as a part of Tartary, sometimes again comprehending under that name the whole empire of China; and at others, distinguishing it from both. But from this distinction, it clearly appears, that though the ancient empire of Cathay was situated in China, yet it was an empire raised by the Tartars; and that from want of attending to this, so many mistakes have been introduced.

The prince who governed Cathay in the time of Zingis Khan was Altan Khan, against whom that great conqueror made his first attempt, in the year 1206, and that with such success as to oblige this monarch, after various defeats, to shut himself up in the city of Cambalu, and to sue for a peace, which, with much difficulty, he obtained; for the confirmation of which he gave his daughter in marriage to Zingis-Khan. This peace was of but very short continuance; for Altan-Khan, having a jealousy that some of his nobility held intelligence with his enemy, he put many of them to death; and finding the northern parts of his dominions in a manner wasted and depopulated by the late invasion, he retired to the city of Nankin, which his father had fortified with three walls the last of which was forty leagues in circuit, and left his son in possession of Khanbalick and of the adjacent countries. The rest of the nobility, enraged at the instances of severity before-mentioned, and at the same time doubting their own safety, had immediate recourse to Zingis-Khan, and drew him a second time into Cathay, where he made himself master of the imperial city of Cambalu; the news of which accident affected Altan-Khan to such a degree, that he poisoned himself. This happened about the year 1210; and thus the Tartars became masters of the northern parts of China. They continued their conquests under the reign of the successors of Zingis-Khan, till the emperor, who reigned when our author was in these parts, viz. Coplai-Khan, who in the year 1278 completed the conquest of Mangi, or the southern parts of China.

The bounds of Zingis-Khan's conquests on this side, was the river Hoang; but his successors annexed all the country between that river and the river of Kiang. All the rest were subdued by Coplai-Khan, and his general Pe Yen. This was the second conquest made by the Tartars, who not only destroyed the empire formerly established by their countrymen in Cathay, but also that of the native Chinese, which had subsisted for so many ages. This short recapitulation sets this affair in its true light, and not only explains what Marco Polo has told us, and reconciles his accounts with those of later authors, but also connects his relation with that of Rubruquis, and even those of the Arabian travellers; so that taking the whole together, we have a clear and satisfactory view of the affairs of China, to that which I call the second conquest by the Tartars; but as the affairs of this country were entirely changed again before the arrival of the Portuguese by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, I think it will be for the reader's ease and advantage to have this history conducted to its close before we enter upon the discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese; because otherwise, when we come to speak of the Chinese as again in the possession of their country, and again driven out and conquered by the Tartars, it must necessarily introduce infinite confusion. It is from the Chinese writers that we have the reigns of the Tartar emperors who succeeded Coplai-Khan, and of whom there is very little mention made in the histories of the Tartars.

The Chinese, as I before observed, called this new imperial family Yuen, and bestowed the name of Chi-Tsou upon Coplai-Khan, of whom their histories speak with the utmost reverence, and whom they celebrate, for his having opened the great canal mentioned by our author, and which has been ever since justly considered as one of the wonders of China. It is three hundred leagues in length, and nine thousand imperial barks are constantly employed thereon, in transporting the tributes of the southern provinces to Cambalu or Peking, and in other services. These writers place the death of this Emperor somewhat lower than the Tartar historians; for the former say, that he lived to the age of fourscore, and died A. D. 1295, whereas the latter place that event in 1292. He was succeeded in the empire by his grandson, whom our author calls Timur, but in the Chinese chronicles he is stiled Tching-Tsong; and as his grandfather excelled in power so he distinguished himself by his clemency and the love of his subjects. After him reigned seven other princes of his family, all whom were no less illustrious on the score of their personal virtues, than glorious from their possession of so large an empire: and it is very remarkable, that the Chinese history renders great justice to this foreign race of Princes, as to stile the period in which they reigned in China, the "Wise Administration." The last of them was Chun-ti, a prince of great natural endowments, but who unfortunately gave himself up to pleasures, leaving the management of the affairs of the empire entirely to his favourites. The Tartar foldiers, through so long a piece, had lost the original discipline, and were become slothful and effeminate, which so raised the courage of the Chinese, that they began to shew a disposition to revolt; and one T-hou, an obscure person who had been no better than a footman, having put himself at the head of a body of malecontents, reduced many of the great cities in the empire; and became, by degrees, so powerful, that he twice defeated the imperial army, and at last forced the Tartars to abandon China, after they had been possessed of it ninety-nine years. This revolution happened in 1370; and T-hou having by his success in this war raised himself to the imperial throne, assumed the name of Tai-Tsou, and fixed his imperial residence in the city of Nankin. And thus it was that the Chinese, having expelled their conquerors, recovered the dominion of their own country.

As for the Emperor Chun-ti, he retired with his Tartar subjects northwards, and died of grief and vexation about two years after this revolution happened. The Tartars that were thus expelled, having a strong tincture of the Chinese customs, did not join with the rest of the Moguls, but settled themselves in the country of Leaoton, and were, from this time forward, stiled the Nieuchen Moguls, or "Moguls of the East," to distinguish them from the other Moguls, who were called "Moguls of the West."

This desert country they cultivated with the utmost care, built therein several considerable cities, and practised that industry which they had learned by conversing so long with the Chinese; yet, in some respects, they still retained a tincture of their ancient manners; for, instead of remaining firm and united, which seemed to be the only means left for recovering again the dominions they had lost, they split themselves into several little principalities, under so many Khans; who though their territories were not very wide, maintained nevertheless their independency. Among the most considerable of those cities which they erected, were Kirin, Ula, and Kinkrita, all three of them seated on the west bank of the river Sangoro, which falls into the great river Amur, about twelve days journey above its mouth. The city of Kirin is distant from the province of Leaoton, about three hundred and sixty miles. The city of Ula is in latitude forty four degrees twenty minutes north, and was considered as the capital of the Nieuchen Moguls. The Khan of Ula however was far from being a considerable prince, had no sort of superiority over the rest of the Khans of the Eastern Tartars, was without allies or resources beyond the power of his own subjects; and yet, as we shall shew hereafter, it was this Khan Ula, that had the courage to undertake, and the good fortune to accomplish the third conquest of China*: but at present we will leave the Tartars cultivating their deserts, and return to the new-founded empire of Tchou and his descendants.

The dynasty, founded by this prince, was called Ming, and the Emperor, who, as I have said before, assumed the name of Tai T'hou, reigned thirty-one years with great glory, and left the empire to his grandson, who perished in a civil war, and was succeeded by his uncle, who, having been formerly King of Pekin, transferred the seat of the empire thither. The sixth Emperor of this family was Yng T'fong, under whose reign the Tartars made new incursions into China; to oppose them, the Emperor marched at the head of a great army, and pursuing them considerably beyond the famous wall, they suddenly faced about, attacked and defeated the Chinese, making the Emperor prisoner. His son who was but two years old, was advanced to the empire, and the brother of the captive Emperor, whose name was King Ti, declared protector, which promotion gave him an opportunity of seizing the empire. The Tartars, some time after, released Yng T'fong, who chose however to lead a private life, and leave his brother in possession of the empire, which he enjoyed to his death; and then the old Emperor was again seated on the throne.

The eleventh emperor of this race was Chi T'fong, who had the good fortune to defeat the Tartars in several battles; and it was under his reign that the famous Francis

* At present all the Eastern Tartary is subject to the Chinese Emperors, and is divided into two parts; the first contains what may be called the hereditary dominions of the family now reigning in China. It is divided into three governments, and the inhabitants are distinguished by the name of Mantcheoux. The capital of this country is called by the inhabitants themselves Mongdon, but by the Chinese Chin Yang, which at this Day is a well-peopled and well-fortified city, where there is a sovereign tribunal for deciding all affairs that relate to the dominions of Tartary. The other part of this country is still under the dominion of its own Princes, who have the title of Khans, which they receive from, and are vassals to, the Emperor of China. The inhabitants are called simply Mongols, or Mongous, and the country passes also under the same denomination.

Xavier preached the Christian religion in the east, where he died in 1552. The Emperor Chi T'ong reigned forty-five years, in the latter part of which the government began to decline very sensibly, as it continued to do under all his successors, down to Hoai T'ong, who was the sixteenth and last Emperor of the family of Ming. It was under his reign that Zungt-hy, who was Khan of Ula, formed the design of making himself master of China, notwithstanding that all the force he was able to raise did not exceed fifteen thousand horse. He began with entering into private intrigues with some of the Chinese mandarins, who were exiled into the province of Leaoton, by whose assistance he soon became master of great part of that province. The Emperor sent against him an army more than sufficient to have forced him back into his own country; but he had so much address, as to prevent the principal officers of this army from doing their duty; so that by degrees he mastered all the rest of that province, and at last took possession of its capital*.

While this scene was transacted in the east, and the whole force of the Chinese empire employed there to so little purpose, new troubles arose in the western provinces, where several bands of thieves and highwaymen committed the most extravagant outrages; and, at last, under the command of one Lycoungz, an obscure and infamous fellow, plundered several cities, and even whole provinces, which increasing the number of their forces, the rebel had at last sufficient power to attempt the subversion of the empire. It was with this view that he marched directly to Peking, where in three days he became master of the place, and the Emperor finding himself abandoned, hanged himself on a tree in his garden. Lycoungz immediately took the title of Emperor, and endeavoured, by all the methods he could devise, to bring over to his interest Ou-fan-guei, who was general of the army sent against the Tartars, and the only person capable of disputing with him the possession of China. That general however rejected all his offers with contempt, which obliged Lycoungz to take the field once again, and to march against him with his numerous army: Ou-fan-guei, who saw that it was simply impossible for him to think of making head at once against the usurper and the Tartars, resolved to make terms with the fairer enemy of the two, and thereupon invited Zungt-hy to come to his assistance †.

This was precisely what the Tartar prince desired, and therefore he made no difficulty of complying with his demand. He left five thousand of his own troops in the province of Leaoton, and then marched with ten thousand Tartars and twenty thousand of the inhabitants of that country to the relief of the Chinese general, who received him with great joy. They marched together directly towards the usurper, and when they were upon the point of giving him battle, Zungt-hy observed in a conference he had with the Chinese general, that as the best part of the forces of the empire, and especially those of the southern and western provinces were extremely afraid of the Tartars, it would be very expedient for him to cut the tails of his horses after their manner; by which means the army of the usurper would take them all for Tartars. Ou-fan-guei following the advice of the Khan, it had so good an effect, that the rebels were totally defeated, and Lycoungz obliged to fly with the remainder of his army to-

* As it is not my intention to give the reader here a history of China, but barely to mention such facts as may be necessary to explain what has been related before, and may occur in succeeding voyages, I did not think myself obliged to mention all the Emperors of this family, and therefore have touched only on the reigns of such as might best answer my purpose.

† These facts are somewhat differently related by different historians; but I have given them the reader from the collection of a person who has taken great pains to make himself master of the Chinese history, which he may probably be prevailed upon to publish when he thinks it perfect enough to bear the inspection of the critics.

wards Pekin. The victorious allies continued their pursuit without the least intermission; and on their drawing near the city, the Chinese general made proclamation, that all such as did not take part with the usurper, should trim their horses after the manner of the Tartars, that they might the more easily distinguish them on all occasions. This stratagem had as great an effect as a second victory: such multitudes declared themselves against the usurper, that finding it absolutely impossible to maintain his ground, he first plundered the imperial city, and then retired with his army loaded with booty. When the allies were in possession of Pekin, it was agreed that Zungt-hy, with his forces should remain there for the security of the place, and that Ou-fan-guei, with his army, should pursue the usurper till such time as an end could be put to the war.

The same arts, or rather the same virtues by which the Tartar Prince had gained the affections of the people of Leaton, produced the like consequences amongst the inhabitants of Pekin; and as, on the one hand, they were weary of living without the support and protection of a governor, so they flattered themselves, on the other, with enjoying all imaginable happiness under a Prince of so much humanity and so great abilities as Zungt-hy, and therefore almost of their own accord, they declared him Emperor in the absence of the Chinese general, who had himself views upon the throne, in which he had very probably succeeded, if he had not been thus out-witted by the Tartar Zungt-hy, who foreseeing how different a thing it might prove for him to maintain himself in possession of so great an empire, with such a handful of forces, was no sooner seated on the imperial throne, than he instantly dispatched advice of his good fortune, to the Khans of East Tartary, who were Princes of his own family, inviting them to come, and share with him in so rich a conquest. This was certainly a good expedient for securing himself against the fickleness or infidelity of the Chinese; but at the same time it visibly exposed the new Emperor to the danger of being undone by his auxiliaries; for the Khans of the Tartars, who on the first summons hastened to his assistance, had certainly in view the dividing the Chinese empire amongst them; but Zungt-hy was a Prince of such wisdom and penetration, that he immediately discovered the danger to which he stood exposed, and provided against it with a sagacity equal to its penetration. He divided these corps of Tartars as soon as they entered his dominions, sent for several of their princes to Pekin, and in a short time so separated them from each other, that they became absolutely his subjects, and were unable to act otherwise than was conducive to his service. In the conquest and settlement of China, this Tartar Prince shewed all the courage and capacity of Julius, all the policy and conduct of Augustus Cæsar, by which he thoroughly accomplished the third conquest of China by the Tartars, which happened in one thousand six hundred forty and four, after the Chinese had preserved their freedom for two hundred sixty-six years*.

This new race of Tartar princes, which still continue to reign in China, for the twenty-second dynasty of their monarchs, is distinguished by the name of T'ing; it is however very remarkable, that Zungt-hy is not accounted the first of those emperors, because he died almost as soon as he was seated on his throne, and before he was entirely

* The Chinese historians themselves agree, that this race of Emperors were far inferior to the Tartars, as giving themselves up too much to a sort of studies that were by no means suitable to their dignities. Some of them were carried away by a vain desire of finding the water of life; that is, a kind of liquor, by drinking of which a man might become immortal; but with so little success, that the Emperor Chi-T'ong died immediately after he drank of this pretended water of life, at the age of fifty-eight. Others were possessed with a violent desire of finding the philosopher's stone, which induced them to spend too much of their time in chemical experiments. The fate of these Monarchs sufficiently shew, that the art of government is the only science worthy of the attention of princes.

possessed

possessed of China, leaving the empire to his son Chun-Tchi, who was then no more than six years old, and to whom his dying father assigned his brother Ama-Van for his guardian. So early a minority, one would have imagined, must have been fatal to the new raised empire; but Ama-Van, during the non-age of his nephew, conducted all things with so much wisdom and fidelity, that when the young Emperor came to take the reins of government into his own hands, he found himself in as full possession of his dominions, as if they had descended to him from a long line of ancestors. The Emperor Chun-Tchi was himself a person of extraordinary abilities, easy and affable amongst his soldiers, wise and prudent in his councils, and so refined a politician, that under colour of executing the laws with exactness, he took off all the great men in China that were capable of giving him either jealousy or disturbance, so that after a reign of seventeen years, he left the empire perfectly settled to his son, who was but eight years old.

The name of this prince was Cang-hi; he was raised to the throne in the year 1662, and, during his minority, the empire was governed by four great ministers, who executed their offices with the greatest wisdom and integrity, so that this second minority proved not in the least dangerous to the empire. It is true, that the famous Chinese general Ou-fan-guei took the advantage of it, and endeavoured to shake off the yoke of the Tartars, of whom with equal wit and wisdom, he said, that he had called in lions to assist him in hunting dogs. He had some success at the beginning, and might probably have secured at least some part of the empire for himself and his posterity if he had not been very old at the time of his revolt, and died not long after, which gave the Emperor's ministers an opportunity of taking such measures, as put it out of the power of the Chinese to rebel for the future. Cang-hi fell nothing short, either of his father or his grandfather, so that it may be reckoned an extraordinary felicity in this family, that for three generations there were as great princes of it as perhaps of any other in the world. This Emperor was extremely careful with regard to two points, the encouraging and distinguishing his Tartar subjects, and behaving with the utmost justice and moderation towards the Chinese.

In the beginning of his reign, indeed, he committed some necessary acts of severity, but when he found that he had by this means absolutely broken the mutinous spirit of the people of China, he changed his conduct entirely, and applied himself wholly to the putting every thing in the best order possible, for the benefit of all his subjects. It was with this view that he obliged the viceroys and other governors of provinces to administer justice with impartiality and mildness, taking from them the power of punishing capitally, and obliging them to send all such sentences to the supreme tribunal of the empire. In order to take away all distinctions, and to render his Tartar and Chinese subjects but one people, he established this regulation; he obliged the Tartars to wear the Chinese habit and obliged the Chinese to cut their hair, after the mode of the Tartars, and this upon pain of death. It may seem strange; but it is nevertheless true, that many refused to comply with this order, and chose rather to part with their lives than their hair, and that many more abandoned their native country, to fly into places where they might wear their hair as long as they were wont. But the Emperor's edict had notwithstanding the desired effect, that is to say, freed him from such mutinous spirits as might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign.

The most important employments, and the most honourable offices in the government, he gave only to the Tartars; but then he made a law, by which the children of Tartars by Chinese women, or of Chinese by Tartarian women, who were bred up in the customs, and were taught to speak the language of the Tartars, were declared capable of the highest offices in the empire. He was not more careful of the domestic
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than of the foreign affairs of his empire, which almost all his predecessors had neglected to a great degree; for he not only reduced all the eastern Tartars intirely under his obedience, but made two journeys into that country where he admitted all ranks of people freely to his presence, and thereby gained the love of the Moguls in the highest degree. As for the Tartars of the west, he forced them to have recourse to his protection, and not only drove the Calmucks from his frontiers, but entering their country also in his turn, took from them the provinces of Chamil and Tarfan, which serve as an excellent barrier on that side of Chinese empire*.

In his person, and in his manners, he had nothing of the Tartar, and was so perfectly acquainted with every government in Europe, that he discoursed of them in a manner that surpris'd even the Europeans themselves. The late Czar Peter the First sent M. d'Imailoff with the character of his ambassador to the Chinese court, whom the Emperor not only received with all imaginable politeness, but at the first audience presented his excellency, a nobleman who accompanied him, and his secretary, each with a gold cup full of mead, by which they plainly perceived that he was informed of the Czar's custom, who when he had a mind to distinguish any foreigner, was wont to present him with a glass of wine with his own hand. This Emperor Cang-hi reigned with great glory sixty-one years, and died on the 20th of December 1722. He left behind him seventeen sons, the fourth of which he declared his successor, who at his accession to the imperial dignity, assumed the name of Yong-Tching, i. e. peace undisturbed. This prince, who is said to inherit the virtues as well as dominions of his ancestors, was in quiet possession of the empire in the year 1735, since which we have not had any certain, or at least very important accounts from China.

By this deduction of the Chinese history we learn a multitude of things necessary for the understanding such of the subsequent voyages as mention that country, which was the reason that I insisted upon it so long; and we likewise discover the usefulness of this sort of knowledge, with respect to the voyages that have gone before. We see that the Chinese, with whom our Arabian travellers conversed, were quite another sort of people than those that now inhabit China; for they were a pure and unmixed nation, whereas the modern Chinese are in a great measure incorporated with the Tartars; from whence it is easy to discern, that great alterations must have happened in their manners, especially if we consider the character that Rubruquis gives the Tartars, which comes much nearer that of the modern Chinese than any thing we meet with in the Arabian writers. It appears likewise from the comparison of the facts related by the Arabians with those mentioned by Marco Polo of the people of Mangi, that both these writers must have reported things with great fidelity, since they agree in a multitude of particulars. The conquest of the northern part of China by the Tartars, though not expressly mentioned, yet is plainly alluded to by the second Arab writer; and as to the intire conquest of China by the same nation, we owe the full account of it to Marco Polo; for, without the assistance of his relations, it would have been a thing very difficult, if not impossible, to have discovered, that Chi-Tsou was the same with Coplai-Khan, or Cublai-Khan, Emperor of the Tartars, who before he became master of their country was called by the Chinese Ho-pi-lie †.

We

* The Prince took care to secure the Moguls of the east from the ambitious designs of the Russians, and for that purpose made a very wise and honourable treaty with the Czar Peter the first, for settling the limits of their respective empires, in consequence of which the town and fortress of Albassinskoy was demolished.

† The change of names is a very clear proof that no sort of blame ought to lie on Marco Polo for writing places after a different orthography than what is commonly used; and we have this advantage from it, that

We likewise learn from this succinct view of the Chinese history that the Tartars, who now possess China, are the very same nation that formerly possessed it, contrary to what some very learned men asserted, and which was generally believed half an age ago. We likewise see, that the reigning family in China are direct descendants of Cublai-Khan and consequently of Zingis-Khan, that famous conqueror, whose empire, as we have elsewhere shewn, was the most extensive that has been hitherto known in the world. These things are of very great consequence, if we read voyages for the sake of improving and enlarging our knowledge, and not merely for the sake of amusement, which however, is rather increased than lessened, by attending to these circumstances. We can easily apprehend, after a little reflection, that in the time of our Arabian travellers, and even in that of Marco Polo, the Chinese empire must have been in a much better condition, and its trade much more flourishing than when it was first visited by the Portuguese, English and Dutch. Before that time it had not been exposed to those cruel ravages that ensued first on the breaking out of their civil wars, and next from the last conquest by the Tartars. Besides, we can at any time have recourse to this short history, when we are at a loss as to the facts mentioned in subsequent voyages, and by comparing the times in which they happened with the dates that are therein set down, obtain an easy solution of doubts that perhaps we could never otherwise have got over.

It is from the consideration of these advantages, and that as far as in my power lies I might remove all obstacles whatsoever to the perfect understanding of this subject, that I have determined to give the reader in the next section a concise history of the other Tartar empire in the Indies, I mean that of the Great Mogul, who was likewise a descendant from the same family with the great conqueror I have so often mentioned. By pursuing this method, which I have brought into the narrowest compass possible, the reader will gain such a previous knowledge of a great number of facts as never to be at a loss in perusing any of the voyages to the East-Indies, either in this, or in any other collection, which, without such an introduction, it would have been absolutely impracticable for him to have understood, and that for many reasons, of which I will take the liberty to mention only a few. In the first place then, every voyage brings us not only into a new country, but, if I may so speak, introduces us into a new company, with the character of which, if we have not some previous acquaintance, it is impossible for us to be at our ease. whereas if we know in general who and what they are, we enter immediately into the true sense of the relation, and hear all that is told us with pleasure. In the next place, it often happens, that either from the fear of appearing tedious, or from some other motive, the writers of voyages give us only short hints as to the government of the countries through which they pass, or the characters of princes that reign in them, which would be utterly unintelligible to such as never heard of them before, and yet may be sufficient for the information of those who have a general notion of the posture of things in that country at the time mentioned by the author. Lastly, we are by these means enabled to rectify the mistakes of such

that we learn the Tartar appellations, and have thereby an opportunity of comparing them with the Chinese. I cannot help remarking upon this occasion, that in all probability Ho-pi-ic is no more than the Tartar name of Kheplai (for so in that language it is written) expressed in Chinese characters; but for the name given him, after he attained the empire, of Chi-Tsou, it may be rendered the first of his race, for Chi signifies the beginning, and Tsou a kind of violet-coloured plume or feather worn in the imperial diadem.

writers, to distinguish between the truth and falsehood of what they relate, and to form a clear and certain judgment of the merit of their performances.

It may possibly be objected, that for the same reasons which have been offered in support of these two histories of the Chinese and of the Indian empires, we might be obliged to write the history of all the other princes that have reigned in the Upper Asia, which objection, however, is not at all founded in fact, since in the first place the histories of all the little princes in India are very far from being so necessary as those of the capital empires; and in the next, how necessary soever we might think them, it is impossible for us to write any such histories, because the necessary materials for them are not to be found. When therefore this matter is seriously considered, it appears to be a new argument in favour of our design; for, since there have been but two great empires in this part of the world, of which any just and regular account can be given, and to which all books of voyages and travels through the East-Indies must necessarily refer, it would seem very absurd and unreasonable, after all the pains we have taken in the darker ages of this history, to decline that period of it, which is at once the most useful, and will appear by far the most agreeable to a modern reader, as there is not in the compass of universal history any branch so full of extraordinary events, or in which there occur more surprizing turns and revolutions than in that which we are about to give.

Add to all this, that however deficient the rest of the oriental histories may be, we have abundant materials for this, and those too as excellent in the kind as can be desired; for besides the particular relations afforded us by several writers of credit, who were actually on the spot when those events happened which they record, we have very great lights given us by such of the oriental writers as have undertaken to explain the several expeditions of the Tartars, and especially those of the famous Timur-Bec, known to us by the name of Tamerlane, whose conquests, though less extensive, have, notwithstanding, made a greater figure in our general histories than those of his glorious predecessor Zingis-Khan. Besides all which we have the singular advantage of having a great part of this history taken from the very records of that empire which it concerns, by the industry of Mr. Manouchi*, who was forty years in that country, in the quality of physician to its emperors, and had thereby an opportunity of having free recourse to those records, which for the benefit of posterity, as well as his own information, he transcribed.

* This Mr. Manouchi was a Venetian by birth, but he wrote his history of Indostan in the Portuguese language, which was then, and is still common in the east. We owe the publication of it to the famous Jesuit Father Cartrou, who dedicated his French translation to the Duke of Burgundy, the father of the present Louis XV. In his preface to that work, he promises some farther memoirs by the same hand; but I cannot find that these were ever published, which is the more wonderful, considering the great reputation that the first part of the work acquired. As Father Cartrou is lately dead, it is very possible these papers may fall into other hands, and yet see the light.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
TRAVELS OF TWO MOHAMMEDANS THROUGH INDIA AND CHINA,
IN THE NINTH CENTURY*.

Translated from the Arabic by the Abbé RENAUDOT.

1. *A concise Account of the original Editor of these Voyages, and of the Works which render him famous.* — 2. *The Antiquity of these Relations, and of the Manuscript from which they were translated.* — 3. *Of the Sea of Herkend, and of the Islands therein.* — 4. *Of the the Island of Serandib, or Ceylon; the riches it contains, and the Manners of its Inhabitants.* — 5. *Of several other Islands, particularly those of Andaman, the Inhabitants of which eat human Flesh.* — 6. *Of an Island in which are Silver Mines, and other extraordinary Things in these Seas.* — 7. *Of the Trade of China, and of the Respect shewn there to the Mohammedans.* — 8. *A very clear and distinct Account of the Navigation of China, which is probably the first Account of it that was ever published.* — 9. *Of an Island in which there are no Women seen.* — 10. *Of the Port of Canfu in China, and of the Irregularity of the Tides there.* — 11. *Of many remarkable Things observed in the Countries touched at in this Voyage to China.* — 12. *The Customs and Manners of the Chinese in civil and religious Affairs.* — 13. *An Account of the four great Kings, viz. the Khaliff, the Emperor of China, the Emperor of the Greeks, and the Balhara of the Indies.* — 14. *A succinct Account of several other Kingdoms in the Indies.* — 15. *The Account of China resumed, the Number of the Cities in that Empire, and the extraordinary Discipline maintained in them.* — 16. *Of the Burials of the Chinese, and of their domestic Affairs.* — 17. *Of the Power of the Viceroys, and of the Emperor of China.* — 18. *Of the public Revenues of the Chinese Empire.* — 19. *Of the Passes requisite for travelling through that Country.* — 20. *Of the Administration of Justice in China.* — 21. *Their Laws with regard to Bankrupts.* — 22. *Other wise Regulations practised in that Country.* — 23. *Miscellaneous Customs among the Chinese.* — 24. *Of the Methods practised for discovering Truth in Trials in the Indies.* — 25. *Some other extraordinary Customs among the Indians.* — 26. *The Vices of the Chinese, and the Punishment of bad Governors among them.* — 27. *Several Laws in India and China.* — 28. *Strange Customs that prevail among the Inhabitants of both Countries.* — 29. *A Comparison between India and China.* — 30. *Of other Countries bordering upon China.* — 31. *The Preface of the second Author in Confirmation of what the former had delivered.* — 32. *The History of a great Revolution in China, by the Rebellion of one Baichu.* — 33. *The Emperor of China restored, and the Declension of that Empire.* — 34. *Of various Punishments in Use among the Chinese.* — 35. *A curious Account of the Maintenance of public Women in China.* — 36. *Of various Regulations in the Chinese Empire.* — 37. *Of the Excellence of the Chinese Painters.* — 38. *The History of Eben Wahab, an Arab, who made a Voyage into Persia.* — 39. *His Conference with the Emperor.* — 40. *Some very singular Passages in relation to the Knowledge of the Emperor, with regard to the Religions in other Countries.* — 41. *Conclusion of the Arab's Conference*

* Harris, i. 521. It was thought proper that this Account should follow the first discovery of China by European travellers.

with the Emperor of China. — 42. Other Circumstances from that Traveller's Relation. — 43. Of the Communication between the Ocean and the Mediterranean. — 44. Of the Province of Zapage, and of the Commodities it produces. — 45. A remarkable Story of an ancient Prince of this Country. — 46. The War between the King of Komar and the King of Zapage. — 47. The Conclusion of that War. — 48. Of the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of Souls, with a remarkable Story on that Subject. — 49. A most singular Act of Justice done by the Emperor of China, on behalf of an Arabian Merchant, against his Favourite. — 50. The great Care taken with respect to the Administration of Justice in China. — 51. Of the Situation of the Province of Chorassan. — 52. Of the Animal that produces Musk; the Reason why the Musk of Thibet is better than that of China, and of the several Sorts of that Perfume. — 53. Of certain Customs in China that resemble those of the Arabs. — 54. The Custom of the Indians to burn themselves on particular Occasions, and of their great Constancy in Acts of this Nature. — 55. An incredible Story of the desperate Courage of a certain Indian. — 56. Other Instances of the same Nature. — 57. Of the immense Riches of Serandib, or Ceylon, and of the Laws of that Country. — 58. Of the flagrant Vices, and excessive Debauchery of those People. — 59. Of the rainy Season in the Indies. — 60. Of the Indian Brachmans and Penitents. — 61. Monstrous Errors proceeding from religious Mistakes. — 62. Ships built, rigged, and laden from a Plantation of Cocoa Trees. — 63. Of the Country of the Zinges, or Negroes; with an Account of those People. — 64. Of the Island of Socotra, and its Productions. — 65. Of the different Seas omitted in the former Relation. — 66. Of the Riches of the Indian Ocean. — 67. Of the Formation of Pearl, according to the Notion of the Arabs. — 68. A very singular Story on the foregoing Subject. — 69. Some farther Particulars as to the Customs of the Indians. — 70. The Use of this Section with regard to the History of the Indies in the ninth Century. — 71. Additional Remarks and Observations.

I. THE most natural, easy, and certain method of attaining a perfect knowledge of the discoveries made in the East Indies, is unquestionably that of reading the best voyages and travels into those parts, in the order of time, in which they were made; for by this means they illustrate each other, and serve as a kind of commentaries, deliver the history of places and persons with the least possible confusion, and shew us at once the different state of the countries mentioned in them in different periods of time, and the advances that were made in perfecting the knowledge of those countries by such as undertook to go thither, and to report what they had seen and heard, for the information of others and of posterity. Of all the travellers into these parts of the world, whose writings are still preserved, those which are contained in this section are beyond all doubt the most ancient, and in that respect, as well as in many others, extremely curious. To render these as clear and as intelligible as is possible to our readers, we shall first give some memoirs of that eminent French critic who translated and made them public, and shall next give a succinct account from the materials he has afforded us of the authors themselves, the nature of their works, the circumstances which peculiarly recommend them, the reasons which induce us to believe they are genuine, and the credit which on that account is due to them.

It was Eusebius Renaudot who delivered these venerable remains of antiquity from the obscurity in which they had been buried for ages, and sent them abroad in the French language, with some very valuable notes and dissertations of his own. He was a person whose family had been distinguished for their learning through several descents. His grandfather, Theophrastus Renaudot, established the French Gazette in the year

1631, under the patronage of Cardinal Richlieu. His father was first physician to the Dauphin, son to Lewis XIV. This gentleman addicted himself chiefly to the study of divinity and the oriental languages, which might have raised him to some eminent station in the church, if, from his great modesty and unaffected love of privacy, he had not studiously declined it. He was very early taken notice of at court, where the politeness of his manners recommended him as strongly to the principal ministers, as the severity of his studies endeared him to most of the learned men of his time.

In the year 1689 he was chosen a member of the French Academy, and in 1691 became a member of that of Inscriptions, and of the Belles Lettres. He accompanied Cardinal Noddis to Rome in 1700, and was with him in the Conclave in which Clement XI. was raised to the papal throne; by whom the Abbé Renaudot was so much esteemed, that he kept him at Rome seven or eight months after the Cardinal's departure, and forced upon him a benefice, which he had the modesty to refuse, though his circumstances were not such as made it unnecessary to him.

In his return to France, the Grand Duke of Tuscany kept him a whole month at Florence, where he had an apartment in the palace; and during his stay there, was received into the famous academy of La Crusca; after which the Grand Duke loaded him with presents, and sent him to Marseilles in his own vessel.

He published after his return to France many learned works, and particularly in the year 1713, "The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, from St. Mark to the Close of the Thirteenth Century," with an Appendix, containing the history of the Mohamedans in Egypt, from their own writers; which gained him great reputation. In 1716 he published, in two volumes in quarto, "The History of the Oriental Liturgies," which was also much esteemed. And in the year 1718 he sent abroad these voyages and travels, which were likewise received with universal applause. Besides these, he published many other learned treatises; and having for many years weakened his constitution by an assiduous application to his studies, he died on the 1st of September 1720, of a severe fit of the cholick, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, with the reputation of being one of the most learned men, and one of the exactest critics of his time*.

2. As to the first of these voyages, we know not by whom it was written, the beginning of it being imperfect; but it appears clearly that it was written in the year of the Hegira 237, A. D. 851. The latter, which is no more than a commentary or discourse upon the former, appears to have been the work of Abu Zeid al Hafan of Siraf, who penned it about the year of the Hegira 303, A. D. 915. It appears therefore, that both of them are, at least, two centuries older than any accounts that had been published before. They were translated from an original manuscript in the library of the Count de Seignelay, the age of which was ascertained by the character in which it was written. But there is still a plainer proof of its being penned in the year of the Hegira 619, A. D. 1173, because there are at the end of it some observations in the same hand, relating to the extent of the walls and fortifications of the city of Damascus, under the reign of the famous Sultan Nouredin, and of other cities under his dominion; in which the writer speaks of him as still living: and therefore as that monarch died the same year, this manuscript is clearly between five and six hundred years old †.

It is also very apparent, that there is nothing in either of these works, that can create the least suspicion that they are later than these dates speak them; but, on the contrary,

* Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. v. p. 384.

† See M. Renaudot's Preface to these Relations.

all the facts mentioned in them, which are capable of being examined and compared with other histories, afford the clearest testimonies of their being genuine and authentic. The great value of these relations arises from their giving us a large account of China, above four hundred years earlier than the Travels of Marco Polo, who, till these accounts were published, was always esteemed the first author we had on that subject.

There are abundance of very curious and remarkable passages in both these writers, that inform us of customs and events not mentioned any where else; and, though it be true that some of these appear to be fabulous, yet it is no less true, that the greatest part of them are confirmed and justified by the best writers in succeeding ages. But without spending time to little purpose in remarking on what will be obvious to the reader himself in the perusal of these pieces, we shall proceed to the relations themselves. Observing only, that the first of them begins abruptly, on account of there being a page or two wanting in the original manuscript; which very probably contained the name and country of its author, and the occasion of his voyage; the loss of which there is great reason to regret.

3. The third of the seas we have to mention, is that of Herkend †. Between this sea and that of Delarowi are many islands, to the number, as they say, of nineteen hundred; which divide those two seas from each other ‡, and are governed by a Queen §. Among these islands they find ambergris in lumps of extraordinary bigness, as also in lesser pieces, which resemble plants torn up. This amber is produced at the bottom of the sea, as plants upon earth; and when the sea is tempestuous, the violence of the waves tears it up from the bottom, and washes it to the shore in the form of a must-room or truffle. These islands are full of that kind of palm-tree which bears the cocoa-nut, and are from one to four leagues distant from each other, all inhabited. The wealth of the inhabitants consists in shells, of which even the Queen's treasury is full. They say there are no workmen more expert than these islanders; and that of the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make shirts all of a piece, as also vests or tunics. Of the same tree they build ships and houses, and they are skilful in all other workmanship. Their shells they have from the sea at such times when they rise up to the surface, when the

* Marco Polo returned from his voyage, A. D. 1295.

† By the sea of Herkend, in all probability, our author means the sea about the Maldives; which, according to the eastern geographers, divides that part of the Indian Ocean from the sea of Delarowi, which is the gulph called by the ancients Sinus Magnus. The eastern writers frequently speak of the seven seas, which seems to be rather a proverbial phrase, than a geographical definition. The seas, without comprehending the ocean, which they call Bah-Mahit, are the sea of China, the sea of India, the sea of Persia, the sea of Kolzuma, or the Red Sea, so called from a town which is thought to be the Clyfna of the ancients; the sea of Rum, or of Greece, which is the Mediterranean; the sea called Al-Chozar, or the Caspian; and the sea of Pont, or the Pontus Euxinus; but these are not all the names they give them, for the sea of India is very often called the Green Sea; that of Persia, the sea of Bassora; and other names they have for particular parts of these seas.

‡ It is no wonder that the Arabs had but a very imperfect knowledge of these islands, since we are not very well informed about them to this day. The reader may probably think that our author has multiplied them, from the number he speaks of; but the truth is, that he rather diminishes them; for the most accurate writers we have assure us that there are twelve thousand of them; and this is said to be the signification of their name in the Malabar tongue, viz. Male dive, i. e. a thousand islands; that round number being put for the true number of them, let it be what it will. We shall hereafter give the reader a full account of these islands, and therefore shall insist no longer on them here.

§ The subsequent accounts we have had of the Maldives do not justify this particular, if the intent of the author was to inform us that these islands were always governed by a woman. It might perhaps be so in his time, where, by accident, one woman might have succeeded another, as Queen-Elizabeth did Queen Mary here.

inhabitants

inhabitants throw branches of the cocoa-nut tree into the sea, and the shells stick to them. They call them Kaptaje in their language.

4. Beyond these islands, in the sea of Herkend, is Serendib*, or Ceylon, the chief of all those islands, which are called Dobijat. It is all compassed by the sea, and on its coast they fish for pearl. In this country there is a mountain called Rahun, to the top of which it is thought Adam ascended, and there left the print of his foot in a rock, which is seventy cubits in length; and they say that Adam at the same time stood with his other foot in the sea. About this mountain are mines of rubies, opals, and amethysts. This island, which is of great extent, has two Kings; and here are found lignum aloes, gold, precious stones, and pearls, which are fished for on the coast; as also a kind of large shells, which they use instead of trumpets, and are much valued.

In the same sea towards the Serendib, there are other isles, but not so many in number, though of vast extent, and unknown. One of these islands, called Ramni*, is under several Princes, in which there is great plenty of gold. The inhabitants here have cocoa-nut trees, which supply them with food, and therewith also support their bodies, and oil.

The custom of Ramni is, that no one may marry till he has slain an enemy in battle, and brought off his head. If he has killed two, he claims two wives; and if he has slain fifty, he may marry fifty wives. This custom proceeds from the number of enemies which surround them; so that he amongst them who kills the greatest number is the most considered. These islands of Ramni abound with elephants, red-wood, and trees called Chairzan, and the inhabitants eat human flesh.

5. These islands separate the sea of Herkend from the sea of Shelahet, and beyond them are others called Najabalus, which are pretty well peopled; both the men and the women there go naked, except that the women conceal their private parts with the leaves of trees. When shipping is among these islands, the inhabitants come off in embarkations, and bring with them ambergris and cocoa-nuts, which they truck for iron; for they want no clothing, being free from the inconveniences either of heat or cold. Beyond these two islands lies the sea of Andaman: the people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet are very large, and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked. They have no forts of barks or other vessels; if they had, they would seize and devour all the passengers they could lay hands on. When ships have been kept back by contrary winds, they are often in these seas obliged to drop anchor on this barbarous coast for the sake of water, when they have expended their stock; and upon these occasions they commonly lose some of their men †.

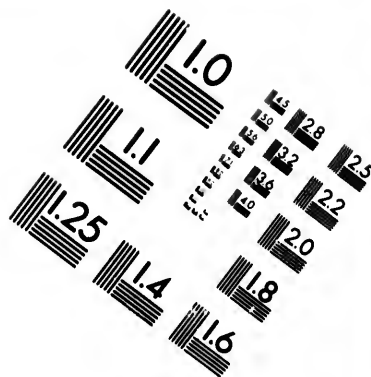
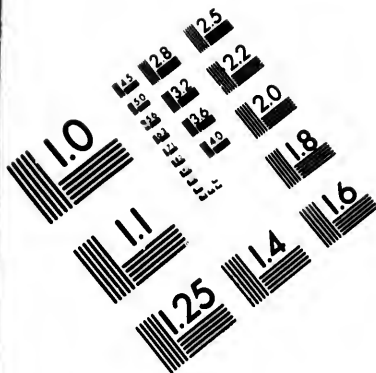
6. Beyond this there is a mountainous and yet inhabited island, where, it is said, there are mines of silver; but as it does not lie in the usual track of shipping, many have

* This, as we have shewn elsewhere, is the Taprobana of the ancients; and I think scarcely any island has been called by more names than those which have been bestowed on this; but whereas in the ancient work of Cosmas Indopleustes, it is called Sielendiba, it is very easy to account for this, and to shew that it is only a Greek termination given to the true name; *f* or *b* is often put for *n*, and consequently Sielendiba is the same with Sielendive; that is, Sielen Island; whence the modern name, as we usually write it, viz. the Island of Ceylon.

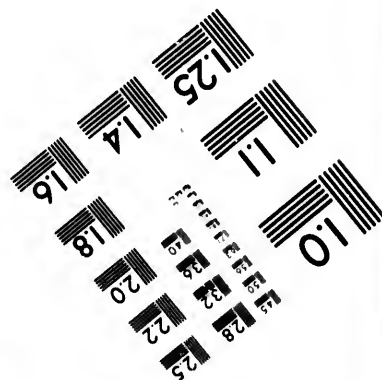
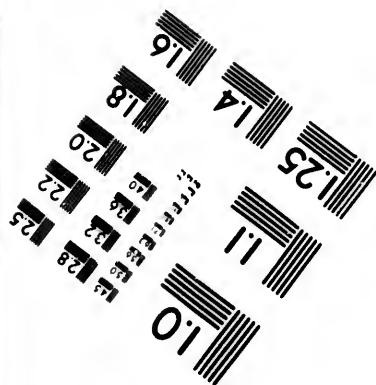
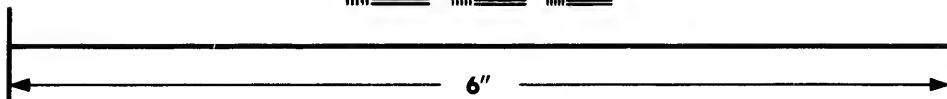
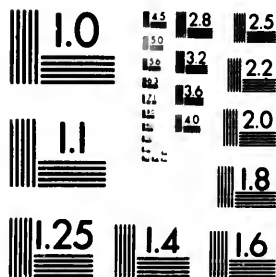
† In some of the Arabian geographers, these are called the Islands of Rami; we shall give the reader some account of them in a subsequent voyage.

‡ It is most certain that, upon a strict inquiry, most of the stories of man-eaters have been found to be fables void of all foundation; but it must be allowed, in regard to our author's account, that what he says has never yet been disproved; for the very latest accounts we have of the Indies, give these people the same character that he does.





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fought for it in vain, though remarkable for a very lofty mountain, which is called Kashenai. It once so happened, that a ship sailing in this latitude had sight of the mountain, and shaped her course for it, and falling in with the land, sent a boat on shore, with hands to cut wood: the men kindled a fire, and saw silver run from it, which plainly indicated there was a mine of this metal in that place; they shipped therefore as much of the earth or ore as they thought fit; but as they were proceeding on their voyage they met with such a storm, that to lighten their ship, they were under a necessity of throwing all their ore overboard.

Since that time the mountain has been carefully sought, but it has never since been seen. To conclude, there are many such islands in the sea, more in number than can be set down, some inaccessible by seamen, and some unknown to them. In these seas it often happens, that a whitish cloud at once spreads over a ship, and lets down a long thin tongue or spout, quite to the surface of the water, which then is turned round as by a whirlwind; and if a vessel happens to be in the way, she is immediately swallowed up thereby. But at length this cloud mounts up again, and discharges itself in a prodigious rain. It is not known whether this water is sucked up by the clouds, or how this comes to pass. All these seas are subject to great storms, which makes them boil up like water over a fire. Then it is that the surf dashes ships against the islands, and breaks them to pieces with unspeakable violence; and then also it is that fish of all sizes are thrown dead ashore upon the rocks. The wind, which commonly blows upon the sea of Herkend, is from another quarter, viz. from the north-west, but the sea is also subject to as violent agitations as those just mentioned, and then ambergris is torn up from the bottom, and particularly where it is very deep; and the deeper it is, the more valuable the ambergris.

It is likewise observed, with respect to that sea, that when it is thus tossed by the tempestuous winds, it sparkles like fire, and that it is infested by a certain kind of fish called Lockham, which frequently preys upon men. This is probably no other than the shark, which is common enough on all the coasts of the Indies. Here there is a part of the manuscript lost, wherein the author treated of the trade to China, as it stood in his time, and of the causes which had brought it into a declining condition. He then proceeds thus:

7. Amongst others, the fires that frequently happen at Canfu are not the least. Canfu is the port of all the ships of the Arabs who trade in China, and fires are there very frequent, because the houses are built with nothing but wood, or else with split cane; besides ships are often lost in going and coming, or they are plundered, or obliged to make too long a stay in harbours, or to sell their goods out of the country subject to the Arabs, and there make up their cargo. In short, ships are under a necessity of wasting a considerable time in refitting, not to speak of any other causes of delay.

Soliman, the merchant *, relates that at Canfu, which is the principal resort of merchants, there is a Mohammedan appointed judge over those of his religion, by the authority of the Emperor of China; and that he is judge of all the Mohammedans who resort to those parts. Upon festival days he performs the public service with the Mohammedans, and pronounces the sermon, or Kotbat, which he concludes in the usual form, with prayers for the Sultan of Mollems (or Musselmén). The merchants of Irak,

* As to this Soliman the merchant, it is very probable that some account was given of him in the page that is lost; but as to the Mohammedan consul, it is a very extraordinary fact, and deserves particular notice, because it plainly shews, that the Mohammedans had for some time carried on a regular and settled trade to China, which is what from other accounts we could never have suspected.

i. e. Persia, who trade thither, are no way dissatisfied with his conduct or administration in this post, because his decisions are just and equitable, and conformable to the Koran.

8. As for the places whence ships depart, and those they touch at, many persons affirm, that the navigation is performed in the following order: most of the Chinese ships take in their cargo at Siraff*, where also they ship their goods which come from Baflra, or Baffora; Oman, and other ports; and this they do, because in this sea there are frequent storms, and shoal water in many places. From Baflra to Siraff is an hundred and twenty leagues; and when ships have loaded at this last place, they there water also; and from thence make sail for a place called Mafcat, which is in the extremity of the province of Oman, about two hundred leagues from Siraff. On the east coast of this sea, between Siraff and Mafcat, is a place called Nafis Bani al Safak, and an island called Ebn Kahowan; and in this sea are rocks called Oman, and a narrow strait called Dordur, between two rocks, where vessels do venture, but the Chinese ships dare not. There are also two rocks called Koffir and Howare, which scarce appear above the water's edge: after they are clear of these rocks they steer for a place called Shitu Oman, and at Mafcat take in water, which is drawn out of wells; and here also they are supplied with cattle of the province of Oman: from thence ships take their departure for the Indies, and first they touch at Kaukammali; and from Mafcat to this place it is a month's sail with a fair wind.

This is a frontier place, and the chief arsenal in the province of the same name: and here the Chinese ships put in and are in safety: fresh water is to be had here, and the Chinese pay a thousand drams for duties, but others pay only from one dinar to ten dinars. From Mafcat to Kaukammali it is a month's sail; and then having watered at this place, they begin to enter the sea of Herkend, and having sailed through it, touch at a place called Lajabalus, where the inhabitants understand not the Arabic, or any other language in use with merchants. They wear no clothes, are white, and weak in their feet.

9. It is said their women are not to be seen †; and that the men, leaving the island in canoes, hollowed out of one piece, go in quest of them, and carry them cocoa-nuts, canes, moufa, and palm-wine. This liquor is white, and, if drank fresh, has the taste of the cocoa-nut, and sweet like honey; if kept somewhat longer, it becomes as strong as wine; but if it is kept for several days it turns to vinegar. They give it in exchange for iron; and in like manner they truck the little quantity of amber, which is thrown on their coasts, for bits of iron. The bargain is driven by motions of the hand. But they are very quick, and are apt to carry off iron from the merchants, and leave them nothing in return.

From hence ships steer towards Calabar, the name of a kingdom on the coast to the right-hand beyond the Indies. *Bar* signifies a coast in the language of the country; and this depends on the kingdom of Zapage. The inhabitants are dressed in those sorts of striped garments which the Arabs call *Fauta*; and they commonly wear but one at a time, which is equally observed by persons of every degree. At this place they com-

* It is a very difficult thing to distinguish, at this distance of time, the route laid down by our author, chiefly by reason of the changes of names, of which we have particularly an instance in this great port of Siraff, not to be met with in any of our maps, of which however we have some mention made in other Arabian writers, who say, that it lay sixty leagues from Shiraz, that it stood in the Gulph of Persia, and that when it decayed, the trade thereof was transported to the island of Ormuz.

† We shall have an opportunity of explaining this strange story, which is confirmed by Marco Polo and Nicolo di Conti, when we come to speak of the travels of the former, who assures us that there were two islands, one entirely inhabited by men, the other by women, and that these people were Christians.

monly take in water, which is filled from wells fed by springs, and which they like better than what is drawn out of cisterns and tanks. Calabar is about a month's voyage from a place called Kaukam, which is almost upon the skirts of the sea of Herkend. In ten days after this, ships reach Betuma; from whence, in ten days more, they come up with Kadrange.

It is to be observed, that in all the islands and peninsulas of the Indies, they find water when they dig for it. In this last mentioned place there is a very lofty mountain, which is peopled by none but slaves and fugitives; from thence in ten days they arrive at Senif. Here is fresh water, and hence comes the aromatic wood we call Hud al Senefi. Here is a King; the inhabitants are black, and wear two striped garments. Having watered at this place, it is ten days' passage to Sanderfulat, an island where is fresh water; then they steer through the sea of Sanji, and so to the gates of China; for so they call certain rocks and shoals in that sea, forming a narrow strait, through which ships pass. It requires a month to sail from Sanderfulat to China; and it takes up eight whole days to steer clear of these rocks.

10. When a ship has got through these gates, she, with the tide of flood, goes into a fresh water gulph, and drops anchor in the chief port of China, which is that of Canfu; and here they have fresh water both from springs and rivers, as they have also in most of the other cities of China. The city is adorned with large squares, and supplied with every thing necessary for defence against an enemy, and in most of the other provinces there are cities of strength, fortified in the same manner.

In this port it ebbs and flows * twice in twenty-four hours; but with this difference, that whereas from Basra to the island called Bani Kahouan, it flows when the moon is at full, and ebbs when she rises and when she sets; from near Bani Kahouan quite to the coast of China, it is flood when the moon rises, and when she is towards her height it is ebb; and so, on the contrary, when she sets, it is flowing water, and when she is quite hidden under the horizon, the tide falls.

11. They say, that in the island of Muljan, which is between Serendib and Cala, on the eastern shore of the Indies, there are negroes quite naked, and that when they meet with a stranger, they har g him with his head downwards, and slice him in pieces, which they eat quite raw †. These negroes have no King, and feed upon fish, maufa, cocoanuts, and sugar-canes; they have ponds and some lakes in the court. They report also, that in some parts of this sea there is a smallish kind of fish, which flies upon the water, and which they call the sea-locust; and that in another part there is a fish, which leaving the sea, gets up to the cocoa-nut trees, and having drained them of their juice, takes to the sea again. To all which they add, that in the sea there is a sort of fish like a lobster, which petrifies as soon as taken out of its element; they pulverize it, and it is good for several diseases of the eyes.

* It is very probable, or rather certain, from the account given by our author, that this must be the port of Canton, and the irregularity of the tide is a circumstance that strongly confirms it; and a circumstance which shews, at the same time, that the Arabs were not so ignorant in those matters as they are generally imagined.

† It must be allowed, that there are abundance of very odd accounts in these relations; but it must be owned, at the same time, that there are very few of them which have been disproved. What follows about petrified crabs or lobsters, is a full proof that the port he speaks of must be Canton; for Father Martini tells us the same thing; adding, that these crabs are found only on that part of the coast of China which is opposite to the island of Haiman, and that the Portugeze use the powder of these petrified crabs as an absorbent in fevers. The story of this fish is also reported by Father Martini.

They say also, that near Zapage there is a mountain, called the Mountain of Fire, which no one can approach; that in the day-time it sends forth a thick smoke, and in the night it throws out flames. At the foot of this mountain there are two springs of fresh water, the one hot, and the other cold.

12. The Chinese are dressed in silk both winter and summer, and this kind of dress is common to the Prince and the peasant. In winter they wear drawers of a particular make, which fall down to their feet. Of these they put on two, three, four, five, or more if they can, one over another, and are very careful to be covered quite down to their feet, because of the damps, which are very great, and of which they are very apprehensive. In summer they only wear a single garment of silk, or some such dress, but have no turbans.

Their common food is rice, which they often eat with a broth, like what the Arabs make of meat or fish, which they pour upon the rice. The Kings eat wheat-bread, and all sorts of animals, not excepting swine and some others. They have several sorts of fruits, apples, lemons, quinces, moulats, sugar-canes, citruls, figs, grapes, cucumbers of two sorts, trees which bear a substance like meal, walnuts, almonds, filberts, pistachios, plumbs, apricots, services, and cocoa-nuts, but they have no store of palms; they have only a few about some private houses.

Their drink is a kind of wine made of rice; they have no other wine in the country, nor is there any brought to them: they know not what it is, nor do they drink of it. They have vinegar also, and a kind of comfit like what the Arabs call natef, and some others.

They are not very nice in point of cleanliness, and wash not with water when they ease nature, but only wipe themselves with paper; they eat of dead animals, and practise many other things like the Magians; and in truth, the religion of the one and the other is much the same. The Chinese women appear uncovered, and adorn their heads with small ivory combs, of which they wear sometimes a score together; the men are covered with caps of a particular make. The law they observe with regard to thieves is to put them to death as soon as they are caught.

Our author seems here to interrupt his narration, and to take occasion from what he has before reported (and which in the main is confirmed by later writers), to compare the customs of the Indians and Chinese, intermixing his discourse also with other matters.

13. The Indians and Chinese agree, that there are four great or principal Kings in the world; they all allow the King of the Arabs to be the first, and to be, beyond dispute, the most powerful of Kings, the most wealthy, and the most excellent every way; because he is the Prince and Head of a great religion, and because no other surpasses him.

The Emperor of China reckons himself next after the King of the Arabs, and after him the King of the Greeks, and lastly the Balhara, King of Moharmi al Adon, or of those who have their ears bored*.

This Balhara is the most illustrious prince in all the Indies; and all the other Kings there, though each is master and independent in his kingdom, acknowledge thus far

* It is very highly probable, that this Balhara, or monarch of the nation which have their ears bored, which is plainly the Indians, was no other than the Samorin, or Emperor of Calicut, who, according to the reports of the most ancient Portuguese historians, was acknowledged as a kind of Emperor in the Indies, six hundred years before they discovered the passage to them by the Cape of Good Hope.

his pre-eminence. When he sends ambassadors to them, they receive them with extraordinary honours, because of the respect they bear him. This King makes magnificent presents after the manner of the Arabs, and has horses and elephants in great numbers, and great treasures in money. He has of those pieces of silver called Thartarian drams, which weigh half a dram more than the Arabian dram. They are coined with the dye of the Prince, and bear the year of his reign from the last of the reign of his predecessor.

They compute not their years from the æra of Mohammed, as the Arabs do, but only by the years of their Kings. Most of these Princes live a long time, and many of them have reigned above fifty years, and those of the country believe, that the length of their lives and of their reigns is granted them in recompence for their kindness to the Arabs. In truth, there are no Princes more heartily affectionate to the Arabs, and their subjects profess the same friendship for us.

Balhara* is not a proper name, but an appellative common to all these Kings, as was Cofroes and some others. The country under the dominion of this Prince begins on the coast of the province called Kamkam, and reaches by land to the confines of China. He is surrounded by the dominions of many Kings, who are at war with him, and yet he never marches against them.

14. One of those Kings is the King of Harez, who has very numerous forces, and is stronger in horse than all other Princes of the Indies, but is an enemy to the Arabs; though he at the same time confesses their King to be the greatest of Kings, nor is there a Prince in the Indies who has a greater aversion to the Mohammedan faith. His dominions are on a promontory, where are much riches, many camels, and other cattle. The inhabitants here traffic for silver, which they watch for, and they say there are mines of the same on the continent. There is no talk of robbers in this country any more than in the rest of the Indies.

On one side of this kingdom lies that of Tafek, which is not of very great extent. This King has the finest white women in all the Indies; but he is awed by the Kings about him, his army being but small. He has a great affection for the Arabs, as well as the Balhara.

These kingdoms border upon the lands of a King called Rami, who is at war with the King of Harez, and with the Balhara also. This Prince is not much considered either for his birth, or the antiquity of his kingdom; but his forces are more numerous than those of the Balhara, and even than those of the Kings of Harez and Tafek. They say, that when he takes the field, he appears at the head of fifty thousand elephants, and that he commonly marches in the winter season; because the elephants not being able to bear thirst, he can move at no other time. They add likewise, that in his army there are commonly from ten to fifteen thousand tents. In this same country they make cotton garments in such extraordinary perfection, that no where else are the like to be seen. These garments are for the most part round, and wove to that degree of fineness, that they may be drawn through a ring of a moderate size. Shells are current in this country, and serve for small money, notwithstanding that they have gold and silver, wood aloe, and fable skins, of which they make the furniture for saddles and housings.

* This is another good reason why the monarch here mentioned should be taken for the Emperor of Calicut, since he likewise was not called by his proper name, but by such an appellative as this; and if we could obtain an etymology of these words that could be depended upon, it is very likely that Balhara and Samoria would be found to mean the same thing.

In this same country is the famous karkandan *, that is, the (rhinoceros, or) unicorn, who has but one horn upon his forehead; and thereon a round spot, with the representation of a man. The whole horn is black, except the spot in the middle, which is white. The unicorn is much smaller than the elephant; from the neck downwards he pretty much resembles the buffalo; his strength is very extraordinary, for he excels therein all other creatures; his hoof is not cloven, and from his foot to his shoulder is all of a piece. The elephant flies from the unicorn, whose lowing is like that of an ox, with something of the cry of the camel; his flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it; there are great numbers of this creature in the fens of this kingdom, as also in all the other provinces of the Indies; but the horns of these are most esteemed; and upon them are generally seen the figures of men, peacocks, fishes, and other resemblances. The Chinese adorn their girdles with these sort of figures, so that some of their girdles are worth two or three thousand pieces of gold in China, and sometimes more, the price augmenting with the beauty of the figure. All the things we have here enumerated are to be purchased in the kingdom of Rahmi for shells, which are the current money of the country.

After this kingdom there is another, which is an inland state distant from the coast, and called Kafchbin; the inhabitants are white, and bore their ears; they have camels, and their country is for the most part desert, and full of mountains; farther upon the coast there is a small kingdom called Hitrange, which is very poor; but it has a bay, where the sea throws up great quantities of ambergris; they have also elephant's teeth and pepper; but the inhabitants eat it green, because of the smallness of the quantity they gather. Beyond these kingdoms here mentioned, there are others of number unknown, and among the rest that of Mujet; the inhabitants are white, and dress after the Chinese mode; their country is full of mountains, with white tops, and of very great extent; here are very great quantities of musk, esteemed the most exquisite in the world. They have war with all the neighbouring kingdoms.

The kingdom of Mabel † is beyond that of Mujet; therein are many cities, and the inhabitants have a great resemblance to the Chinese, even more than those of Mujet; for they have officers or eunuchs, like those who govern the cities amongst the Chinese; the country of Mabel is bordering upon China, and is at peace with the Emperor, but not subject to him. The Mabel sends every year ambassadors and presents to the Emperor of China, who on his part sends ambassadors and presents to them. Their country is of great extent; and when the ambassadors of Mabel enter China, they are carefully watched, and never once allowed to survey the country, for fear they should form designs of conquering it, which would be no difficult task for them, because of their great numbers, and because they are divided from China only by mountains and rocks.

15. They say, that in the Kingdom of China there are above two hundred cities, with jurisdiction over others, and have each a governor, and an eunuch or lieutenant. Canfu is one of these cities, being the port for all shipping, and presiding over twenty towns. A town is dignified with the title of city, when it is allowed some of those great Chinese trumpets, which are fashioned after this manner: they are three or four cubits in

* We have already given so large an account of the rhinoceros, that we shall not trouble the reader with any thing on that subject here, but content ourselves with observing, that it is evident this writer makes the unicorn and the rhinoceros the same creature, agreeable to what we have advanced elsewhere.

† It would be an endless thing to fatigue the reader with conjectures about these countries, the names of which are totally unknown to us; so that all we can say of them with certainty is, that they lie between Cape Comorin and China.

length, and as much about as can be grasped with both hands ; but they grow narrow towards the end, which is fitted to the mouth ; on the outside they are coloured with Chinese ink, and may be heard a mile off. Each city has four gates, at each of which are five of these trumpets, which the Chinese sound at certain hours of the day and of the night. There are also in each city ten drums, which they beat at the same time ; and this they do as a public token of their obedience to the Emperor ; as also to signify the hour of the day, and of the night, to which end they have also dials and clocks with weights.

They coin a great deal of copper money, like what the Arabs call *salus* : they have treasures like other Kings ; but they have only this sort of small money, which is current all over the country ; for though they have gold, silver, pearls, silk, and rich stuffs in great abundance, they consider them only as moveables and merchandize, and the copper pieces are the only current coin ; from foreign parts they have ivory, frankincense, copper in pigs, tortoise-shells, and unicorns' horns, which we have mentioned, and with which they adorn their girdles. Of their own stock, they have abundance of beasts of burden, horses, asses, and dromedaries ; but they have no Arabian horses.

They have an excellent kind of earth, wherewith they make a ware of equal fineness with glass, and equally transparent. When merchants arrive here *, the Chinese seize on their cargoes, and convey them to warehouses, where they remain six months, and till the last merchantman be arrived ; then they take three in ten, or thirty per cent. of each commodity, and return the rest to the merchant. If the Emperor hath a mind for any particular thing, his officers have a right to take it, preferably to any other persons whatsoever, paying for it to the utmost value. They dispatch this business immediately, and without the least injustice ; they commonly take camphire, which they pay for after the rate of fifty fukuges per man, and the fukuge is worth a thousand *salus*, or pieces of copper. When it happens that the Emperor does not take camphire, it sells for half as much again.

16. The Chinese do not bury their dead till the day twelvemonth of their decease. Till the expiration of this term they keep them in coffins ; for having previously dried them with quick-lime that they may keep, they place them in some part of their houses. The bodies of their Kings are embalmed with aloes and camphire. They mourn for three whole years ; and whosoever should not do so would be chastized with the bamboo, a punishment both men and women are liable to ; at the same time they are reproached, " What then, thou art not concerned at the death of thy parent ?"

They bury their dead in deep pits, much like those in use among the Arabs ; till this is done they constantly set victuals before the corpse ; and as it is in the evening that they thus exhibit meat and drink to their dead, if the next morning they find nothing left, they imagine that they have consumed all, and say, " The deceased hath eaten." They cease not from bewailing their dead, nor from setting meat and drink before them as long as they are kept in the house, inasmuch that their expences upon those occasions, and in thus paying their last duties to their departed relations, are so exorbitant as often to ruin them, and consume their wealth and estates. Formerly they, with the dead

* This account of the conduct of the Chinese towards the merchants, corresponds so well both with ancient and modern relations, that it leaves no room for us to doubt either of the truth of them, or of it, and cannot but illustrate, and at the same time confirm in the opinion of the reader, many things delivered in our observations on the foregoing sections.

bodies of their Kings, or others of the royal blood, buried very rich apparel, and those sorts of girdles which we have observed cost so much; but this custom is now out of date, because it has happened that the bodies of some have been dug up by thieves, for the sake of what was buried with them.

The Chinese, poor and rich, great and small, learn to read and write; the titles of their Kings or governors, are varied according to the dignity and rank of the cities under them. Those of the smaller cities are called Tusing; and this word signifies the governor of a town; those of the greater cities, as Canfu, for example, are styled Difu; and the eunuch, or lieutenant, is styled Tukam. These eunuchs are selected from the inhabitants of the cities. There is also a supreme judge, and him they call Lakshimakvan; other names they have for other officers, which we know not how properly to express.

17. A man is not raised to the dignity of a Prince, or governor of a city, till he has attained his fortieth year; for then, say they, he hath experience. When one of these Princes, or Vice-Kings, keeps his court in a city, he is seated upon a tribunal, and receives the petitions or complaints of the people. Behind this tribunal there is an officer called Lieu, who keeps standing, and according to the order he receives from the Prince, indorses his answer on the petition, for they never answer otherwise than in writing, or admit of any applications, but what are committed to paper. Before the parties present their petitions to the Prince, they get them examined by an officer, who, if he discovers any fault, sends them back again; for no man may draw up these writings which are to be presented to the Prince, except a clerk versed in business; and at the bottom of each writing they put, "Written by such a one, the son of such a one;" and if in this case there happen any blunder or mistake, the clerk is bamboozed*.

The Prince never seats himself on his tribunal till he has eaten and drank, for fear he should be mistaken in something; and each of these princes or governors has his subsistence from the public treasury of the city he commands. The Emperor of China, who is above all these Princes or petty Kings, never appears in public but once in ten months, fancying, that if he shewed himself oftener to the people, they would lose the veneration they have for him; for he holds it as a maxim, that principalities cannot subsist but by force, and that the people know not what justice is; and that thus constraint and violence must be used to maintain amongst them the majesty of empire.

18. They have no duty imposed upon their lands, but are subject to a poll-tax, which is levied upon men only, and that according to their condition and capacity. When any Arabs, or other strangers, are in this country, the Chinese tax them according to their substance. When any dearth makes necessaries dear, then the King opens his store-houses, and sells all sorts of provisions much cheaper than they are to be had at market: and hence no dearth is of any long continuance among the Chinese. The fums that are gathered from this capitation-tax, are laid up in the public treasury; and I believe, that from this tax fifty thousand dinars are paid every day into the treasury of Canfu alone, although this city is not one of the largest in China.

The Emperor reserves likewise to himself the revenues which arise from the salt-mines, and from a certain herb which they drink with hot water, and of which great quantities

* This kind of practice is still in use at China, so that there can be nothing clearer than that this account is both genuine and exact; since it is impossible to conceive how an Arabian author of the age in which this manuscript was wrote, should be master of these facts, none of which were known in Europe till some ages after.

are sold in all the cities of China, to the amount of great fums; they call it Tcha, that is tea, and it is a shrub more bushy than the pomegranate tree, and of a more pleasant smell, but has a kind of bitterness with it. Their way is to boil water, which they pour upon this leaf; and this drink cures all sorts of diseases. Whatever fums come into the treasury, arise from the poll-tax, the duties upon the salt, and the tax upon this leaf*.

19. In each city there is a small bell hung to the wall above the Prince's or Governor's head; and this bell may be rung by a string, which reaches about three miles, and crosses the highway to the end that people may get at it; when the string is pulled, the bell strikes over the governor's head, and straight he commands that the person who thus demands justice, be brought before him; and accordingly the complainant sets forth his case in person; and the same practice is in use throughout all other provinces.

If a man has a mind to travel from one place to another, he must take two passes with him, the one from the Governor, the other from the eunuch or lieutenant. The Governor's pass permits him to set out on his journey, and takes notice of the name of the traveller, and of those also of his company, the age and family of the one and the other; for every body in China, whether a native, or an Arab, or any other foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himself, nor can he possibly be excused.

The eunuch, or lieutenant's pass, specifies the quantity of goods or money which the traveller and those with him take along with them; and this is done for the information of the frontier places, where these two passes are examined; for whenever a traveller arrives at any of them it is registered, that such a one, the son of such a one, of such a family, passed through this place on such a day, in such a month, in such a year, and in such company; and by this means they prevent any one from carrying off the money or effects of other persons, or their being lost: so that if any thing hath been carried off unjustly, or the traveller dies on the road, they immediately know what is become of the thing, and they are either restored to the claimant or to his heirs †.

20. The Chinese administer justice with great strictness in all their tribunals. When any person commences a suit against another, he sets down his claim in writing, and the defendant writes down his defence, which he signs, and holds between his fingers. These two writings are delivered in together; and being examined, sentence is delivered in writing, and each party has his papers returned to him; but first they give back to the defendant his writing that he may acknowledge it.

When one party denies what the other affirms, he is ordered to return his writing; and if the defendant thinks he may do it safely, and accordingly delivers his paper a second time, they also call for that of the plaintiff, and then they say to him who denies what the other affirms, Make it appear that your antagonist has no right to demand of you what is in debate; but take notice if he makes out what you deny, you shall undergo twenty strokes of the bamboo upon the backside, and pay a fine of twenty fukages, which make about two hundred dinars. Now this punishment is such, as the criminal could not survive; it is so grievous, that no person in all China may, of his own authority, inflict it upon another, upon pain of death, and confiscation of his

* It appears from hence, that the custom of drinking tea in China, is much more antient than we have generally imagined it, for it must have prevailed long before our traveller went into this country, otherwise a tax upon it would have been ineffectual. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the remarks of the author are equally natural and judicious; for he insists chiefly on those things in which the Chinese differed most from the Mohammedans, as that they did not circumcise, were not very exact in washing, and made no conscience of eating blood.

† The reader will remember that this was a settled regulation among the antient Indians, so that it is very probable that the Chinese derived a great part of their policy from the Indians.

goods,

goods, and so nobody is ever so hardy as to expose himself to so certain a danger; wherefore justice is well administered to every one. They require no witness, nor do they put the parties upon oath.

21. When any man becomes a bankrupt in this country, they throw him into prison in the Governor's palace, and he is immediately put upon the declaration of his effects. After he has been a month in prison, he is released by the Governor's order, and proclamation is made, that such a one, the son of such a one, has consumed the substance of such a one; and that if he has any effects in the hands of any person, in any shape whatsoever, it must be made known in the term of a month. In the meantime the bankrupt is bamboosed on the backside, if discovery is made of any effects of his; and at the same time is upbraided with having been a month in prison eating and drinking, though he had wherewithal to satisfy his creditors. He is chastised in the same manner, whether he makes any declaration of his effects or not. They reproach him, that he has made it his study to get by fraud the substance of private persons into his hands, and embezzle it; and that he ought not so to defraud those he had dealings with, by stripping them of their property. But after all, if they cannot discover him to have been guilty of any fraud, and if it is proved to the magistrate, that the man has nothing in the world, the creditors are called in, and receive a part of their debt out of the treasury of the Bagbun. This is the ordinary title of the Emperors of China, and signifies the son of Heaven; but we commonly pronounce it after a different manner, and call him Magbun. Then it is publicly forbidden to buy of or sell to this man upon pain of death, that he may not defraud any of his creditors by concealing their money. If discovery be made that he hath any fums in the hands of another, and if the person he entrusts make no declaration within the time limited, he is bamboosed to death, and nothing is said to the proprietor or bankrupt. The fums that they discover are divided among the creditors, and the debtor or bankrupt must never more concern himself with trade*.

22. The Chinese have a stone which is ten cubits high, erected in the public squares of their cities, and on this stone are engraved the names of all sorts of medicines, with the exact price of each; and when the poor stand in need of any relief from physic, they go to the treasury, where they receive the price each medicine is rated at. There is in China no tax upon land; they only levy so much per head, according to the wealth and possessions of the subject. When a male child is born, his name is immediately entered in the King's books; and when this child has attained his eighteenth year, he begins to pay for his head; but they demand it not of the man who has seen his eightieth year; on the contrary he receives a gratification by way of pension from the public treasury; and in doing this, the Chinese say, that they make this provision for him in his old days, in acknowledgment for what they received of him when he was young.

23. There are schools in every town for teaching the poor children to write and read, and the masters are maintained at the public charge. The women wear nothing on their heads but their hair, whereas the men are covered. In China there is a certain town called Tayu, which has a castle advantageously seated on a hill, and all the fortresses in the kingdom are called by the same name. The Chinese are generally handsome, of comely stature, fair, and by no means addicted to excesses of wine; their hair is

* This fact is likewise confirmed by later travellers; and though there seems to be a great deal of severity in it, yet it is well adapted to the genius of the Chinese, who would not fail to become bankrupts frequently, if they were allowed to trade afterwards; and perhaps the introducing this law in other countries, in case of a second or third bankruptcy, might be found very effectual.

blacker than the hair of any other nation in the world; and the Chinese women wear it curled.

24. In the Indies, when a man accuses another of a crime punishable with death, the custom is to ask the accused if he is willing to go through the trial by fire; and if he answers in the affirmative, they heat a piece of iron till it is red-hot. This done, they bid him stretch forth his hand, and upon it they put seven leaves of a certain tree, and upon these leaves they put the red-hot iron, and in this condition he walks backward and forward for some time, and then throws off the iron. Immediately after this they put his hand into a leathern bag, which they seal with the prince's signet; and if at the end of three days he appears and declares he has suffered no hurt, they order him to take out his hand; when if no sign of fire is visible, they declare him innocent, and delivered from the punishment which threatened him, and his accuser is condemned to pay a Man of gold as a fine to the Prince.

Sometimes they boil water in a cauldron*, till it is so hot that no one can touch it; then they throw an iron ring into it, and command the person accused to thrust his hand down, and bring out the ring. I saw one who did this, and received no manner of hurt. The accuser is in this case also to pay a Man of gold.

25. When a king dies in this island of Sarandib, they lay his body on an open chariot, in such a manner that his head hangs backwards till it almost touches the ground, and his hair is upon the earth; and this chariot is followed by a woman with a broom in her hand, therewith to sweep dust on the face of the deceased, while she cries out with a loud voice, "O man, behold your King, who was yesterday your master, but now the empire he exercised over you is vanished and gone; he is reduced to the state you behold, having left the world, and the arbiter of death hath withdrawn his soul; reckon therefore no more upon the uncertain hopes of life."

This † proclamation or some other like it, they continue for three days; after which the dead body of the King is embalmed with sandal wood, camphire and saffron, and is then burned, and the ashes are scattered abroad to the wind. It is a universal custom all over the Indies to burn the bodies of the dead: The island of Sarandib is the last of the islands of the Indies. When they burn a king, it is usual for his wives to jump into the fire, and to burn with him; but this they are not constrained to do if they are not willing.

In the Indies there are men who profess to live in the woods and mountains, and to despise what other men most value. These abstain from every thing but such wild herbs and fruits as spring in the woods, and put an iron buckle upon their natural parts, that they may not be able to have any commerce with women. Some of them are

* This manner of finding out the truth by appealing to God in so extraordinary a manner, was in use in most countries. Sophocles mentions it as practised by the antients. The Caffres on the coast of Mofambique, if they are accused of any capital crime, lick iron to prove their innocence. The Indians of Calicut decide their differences in the same manner. If a man is accused of theft, he and the accuser are brought before the judge; a pint of oil is heated till it almost boils, and then the party accused dips in three of his fingers, which are immediately bound up, and opened on the third day; when, if it appears he is scalded, he suffers death; and if not, the same sentence falls upon the accuser. All this is the more probable, since this was once the common law of our own country, as the reader will perceive by consulting any of our glossographers on the word *ordal*.

† The author of Arabian Geography, and many others of the oriental writers, have transcribed this passage verbatim, from whence it appears evidently that they were acquainted with this work. The reader may remember, that the accounts given by the antients of the manners of the inhabitants of Taprobana agree perfectly well with this account.

quite naked, or have only a leopard's skin thrown over them, and in this plight keep standing with their faces towards the sun. I formerly saw one in the posture I have described, and returning to the Indies about sixteen years afterwards I found him in the very same attitude, and was astonished he had not lost his eye-sight by the heat of the sun*. In all these kingdoms the sovereign power resides in the royal family, and never departs from it; and the next heirs of this family succeed each other. In like manner there are families of learned men, of physicians, and of all the artificers concerned in architecture, and none of these are mixed with a family of a profession different from their own. The several states of the Indies are not subject to one king, but each province has its own king. The Balhara is nevertheless in the Indies as King of Kings. The Chinese are fond of gaming, and all manner of diversions; on the contrary, the Indians condemn them, and have no pleasure in them. They drink no wine, nor make any use of vinegar, because it is made of wine; and yet they abstain not therefrom as a religious duty, but for another reason. They say, that if a king is given to wine, he ought not to be deemed a king: for, continue they, as there are frequent wars with the neighbouring states, how should a drunkard manage the affairs of his kingdom?

26. The wars, in which they engage with neighbouring princes, are not usually undertaken with a view to possess themselves of their dominions; and I never heard of any but the people bordering upon the pepper country, that have seized on the possessions of their neighbours after victory. When a prince makes himself master of some other principality, he confers the government thereof upon some person of the royal family of the conquered country; and thus he keeps it in subjection to himself, from a persuasion that the natives would never agree to be otherwise governed. When any one of the princes or governors of cities within the dominions of the Emperor of China is guilty of a crime, he is put to death, and eaten; and in general it may be said that the Chinese eat all those that are put to death. When the Indians and Chinese are about to marry, the parties come to an agreement; then presents are made, and at last the marriage is celebrated with the sound of many sorts of instruments and drums. The presents they send consist of money, and in this every one does what he can afford.

27. If a man in the Indies runs away with a woman, and abuses her body, they kill both him and the woman, unless it be proved that she was forced; then the man only is punished with death: but if the woman consented to the evil deed, they are both punished with death. Theft is always punished capitally, as well in the Indies as in China, whether the theft be considerable or inconsiderable; and particularly in the Indies, where, if a thief has stolen but the value of a small piece of money, or a thing of greater worth, they take a long, strong, and sharp stake, which they apply to his fundament, and thrust it through till it comes out at his neck. The Chinese are addicted to the abominable vice of sodomy, and the filthy practice of it they number among the indifferent things they perform in honour of their idols.

The Chinese buildings are of wood, with stone, plaster, brick, and mortar. The Chinese and Indians are not satisfied with one wife, but both nations marry as many as they please. Rice is the common food of the Indians, who eat no wheat; whereas the Chinese eat of rice and wheat indifferently. Circumcision is not practised either

* These penances among the Indians, as surprising or as incredible as they seem to be, are confirmed by all the travellers that have written of those countries, whether ancient or modern, as we shall have an opportunity of shewing in the subsequent part of this chapter.

by the Indians or Chinese. The Chinese worship idols, pray to them, and fall down before them; and they have books which explain the articles of their religion. The Indians suffer their beards to grow, and I have seen one of them with a beard three cubits long; they wear no whiskers; but the Chinese, for the most part, have no beard and have all smooth. The Indians, upon the death of a relation, shave both head and face. When any man in the Indies is cast into prison, they allow him neither victuals nor drink for seven days together, and this with them answers the end of other tortures to extort from the criminal a confession of the truth. The Chinese have judges besides the governors, who decide in causes between subject and subject, and the same they have in the Indies. Both in China and in the Indies there are leopards and wolves, but no lions. Highway robbers are punished with death.

29. Both the Chinese and the Indians imagine the idols they worship speak to them and give them answers. Neither the one nor the other kill their meat by cutting the throat, as the Mohammedans, but by beating them on the mouth till they die. They wash not with well-water; the Chinese wipe themselves with paper, whereas the Indians wash every day before they eat.

The Indians touch not their wives while their disease is upon them, but turn them out of their houses, and avoid them; the Chinese behave in a quite contrary manner. The Indians wash not only the mouth, but the whole body also before they eat, which the Chinese observe not. The country of the Indies is larger in extent than that of China, and exceeds it by one half; the number of kingdoms is greater in the Indies than in China, but China is the more populous of the two.

It is not usual to see palm-trees either in the Indies or in China, but they have also other sorts of fruits and trees, which we have not. The Indians have no grapes, and the Chinese have not many, but both abound in other fruits; though the pomegranate thrives more plentifully in India than in China.

The Chinese have no sciences, and their religion and most of their laws are derived from the Indians; nay, they are of opinion that the Indians taught them the worship of idols, and consider them as a very religious nation; both the one and the other believe the Metempsychosis*; but they differ in many points touching the precepts of their religions. Physic and philosophy are cultivated among the Indians, and the Chinese have some skill in medicine; but it almost wholly consists in the art of applying hot irons or cauteries. They have also some smattering of astronomy, but therein also the Indians surpass the Chinese. I know not that there is so much as one of either nation that has embraced Mohammedism, or speaks Arabic. The Indians have but few horses, and there are more in China; but the Chinese have no elephants, and cannot endure to have them in their country, for they abhor them. The Indian dominions furnish a great number of soldiers, who are not paid by the King, but when they are rendezvoused for war, take the field entirely at their own expence, and are no charge to the King; whereas the Chinese allow their forces much the same pay with the Arabs.

China is a pleasant and fruitful country; most of the Indian provinces have no cities, whereas in China there are many in number, great in extent, and well fortified: the climate of China is more wholesome, and the country itself is less fenny. The air there is also much better, and there is scarce a blind person to be seen, or any one subject to the diseases of the eyes; and the same advantages are enjoyed by several provinces of the

* Of this doctrine we have already spoken in our account of the philosophy of the Brachmans; and in our notes upon the subsequent treatise, we shall take occasion to shew when it was first embraced in China, and with what modifications it is still taught there.

Indies:

Indies: the rivers of those two countries are large, and surpass our greatest rivers; much rain falls in both these countries. In the Indies are many desert tracks, but China is inhabited and peopled throughout its whole extent. The Chinese are handsomer than the Indians, and come nearer to the Arabs, not only in countenance, but in dress, in their way of riding, in their manners, and in their ceremonies: they wear long garments, and girdles in form of belts. The Indians wear two short vests; and the men, as well as the women, wear golden bracelets, adorned with precious stones.

30. Beyond the continent of China, there is a country called Tagazgaz, from the name of a nation of the Turks, who there inhabit, and also the country of Kakhan, or Tibet, which is bordering on the country of the Turks*. The islands of Sila are inhabited by white people, who send presents to the Emperor of China, and who are persuaded, that if they did not send him presents, the rain of Heaven would not fall upon their country. None of our people have been there to inform us concerning them: they have white falcons.

As we are now arrived to the end of this work, it may not be amiss to offer here some remarks that may tend to enlighten the foregoing discourse, and prepare us at the same time for that which is come. We are informed that the date of this narration was of the Hegira 237, A. D. 851, which circumstance, though preserved to us in the ensuing discourse, was very probably contained in the first leaf of this, which is wanting in the manuscript. But though it was written then, yet it seems highly probable, that our author's first journey to the Indies was, at least, twenty years before; because he observes, that he made a second journey there sixteen years afterwards; and we may very well allow four years for the time spent in the first journey, and the space that might intervene between his return and his composing this treatise. According to this calculation, his first voyage to the Indies was in the year of the Hegira 217, A. D. 833, and his second An. Heg. 235, A. D. 849.

As to the occasion of his voyages, there is nothing occurs in this account that can give us the least light into it; however, it seems most probable, that he underwent these fatigues on the score of commerce; for it can hardly be supposed, that a man would have made so long a journey a second time, purely out of curiosity, and to satisfy the desire of being better acquainted with these people, which had been excited by his former intercourse with them. There is not much to be observed with respect to the form of this treatise, or the stile in which it is written; and yet something there is worth mentioning with respect to each of them. We cannot, indeed, boast much of the regularity of his method; and yet it would be unjust to condemn it entirely, because, for want of having the introduction to it, we cannot determine exactly what was his plan, and consequently cannot say how far he came up to or fell short of it. One thing I think is manifest, which is, that the scope of his undertaking is a comparison between the Indians and the Chinese; at least he falls into this immediately after he has described the usual navigation from Siraf to China; and considered in this light, his treatise appears regular enough. As to his stile, it is extremely simple and plain, and has nothing

* We shall take another opportunity of acquainting the reader with the history of the ancient Turks, and shall only observe here, that the nations here mentioned are to be considered as dwelling in their native region, before they became famous by their irruption into Persia, which is the country every where meant in this and in the subsequent treatise by the name of Irak, and before they became Mohámmedans; which is the more necessary, because from the present state of things it is very natural to connect the ideas which we have of the modern Turks, with these accounts of their ancestors.

of that swelling hyperbolical eloquence which is generally observed in oriental writers; upon which I beg leave to remark, that, with regard to the Arabs, as well as other nations, this was a vice that prevailed in later times, after poetry and rhetorick had been more cultivated than they were in the first ages of their empire, which has been the case in most other nations.

One cannot possibly doubt, that this piece was extremely well received when it first came abroad, and that it had maintained its reputation for a considerable space of time; appears from the second treatise, which we are about to give the reader. It seems, that when the affairs of China were better known, some Prince, or other person of distinction, desired the author of the following pages to look over that discourse, and to inform him; how far the facts contained therein had been confirmed or contradicted, by succeeding relations. What time this happened, we cannot with any certainty say, from the comparison of the two pieces, or from the lights given us by the learned and accurate critick who published them. The manuscript which the Abbé Renaudot made use of, was apparently older than the year of the Hegira 569, which answers to the year of Christ 1173; but the discourse must certainly have been written long before that time. In our notes we have shewn that Eben-Wahab travelled into China, A. H. 185, A. D. 898; and the author of this last treatise informs us, that he had conversed with this man after his return, and had from him the facts which he has inserted in his discourse; so that the book itself must have been two centuries older than the manuscript from which the Abbé Renaudot published it, and might probably be written sixty or seventy years after the foregoing treatise. These are all the lights which, from an assiduous study of these valuable fragments of antiquity, we have been able to give the reader, and therefore we shall detain him no longer from the piece itself, which in the original bears the following title.

The Discourse of Abu Zeid al Hasan, of Siraf, concerning the Voyage to the Indics and China.

31. Having very carefully examined the book I was directed to peruse, that I might confirm what the author relates, when he agrees with what I have heard concerning the affairs of the sea, the kingdoms on the coast, and the state of the countries; and that I might add upon this head, what I have elsewhere collected concerning them, which is not to be found in this book, I find it was written in the year of the Hegira 237, and that the accounts the author gives in regard to things at sea, were in his time very true, and agreeable to what I have understood from merchants, who from Irak sailed through those seas. I find also, that all the author writes is agreeable to truth, except some few passages.

Speaking of the custom of setting meat before the dead, which he attributes to the Chinese, he says, when they have served up the meat over night, and find nothing in the morning, they cry, The deceased hath eaten. We had been told the same, and believed it, till we met with a man of undoubted credit, who being asked concerning this custom, he answered, that the fact was not so, and that this notion was groundless, as well as what is vulgarly said of the idolatrous nations, that they imagine their idols speak to them.

He told us also, that since those days the affairs of China wear quite another face; and since much is related to shew the reason why the voyages to China are interrupted,

and

and how the country has been ruined, many customs abolished, and the empire divided, I will here declare the causes I know of this revolution *.

32. The great troubles which have embroiled the affairs of this empire, which have put a stop to the justice and righteousness there formerly practised, and which have, in fine, interrupted the ordinary navigation from Siraf to China, flowed from this source: An officer, who was considerable for his employment, though not of the royal family, revolted some time ago; this man's name was Baichu, and he began with committing hostilities in the country, marching his armies into many places, to the great loss of the inhabitants, till winning a party over to him by his liberalities, he got together a multitude of vagabonds and abandoned people, whom he formed into a considerable body of troops.

His army thus strengthened, and himself in a condition to undertake any thing, he discovered his design of subduing the empire, and marched straight to Canfu, one of the most noted cities in China, and at that time the port for all the Arabian merchants. This city stands upon a great river some days distance from the entrance, so that the water there is fresh. But the citizens, shutting their gates against him, he resolved to besiege the place, and the siege lasted a great while. This was transacted in the year of the Hegira 264, and of Christ 877.

At last he became master of the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. There are persons fully acquainted with the affairs of China, who assure us, that besides the Chinese who were massacred upon this occasion, there perished one hundred and twenty thousand Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees, who were there on account of traffick. The number of the professors of these four religions, who thus perished, is exactly known, because the Chinese are exceedingly nice in the accounts they keep of them.

He also cut down the mulberry trees, and almost all the trees of other kinds: but we speak of the mulberry in particular, because the Chinese cultivate it carefully, for the sake of its leaf, on which their silkworms subsist. This devastation is the cause why silk has failed, and that the trade which used to be driven therein through all the countries under the Arabs, is quite at a stand. Having sacked and destroyed Canfu, he possessed himself of many other cities, which he attacked one after another, the Emperor of China not having it in its power to stop his progress. He advanced then to the capital city, called Cumdan; and the Emperor left this, his royal seat, making a precipitate retreat to the city of Hamdu, on the frontiers, towards the province of Tibet.

The rebel, puffed up by these great successes, and perceiving himself master of the countries, fell upon the other cities, which he demolished, having first slain most of the inhabitants, with a view, in this general butchery, to involve all the several branches of the royal blood, that none might survive to dispute the empire with him. We had the news of these revolutions, and of the total ruin of China, which still continues.

* The account here given by our author very plainly proves, that the trade to China was considered in his time as very ancient, and of very great consequence, inasmuch that whatever affected the peace of that country, was looked upon as a thing of common concern to all the nations of the East. But till these travels were published, who could have imagined this? Who would have suspected that the affairs of China were so well known to the Arabs? And therefore when these things are maturely weighed, who can doubt that we had reason to advance it as a thing highly probable, that long before this, the empires of China and the Indies were in the most flourishing condition, as well in point of foreign commerce, as of domestic economy.

Thus were affairs situated, and the rebel stood uncontrolled by any disadvantage that might abate his authority*.

33. At last the Emperor of China wrote to the King of Tagazgaz, in Turkestan with whom, besides the nearness of his dominions, he was, in some degree, allied by marriage; and at the same time, sent an embassy to him, to implore his assistance for reducing this rebel. Upon this, the King of Tagazgaz dispatched his son, at the head of a very numerous army, to fight this oppressor; and after many battles, and almost continual skirmishes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the rebel: some believe he fell in battle, while others thought he ended his days in another manner.

The Emperor of China returned then to Cumdan, and although he was extremely weakened, and much dispirited, because of the embezzlement of his treasures, and the loss of his captains and best troops, and because of all the late calamities, he nevertheless made himself master of all the provinces which had been conquered from him. However he never laid hands on the goods of his subjects, but satisfied himself with what was yet left in his coffers, and the small remainders of public money, his condition indispensably obliged him to take up with what his subjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but obedience to his mandates, forbearing to squeeze money from them, because the King's governors had exhausted them already.

Thus China became almost like the empire of Alexander after the defeat and death of Darius †, when he divided the provinces he took from the Persians amongst so many chiefs, who erected themselves into so many kings; for now each of these Chinese Princes joined with some other to wage war against a third, without consulting the Emperor; and when the strongest had subdued the weakest, and was become master of his province, all was wasted and unmercifully plundered, and the subjects of the vanquished Prince were unnaturally devoured, a cruelty allowed by the laws of their religion, which even permit human flesh to be exposed to sale in the public markets.

Then arose, as was natural from these confusions, many unjust dealings with the merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the force of a precedent, there was no grievance, no treatment so bad, but they exercised upon the Arabs, and the masters of ships; they extorted from the merchants what was uncustomary, they seized upon

* It is a very difficult thing to pretend to settle the chronology of the Chinese empire; and the very learned editor of these travels confesses that he is not able to give any satisfactory account of this revolution. It so falls out, however, that Father du Halde, in his History of China, lately published, has enabled us to set this matter right, or at least very nearly right. He informs us, that in the reign of the Emperor Hi T'oung, who was the eighteenth of the dynasty of Tang, the affairs of China fell into very great disorder, from the heavy taxes laid upon the people, and a great famine caused by the inundation of rivers, and infinite numbers of grass-hoppers that destroyed their harvests. While things were in this situation, there happened several revolts in the provinces, which encouraged a certain rebel, whose name was Hoan T'ia, to put himself at the head of the malcontents, and that with such success, as to drive the Emperor from the imperial city, of which he made himself master; but he was afterwards defeated, and the Emperor restored. It must be owned that there is about twenty years difference between the time mentioned by our author, and the date of this revolution, assigned by Father du Halde. I shall not take upon me to decide where the mistake lies; but I conceive that the reader will be of the same opinion with me, in concluding this to be the revolution mentioned in the text.

† All the oriental writers agree in giving a different account of the division of the empire of Alexander the Great, from that which is given us by the Greeks; and that this notion of theirs was ancient, appears from what we are told by the author of the first book of Maccabees, who, having related the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, adds the following remarkable words, 1 Maccab. i. 5, 6. "And after these things, he fell sick and perceived that he should die. Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them while he was yet alive."

their

their effects, and behaved towards them in a manner directly opposite to ancient usages, and for these things has God punished them, by withdrawing his blessing from them in every respect; and particularly by causing the navigation to be forsaken, and the merchants to return in crowds to Siraf and Oman; agreeable to the all-ruling will of the Almighty Master, whose name be blessed!

34. The author, in his book, notes some customs and laws of the Chinese, but mentions not the punishments inflicted on married persons, when convicted of adultery; this crime, as well as homicide and theft, is punished with death, and they execute the criminal in this manner; they bind both the hands together, and then force them backwards over the head, till they rest upon the neck; they then fasten the right foot to the right hand, and the left foot to the left hand, so that both hands and feet are strongly bound behind the back; and thus bundled up, it is impossible for the criminal to stir, nor wants he any body to hold him. This torture disjoins the neck, makes the joints start out of their sockets, and dislocates the thighs; in short, the patient is in so miserable a condition, that were he to continue therein but a few hours, there would be no need of any thing else to make an end of him: but when they have bound him as we have said, they give him so many strokes with a bamboo, which they always use upon the like occasions, and which alone were sufficient to kill the criminal, and leave off when he is at the very last gasp of life, abandoning the body to the people, who eat it*.

35. There are women in China who refuse to marry, and chuse rather to live a dissolute life of perpetual debauchery. The custom is for these women to present themselves in full audience before the commanding officer of the garrison in the city, and declare their aversion to marriage, and their desire to enter into the state of public women; they then desire to be registered in the usual form amongst these prostitutes, and the form is this; they write down the name of the woman, her family, the number of her jewels, the several particulars of her attire, and the place of her abode; thus she is admitted a public woman: after this, they put about her neck a string, at which hangs a copper ring with the King's signet, and deliver to her a writing which certifies that she is received into the list of common prostitutes, and entitles her to a yearly pension of so many talus, to be paid her out of the public treasury, and threatens with death the person who should take her to wife. They every year give public notice of what is to be observed with regard to those women, and turn out those who have worn out their charms. In the evening these women walk abroad in dresses of different colours, without any veil, and prostitute themselves to all new comers that love debauchery; but the Chinese themselves send for them to their houses, whence they depart not till the next morning †.

36. The Chinese coin no money besides the little pieces of copper, like those we call talus, nor will they allow gold or silver to be coined into specie, like the dinars and drams that are current with us; for, say they, if a thief goes with an evil intent into the house of an Arab, where is gold and silver coin, he may carry off ten thousand pieces

* As barbarous as this custom may appear, and as seemingly inconsistent as it may be with the politeness of the Chinese, yet it is very certain that our authors are not the only writers that have mentioned it, as appears from the travels of Marco Polo.

† This account of their public women is confirmed by a great number of writers ancient and modern, so that there appears to be no reason for calling the truth of it in question. In the history of the Dutch embassy to the Emperor of China, there is a print of one of these ladies, as she is conducted through the city on an ass, attended by a person, who cries her price, as he would that of any other commodity.

of gold, and almost as many pieces of silver, and not be much burdened therewith, and so be the ruin of the man who should suffer this loss: whereas, if a thief has the same design on the house of a Chinese artificer, he cannot at most take away above ten thousand falus, or pieces of copper, which do not make above ten meticals or dinars of gold. These pieces of copper are alloyed with something of a different kind, and are of the size of a dram, or piece of silver called *bagli*; in the middle they have a pretty large hole to string them by: a thousand of them are worth a metical of gold, or a dinar, and they string them by thousands, with a knot between every hundred. All their payments in general are made with this money, whether they buy or sell lands, furniture, merchandize, or any thing else. There are some of these pieces at *Siraf*, with Chinese characters upon them.

I need say nothing as to the frequent fires which happen in China, or the Chinese manner of building. The city of *Canfu* is built in the manner he describes, that is, of wood with canes, interwoven just like our works of split cane; they wash the whole over with a kind of varnish, which they make of hemp seed, and this becomes as white as milk; so that when the walls are covered therewith they have a wonderful gloss. They have no stairs in their houses, nor do they build with different stories, but put every thing they have into chests which run upon wheels, and which in case of fire they can easily draw from place to place without any hindrance from stairs, and so save their things presently.

As for the inferior officers in the cities, they commonly have the directions of the customs and the keys of the treasury: some of these have been taken on the frontiers and castrated, others of them have been cut by their own fathers, who have sent them as a present to the Emperor. These officers are at the head of the principal affairs of state, of the Emperor's private affairs, and of his treasures; and those particularly who are sent to *Canfu*, are selected from this body*.

37. It is customary for them, as well as the kings or governors of all the cities, to appear abroad from time to time, in solemn procession; at such times they are preceded by men, who carry great pieces of wood like those the Christians of the Levant used instead of bells: the noise they make is heard a great way, and as soon as it is heard nobody stands in the road of the eunuch, or prince: if a man is at his door, he goes into his house, and keeps his door shut till the prince or eunuch of the city is gone by; so no soul is to be seen in the way; and this is enjoined, that they may be held in the greater veneration, and to strike a dread, that the people may not see them often, and that they may not grow so familiar as to speak to them.

The eunuch, or lieutenant, and the principal officers, wear very magnificent dresses of silk, so fine that none of this sort is brought into the country subject to the Arabs, the Chinese keep it up at so high a rate. One of the chief merchants, whose words cannot be called in question, relates, that he waited on an eunuch, whom the Emperor had sent to *Canfu*, in order to purchase some things he wanted out of the goods carried thither from the country of the Arabs; and that upon his breast he perceived a short vest, which was under another silk vest, and which seemed to be under two other vests of the same kind; that the eunuch, observing him to look stedfastly upon his breast, said, "I see you keep your eyes fixed upon my stomach, what may be the meaning of it?" The merchant immediately cried out, "I am surpris'd at the beauty of that little vest, which appears under your other garments." The eunuch laughed, and held out

* All these facts are attested by later writers, so that notwithstanding they seem at first sight very strange and improbable, yet it must be owned there is as good evidence for them as for any other facts in the several relations we have heard of the customs and manners of these people.

his shirt sleeve to him ; " Count, says he, how many vests I have above it : " he did so, and counted five, one on another ; and the waistcoat, or short vest was underneath. These garments are wove with raw silk, which has never been washed or fulled ; and what is worn by the princes or governors, is still more rich, and more exquisitely wrought.

The Chinese surpass all nations in all arts, and particularly in painting ; and they perform such perfect work as others can but faintly imitate. When an artificer has finished a fine piece, he carries it to the Prince's palace to demand the reward he thinks he deserves for the beauty of his performance ; and the custom is, for the Prince to order him to leave his work at the palace gate, where it stands a whole year. If, during that time, no person finds a fault therein, the artificer is rewarded, and admitted into the body of artists ; but if the least fault be found, it is rejected, and the workman sent away empty.

It happened once, as the story goes, that one of these painters drew an ear of corn, with a bird perched on it, upon a piece of silk ; and his performance was so admirable, that all who beheld it were astonished. This piece stood exposed to public view, till one day a crooked fellow passing by the palace, found fault with the picture, and was immediately conducted to the Prince or Governor of the city, who at the same time sent for the painter. Then he asked this crooked fellow what fault he had to find with this piece ; to which he answered, " Every body knows that a bird never settles upon an ear of corn but it bends under him, whereas this painter has represented his ear bolt upright, though he has perched a bird upon it ; this is the fault I have to find." The objection was held just, and the Prince bestowed no reward upon the artist. They pretend by this, and such other means, to excite their workmen to perfection, by engaging them to be extremely nice and circumspect in what they undertake, and to apply their whole genius to what is to go out of their hands*.

38. There was formerly a man of the tribe of Korkish, whose name was Ebn Wahab, descended of Hebar the son of Al Afud, and he dwelt at Basra ; this man left Basra when that city was sacked, and came to Siraf, where he saw a ship ready to sail for China. The humour took him to go on board of this ship, and in her he went to China, where in the sequel he had the curiosity to travel to the Emperor's court ; and leaving Canfu, he reached Cundam, after a journey of two months ; he staid a long time at the Emperor's court, and presented several petitions ; wherein he signified that he was of the family of the prophet of the Arabs. Having waited a considerable while, the Emperor at last ordered him to be lodged in a house appointed for him, and to be supplied with every thing he wanted. This done, the Emperor wrote to the Governor of Canfu, commanding him carefully to inform himself among the merchants concerning the relation this man pretended to bear to the prophet of the Arabs ; and the Governor, by his answers, confirming the truth of what he had said, touching his extraction, the Emperor gave him audience, and made him rich presents, wherewith he returned to Irak †.

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* There is nothing very surprising in this account, for the very same method had been in use among the Greeks long before, and has been since practised in Italy and elsewhere ; and without doubt it is the true method of coming at the just knowledge of the value of such performances ; and therefore something of this sort is annually practised at Paris.

† It seems a little strange, that the learned Abbé Renandot did not endeavour to settle the time when this Arabian traveller went to China, especially when there is a circumstance which seems to fix it, viz. the plundering of Bassora, upon which it is said he took a resolution of going to Siraf. In order to supply this defect, I have consulted Abul-Pharajus, who informs us, that A.H. 285, which answers to A.D.

This man, when we saw him, was much advanced in years, but had his senses perfectly, and told us, that when he had his audience, the Emperor asked him many questions about the Arabs, and particularly how they had destroyed the kingdom of the Persians. Ebn Wahab made answer, that they did it by the assistance of God; and because the Persians were immersed in idolatry, adoring the stars, the sun, and moon, instead of worshipping the true God.

To this the Emperor replied, that the Arabs had conquered the most illustrious kingdom of the whole earth, the best cultivated, the most opulent, the most pregnant of fine wits, and of the most extensive fame. Then said he, "What account do the people in your parts make of the other kings of the earth?" To which the Arab replied, that he knew them not. Then said the Emperor to the interpreter, "Tell him we esteem but five kings; that he whose kingdom is of the widest extent, is the Master of Irak, for he is in the midst of the world, and surrounded by the territories of other kings; and we find he is called the King of Kings. After him we reckon our Emperor here present, and we find that he is stiled the King of mankind, for no king is invested with a more absolute authority over his subjects, nor is there a people under the sun more dutiful and submissive to their sovereign than the people of this country. We therefore, in this respect, are the Kings of the human race; after us the King of the Turks, whose kingdom borders upon us, and him we call the King of lions. Next is the King of the elephants, who is the King of the Indies, whom we also call the King of wisdom, because he derives his origin from the Indians. And last of all the King of Greece, whom we style the King of men; for upon the face of the earth, there are no men of better manners, nor of comelier presence, than his subjects. These, added he, are the most illustrious of all kings, nor are others to compare with them."

Then said Ebn Wahab, he ordered the interpreter to ask me, "If I knew my master and my lord, meaning the prophet (Mohammed), and if I had seen him?" I made answer, "How should I have seen him who is with God?" He replied, "That is not what I mean, I ask you, what sort of a man he was in his person?" I replied, "That he was very handsome." Then he called for a great box, and opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he set before him, and said to the interpreter, "Shew him his master and his lord;" and I saw in the box the images of the prophets; whereat I moved my lips; praying to myself in honour of their memory.

The Emperor did not imagine I should know them again, and said to the interpreter, "Ask him why he moves his lips?" I answered, "I was praying in memory of the prophets;" "How do you know them?" said the Emperor. I replied, that I knew them by the representation of their histories. "There, said I, is Noah in the ark, who was saved with those that were with him at the same time;" and I made the usual salute to Noah and his company. Then the Emperor laughed, and said, "Thou art not mistaken in the name of Noah, and thou hast named him right; but as for the universal deluge, it is what we knew not. It is true, indeed, that a flood covered part of the earth, but it reached not our country, nor even the Indies." I made my

898, there was one Ahu Said, who revolted against the Khaliff, and ruined Bassora, which occasioned the walling and fortifying that city, which cost fourteen thousand pieces of gold. The Khaliff then reigning was Al Mohated, in whose time Elmacinus informs us, things were in great confusion; and he likewise takes notice of this rebellion. The date agrees very well with the rest of this history, and particularly with the account given by this man, of the reasons which induced him to quit his country in his conference with the Emperor of China.

answer to this, and endeavoured to remove his objections the best I could; and then said again to him, "There is Moses with his rod, and the children of Israel." He agreed with me as to the small extent of their country, and the manner how the ancient inhabitants were destroyed by Moses. I then said to him; "He there, is Jesus, upon an ass, and here are his Apostles with him." "He," said the Emperor, "was not long upon earth, seeing that all he did was transacted within the space of somewhat better than thirty months."

After this the same Ebn Wahab saw the histories of the other prophets presented in the same manner we have already declared; and he fancied that what was written in great characters, under each figure, might be the names of the prophets, the countries whence they were, and the subjects of their prophecies. Then said the same Ebn Wahab, I saw the image of Mohammed riding upon a camel, and his companions about him on their camels, with shoes of the Arabian mode on their feet, and leathern girdles about their loins. At this I wept, and the Emperor commanded the interpreter to ask me, why I wept? I answered, "There is our prophet and our lord, who is also my cousin." He said I was right, and added, that he and his people had subdued the finest of all kingdoms; but that he had not the satisfaction of enjoying his conquests, though his successors had.

I afterwards saw a great number of other prophets, some of them stretching forth their right hand, and with their three fingers bent down between the thumb and the fore-finger, just like those who hold up the hand to make oath; others were standing, and pointed to the heavens with their finger, and others were in different postures. The interpreter took them to be the figures of their prophets, and those of the Indians. The Emperor then asked me many questions concerning the Khaliffs, their usual dress, and concerning many precepts and injunctions of the Mohammedan religion, and I answered him the best I could.

41. After this, he said, "What is your opinion concerning the age of the world?" I made answer, that opinions varied upon that head; that some were for six thousand years, and others would not allow so many, and that others reckoned it at a still higher rate; but that it was, at least, as old as I had said. At this the Emperor and his first minister, who was near him, broke out into laughter, and the Emperor made many objections to what I had advanced. At last, said he, "What does your prophet teach upon this subject, does he say as you do?" My memory failed me, and I assured him that he did.

Hereupon I observed that I had displeased him, and his displeasure appeared plainly in his countenance. Then he ordered the interpreter to speak to me in the following terms: "Take heed of what you say, for kings never speak but to be informed of the truth of what they would know. What did you mean by giving the Emperor to understand, that there are among you various opinions concerning the age of the world? If so it be, you are also divided upon the things your prophet has said at the same time, that no diversity of opinions are to be admitted on what the prophets have pronounced, all which must be revered as sure and infallible; take heed then how you talk at such a rate any more*."

To this he subjoined many other things, which, through length of time, have escaped my remembrance. At last he asked me, "How is it that thou hast forsaken thy

* This plainly shews, that the Chinese were formerly well acquainted with the history of other nations, and affords us good grounds to believe that their records must have been destroyed in some subsequent revolution; for, otherwise, it is impossible to account for their ignorance in matters of this nature in succeeding times.

King, to whom thou art nearer, not only by the place of thy abode, but by blood also, than thou art to us?" In return to which, I informed him of the revolutions which had happened at Bassora, and how I came to Siraf, where I saw a ship ready to sail for China; and that having heard of the glory of his empire, and its abundance in all necessaries, curiosity excited me to a desire of coming into his country, that I might behold it with mine own eyes; that I should soon depart for my own country and the kingdom of my cousin, and that I would make a faithful report of what I had seen of the magnificence of the empire of China, and the vast extent of the provinces it contains, and that I would make a grateful acknowledgment of the kind usage I there met with, which seemed to please him very much. He then made me rich presents, and ordered that I should be conducted to Canfu upon post-horses. He also wrote to the Governor of the city, commanding him to treat me with much honour, and to furnish me with the like recommendations to the other governors of the provinces, that they might entertain me till the time of my departure. I was thus treated every where during my stay, plentifully supplied with all necessaries of life, and honoured with many presents till the time of my departure from China.

42. We asked Ebn Wahab many questions concerning the city of Cumdan, where the Emperor keeps his court; he told us that the city was very large and extremely populous, that it was divided into two parts by a very long and very broad street; that the Emperor, his chief ministers, the soldiery, the supreme judge, the eunuchs, and all belonging to the Imperial household, lived in that part of the city which is on the right hand eastward; that the people had no manner of communication with them; and that they were not admitted into the places watered by canals from different rivers, the borders of which were planted with trees, and adorned with magnificent palaces. The part on the left hand westward, is inhabited by the ordinary people and the merchants, where are also great squares, and markets for all the necessaries of life. At break of day, the officers of the King's household, with the inferior servants, the purveyors, and the domestics of the grandees of the court, come some on foot, others on horseback, into that division of the city, where are the public markets, and the habitations of such as deal in all sorts of goods, where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the same place till their occasions call them thither next morning. It is by the same traveller related, that this city has a very pleasant situation in the midst of a most fertile soil, watered by several rivers, and hardly deficient in any thing except palm-trees, which grow not there.

43. In our times discovery has been made of a thing quite new and unknown to those who lived before us. No body imagined that the great sea, which extends from the Indies to China, had any communication with the sea of Syria, nor could any one apprehend the possibility of any such thing. Now behold what has come to pass in our days, according to what we have heard. In the sea of Rum, or the Mediterranean, they found the wreck of an Arabian ship which had been shattered by tempests; for all her men perishing, and she being dashed to pieces by the waves; the remains of her were driven by wind and weather into the sea of Chozars, and from thence to the canal of the Mediterranean Sea, and at last were thrown on the shore of Syria*.

This

* This is one of the most curious passages in this treatise; inasmuch as it plainly proves, that the Arabians had the same notions in geography with the Greeks, or, to speak with greater propriety, had their notions of geography from them. Our author says plainly, that, according to his judgment, the Indian Ocean washed the coast of Great Tartary, and so fell into the Caspian Sea, by which passage he supposes that this ship was driven from the Indian Sea into the Mediterranean. The conjecture was

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This renders it evident, that the sea surrounds all the country of China and Cila, or Sila, the uttermost parts of Turkestan, and the country of the Chozars; and that then it enters at the strait till it washes the shore of Syria. The proof of this is deduced from the construction of the ship we are speaking of; for none but the ships of Siraf are so put together, that the planks are not nailed or bolted, but joined together in an extraordinary manner, as if they were sewn. Whereas the planking of all ships of the Mediterranean Sea, and of the coast of Syria, are nailed, and not joined together in that way*.

We have also heard it reported, that ambergris has been found in the sea of Syria, which seems hard to believe, and was unknown to former times. If this be as is said, it is impossible that amber should have been thrown up in the sea of Syria, but by the sea of Aden, and of Kolzum, which has communication with the seas where amber is found; and because God has put a separation between these seas, if this story be true, it must necessarily have been, that this amber was driven first from the Indian Sea into the others, and so from the one to the other, till it at last came into the sea of Syria †.

44. We will now begin to speak of the province of Zapage, which is opposite to China, and distant from thence a full month's sail by sea, or less, if the wind be fair. The King of this country is styled Mehraje, and they say his dominions are nine hundred leagues in circumference, and that this King is master of many islands which lie round about. Thus altogether this kingdom is above a thousand leagues in extent; among those islands there is one called Serbeza, which is said to be four hundred leagues in circuit; and another called Rahmi, which is eight hundred leagues in compass, and produces redwood, camphire, and many other commodities. In this same kingdom is the island of Cala, which is the mid passage between China and the country of the Arabs.

This island, they say, is fourscore leagues in circumference; and hither they bring all sorts of merchandize, wood-aloes of several sorts, camphire, sandal-wood, ivory, the wood called cabahi, ebony, redwood, all sorts of spice, and many other things too tedious to enumerate. At present the commerce is carried on between this island and that of Oman. The Mehraje is the sovereign over all these islands; and that in which he makes his abode is extremely fertile, and so very populous, that the towns

wrong; but there is still something in it very bold, and well imagined, and at the bottom something of truth too; for though it was impossible that this ship should come into the Mediterranean in the manner our author imagines, yet it is not impossible but it might have come through the north-east passage, agreeable to the first part of his supposition; and if by the sea of Chozars, we understand that of Muscovy, he would be quite right.

* I very much doubt, whether the construction of this vessel, as our author describes it, be sufficient evidence of its coming from the Indies. It is very possible that it might have been a boat belonging to the inhabitants of Greenland, or of some other country bordering upon Hudson's Bay; since it is very certain that there are such vessels in these parts, and it is not at all impossible that this might have come from thence. I do not pretend, however, absolutely to contradict him, but only to shew that the argument he uses is not conclusive, though I think, as things then stood, he had sufficient grounds to believe it was conclusive.

† It is most evident, from our author's way of reasoning, that he had no notion of any passage by the Cape of Good Hope; for if he had, he would most certainly have taken this opportunity of insinuating it. At the same time, however, I leave it to the reader's consideration, whether this vessel, supposing it to have been built in the East Indies, might not have come this way into the Mediterranean, more probably than by the north-east passage. It is likewise clear from what our author has delivered, that the Arabians knew no more of Japan, which they called Sila, than they learned from the Chinese, since by the testimony of the oldest of our authors no Arab had yet set foot there in the year of the Hegira 230, A.D. 844.

almost

almost crowd one upon another. A person of great probity relates, that when the cocks crow at their accustomed hours, just as with us when at roost, upon trees, they answer each other a hundred leagues round and more, because of the proximity of the villages which almost touch each other; and he adds, that no part of it is uninhabited, nor any of its land uncultivated. Those who travel in this country may stop at every step, and find shelter from the beams of the noon-day sun; and if they are tired, they may repose themselves every day at noon, go which way they will.

45. Yet what follows from the testimony of several persons, is the most remarkable particular we have heard concerning the island of Zapage. There was formerly a King, or, as he is there called, Mehrage; his palace is still to be seen on a river as broad as the Tygris at Bagdad, or at Bassora. The sea intercepts the course of its waters, and drives them back again with the flood; and during the ebb, it streams out fresh water a good way into the sea. This river is let into a small pond close to the King's palace; and every morning the officer, who has charge of his household, brings an ingot of gold wrought in a particular manner, which is thrown into the pond in the presence of the King. The tide rising, covers it with the rest, and quite conceals them from sight. But low water discovers them, and they appear plain by the beams of the sun. The King comes to view them as often as he repairs to an apartment of state, which looks upon this pond. This custom is very scrupulously observed; and thus they every day throw an ingot of gold into this pond as long as the King lives, not touching them upon any account, but regarding this as a sacred treasure.

When the King dies, his successor causes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever melting. They count them, and melt them down; and this done, the sums arising out of this great quantity of gold are distributed to those of the royal household, men, women, and children, to the superior and inferior officers, each in proportion to the rank he bears; and the surplus is given away to the poor and infirm. Then they reckon up the number of ingots, and what they weigh, and say, such a Mehrage reigned so many years; for he left so many ingots of gold in the pond of the king; and they were distributed after his death to the people. It is accounted a felicity with them to have reigned a long while, and to have thus multiplied the number of those ingots given away at their death.

46. Their ancient history relates, that one of the kings of Komar would have waged war with him in this island. This country of Komar is the same from whence they bring the wood-aloes called *Hud al Komari*, nor is there any kingdom more populous in proportion than that of Komar. The inhabitants are all very courageous, and the boundless commerce with women, and the use of wine, are forbidden among them; nor have they any wine in their country. This kingdom was at peace with that of Zapage, where reigned the Mehrage. They are divided from each other by a passage of ten or twenty days sail, with a very easy gale. They say, that in former days there was a very young and high spirited Prince in this island of Komar. This King was one day in his palace, which looks upon a river much like the Euphrates at the entrance, and but a day's journey from the sea; his prime ministers were with him, and in the discourse they had together, notice was taken of the kingdom of the Mehrage, and its glory, how well it was peopled and cultivated, and the crowd of islands which depended thereupon.

Then said the King of Komar to his minister, I am seized with a desire which I earnestly wish to see accomplished. The minister, who was a wife and a prudent man, and no stranger to the levity of his master, answered, My Lord, what is your desire?

desire? I could wish, replied the King, to see in a dish the head of the Mehrage of Zapage. The minister, well aware it was jealousy that inspired him: with this impetuous fury, rejoined, My Lord, I wish you would not disturb your mind with such thoughts, since nothing ever fell out between those people and us, to furnish matter of complaint; they never offended us by word or deed, or ever did us the least injury; besides, they are divided from us, and have no manner of communication with our country, nor do they discover any inclination of making a conquest of this kingdom. No one therefore ought to hearken to such discourse, or make a word of answer upon this head. The King was enraged at this reply, and said not a word thereto; but without any regard had to the good advice of his first minister, he opened the same thing to the principal officers of state, and to such of his courtiers as he thought proper.

47. This matter being rumoured about, at length reached the ears of the Mehrage. He, who then reigned, was a wise and an active prince, of consummate experience, and in the flower of his age. He called for his first minister, and having acquainted him with what he had heard, said to him, it is by no means proper to publish the behaviour of this giddy Prince, or to betray how little we esteem him, because of his youth and slender experience; nor is it expedient to divulge what he said against me; for such speeches cannot but be prejudicial to the dignity of a King. Having thus enjoined his minister to conceal what had passed between them, he commanded him to prepare a thousand ships of no extraordinary size, and to equip them with all things necessary, arms and ammunition, and to man them with as many of his best forces as they could transport. Then he gave out that he would make a voyage through the neighbouring islands under his dominion, to divert himself. He wrote also to all the tributary princes of those islands, to acquaint them, that he designed them a visit; and this being a public talk, each of those kings prepared for the reception of the Mehrage.

When every thing was in readiness as he had ordered, he went on board his ships, and with a powerful army sailed over to the kingdom of Komar. The King and those belonging to his court were effeminate creatures, who all the day long did nothing but view their faces and rub their teeth, with mirrors and tooth-picks in their hands, or if they moved, had them carried after them by slaves. So the King of Komar discovered nothing of the Mehrage's purpose, till he appeared in the mouth of the river, on which stood the palace of the King of Komar, and till he had landed his troops, who immediately invested the capital, and there took him. The King was taken in his palace, and all that belonged to him fled without fighting.

Then the Mehrage caused proclamation to be made, that he granted entire security of life and effects to all the inhabitants of the country, and seating himself on the throne of the King of Komar, now a captive, he ordered him to be brought into his presence, together with his first minister. Then addressing himself to the King of Komar, he said, Who was it filled your head with a project unequal to your strength, and absolutely impossible for you to compass? What would you have done if you had gained your point? This Prince, who had nothing to say for himself, made no answer. Then, continued the Mehrage, if you had enjoyed the pleasure you wished, of seeing my head in a dish before you, you would have spoiled my kingdom, and retained it after you had committed all sorts of violence. I will not so behave with regard to you, but yet I will execute upon you what you wished concerning me, and then will I return into my kingdom, without touching any thing in your dominions, and without carrying away ought of great value or small, desirous only that you may be recorded as

example, for the instruction of those who shall come after you, that none may exceed the bounds of his power, that each may be contented with his own, and that those you have disturbed may be restored to perfect security*.

This said, he ordered them to strike off his head, and then turning to the minister, he said, You have done all a good minister could do; I know you offered good advice to your master, and that he hearkened not unto you. Consider who may best succeed this fool for the good of the kingdom, and set him immediately upon the throne. This done, the Mehrage departed for his own territories, and neither did he or any of his lay hands on the least thing in the kingdom of Komar. When he arrived in his own kingdom, he sat down upon the throne, and being in the palace which looked upon the pond before mentioned, he caused the head of the King of Komar to be put into a bason and set before him, and calling in the chiefs of his kingdom, he acquainted them with all he had done, and with the reasons which had induced him to the expedition we have related, and they approved the deed with acclamations and prayers for his prosperity. Then he ordered the head of the King of Komar to be washed and embalmed, and put it into a coffer, and sent it back to the King of Komar, who had been elected in the room of him he had put to death; at the same time writing a letter to this new Prince in the following terms: What inclined us to do what we did to your predecessor, and your Lord, was, his known malevolence towards us; and that we might set an example to his equals, we have been so happy as to treat him as he would have treated us. But we think it convenient to send his head back to you, having had no design of detaining it, or of arrogating any glory to ourselves, from the advantage we obtained over him. The news of this action being reported to the Kings of the Indies and of China, it added to the respect they before had for the Mehrage, and from that time it has been a custom with the kings of Komar, every morning they rise, to turn towards the country of Zapage, to prostrate themselves on the ground, and to make the most profound inclinations in honour of the Mehrage.

48. All the kings of the Indies and of China believe the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, and make it an article of their religion. A person of credit relates, that one of these princes being newly recovered of the small-pox, and beholding himself in a glass, was deeply troubled to see how sadly his face was disfigured, and that turning himself towards one of the five sons of his brother, he said to him, sure it never happened to any man as to me, to remain in his body after such a change? but this body is only a vessel puffed up with wind, and when the soul leaves it, she passes instantly into another. Go mount you upon the throne, for I am about to separate my body from my soul, until I return into another body: at the same time he called for a sharp and keen cangiar, with which he commanded his nephew to cut off his head, which the other did, and he was afterwards burnt, as is the custom of the country †. Our author here quits his subject somewhat abruptly, in order to return again

* This is a very pleasant story, and well related; but with respect to the country in which it happened, I think it very difficult to say any thing with certainty, and yet this does not at all lessen the credibility of the fact. It is not impossible, however, that this history might relate to some of the islands which are now called Philippines, or perhaps some of the islands in the straits of Sonda. I pretend to determine nothing in such doubtful points, but leave the reader to decide for himself, according to the lights given him by the author, who appears to have written with great caution and fidelity.

† This doctrine of the metempsychosis is generally held among the Chinese. Their histories say, that one Xekia, or Slekia, an Indian philosopher, who lived about a thousand years before Christ, was the first that taught this doctrine of transmigration; and our authors add, that the Chinese had it from the Indians. It over-ran China in the year of Christ 65, and the chiefs of this sect have to this day their

again to the country of China and the manners of its inhabitants. The reason of this is not at first sight very evident, but if we consider that he follows the former writer, we shall very easily discern that this was the true cause of his making so sudden a transition. What he had before said was in consequence of the facts delivered by the first author in regard to the Indies, and having discussed these, it was natural for him to follow that author in what he says of China and the Chinese, and indeed it must be allowed, that notwithstanding these small interruptions, there are scarce any books of travels of so ancient a date, written in a clearer or better method than these.

49. The Chinese were wonderfully regular in all things relating to government, before the last revolution destroyed and reduced them to the state they are in at present. There was a certain merchant, a native of Chorassan, who coming into Irak, there dealt to a considerable amount, and having brought up a quantity of goods went to China. This man was extremely selfish and of incredible avarice; it happened that the Emperor of China had sent one of his eunuchs to Canfu, the city of all the Arabian traders, there to purchase what he wanted, and was to be had on board of the ship that was arrived. This eunuch was one of those who had the largest share in his master's good opinion and confidence, and was keeper of his treasure and of all that he esteemed precious.

A dispute arose between this eunuch and the before mentioned merchant, about some pieces of ivory and other goods, and it ran so high that the merchant refused to deal with him. But this affair making a great noise, the eunuch pushed it so far, that he forced from him the choice of his goods, despising whatever the other could say to him. The merchant withdrawing himself, went privately to Cumdan where the Emperor resides, and which is two months journey from Canfu, and being arrived he went to the string of the bell mentioned in the former book. The custom was, that whoever pulled it was thereupon sent ten days journey from thence, into a kind of banishment; it was ordered also that he should be committed to prison, there to remain for two whole months; which expired, the vice-king or governor of the province released him, and said you have involved yourself in an affair which may turn to your utter ruin, and to the loss of your life if you speak not real truth; forasmuch as the Emperor hath appointed ministers and governors to distribute justice to you and to all strangers, nor is there any one of them that would not right you, if when you appear before the Emperor your wrongs are not such as may entitle you to have recourse to him, it will most certainly cost you your life, to the end that every man who would presume to do as you have done, may be deterred from the same. Withdraw therefore immediately, and begone about your business. Now if the party endeavoured to fly, he was chastised with fifty strokes of the bamboo, and was then sent back to the country whence he came; but if he persisted in his demand of redress, he was admitted to an audience of the Emperor.

abode on or near the mountain Tientai in the province of Chekiang. This Xekia, according to the Chinese tradition in Navarrete, has been born eight thousand times over, the last time in the form of a white elephant. It is he that was called Fohce after his apotheosis. The sect of Xekia, as we are told by father Martini, hold the metempsychosis; but this sect is divided into two branches, the one believing the exterior metempsychosis, or that the souls of men pass after death into other bodies, and these worship idols, and abstain from every thing that has life, while the other sect has faith in an interior metempsychosis, which is the principal foundation of their morality, which consists in the suppressing the passions, which are as so many different animals proceeding from man; but neither the one nor the other expect rewards or dread punishments in the world to come.

The Chorassian strenuously persisted in his demand of justice, and of leave to be admitted to the Emperor, which was at length granted him. The interpreter asking him his business, he related what had befallen him with the Emperor's officer, and how he had forced from him a part of his effects. This thing was soon divulged and noised about at Canfu; in the mean time the Emperor commanded the merchant to be cast into prison, and that care should be there taken that he wanted not for either victuals or drink.

At the same time he ordered his prime-minister to write to the Governor of Canfu, charging him to inform himself concerning the complaints of this merchant, and to examine into the grounds thereof; at the same time also three principal officers received the same order. These officers are called of the right, of the left, and of the midst, according to their rank, and have the command of the Emperor's forces under the prime-minister. He trusts them with the guard of his person, and when he takes the field for some military enterprize, or on any other account, each of them, according to his rank, marches near him. These three officers wrote each apart what they had upon the strictest enquiry discovered of the matter, and assured the Emperor that the merchant's complaint was just and well founded.

These first informations were followed and confirmed by many more sent to the Emperor from divers parts, and the eunuch was cited to appear. He no sooner arrived than the Emperor seized on all his effects, and deprived him of his office as treasurer, and then said to him, Death ought to be thy doom for giving this man, who is come from Chorassan on the frontiers of my kingdom, cause of complaint against me. He hath been in the country of the Arabs, whence he came into the kingdoms of the Indies, and at last to my city, seeking his advantage by trade, and thou wouldst have had him return cross these kingdoms, and have said to all the people in his way, I have been abused in China, where they have stripped me of my substance. I grant thee thy life in consideration of thy former services in the rank thou holdest in my house, but I will confer on thee a command among the dead, forasmuch as thou hast not been able to acquit thyself of thy duty in that thou holdest over the living, and he ordered him to be sent to the tombs of the kings, to have the custody of them, and there to remain for life*.

50. One thing most worthy admiration in China before the late commotions, was the good order they observed in the administration of justice, and the majesty of their tribunals; to fill them, they made choice of such men as were perfectly versed in their laws, and such consequently as were never at a loss, when they were to pass judgment, men of sincerity, zealous in the cause of justice upon every occasion, not be biased by what the great could offer to embroil a dispute, so that justice was always administered to him who had right on his side.

In a word, they made choice of upright men, of men who neither oppressed the poor, or accepted presents from the rich. When they designed to promote any man to the office of principal judge, they previously sent him to all the chief cities of the empire, in each of which he staid a month or two. During this space it was his bu-

* This was a very extraordinary act of justice in the Chinese Emperor, and very agreeable to the maxims of that empire, in which they are very fond, upon particular occasions, of doing things of this nature, especially where strangers are concerned, for two reasons: the first is, that these stories may be blazed abroad and create an high idea of the equity of their judgments, a thing very agreeable to the natural vanity of these people: the other, that it may have a good effect at home, and serve to make even the greatest and most powerful persons in China afraid of committing excesses in their respective offices.

sines most minutely to enquire into the affairs of the people, into all that passed in the city, and into the various customs. He informed himself of all such as deserved to be believed upon their testimony, and this knowledge was of use to him in the sequel, as occasion required. After he had gone through all the cities in the manner aforesaid, and made a stay of some time in the most considerable of them, he repaired to the imperial court where he was invested with the dignity of supreme judge.

To him therefore the Emperor referred the nomination of all the other judges, and by him were they appointed, after he had acquainted the Emperor with those who in his whole dominions were most worthy of exercising jurisdiction, each in his own city, or in others; for he knew who were commendable for their understanding; and so no one was raised who possessed not adequate endowments, or who bore not testimony according to the truth when he was interrogated. The Emperor allows none of his judges to write to him upon any affair when he is informed that he has done injustice, and even deprives them of their office. The supreme judge causes proclamation every day to be made before his gate by his officers, and in his name they cry out, If any man hath been wronged by the Vice-King, or Governor, who is not to be seen of the people, or by any one of his relations, or officers, or by any one of the body of the people I will do him ample justice, so soon as the offender is put into my hands, and that I have charge of him. This proclamation is thrice repeated.

It is an ancient custom with them never to degrade a vice-king or governor of a city, but by virtue of letters issued out of the council or divan of kings; and this is commonly executed for some flagrant malversation, or when judgement is suspended or delayed: but when the governor avoids these two things, it is seldom he is disturbed with letters of revocation, which are never drawn up but on a legal account. The posts of judicature are conferred on none but persons of probity, and lovers of justice, and so good order is maintained in the kingdom.

51. The province of Chorassan is almost on the borders of China. From China to Sogd, it is of about two months journey through almost impassable deserts, and through a country all covered with sand, where no water is to be found. It is not refreshed by any rivers, nor is there any habitation in this province; and for this reason it is that the Chorassanians can make no irruptions into China. That part of this empire which lies farthest westward, is the province of Medu, which borders upon Tibet, so that on this side the two nations are at war with each other.

Among those of our time who have travelled into China we were acquainted with one, who told us, he had seen a man that had a vessel with musk in it on his back, and had travelled on foot from Samare, and to Canfu, the port for all merchants from Siraf. He had by land travelled through all the cities of China one after another; which he might easily do, because the provinces of China and Tibet, where the creature that affords musk is met with, are contiguous. The Chinese carry off as many of these creatures as they can; and those of Tibet, on their part do the same*.

* As to this country of Tibet, it may not be amiss to say something of it here, because it will occur in the subsequent part of this work. It makes at this day a part only of the great kingdom of Tangut, which, according to the best accounts that I have met with, is thus situated. It has the empire of China on the east. The kingdom of Ava, or of Brama, on the south. The dominions of the Great Mogul on the west, and those of the Contaisch, or Great Khan of the Talmuc Tartars on the north. This kingdom is divided into two parts; that which lies to the north is the kingdom of Tangut properly so called; and the south part is the country of Tibet. Both taken together, make the patrimony of that famous ecclesiastical prince the Grand Lama, who is the pope or sovereign pontiff of the Tartars that are not Mohammedans; but whether they or he ought to be esteemed Pagans or Christians is a point that admits of much dispute, and shall therefore be discussed in another place.

But

But the musk of Tibet is far preferable to that of China for two reasons; first, in Tibet this creature feeds on aromatic pastures, while in China he has nothing to subsist him but what is common; secondly, the inhabitants of Tibet preferve their bladders or cods of musk in the pure natural state, while the Chinese adulterate all that come into their hands. They dip them also into the sea, or else expose them to the dew; and having kept them some time, they take off the outward membrane, and then close them up; and this musk passes in the country of the Arabs for musk of Tibet, because of its excellence.

The most exquisite of all the sorts of musk is what the roebucks that yield it leave behind them when they rub themselves against the rocks on the mountains; for the humour whence it is generated, falling down towards the navel of the creature, it there gathers into a quantity of turbid blood exactly like biles, and such-like tumours; when this swelling is ripe, the creature, sensible of a painful itching, seeks out for stones, and rubs himself against the same, till he opens his sore, and the contents run out. Now as soon as this matter falls from the creature, it coagulates, the wound closes, and the same kind of humour gathers to a head again as before.

In Tibet there are men who make it their business to collect this musk, and are very ready in knowing it; and having found it, they carefully collect it, and put it up in bladders, and it is carried to their Kings. This musk is most exquisite, when it has ripened in the bladder of the creature which bears it. It surpasses all others in goodness, just as fruit is better when it is gathered ripe from the tree, than when it is pulled green.

There is still another way of getting musk; they ensnare the creature in toils, and shoot him with arrows; but it often happens, that the hunters cut the tumours of the creature before the musk is elaborated; and in this case it has at first an ill scent, that prevails till the matter is thickened, which sometimes does not happen in a great while; but so soon as it coagulates, it turns to musk. This musk is a creature like our roebuck, his skin and colour the same, with slender legs, a split horn, smooth, but somewhat bending withal; on each side he has two small white teeth, which are straight, and rise above his muzzle, each half a finger, or somewhat less in length, and in their form not unlike the teeth of the elephant; and this is the mark which distinguishes this creature from other roebucks*.

53. The emperors of China write to the kings or governments of cities, to the eunuchs, or lieutenants, and their letters are conveyed by post-horses, with a cut tail, disposed almost like the posts among the Arabs, in such order as every body knows.

* We have formerly mentioned the animal which produces musk, the manner in which it is prepared, and the value of that rich perfume. At present we shall only remark, that the best writers, ancient and modern, agree perfectly with our author in opinion, that the richest and highest flavoured musk is that of Tibet, or, as others call it, Tumbage; and this because of the aromatic pastures in that land, such as are no where else to be found. That the Indian musk comes next in degree of fineness, if so we may term it, with what was brought to Cabul, and the other trading towns of the Indies by merchants, who carried it from China by land, and disposed of it throughout the east. That the Chinese musk is worst of all, not only because the Chinese adulterate it several ways, but also because what is produced naturally in that kingdom is not comparable to what is in Tibet. All this is confirmed by the testimony of the learned Golius; and Father Martini Teixeira says, the musk that does not come from China is always the best; and that the reason is, because the Chinese cannot find in their hearts to let that or any thing else that passes through their hands escape unadulterated. At present the kingdom of Boutan is the greatest mart for musk; and thence it is, that the Indian merchants fetch the best sort of this perfume, whether in the cod, or out of it.

Besides

Besides what we have here related concerning the Chinese customs, it is usual for the princes, and even the people to make water standing. Persons of dignity, as the vicings, and the principal officers, have gilded canes, a cubit long, which are bored through; and these they use as often as they make water, standing upright all the time, and by this means the tube carries the water to a good distance from them. They are of opinion, that all pains in the kidneys, the strangury, and even the stone, are caused by making water in a sitting posture; and that the reins cannot free themselves absolutely of these humours, but by standing to evacuate; and that thus this posture contributes exceedingly to the preservation of health. They suffer their hair to grow, for the men will not round the head of a child when he comes into the world, as the Arabs do, for they say it causes a considerable alteration in the brain, and that their senses are very sensibly impaired thereby. They suffer the head then to be all covered with hair, which they carefully comb.

As for their marriages, they observe the degrees of consanguinity after this manner: they are divided among themselves into families and tribes, like the Arabs, and some other nations; and they know each other by the difference of their descents. No man ever marries in his own tribe, just as the children of Thummin among the Arabs take not to wife a daughter of the same race of Thummin; and a man of one family espouses not a woman of the same. But, for example, a man of the family of Robayat marries into that of Modzar; and in like manner a Modzar marries with a Robayat; they are of opinion, that such alliances add to the nobility of the children by increasing their alliances, and rendering their families more powerful.

Here our author makes, as it were, another break in his work, in order to pass once more to the Indians, and their customs. In speaking of the method pursued by the first author, we observed that the main design of his work was, by comparing the manners of the Indians with those of the Chinese, to render them both better known to and more fully understood by his countrymen. His commentator therefore, with great propriety, follows the same track; and as he had consulted both books and travellers to illustrate what had been said of China, we shall find him as diligent in what regards India.

54. In the kingdom of the Balhara, and in all the other kingdoms of the Indies, there are certain persons who burn themselves. This custom proceeds from their notion of a Metempsychosis or transmigration, which they firmly believe as a truth never to be disputed. There are kings, who, upon their accession, observe the following ceremony: they dress a great quantity of rice, and pour it upon leaves of the Mousa in sight of the King; then three or four hundred persons come of their own accord without the least constraint on the part of the king, and present themselves before him; after he has eaten some of this rice, he gives a little of it to some of them as fast as they come up to him one after another, and they eat it in his presence*. By eating of this rice, they all engage to burn themselves on the day the king dies, or is slain; and they punc-

* This was a very old custom in other parts of the world, as appears from what Cæsar tells us of the Ambacti amongst the Gauls. In the Indies this notion generally prevailed; for in the island of Ceylon the King had always about him certain noblemen, who stiled themselves faithful to the King in this world, and in the next, and whose custom it was to burn themselves when he died. Barbosa observes the same thing with respect to the Naires, a sort of Indian soldiers, who always perished with their chief. In the kingdom of Tonquin, when the King died, many of his nobles desired to be buried with him. In a word, all the Portuguese writers confirm this, and give us many instances in support of it. The term they make use of in their writings, to express this act of devoting themselves in such a manner to a Monarch, is *Fuzer se Amoucor*.

tually fulfil their promise, throwing themselves into the fire from the first to the last, so that not one of them is left behind.

When a man is determined to burn himself, he first goes to the King's palace to ask leave so to do, and having obtained it, he goes round the public squares of the city, and proceeding afterwards to the place where the pile is heaped up with dry wood, while round about it stand many persons who feed the fire, so that it is very violent, and blazes prodigiously. At last the person comes preceded by a number of instruments, and moves round the place in the midst of his friends and relations; during which some put upon his head a garland of straw, or dry herbs, which they fill with burning coals, whereon they pour sandarac, which catches fire as strongly as naphtha; nevertheless, he continues the procession although the crown of his head be all on fire, and the stench of his burnt flesh be smelt, not so much as changing countenance in the least, or betraying the smallest sense of pain: at last he comes to the pile, throws himself into it, and is soon reduced to ashes*.

55. A certain person, to whom we give entire credit, says, he beheld one of these Indians burn himself, and avers, that when he came near to the pile, he drew out a cangiar, and with it ripped down his breast to the rim of his belly, and that this done he with his left hand pulled out a flap of his liver, and with the cangiar cut a piece of it which he gave to one of his brothers, talking all the time, and discovering an invincible contempt of death, and a wonderful patience under his torments, till at last he leaped into the fire in his passage to hell.

56. The person who affirmed this added, that in the mountains of this country there are Indians, who in opinions and manners differ but little from those we call Kanisians and Jelidians, and who are addicted to all manner of superstition and vice. There is a great emulation between these mountaineers and the people on the coast, the latter continually going up to the mountains to dare the inhabitants there to do as they do, and the mountaineers on their part as frequently coming down to the coast with defiance of the same nature.

Among others, there once came down a man on this errand, and having gathered a number of the inhabitants of the coast about him, who came as well out of curiosity to see the sight, as with intent to imitate him, he told them to do what he was about to perform, or if they despaired of doing it, to acknowledge themselves overcome. He sat himself down then in a place planted with canes, and directed them to bend one of them down to the ground. These canes are like our sugar canes, bend like them, and have a very large stem; when they are pulled down they lie along, but when let go they rise again with prodigious violence. One of the largest of these he caused to be bowed down to his height, and fastened his hair strongly thereto, when taking in his hand his cangiar, which sparkled like fire, he said to those about him, I am going to cut off my head with this cangiar. As soon as it is severed from my body, let go the cane, and when it flies up with my head, I will laugh and you shall hear me. The people of the coast had not courage enough to imitate him. The person who related

* There are many modern authors who attest every circumstance mentioned in this account; but it must be acknowledged, few besides women burn themselves; and that the Bramins, who were wont to behave with so much constancy on such occasions, are now content to die in the same way with other men; and even the women, generally speaking, are far enough from that spirit of heroism for which they were so famous in former ages. They burn themselves, indeed, with the dead bodies of their husbands, as in times past, but not with so good a will; nor would they do it at all, but that the custom of their country and the power their relations have over them, oblige them to it.

times these facts are very generally known, for this part of the Indies is in the neighbourhood of the country of the Arabs, and we hear from thence every day.

57. It is a customary thing also for men and women of the Indian blood, to desire those of their family to throw them into the fire, or drown them when they are grown old, or perceive themselves sink under the weight of their years, firmly believing that they are to return in other bodies. They burn their dead. It has often times happened in the isle of Sarandib, where there is a mine of precious stones in a mountain, a pearl fishery, and other rare and extraordinary things, that an Indian would come into the Buzar, or market-place, with his Kris, as they call a kind of cangiar they wear, made after a very particular manner, and seize on the most wealthy merchant there present, and holding his Kris to his throat, leading him by the vest out of the city in the midst of a throng of people, while not a soul of them dared attempt his rescue; for if any attempt of this kind was made, the Indian was sure to kill the merchant, and make away with himself: when he had got him out of the city, he obliged him to redeem himself with a sum of money. This outrage continuing, the kings ordained that such Indians should be seized; but when they came to execute this order, the Indian killed the merchant first, and then himself: the same misfortune befel many other merchants; and after this manner a number both of Arabs and Indians perished: the merchants therefore sought after other means to secure themselves and the Indians were no longer apprehended.

58. In the mountain of Sarandib they find precious stones of various colours, red, green, and yellow, most of which are at certain times forced out of caverns and other recesses by rains and torrents. In these places the king has his officers to keep an eye over those who pick them up: many times also they are dug out of mines in the same manner as metals; and they sometimes find precious stones in the ore, which must be broken to get at them.

The King of this island makes laws, which are the fundamentals of the religion and government of the country; here are doctors and assemblies of learned men, like those of the Hadithis among the Arabs. The Indians repair to these assemblies, and write down what they hear of the lives of their prophets, and the various expositions of their laws. Here is a very great idol of the finest gold, but concerning the weight thereof travellers are not agreed. Here also are temples, where great sums of money are expended in incense*.

In this same island there is a very great multitude of Jews, as well as of many other sects, even Tanouis, or Manichees, the King permitting the free exercise of every religion. At the end of this island are vallies of great length and breadth, which extend quite to the sea. Here travellers stay two months and more in that called Gab Sarandib, allured by the beauty of the country, chequered with groves and plains, water and meads, and blessed with a wholesome air. This valley opens upon the sea called Harkand, and is transcendently pleasant. You there buy a sheep for half a dram, and for the same you purchase as much of their drink as may suffice many persons.

* It appears, that this island, which is that of Ceylon, has been in all ages famous for its immense wealth and riches. As to the idol that our author mentions, it is not impossible that the priests of this country might practise the same art, which has been used at Siam, where they have a monstrous idol of clay and bricks, very artificially gilt, which was for many ages supposed to be pure gold; though it must be allowed, that there are few countries where such a golden image might be looked for with greater probability, than in this island, the people having been always equally remarkable for their wealth and superstition.

This drink is made of palm-honey, boiled and prepared with Tari (Toddi), or juice which runs from the tree.

59. Gaming is the usual diversion of the inhabitants here; they play at draughts, and their principal pastime is fighting of cocks, which are very large in this country, and better provided with spurs than cocks commonly are; and besides this, the Indians arm them with blades of iron in the form of cangiaris. Upon these combats they bet gold, silver, lands, and farms, which are won by the owner of the cock that beats. They play also at draughts, and venture great sums upon this game, but with such fury, that those who have not wherewithal, debauchees, and desperate people, often play away the ends of their fingers.

While they are at play they have a fire by them, and thereon a pot of walnut or sea-fame oil, (they have no oil of olives,) and they place a little but very sharp hatchet between them; when one of them has won a game, the other lays his hand upon a stone, and the winner cuts off the end of the loser's finger with the hatchet, and the patient dips the injured part into the boiling oil to cauterise the wound, and yet they cannot shake off this evil habit of gaming; on the contrary, they sometimes persist in it so obstinately and so long, that before they part, they have all their fingers thus mutilated. Some of them will take a wick, and soaking it in oil, apply it to some member, set fire to it, and let it burn, so that the scent of the burnt flesh is sinelt by those who play with them, while the parties themselves betray not the least sense of pain.

There is much debauchery in this country, as well among the women as among the men, for they are laid under no restraint. It runs so high, that sometimes a foreign merchant, just arrived from sea, shall send for the daughter of a King of the country, and she shall come to him to the fishing grounds, with her father's consent and privity; wherefore the Mohammedan doctors of Siraf strictly warn young people not to go that way*.

60. In the Indies there are heavy rains, which the people of the country call Jafara; they last three whole months during summer, incessantly, night and day, and scarce does the winter stop them. The Indians, to the best of their abilities, prepare themselves against these rains some time before they fall; and no sooner do they come on, than they shut themselves up in their houses, made of wood and cane, interwoven, and thatched with leaves; they stir not out during all this time, and no soul is seen abroad, no, not even the artificers, who now do their work at home; and during this season, they are subject to several sorts of ulcers in the soles of their feet, caused by the damps. The rains are the life of the Indians; were they to fail, they would be reduced to the utmost want, for their fields, sown with rice, are watered only by rains, and are rendered fruitful thereby; for if great store of water lie upon the rice-grounds, they need no other help either from industry or art; but when the rains are plentifully poured down, the rice flourishes abundantly, and even becomes much better in kind. It never rains in this country in the winter.

62. The Indians have devout men, or doctors, known by the name of Bramins. They have poets also, who compose verses, stuffed with flattery, in praise of their kings. They have also astrologers, philosophers, soothsayers, and men who observe the flight

* This is very agreeable to that severity of manners, for which the Mohammedans were remarkable in these early ages; and it shews how careful they were to preserve the morals of the younger sort of people uncorrupted. It was upon the same principle that the old Spartans did not admit of any commerce at all, as desiring rather to be known to posterity by the fame of their virtues than of their wealth; and being more assiduous to transmit to their descendants freedom, and the power of maintaining it, than fine palaces; and that ability of living luxuriously, which ends sooner or later in abject poverty.

of birds; and others who pretend to the calculation of nativities, particularly at Kanuge, a great city in the kingdom of Gozar*.

In the Indies there are certain men called Bicar †, who go their lifetime naked, and suffer their hair to grow till it hides their hinder parts, and the rest of their body. They suffer also their nails to grow so that they become pointed, and sharp as swords; nor do they ever cut them, but leave them to break and fall off as it happens; and this they observe as a religious duty: each of them has a string about his neck, to which hangs an earthen porringer, and when they are pressed by hunger, they stop at the door of some Indian house, and those within immediately, and with much satisfaction bring out rice to them, believing there is great merit in so doing, while they eat out of the porringer and withdraw, never returning to make the same request, if not urged thereto by downright want.

62. The Indians have many laws and religious precepts, by which they imagine they please God; of such as these it is written in the Koran, "The wicked are mighty in pride." One part of their devotion consists in building of Kans, or inns upon the highways, for the accommodation of travellers, where also they set up a sort of pedlars, of whom the passengers may purchase whatever they may happen to want †.

They there also fettle public women, such as are in the Indies, who expose themselves to travellers; all which the Indians number among their meritorious deeds. But they have besides these in the Indies public women, called Women of the Idol, the origin of whose institution is this: when a woman has laid herself under a vow, that she may have children, if it happens that she brings forth a handsome daughter, she carries the child to the Bod (so they call the idol they worship), and there leaves her. When the girl has attained a proper age, she takes an apartment in this public place, and spreads a curtain before the door, and waits the arrival of strangers, as well Indians, or men of other sects, to whom this debauchery is made lawful; she prostitutes herself at a certain rate, and delivers her gains into the hands of the idol's priest, to be by him disposed of for the use and support of the temple §. We praise the almighty and glo-

* The reader has been so fully informed of the state of the Bramhans among the ancient Indians, and of the communities formed by them for the promoting of science, that there is no need of insisting long upon this settlement of the Bramhins, which, without doubt, was a remnant of some ancient university in the same place. Some of the Arabian geographers assure us, that this city of the Kanuge lies between two branches of the river Ganges in the latitude of 27°, and in the longitude of 131°. Other eastern writers inform us, that Kanuge is also a royal city, the King of which is styled the Kanuge, according to the common custom of the Indies. It is very difficult to say when or how this kingdom and university was ruined; but at present it is very clear, that there is no such establishment as in the text is mentioned.

† These are no other than the associated Bramhins, or Indian pilgrims, or penitents, mentioned by most travellers, who relate very extraordinary things with respect to the austerity of their manners, and the severity of their penances, as the reader will see in the subsequent part of this work.

‡ There are many foundations of this sort in the Indies, as well as in Turkey, Persia, and Mogulistan; not to mention the many hospitals in the Indies for sick animals. Thevenot observes, that the charity of the Indians of Cahul consists in digging of pits, or sinking of wells, and in erecting a number of small receptacles on the highways, for the accommodation of travellers.

§ This infamous practice is of old standing in the east. Herodotus has a story of this kind, of women who prostituted themselves in honour of Mylittia, who, by the analogy of the Chaldee, must be Venus; and the tents or tabernacles of these women were much like those described by our author. In Marco Polo we read, that the people of the province of Canida did the same thing, exposing their women in honour of their idols. Tavernier speaks of a Pagod near Cambaya, whither most of the courtezans of the Indies repair, to make their offerings; and adds, that old women who have scraped together a sum of money, buy young female slaves, whom they train up to wanton songs and dances, and all the allurements of their infamous calling; and that when the girls have attained their eleventh or twelfth year, their mistresses conduct them to this Pagod, under a notion that it is a happiness for them to be offered and delivered up to the idol.

rious God, who hath chosen us to be free of the sins which defile the man involved in infidelity!

Not very far from Almansin, there is a famous idol called Multan, whither they resort in pilgrimage from the remotest parts, even from distances of several months journey: some of the pilgrims bring with them some of the odoriferous wood Hud al Camruni, so called from the city of Camrun; where they have an excellent wood-aloes, which they offer to this idol, delivering it to the priest of the temple, that he may burn it before his god. Some of this wood is worth two hundred dinars the man*, and is commonly marked with a seal to distinguish it from another sort of the same wood, but of less value: it is usual for merchants to buy it of the idolatrous priests.

63. There are likewise among the Indians certain men who make profession of piety, and whose devotion consists in seeking after unknown islands, or such as are newly discovered, there to plant cocoa-nut trees, and to sink wells of water for the use of ships that sail to those parts. There are people at Oman who cross over to the islands that produce cocoa-nuts, carrying with them carpenter's tools, and having felled as much wood as they want, they let it dry, and then strip off the leaves, and with the bark of the tree they spin a yarn, wherewith they sew the planks together, and so build a ship; of fane wood they cut and round away a mast; of the leaves they weave their sails, and the bark they work into cordage; having thus completed their vessel, they load her with cocoa-nuts, which they bring and sell at Oman. Thus it is, that from this tree alone so many articles are derived, as suffice not only to build and rig out the vessel, but to load her also when she is completed, and in a trim fit to sail †.

64. The country of the Zinges or Negroes is of vast extent; they there commonly sow millet, which is the chief food of the negroes. Sugar canes also they have, and other sorts of trees, but their sugar is very black. These people have a number of kings, who are always at war with each other. About their kings they have certain men called Moharamin, because each of them bore their nose, and wear therein a ring: they have chains also fastened about their necks, and when they are at war and going to fight, they each take one end of his companion's chain, and pass it through the ring that hangs under his nose; two men hold this chain, and so prevent the rest from advancing towards the enemy till deputies have been from side to side to negotiate a peace; which, if it is concluded, they take their chains about their necks again, and retire without fighting: but when they once begin to unsheath the sword, not one soul of them quits his post, but remains there till he is slain.

* As this kind of money is very often mentioned, both in the former treatise and in this, it may not be amiss to say something of its value: the dinar is of very fine gold, and, according to the proportion which that metal bears now to silver, that coin ought to be reckoned at about nine shillings; from whence we conceive at once the value of the copper money of China, since a thousand of these copper pieces were equal only to one dinar; from whence it follows, that nine of these pieces of copper money, called by the Arabs Falas, were worth about one penny.

† This passage is very singular, but the facts contained therein are incontestably true; the cocoa-tree furnishes every thing necessary for building and rigging such ships as are used in the Indies, and for a cargo of considerable value when built. The body of the tree furnishes plank, masts, anchors, and oars. That substance like thread, which covers the nut, and which may be drawn out and spun, makes the most excellent cordage in the world, inasmuch as it never decays in the water. The anchors are not to be boasted of, but they serve well enough for such vessels. The liquor in the nut when fermented, becomes a kind of wine; when sour, it is an excellent vinegar, and distilled, it affords a soft, pleasant brandy. It is certain, that the inhabitants of the Maldives, subsist chiefly on their trade in cocoa-nuts, cocoa plank, and the cordage made from this tree; the manufacture of which they are better skilled in than any other people in the Indies.

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They have all of them a profound veneration for the Arabs, and when they chance to see any of them, they fall down before him, and cry, "This man comes from the kingdom where flourishes the date-bearing palm," for they are very fond of dates. Among these people there are preachers who harangue them in their own tongue, nor may the Catechs or orators of any other nation whatsoever be compared with them. Some of these profess a religious life, and are covered with the skin of a leopard or ape. One of these men with a staff in his hand shall present himself before them, and having gathered a multitude of people about him, preach all the day long to them. He speaks of God, and recites the actions of their countrymen who are gone before them. From this country they bring the leopard skins called Zingiet, spotted with red and black, very great and broad.

65. In this same sea is the island of Socotra, whence come the Socotrin aloes. This isle lies near the land of Zinges, and near also to the country of the Arabs, and most of its inhabitants are Christians, which is thus accounted for: When Alexander subdued the kingdom of the Persians, his preceptor Aristotle, to whom he had by letters communicated his conquests, wrote back to him to desire, that by all means he would seek after the island of Socotra, which afforded aloes, an excellent drug, and without which they could not make up the famous medicament called Hiera: that the best way would be to remove the inhabitants thence, and instead of them plant a colony of Greeks, that they might send aloes into Syria, Greece, and Egypt. Accordingly Alexander gave the necessary orders to dispossess the inhabitants, and to settle a colony of Greeks in their stead. Then he commanded the Kings of the nations who divided his empire after he had slain the Great Darius, to execute the orders he had issued out for the preservation of these Greeks: they remained then as a garrison upon this island, till God sent JESUS CHRIST into the world. When the Greeks of this same isle being informed thereof, embraced the Christian faith as the other Greeks had done before them, and in the profession of this faith have they persevered to this day, as well as all the inhabitants of the other isles.

In the former book, no mention is made of the sea which stretches away to the right, as ships part from Oman and the coast of Arabia, to launch into the great sea; but the author describes only the sea on the left, and in which is comprehended the seas of India and China, which he seems to have particularly had in his eye. In this sea, which is as it were on the right of the Indies as you leave Oman, in the country of Sihar or Shihr, where frankincense grows, and the other countries possessed by the nations of Cedd, Hamyer, Josham, and Theoteba. The people in this country have the Sonra in Arabic of very antient date, but in many things different from what is in the hands of the Arabs, and containing many traditions to us unknown: they have no villages, and they lead a hard and a very miserable life*.

The country they inhabit extends almost as far as Aden and Judda, upon the coast of Yaman, or Arabia the Happy; from Judda it stretches up into the continent as far as the coast of Syria, and ends at Kolzum. The seas in this part divide by a slip of land, which God has fixed as a line of separation between these two seas, as it is written in

* The Arabs, besides the Koran, have made traditions relating to the Mohammedan religion, which they received from the companions of their Prophet and his disciples; from these traditions and stories they form the body of their Sonna, which therefore is very different in different places; so that not only the Sonna of the Persians differs from that of the Arabians, but that of the Africans varies from that of Mecca, and the Arabians of the Desert: in a word, the Sonna, with respect to the Mohammedans, is pretty near the same thing with the Talmud among the Jews; and it is owing to both, that there are so many different sects, and such a variety of fabulous notions amongst the people of both religions.

the Koran : from Kolzum the sea stretches along the coast of the Barbarians to the west coasts, which is opposite to Yaman, and then along the coast of Æthiopia ; from whence you have the leopard skins of Barbary, which are the best of all, and most skillfully dressed ; and lastly, along the coast of Zeilah, whence you have amber and tortoise-shell.

When the Siraf ships arrive in this sea, which is to the right of the sea of India, they put into Judda, where they remain, for their cargo is thence transported to Kehira (or Cairo)-by ships of Kolzum, who are acquainted with the navigation of the Red Sea, which those of Siraf dare not attempt, because of the extreme danger, and because this sea is full of rocks at the water's edge ; because also, upon the whole coast there are no kings, or scarce any inhabited place ; and, in fine, because ships are every night obliged to put into some place of safety, for fear of striking upon the rocks. They sail in the daytime only, and all night ride fast at anchor. This sea moreover is subject to very thick fogs, and to violent gales of wind, and so has nothing to recommend it either within or without.

66. It is not like the sea of India or of China, whose bottom is rich with pearls and ambergis, whose mountains of the coast are stored with gold and precious stones, whose gulphs breed creatures that yield ivory, and among the plants of whose shores are ebony, red-wood, and the wood of Hairzan, aloes, camphire, nutmegs, cloves, sandal-wood, and all other spices and aromatics ; where parrots and peacocks are birds of the forest, and musk and civet are collected upon the lands : in short, so productive are those shores of inestimable things, that it is impossible to reckon them up*.

Ambergis, which is thrown upon the coast of this same sea, is washed to shore by the swell : it begins to be found in the Indian sea, but whence it comes is unknown. We only know that the best of it is thrown upon the Barbary coast, or upon the confines of the land of Negroes, towards Sihar, and places thereabouts : it is of a bluish-white, in round lumps. The inhabitants of this country have camels trained up to the business, which they mount, and go in search of it by moonshine, and ride for that purpose along the shore. The camels are broke to this, and as soon as they perceive a piece of ambergis they bend their knees, and their rider picks it up †.

There is another sort, which swim in great lumps upon the surface of the sea, almost like the body of an ox, or a little less, and weigh a great deal. When a certain fish of the whale kind, called Tal, sees these floating lumps, he swallows the same, and is killed thereby : then they see the whale floating upon the surface, and instantly the men who are accustomed to this kind of fishery, and know when these whales have swallowed amber, go out to him in their boats, and darting him with iron harpoons, they tow him to shore, where they split him down the back, and take out the amber ; what they find about

* This is at once a very magnificent, and a very just account of the wealth of the Indies, and it proves very plainly, that scarce any part of its riches were concealed from the Arabs at this time ; so that what some writers report of the delugas formed by the Khaliffs and Sultans of Egypt, for making themselves masters of the coasts of India, and even of its islands, hath nothing in it absurd or incredible.

† Ambergis, or as it ought to be wrote, amber gris, is a very rich perfume, and it is certain that there is more of it, and in greater perfection in the Indian sea, than in any other of the whole world. How it is formed, or from whence it comes, is as great a secret to us as it was to the Arabs. It is of different colours, viz. dark grey, light grey, black, and red ; but the first is the most esteemed, as having by far the richest scent. What our author reports of its being found in this manner by camels, is not very improbable ; for the best ambergis in the world is driven on the shore of the island of Prince Maurice, and the Dutch assure us, that their dogs smell it out at a great distance, and run furiously to the shore in order to devour it.

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the belly of the creature is commonly spoiled with the wet, and contracts an unpleasant scent*.

You may buy the bones of this fish of the druggists of Bagdat and Bassora. The amber which has not been infected by the ordure in the belly of the whale, is perfectly good: it is a usual thing to make stools of the vertebræ of the back-bone of this whale, called Tal. They say, that in a village ten leagues from Siraf, called Tain, there are old houses neatly enough built, the lintels of whose doors are of the rib of this whale. I have heard a person say, that formerly one was thrown upon the coast not very far from Siraf, and that going to view him, he saw people getting upon the back of this creature with ladders, and that the fishermen exposed him to the sun, sliced away his flesh, and having digged a pit, gathered up the grease which was melted by the sun, and that having drained off all the oil, they sold it to the masters of ships. This oil mixed up with another kind of stuff, in use with seamen, serves for caulking of ships to secure the seams of the planking, and to stop up leaks. This whale oil is a valuable commodity, and produces great sums of money.

67. Our author proposing next to speak of pearls, breaks out first, according to the custom of the Arabs, into the following pious soliloquy, which I would not omit, because it is a kind of characteristic in their manner of writing, and may enable the reader to account for such apostrophes in other pieces of this nature. Let us, before we speak of pearls, and the manner of their formation, magnify the great God, who in wisdom has created all things out of earth, and so fashioned living creatures, as that they produce their like. Wherefore for these things which we know, and for many more which we know not, all glory be unto the Almighty, and all reverence paid unto his most holy and tremendous name.

Pearls begin to be formed of a substance at first somewhat like the plant called Anjedana, being in size the same, in colour and figure pretty much alike, small, thin, and tender, just like the leaves of this plant; at first it swims feebly on the surface and sticks to the sides of ships under water, where in time it hardens, grows and gets covered with a shell. When these oysters become heavy, they fall down to the bottom of the sea, where they subsist after a manner to us unknown. They appear no other than a piece of red flesh, like the tongue towards the root, without bones, sinews, or veins.

But there are various opinions touching the production of pearls, for some say when it rains the oysters rise up to the surface, and that gaping, the drops of water they catch turn to pearls. Others hold, they are generated in the oysters themselves, which is most likely, and is confirmed by experience; for most that are found in oysters are fixed, and move not. When they are loose, the merchants call them seed pearl: God alone knoweth how this matter is.

68. Now this is the most wonderful thing we have heard concerning the subsistence of oysters. A certain Arab came formerly to Bassora, and brought with him a pearl worth a great sum of money; he shewed it to a druggist of his acquaintance, and, ignorant of the value thereof, asked him what he thought of it? The merchant telling him it was a pearl, the Arab asked him what he thought it might be worth? and he valued it at a hundred pieces of silver. The Arab much astonished at his words, asked if any

* The Abbé Renaudot, in his notes upon this treatise, speaks very slightly of this story, and seems to think it fabulous. There is however no sort of cause for this suspicion; since this sort of whale is very often found in the West Indian seas, and especially on the coast of Bermudas, and vast quantities of ambergris are taken out of its guts. It is also very certain, that though the best of this perfume is found in the Indian seas, yet ambergris has been frequently found on the shore even of our own islands, as well as in some other parts of Europe, and in America it is very common.

person would be willing to give him what he had said it was worth : upon which the merchant counted him out a hundred drams, and with this money the Arab purchased corn to carry back into his own country. The merchant, on the other hand, brought the pearl to Bagdad, and sold it at a very high rate, which enabled him afterwards to deal very considerably. This same merchant declared that he had examined the Arab touching the origin of pearls, and that he delivered himself to the following effect : " I was going along," said he, " by Saman in the district of Bahrein, not very far distant from the sea, and upon the sand I saw a dead fox, with something at his muzzle that held him fast. I drew near, and saw a white glittering shell, in which I found the pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the oyster was upon the shore, driven thither by tempest, which very often happens. The fox passing by and leering at the meat of the oyster, as the shell stood open, jumped thereon, and thrust in his snout to seize the fish, which in its defence closing, locked him fast, as has been said ; for it is a property of theirs never to let go their hold of any thing, except forcibly opened by an iron instrument at their edges."

This is the oyster that breeds pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a mother her child ; when therefore it was sensible of the fox, it withdrew, as to avoid an enemy, and the fox feeling himself squeezed, beat the ground on each hand, till it was stifled, and so died. The Arab found the pearl, and God would have it that he should apply himself to the merchant ; a very happy thing for him *.

69. The Kings of the Indies wear ear-rings of stones set in precious gold. They wear also collars of great price, adorned with precious stones of different colours, but especially green and red ; yet pearls are what they most esteem, and their value surpasses that of all other jewels ; they at present hoard them up in their treasures with their most precious things. The grandees of their court, the great officers and captains wear the like jewels in their collars † ; they dress in a half vest, and carry an umbrella of peacock's feathers to shade them from the sun, and are surrounded by those of their train.

There are certain Indians who never eat two out of the same dish, or upon the same table, and would esteem it a very great sin if they should. When they come to Siraf, and are invited by any of the considerable merchants who are in that city, they must, though they are a hundred in number, each have a separate dish, and without the least communication with the rest. The Kings and persons of high quality have fresh tables

* I must confess this story seems to me by far the meanest passage in the whole work, and all the remarks upon pearls are very low and trifling : but at the same time it must be allowed, that we know very little more about them than either the ancients or the Arabs. What seems most probable is, that pearls are not the natural produce of any oysters ; by which I mean, that they are an irregular and accidental production, occasioned by some infirmity or disease in the fish. I am led to this notion from two reasons : the first is, that when animal substances begin to corrupt, they commonly shine, which perhaps may be the effect of some intestine motion ; the other, that pearl oysters are not eatable, but tough, tasteless, and very unwholesome.

† The princes and chief inhabitants of these countries were by this time better acquainted with the nature and value of all sorts of precious stones than formerly they had been, and of these they had of all kinds from the mines in the island of Ceylon. It is remarkable that the Arabs have but one word to signify coloured stones, which is Yacut, or Jacut, which, strictly speaking, signifies a jacinth ; but to vary this, and to render it expressive of rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, they add the name of the colour to the stone. It will be proper to make two remarks upon this subject before we leave it : the first is, that our author is perfectly in the right in his observation, that pearls are more esteemed in India than many other parts of the world, and that they are more valued there in proportion than any other kind of jewels. Our second observation is, as to the carrying emeralds thither from Egypt, which is a very plain proof of the truth of what we have often asserted, viz. that these stones are not strictly speaking oriental, though they may, and indeed do, very often come to us from the east.

made for them every day, together with little dishes and plates wove of the cocoa-nut leaf, in which they eat what is prepared for their subsistence; and their meal once over, they throw the table, the dishes and plates into the water, together with the fragments they have left. Thus at every meal they have a new service. To the Indies they formerly carried the dinars, called Sindiats, or gold pieces of the Sind and the Dinar, which there passed for three of ours and even more. Thither also are carried emeralds from Egypt, which are set for rings.

70. These two authentic pieces are of very great use in filling up this period of Indian history, of which, till they appeared, we had no memoirs at all. It is plain enough from the account given us by the first author, that voyages from Siraf to China were not very frequent, till about this time, for otherwise he would not have described that navigation so particularly. But it appears no less clearly from the second treatise, that these long voyages were grown into much greater use between the time the first voyage was made, and this commentary upon it was drawn up; for otherwise the second writer would have been but indifferently furnished with materials, whereas we find that he stood in no sort of want of them, but was able to mention the voyages and travels of four or five different persons into China and the Indies, exclusive of the author, whose voyage gave occasion to this discourse.

The most remarkable of these was Eben Wahab, whose adventures are equally singular and instructive, since from them it is very evident that the Chinese Emperor, to whose presence he was admitted, had, as we observed, very perfect intelligence as to the Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan religions, and as to the history of their founders and propagators. We might indeed suspect the truth of this, if there were not some other circumstances in this discourse which render them not only probable but certain. I mean the destruction of the capital of China at that time, which our author calls the city of Cumdan, and which without doubt was no other than Nankin, and Canfu, or Canton, in which so many thousand Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans were slain; a clear demonstration that multitudes of all these religions had been long before settled in that empire, and consequently the Chinese monarch had it fully in his power to be well acquainted with all the particulars before mentioned.

Neither does this fact stand entirely upon the credit of this treatise, since an ancient monument has been discovered in China, which plainly proves that Christians from Syria were settled there in ancient times*, though none were to be found when the first travellers from Europe went thither, which is as strong a confirmation of the truth of what our author relates, as in the nature of things can possibly be expected. The missionaries also that were first sent to China found there visible marks of Christianity, though they found no Christians. The Jews have been settled in that empire for time immemorial, and many of them for the sake of riches and preferment have abjured their own religion, and embraced the opinions of the Chinese, which is also an unquestionable argument of the truth of these relations.

We may add to this the conformity between the accounts given by our travellers and the best Chinese histories, which never could have happened, if the former had not been

* This ancient monument was first mentioned by the famous Jesuit Kircher, who made many mistakes about it, and from thence there grew some questions as to the matter of fact, which however upon inquiry has been since clearly made out, and from thence it is evident, that the Christian religion was settled in China in A. D. 636, that is, upwards of two hundred years before the massacre at Canton, mentioned by the last of our authors. We have no certain accounts of the Christians in China beyond the tenth century, and when the Portuguese came first to Canton under Don Fernand Perez d'Andrada, which was A. D. 1517, there was no sort of remembrance of Christianity preserved in that empire; so that it is impossible to discover how this religion was exterminated there, otherwise than for want of pastors.

in every respect agreeable to truth. All this is not only supported by our knowledge of many of the customs of these people, which remain to this day the same with those reported in these relations, but they are still more plainly verified by such as are now no longer in use, because many Chinese writers, and Christian missionaries from them, take notice of such obsolete customs, and inform us when they were laid aside or began to grow into disuse. On the whole, therefore, we may safely affirm, that these treatises are free from all just grounds of suspicion, and ought to be regarded as the earliest and best accounts we have of this empire and its inhabitants.

They are, considered in this light, of very great use in many respects, but more especially in correcting those errors that have been introduced by authors who depended more upon their own conjectures, than on any light they received from experience, endeavouring to impose upon their readers their notions of things as facts of undoubted credit, of which it may not be amiss to give a few instances. Our author is the oldest, and indeed almost the only Arabian writer that mentions the Chinese drink, so universally used in our days all over Europe, and known by the name of Tea. He says that it is an herb or shrub, more bushy than the pomegranate-tree, and of a more pleasant scent, but somewhat bitter to the taste. That the Chinese boil water and pour it in scalding hot upon this leaf, and that this infusion preserves them from all distempers. This, to be sure, is an imperfect description; but it is plain enough to evince, that nothing can be meant but the plant we know by the name of tea; the same with the Tcha Catyai, or Sini of the orientals.

The tree which bears this leaf is but small, and ought to be reckoned among shrubs. It has a pleasant kind of violet scent, is bitter to the taste, and it is common for them who are fond of it to imagine it doth them good, and preserveth their health. It is certain then, that Father Trigaut * is mistaken, when he imagines it is but of late date among the Chinese, because there is not, as he says, any character in their tongue to signify this drink; for by the testimony of the oldest of our authors (who does not speak of it as any new thing, but as a herb very much in vogue with them; nay, to that degree, that the Emperor thought fit to lay a duty upon it) it appears, that the Chinese have been addicted to it above eight hundred years. Nor is it possible to believe with Pifo †, that it grew a long time wild and uncultivated, or that the Chinese, or Japonese, have been but lately acquainted with its virtues and the manner of preparing it; which, he says, he was told by some Dutch commander, who had been a long time in the country.

Father Martini, who has written more accurately of China than almost any other person, says no such thing. He assures us, that it grows particularly in the province of Kiangnan, or Nankin, where the best of it is. It is, adds he, a small leaf, perfectly like that of the Rhus Coriarius, or Sumac of the curriers. It grows not wild, but is domestic, and cultivated; nor is it a tree but a shrub, which spreads out in little branches, with a blossom very much like that of the Sumac, except that the former inclines more to a yellow than the latter. It blows first in summer, when it emits no great scent; then it puts out a berry, which is first green, and afterwards blackish. In the spring it is when they gather the leaf to make their Tcha, for then it is most succulent and tender. The preparation of these leaves consists in gathering them, drying

* Lib. i. p. 16. It is inconceivable how differently writers have represented the shrub that bears this herb; for some say it is like a rose, others like a currant-bush.

† Addit. ad Hist. Medicin. Dont. i. 6. Of like credit, perhaps, is another report current among the Dutch, as if they sold the sage of Europe to the Japonese at as high a price as they gave for their tea, and which has been received as an undoubted truth by the vulgar here.

them by a small fire, rolling them upon a cotton mattress, and packing them up in tin-chests or boxes, for the sake of preserving them, and the conveniency of transporting them. Such is the account given us by this learned and accurate writer, whose work is still deservedly esteemed, after so many later accounts of China*.

But as it is natural to suppose that every man is the best judge of what regards his own profession, I persuade myself that my readers will not be displeas'd at my inserting here a very curious passage from the writings of the celebrated Doctor Kæmpfer †, wherein he gives us a very entertaining account of the manner in which the virtues of tea were first discovered; neither is this at all foreign to my subject, since it is an additional proof of the varacity of our author, and clearly points out the time when this plant came first into use among the Chinese, and at the same time, fully refutes the objection that had been rais'd from this herb's not having a proper character assign'd it by the learned.

“ This herb, says he, which the Japonese call Tsjaa, has as yet no character assign'd it by the Literati, but there are several in use, some expressing only the sound of the word, and others alluding to its virtues. Among the latter, that is to be accounted which gives it the likeness of the eye-lids of Darma, a holy man, much fam'd among them. There is something very witty in this allusion, and the explanation of it deserves the greater notice, because it very plainly points out the time when this herb first came into use. Thus then the story is told.

“ This Darma was the third son of an Indian king, whose name was Koojuwo, and was the head of a religious order instituted by a famous Indian saint, called Sjaka, who flourish'd in the year before Christ 1028, and to whom this Darma was the twenty-eighth successor in a regular order. It so fell out, that in A. D. 519, he was driven into China, where he applied himself intirely to the teaching of mankind the knowledge of God, and, as he called it, of the only true religion, and the sole means of acquiring happiness. He was not content to enlighten the world only by his doctrine, but studied to do it still more by his example, striving by the purity of his life, the afflicting his body and bringing all his passions under perfect subjection, to secure the assistance of the divine grace. He eat nothing but the wild herbs of the field, and, which is esteem'd the very perfection of holiness in man, spent his nights without sleep in the contemplation of the Supreme Being; for he consider'd it as the highest degree of piety to forego ease and rest, that his thoughts might be wholly employ'd in meditating upon God.

“ It fell out, that after many years watching, he was so overcome as to fall fast asleep; his vow thus violat'd, he was so afflicted when he awak'd, that partly to expiate his crime, and partly to secure himself from falling again into what he esteem'd so great a weakness, he cut off his eyelids, as the instruments of his offence, and threw them in a fit of holy zeal upon the ground. The next day, coming to the place where he had inflict'd this punishment upon himself, he saw, with amazement, a most wonderful transformation, for behold each of his eye-lides had taken root, and had sprung

* He resid'd long in China, was a man of great fidelity and candour, one who did not love to contradict others, or to impose his own sense of things upon his reader, in a dogmatic style. His Chinese Atlas is an admirable performance, in which he has explain'd Marco Polo, correct'd Father Kircher, and informs us of a multitude of things relating to the history of China, which, till the publication of his book, were utterly unknown.

† *Amœnitat. Exotic.* p. 608. We shall have an opportunity of inserting this learned writer's travels to Japan in another part of this work; but the passage here cited is from another work of his, which is excellent in its kind, notwithstanding what some French critics have insinuat'd to the contrary.

up into the shrub called tea, which hitherto the world had never seen, or at least mankind were unacquainted with its virtues.

“By taking the leaves of this herb, but whether the chewing them, or prepared by infusion, I cannot say, he found a wonderful cheerfulness of mind, and a disposition perfectly suited to his divine meditations. As he recommended the use of this herb to his disciples, and as the benefits derived therefrom were every-where published, the custom of drinking tea grew quickly into use among all sorts of people; and the mighty virtues of this wonderful herb became universally known and admired. Hence it is, that as hitherto no certain character has been assigned for expressing the herb tea, and its virtues, the custom of distinguishing it by the figure of Darma's eye-lids has grown into practice.” So much says my author for the name of this plant. The story is plainly fabulous and extravagant*; but, like the extravagances of the east, full of fire, and of that sort of enthusiastic eloquence which conveys ideas with such force as prevents their impressions from ever wearing out of mind.

We learn likewise from the first of our travellers, that at the time he visited their country the Chinese were perfectly well versed in the art of pottery, and made a kind of porcelain, as fine, as beautiful, and almost as transparent as glass. It is certain that for many ages after this we had very dark and confused accounts of this matter; and the stories we are told in almost all the accounts we have of China upon this subject have apparently the air of fables, and look as if they were imposed upon their authors by the Chinese, on purpose to conceal from them the truth. It is a point now universally agreed, that the porcelain formerly made in this country was infinitely better than what has come from thence of late years; but the Chinese themselves carry this much farther, and maintain that the old China we so much admire is very far inferior to what was made in these early ages.

Doctor Kæmpfer † tells us from the Chinese historians, that this most excellent porcelain was made in a certain island not far from Formosa, or at least of the earth found in that island, which, for the same crimes in its inhabitants, has long ago shared the fate of Sodom, and lies now buried in the sea. Yet it seems it is not sunk so deep, but that their fisherman and divers frequently bring up vessels of this old porcelain, which are sold at a most extravagant price in China and Japan, from a persuasion that they not only keep tea better, but even heighten its quality, and restore its flavour when lost by long keeping in other vessels.

* Father Charlevoix, in his history of Japan, blames Doctor Kæmpfer for inserting this story, which he calls a ridiculous fable; but I beg leave to say, that he had not well considered the intention of the parable, the genius of the eastern nations, or the eastern languages; for if he had, he would probably have been of another opinion. There is a wide difference between fables in religion and fables in natural philosophy, especially when they are known to be such, and introduced with no other view than to convey useful knowledge in an easy, familiar, and effectual manner, all which were visibly consulted in the framing of this story or parable, which declares the virtues of this herb, by whom discovered, and when brought into use.

† Amœnitat. Exotic. p. 621. Our learned author tells us, that the Japonese name of this fine porcelain is Maats ubo, and that the island in which it was made was Mauri ga Sima. He assures us, that these vessels are of different sizes, and consequently of different prices; the smallest are worth from twenty to one hundred Theils; but the largest and finest, which are generally bought for the use of the Emperor of Japan, cost three, four or five thousand Theils or Thael, of which there are about three in a pound sterling. This is very moderate in comparison of what we are told by Mandeloe in his travels, p. 156, where he says that the Japonese have tea-pots that cost them between six and seven thousand pounds. There seem to be two mistakes in this; the first is as to the vessel, which was not a tea-pot, but a tea-canister, the second, as to the sum, which was not pounds, but Thael.

I do not pretend to make myself answerable for the truth of these facts; but I mention them only to shew, that in the opinion of these people, who are undoubtedly the best judges of their own manufactures, the porcelain made at the time our author speaks of was really superior in quality to any that has been made since. But if it should be demanded, whether any proof can be had of the truth of this fact, exclusive of what our author delivers, I answer, there is. For in a manuscript preserved in the French King's library, the credit of which cannot be doubted among the articles of a noble present sent Nouredin by Saladin, soon after he became master of Egypt, mention is made of a service of China-ware, consisting of forty pieces of several kinds*. It is very true, that this present was not sent till the year of the Hegira 567, which answers to the year of our Lord 1171, which is some ages after the time in which our author wrote; but then it is to be considered, that this China-ware had been long before brought to Egypt; and if it had not been much superior in beauty to what was brought from the same country, even at that time when the trade to Bassora was in a flourishing condition, it would not have been thought worthy the acceptance of so great a prince; and therefore, when thoroughly considered, this objection proves, at least in its necessary consequences, a confirmation of the fact.

I have dwelt the longer upon these instances, and have taken the more pains to support and confirm the truth of them, because I am persuaded that an intire credit is due to the matters of fact asserted by both of our authors, and that consequently we may absolutely depend upon what they have delivered us to the state of China and the Indies, within this period of time; that is to say, from A. D. 833 to 950, or thereabouts. This being clearly established, let us see what will follow from it. In the first place, it is most evident that these eastern countries were in a very happy and flourishing condition, were governed by their own princes, and knew not, generally speaking, what it was to suffer by such sudden and violent revolutions as have since happened in those parts. It must, however, be at the same time observed, that though their state was far better than it is now, yet both our authors agree that it was beginning to decline, that the dignity of their princes began to sink, the severity of their discipline to relax, and the manners of their people to become much more corrupt than they had been.

In the next place, it is very evident, that in China, a country still more remote than the Indies, the people were in this period very well acquainted with the condition of their neighbours, to whom they must also have been tolerably well known; and yet within the space of two hundred years, the face of things was so entirely changed, that the Chinese lost almost all knowledge of us in Europe, and we of them, as from the subsequent part of this chapter will clearly appear.

Lastly, we ought to conclude from the consideration of these facts, from the state of things in China and the Indies, and especially from the superiority of their manufactures, that this empire was in every respect in a much better situation than in succeeding times; that is to say, was better governed, more populous, the industry of the people better conducted, and their foreign commerce far more extensive than in the ages immediately preceding the discovery of the passage thither from Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. The fixing all this firmly in the reader's mind, will contribute to his apprehending rightly

* The title of this Arabian manuscript is Makrizi, which was probably the surname of its author: but as to the particular subject of the book I can say nothing, the passage I have mentioned from it being related by the Abbé Renaudot, in his notes on our authors, p. 200.

all that follows, and will prevent his running into the opposite vice of incredulity, to avoid being thought credulous.

He will not be amazed when he hears of potent princes that governed in the Indies, or in China, many hundred years before we knew any thing with certainty of those countries; he will not be astonished at the extent of their territories, or what is reported of their prodigious revenues; he will not be at a loss to account for the different condition of places, when first visited by the Europeans, from that reported either by their own histories, or traditions. On the contrary, he will plainly perceive, by comparing the facts laid down in the several sections of this work, that all this is not only probable, but certain, and that the notions which some great critics have advanced to the contrary, were not so much founded in greater learning, or superior abilities, as in strong prejudices in favour of their own countries, and in high conceits of their own abilities.

In things of this nature, all abstracted reasoning ought to be laid aside, and we ought to draw our conclusions from facts only. If the Indians stopped the progress of the Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Parthian empires, this is a strong, or, to speak fairly, an invincible argument to prove, that their government was then in its full vigour. If we see the Indians now for the most part a broken, dispersed, dejected, and deformed people, preserving, however, still, in their manners and customs, visible marks of that policy ascribed to them by the Greek and Roman, as well as these Arabian writers, we ought to conclude, that this difference has been owing to mighty revolutions in these parts; after the history of which we must enquire, and not pretend to take up with the assurances given us by fanciful men, that these people were never in a better condition.

I do not however pretend by this to establish by any means the opinions entertained by some very great men as to the learning of the Chinese; with regard to which our travellers speak very freely, and I think there is reason to believe very truly, affirming, that in regard to the sciences the Chinese had very little knowledge, that is, in comparison of the Arabs, who at the time the last of our authors wrote were very skilful in most sciences; and though their famous commander Musa, who conquered Spain, was the first that delivered it in the form of a maxim, yet it is very probable that the Arabians had long before this time those sentiments of the progress of science which he so happily expressed. Wisdom, said he, descending from above, settled in the heads of the Greeks, in the hands of the Chinese, and on the tongues of the Arabs. It plainly appears from hence, that what they most admired in China was the industry of its inhabitants, which was chiefly the effect of their wise government, derived to them, as indeed every thing of consequence they knew seems to have been, from the Indies*. All therefore that from the authority of our authors I infer is, that the political state of China was at least as perfect anciently as it is at present in all its branches; and not that they were better acquainted with sciences than they are now.

* The progress of science from the Indies to China, and from thence to Japan, is very natural and agreeable to ancient history; but it does not at all follow from thence, that the Indians received their learning from the Egyptians. It is far more probable that they had it from the Chaldeans; for mankind spread originally from that country, as Moses informs us, and as all ancient history plainly proves. From Chaldea to the Indies these first colonies might have easily proceeded by land; whereas their own writers allow, that the first attempts by the Egyptians towards the conquest of India were by fleets fitted out by the Red-sea.

THE EMBASSY

OF

PETER DE GOYER AND JACOB DE KEYZER

FROM THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA IN 1655.

By JOHN NIEUHOFF, Steward to the Embassadors.

[Translated from the DUTCH.]

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH China was discovered over land by Marco Polo the Venetian, towards the end of the thirteenth century, yet it was very little known to Europeans, till the Portuguese arrived there by sea towards the end of the fifteenth, and the Romish missionaries found admittance into the empire. In 1517, they established a trade at Quan-tong, commonly called Kanton: afterwards they settled a factory also at Ning Po, called by them Liampo, on the eastern part of China, and drove a considerable trade along the coast, between those two famous ports, till their insufferable pride and insolence brought on their destruction every where but at Ma-kau, or Makao, an island in the mouth of the river of Kanton, which they still hold, though under great restrictions.

The Dutch being arrived in India to the height of power chiefly on the ruins of the Portuguese, endeavoured to get access into China to trade with the natives. This they had long attempted in vain, having still met with opposition, as was supposed, says Nieuhoff, from an old prophecy among them, *that a remote nation of whites clothed all over, should one day conquer their country.* But upon advice brought from Makassar by the jesuit Martini, (who had concealed himself ten years in China propagating) that the Manchew Tartars had conquered that empire, it was concluded by the government of Batavia, to renew their attempt. This was performed by sending certain merchants to try the pulse of the Chinese at Kanton, upon whose report ambassadors were dispatched from Batavia to the court of Pe-king, there to solicit liberty to trade.

An account of this embassy was drawn up by John Nieuhoff, (famous for his voyages into several parts of the world,) who was steward to the ambassadors, which has been published in different languages and forms. In 1665, there appeared a French relation of this embassy, printed at Leyden, in folio, by Jacob de Meurs. It is called a translation, and seems to have been made from Nieuhoff's manuscript, by John de Carpentier. It is divided into two parts, the first containing a narrative of the embassy, in two hundred and ninety pages; the second a general description of China, in an hundred and thirty-four, besides the preface and dedication to M. Colbert, minister of state to Louis the XIV. of France. But Nieuhoff's relation is only the basis of this large work, which de Carpentier has formed by the addition of almost all the second part, and at least one half of the first.

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The cuts, which are very numerous, are finely engraved, and, as the editor affirms, from the author's own draughts; consisting of the habits of the Chinese, processions and state of the magistrates, prospects of the cities and temples, animals, birds, vegetables, &c. Most of these are small plates printed on the respective pages of the book. The large ones are in separate sheets, and are chiefly the prospects of cities, palaces, or great processions. In the first part, An-hing or Anking. Viceroy of Kanton's feast. Batavia. Hoay-gan (Whay-gan). Hu-kew. Kanton. Plan of the same. Ka yu tsiu. Kan cheu. Kin-nun-gan. Ku-ching. Makow, or Makaw. Nam-hun, or Nan-hung. Nan-chang, or Kyang-si. Nan-gan. Nan-kang. Nan-king. Pau-lin-shi. Pe-king. Plan of the imperial palace there. Inside of the palace. The porcelain tower. Single. Tyen syen way. Tong lieu, or Tong lou. Tung chang. Tung ling. V-fu. Van nun gan, or Van gan. Shan tsui. Shaw chew. Yam se fu. In the second part the inside of a temple. Mufa fruit. Order of the horse in marching.

The year following, M. de Thevenot published Nieuhoff's relation of the embassy in his French collection of voyages and travels, taking up sixty folio pages. These are accompanied with thirty-three figures, in fourteen or fifteen half sheet plates. It is followed by a journal of the route of the Dutch from Kanton to Pe-king, an exact description of these two cities, the way of making china, &c. consisting of twenty-seven pages; with a large draught of the road, twenty-three inches long, made by the author.

Thevenot informs us that this translation is conformable to two Dutch copies, of which he had the manuscripts, one of them signed Nieuhoff, and that he has neither changed nor added any thing from other authors. He judged it wrong to have mixed the description of the provinces with Nieuhoff's remarks, since it appeared from his own confession, that the Dutch never stirred out of their lodgings either at Kanton or Pe-king.

Whether these descriptions were inserted in Nieuhoff's manuscripts, as they are in his printed relation in Dutch, or Thevenot said this by way of censure on Carpentier's work, we cannot determine; but it is certain, that the manuscripts were accompanied with cuts. Nieuhoff declares, that he made accurate maps and plans of the countries and towns, besides draughts of the beasts, birds, fishes, plants, and other rarities. He might have added of the inhabitants and the magistrates, their state and processions. But Thevenot has omitted those of all the cities except Pe-king and Nan-king, because he says he found they did not tally at all with the description he gives of them, and suspected they were merely the fruits of invention. He alledges another reason for this omission, that the cities of China being all alike, (according to the Chinese geographers) when one has seen one, he has seen all. How far this plea would justify such a proceeding, were the draughts genuine, we cannot say; since, let the uniformity in building and laying out the streets be what it will, there would always be a considerable variety in the prospects, arising from the different situation of the places, and disposition of the objects. As for the figures of plants and animals, which Thevenot has likewise left out, most of them are inserted in his general description of China, taken from Martini.

The cuts which he has retained are engraved the size of the originals, being generally much larger than those in Carpentier's edition, and more correct, perhaps, though not so well finished, or set out to advantage. The following is a list of them. 1. A map of the ambassador's journey through China. 2. The young Viceroy of Kanton. 3. A Tartar horseman armed. 4. Tartar woman. 5. Garden of pleasure. 6. A Mandarin. 7. Chinese lady. 8. Two religious clothed in yellow, with each a large

pair of beads. 9. Religious dressed in black, with beads like those used by papists. 10. Religious mendicant, with a large brimmed hat. 11. A beggar with his head shaped like a sugar loaf. 12. Sepulchre of a great lord. 13. Beggar carrying fire on his head to extort alms. 14. Another with a lump on his forehead as big as one's fist, made by beating it against a stone. 15. Punishment of a religious taken in company with lewd women. 16. A woman of pleasure riding through the streets on an ass, with a man before her to nure her out. 17. Two beggars knocking their foreheads together to extort alms. 18. City of Nan-king, very small view. 19. Streets of Nan-king in perspective. 20. Porcelain tower of Nan-king. 21. View of the city of Peking, very small. 22. A triumphal arch. 23. Temple of Shan-ti-ou. 24. Floating village on the rivers. 25. A great junk, or vessel with mat sails. 26. Serpent vessel. 27. Emperor's court, where the Dutch had audience. 28. A Tartar who with a strap of leather makes as great a noise as the report of three pistols fired one after the other. 29. A forcerer, who sells wind to mariners with a bodkin through his cheek. 30. A waggon which carries three people very swiftly, though pushed on by only one man. 31. A Tartar with his wife behind him. 32. A ship with a sort of wheel or low net instead of sails. 33. The ordinary dress of the Chinese.

In 1670, a Dutch relation of the same embassy was published at Amsterdam in folio, under the name of Nieuhoff, embellished with a great number of cuts, and augmented with a description of the provinces in the manner of Carpentier's edition, but not swelled so much with foreign matter.

Soon after Ogilby published an account of the same embassy in English. The title agrees more with the Leyden than the Amsterdam edition; nor is it mentioned whether the translation was made from the Dutch or the French: however, as it appears from the manner of introducing and relating things (not to mention its being free from a great number of superfluities with which the latter abounds) that it was not done from thence, we conclude that it is a version from the Dutch copy. The cuts which are of the same kind with those in the French edition, but not near so well engraved, are, doubtless, the cuts of the Amsterdam impression, taken from the original plates; for the explanations are given both in Dutch and English.

Of these several editions of this work, we think that of Thevenot to be both the most exact and genuine. For which reason we have used it as a check upon the English translation, and have often supplied it from thence; which additions, for distinction's sake, are placed between hooks.

SECT. I.—*Attempts of the Dutch to settle in China previous to the Embassy.—Schedel sails to Kanton.—Lands there: sent for by the Vice Roy: is well received: opposed by the Portuguese.—Free Trade granted him, and revoked.—Waggenaar's attempt.—Portuguese arts.—The Design miscurries a second Time.*

MMARTINI the jesuit having reported, among other things, that the Tartars had proclaimed a free trade in the city of Kanton to all foreigners, the government of Batavia resolved to know the truth of this report, by sending a ship thither from Tayvan in Formosa.

Accordingly, (the twentieth of January, 1653) Frederick Schedel, a merchant, set sail in a frigate called the Brown-fish, richly freighted, to the value of forty-six thousand seven hundred and twenty seven crowns,) and in nine days landed at Hey-ta-men in Kanton river.

There the Hayto-nu, or admiral of the sea, came aboard to salute him in behalf of the magistrates of Kanton. Schedel treated him handsomely, and then accompanied him ashore: but coming near the city, he landed in great state, without speaking a word to Schedel, who was put into another vessel in a very slighty manner, and carried to the farther end of the city. There he was searched and treated with ill language by Emanuel de Luciferro, a Portugeuze, and others.

Towards night several Tartars came to visit him, who after awhile carried him to an idol temple, where the priests had spent all the night at their devotions to foretel the success which these strangers were to have. In his absence some mandorins, by order of the two viceroys, who rule in Kanton, with equal power, came and opened his chests, where the presents lay. After taking an account of them, they flung them scornfully about. They were likewise carrying off the general of Batavia's letter to the viceroys, but meeting Schedel, flung it in his face, reproaching him as if the Hollanders came only to betray their country.

Schedel finding himself thus unhandomely dealt with by the Kantonians, began to consider which way to pacify and undeceive them. Having bethought himself of some bottles of rare wine among the presents, he called for one, and desired the mandorins to taste of it. The liquor pleasing their palates, they tossed off their cups freely; and at length became so well reconciled to the Dutch merchant, that they begged his pardon for what had passed: acknowledging that the Portugeuze had infused those notions into their heads; but that now they were convinced they were false, and he might depend on civil usage for the future.

Next day, by sun rise, Schedel was sent for by the old viceroy Pig-na-mong. He was followed by crowds of mob, giving him ill language. Some cried, *How finely iron fetters would become his legs*; others pointed at him with their fingers, and some blew lice upon his followers: at length two mandorins brought him to the court. The viceroy was seated on his throne, which stood in the midit of the palace on a high, square platform, and was covered with rich silk. Round him stood about two hundred gentlemen, with the admiral, all cloathed in the Tartar fashion. The viceroy having received the letter and presents from Schedel, as well as heard what he had to say against the calumnies laid to the charge of the Dutch, he was so well satisfied, that he caused him to sit down next his throne among his chief grandees, and invited him to a splendid dinner prepared on purpose. The table appointed for Schedel and his company was covered with thirty-two silver dishes, heaped with dainties; and drink was served in gold cups.

During the entertainment, the viceroy sent to ask several questions concerning the condition and government of Holland: after which he was dismissed with great respect, and conducted by the Hay-to-nu, with the letter and presents, to the young viceroy Sig-na-mong, who received him likewise very politely, and invited him to dinner, but seemed rather to side with the Portugeuze. His mother, but newly arrived from Tartary, being desirous to see the Dutch, sent for Schedel and his followers; who broke off abruptly in the middle of his speech, and went. He found her with her attendants waiting for him in an open hall, and was courteously received. During his stay, he ordered his trumpets to sound, which much delighted and obliged the ladies. After this he returned to the viceroy, and finished his discourse. From thence he was conducted in great state by the Hay-to-nu to the great mandorin, Tu-tang, who was the third person in the government (of the province): but this officer was content to take a view of Schedel through a window, and suffered him to depart without offering him the

the least civility in his house, so that he was forced to provide another lodging for himself and his company.

The governor and council of Ma-kaw, to stifle this negotiation in its birth, not only endeavoured to corrupt and prejudice the Hay-to-nu, but sent a formal embassy to Kanton, in order to represent the Dutch as a faithless people, and kind of pirates; who, having no proper residence on land, had made themselves formidable by sea, had taken Hay-tay mon, at the mouth of Kanton river, made peace with the Chinese pirate Koxinga, plundered their merchants, and were now come to force their way into China. The Pori, or philosphers, also at Kanton joined in representing them as fraudulent dealers.

But the viceroys, by the advice of the Hay-to-nu, whom Schedel had engaged, returned for answer, that notwithstanding reports, they had a good opinion of the Dutch, and judged that China would receive much benefit from a commerce with them. Hereupon they published in writing their consent to a free trade; and gave Schedel leave to erect a factory. Matters were at this pass, when a commissioner, newly arrived from Pe-king, dissuaded the viceroy against what he had done; alledging, that although he might grant a port for trade to foreigners, he ought not to allow them a constant residence in the country without the Emperor's consent. This remonstrance so much perplexed the viceroy, that he advised Schedel forthwith to depart for that time; lest, as he said, the King of Batavia (meaning the general) might think they were kept prisoners at Kanton. Schedel accordingly, two days after, set sail, with two letters from the viceroys to Nicholas Verburgh, commander at Tay-wan; wherein they offered the general their friendships, and advised him, in case he desired a free trade in China, to send an ambassador with rich presents to the Great Khan.

The government of Batavia hereupon wrote to their principals in Holland for directions; and in the mean time, to keep the business on foot, sent Zacharias Waggenaar to China with two loaden vessels, the Shellfish and Brownfish. (To him Schedel was joined as an assistant.) Being arrived at Wang-fu, within three miles of Kanton, they remained three days without sending any ashore; but finding none came aboard, they sent one of the company (Schedel) to land, who applied himself to the Hay-to-nu. This officer referred him to the Tu-tang, whose secretary acquainted him, that the Portuguese had obtained a letter from Pe-king to the magistrates of Kanton, advising them to have a watchful eye over the Dutch, especially if they came without an ambassador, for that they were a treacherous lying people; and that for fear of being known in China, durst not appear at Pe-king.

At the same time there came an officer from Ma-kaw with a request, that an embargo might be laid on the Dutch ships there, under pretence that they had formerly, in a piratical way, taken several of their ships. The Portuguese likewise, to prevent the Hollanders from obtaining a liberty of trade, paid an arrear of four years tax. In short Waggenaar despaired of success, although the men in power flattered him with hopes: meantime nobody was suffered to pass to or from him, by two or three of the viceroy's vessels. At last the messenger came back with the Tou-tang's secretary, and two mandarin's; with orders for the ships to come within half-a-mile of the city, and lie there till the Portuguese officer, (who was to know nothing of the arrival of the Dutch) was gone. On this occasion, Waggenaar was presented with several rarities, to shew that they were received as friends; but none of his company were suffered to go ashore.

Afterwards the Hay-to-nu came aboard to conduct Waggenaar to court. But just as he was taking horse, there came two mandarins to know his business, and if he had brought

brought any letters for the Great Khan, or the Tou-tang. They added that the Portuguese were the cause of this misunderstanding; and that if the Dutch would appear before the viceroy, they must be very liberal to all about him. Waggenaar made answer, that he was willing to bribe the viceroy or his courtiers to take the letters and presents which he brought; but yet he would give a good sum of money to the person who should procure them a free trade for that year at Kanton. During this conference, the Hay-to-nu, returned with word, that the viceroy could not see him, but that he would read his letter. Waggenaar sent it, and the viceroy's interpreter came soon after to inform him; that the reason why he could not be admitted to the speech of his master, was, because the Dutch had not brought with them any letters or presents for the Emperor, as had been earnestly recommended by him.

When Waggenaar saw that he could effect nothing at Kanton, he returned to Batavia. Those people were not ashamed to demand ten thousand *tael* of silver only to render the letter and presents acceptable to the viceroy; before any conference could be had about carrying on a trade.

SECT. II.—*The Embassy of Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer to Peking.—The Ambassador set out from Batavia.—City of Ma-kaw. Hey-ta-mon Port.—Arrive at Kanton.—Visited by a Mandarin.—Are obliged to return on Board.—The Viceroy's Feast.—Order of it.—A favourable Answer from the Emperor.—The old Viceroy's Entertainment.—They prepare for their Journey to Pe-king by Water.*

ACCORDING to the proposal of the general John Maatziiker, and the council of India, the governors of the East India company at Amsterdam ordered an embassy to be sent from Batavia to the Great Khan; whereupon Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, merchants, were chosen for that purpose. Their train consisted of fourteen persons, viz. two merchants, six waiters, a steward, a surgeon, two interpreters, a trumpeter, and a drummer. They took with them also two merchants more to take care of the traffic at Kanton during their journey to Pe-king. Their presents consisted of several rich pieces of woolen cloath, fine linen, several sorts of spices, coral, little boxes of wax, perspective and looking glasses, swords, guns, feathers, armour, &c. The purport of their commission was to establish a firm league with the Emperor, and obtain a free trade for the Dutch throughout his dominions. The fourteenth of June, 1655, they set sail in two yachts, which were to carry them to Kanton and thence to Pe-king; and on the same day, in July following passed by Ma-kaw.

This city is built on a very high rock, surrounded by the sea on all sides, except the northern, where it joins the island of Ma-kaw, by a narrow neck of land. There is no port for large ships, the sea there not being very deep. It is famous for cannon, which are made of Chinese and Japan copper. The town is walled, and towards the land defended by two castles, erected on little hills. The name is compounded of *Ama*, an idol formerly there, and *Gow*, a safe harbour, in Chinese. The Portuguese having been allowed this waste spot to build a town upon, it soon became a flourishing city, and the greatest mart in Asia. They have the privilege of trading twice a year at Kanton. It is entered in their custom books, that when commerce flourished there, they exported from Kanton above three hundred chests of silk, an hundred and fifty pieces in each: two thousand five hundred ingots of gold, each weighing thirteen ounces; eight hundred weight of musk, besides great quantities of gold thread, linen, raw silk, precious stones, pearls, &c.

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The eighteenth, they cast anchor in the port of Hey-ta-môn, an exceeding pleasant place, and commodious for trade. Presently a bark full of soldiers came on board in the governor's name to know the occasion of their coming. The ambassadors sent their secretary, Henry Baron, to inform him by word of mouth. He was conducted to the governor's bed-chamber, who received him courteously; but asked him, why the Dutch returned thither, and whether they were not forbidden to come to Kanton?

Six days after, there came two mandorins from that city to inspect the ambassador's credentials, for whom they sent to the governor's house near the village of Lam-me, a little higher in the river. The governor sat between the two mandorins, guarded by soldiers. They were received very courteously, and having shewed their credentials at a distance, chairs were set for them to sit down.

On the twenty-ninth, a new Hay-tow and a vice-admiral came to conduct them to Kanton. The ambassadors at their request went again ashore, and were led to an idol temple, where being received after the usual manner, they spread their credentials on the table. Then the Hay-tow asked them several questions concerning their voyage, the ships, their letter and presents. He wondered that there was no letter for the Towing of Kanton, and that the Emperor's was put up so meanly; giving them to understand, that it ought to have been wrapped in a gold purse or box. At parting, the commissioners promised to come on board the next day to receive the presents.

Accordingly they came with a numerous attendance in vessels decked with streamers; and carried the ambassadors with their secretary and four others in one of their vessels to Kanton: where being arrived, the Hay-tow and vice-admiral went into the city without speaking a word to them. After waiting about two hours at the gate, they were sent for by the viceroy, and conducted to the lodging which Schedel formerly had, where they were attended by the city-marshal.

The thirty-first, they were visited by the Pu-tsyen-sin, the Emperor's treasurer, who was the fourth man in the city. Here they underwent a new examination; as, How long they had been married? Their names and employments? If the Emperor's letter was not written on better paper than the viceroy's? How their prince and king was called, and the like? They seemed to be displeas'd at the slight fashion of the credentials, and asked whether the prince and government of Holland had no stamp or seal for their letters. To the request of the ambassadors, that they might have audience of the viceroy's, and leave to go to Pe king, it was answered, that they could have no audience of any one in Kanton till an answer to the letter came from court: however, the viceroys promised to visit them.

August the second, the ambassador's retinue in the yacht were conducted up the river by four great war ships of the viceroy's. The shores were full of populous villages and fruitful fields. Arriving the fourth before the ambassador's lodgings at Kanton, they were obliged to return on board: under pretence that no ambassadors to the Emperor were to reside there without express order, and that the governors could not answer it to his Majesty in case any accident should happen to them ashore. Two mandorins also brought the credentials opened, saying, the viceroys durst not receive them till they had received advice from Pe-king.

The ambassadors, after three weeks stay on board, had leave to land with their followers, and possess their former lodgings, but were not permitted by their guards to walk the streets.

Two days after, there came a mandorin from the viceroy to inform, that to obtain their suit, they could not give the Emperor's council at Pe-king less than three hundred

tael of silver. The ambassadors answered, that if their business could not be done without bribes, it would be better for them to depart; and finding, after they had offered an hundred and thirty-five *tael*, that the same demand was daily repeated, they began to send their goods on board in order to be gone. The viceroys seeing this, sent word, that they must not stir till farther advice from Pe-king, and accepted a note for an hundred and thirty-six *tael*: after which, on the nineteenth of September, they invited the ambassadors to a splendid feast in an open plain near their lodgings, where ten stately tents were pitched for that purpose. That of the viceroys was erected in the middle, on the left of which stood the ambassadors, and on the right the tent for the music. The ambassadors were led from their tent in great pomp by two of the chief mandarins in the presence of the viceroys; and after some compliments conducted back again.

Meantime the old viceroy's steward, dressed in sky-coloured silk, embroidered with gold and silver dragons, and a coral chain about his neck, (which is the habit of the mandarins) advancing through the dividing crowd, ordered two of his attendants to serve up the dinner. There was a table spread with rich carpets for the viceroys, another for the *Tu-tang*, and a third for the ambassadors; each covered with forty little dishes, or plates, heaped with delicious victuals and sweet meats. After the viceroys had drunk to their healths in tea, the steward desired them to fall to. They were very merry, drank to the ambassadors, made apologies for the entertainment, and asked several questions relating to Holland. About the middle of the treat the ambassadors drank their healths in a glass of Spanish wine, which pleased them so well, that for it they quitted their *Sam zou*, which is made of rice, and not much inferior to any European wines. During the feast they were diverted with both vocal and instrumental music. Every thing passed with as much silence and order as in a private family. The viceroy's children discovered the most polite education. A little before dinner was over, they rose from table, and as they passed by their father's tent, fell on their knees and bowed three times, with their faces towards the ground.

After four or five month's delay, came the Emperor's answers to the *Tu-tang's* two letters. By the first, the ambassadors, with a few followers only, and four interpreters were permitted to repair to court to treat about commerce; but by the second, his Majesty was pleased to grant a free trade to the Dutch, and expected the ambassadors to come and give him thanks for that favour.

The second of November, the *Tu-tang* of Heriju came with several vessels in great state purely to visit the ambassadors in a most courteous manner. December the thirtieth, the young viceroy departed by water with a great army to quell a rebellion in the province of *Quang-si*. Before he set out, he consulted his forcerers, who declared that his undertaking would prove unfortunate; but falling out quite otherwise, at his return he demolished their temples and images instead of themselves, who were fled. These viceroys were not relations but friends, bred in Pe-king; where their fathers having been put to death by the last Chinese Emperor, they fled to *Quantong*, at that time invaded by Great Khan, to whom they applied for redress, and were promoted to the dignities they then enjoyed.

The ambassadors having taken their leave of the old viceroy, and obtained his pass, on the twenty-seventh of February he invited them to dinner at his palace; the galleries, courts and halls of which were richly furnished with pictures, silk hangings, and carpets. During the entertainment, which was splendid, he sported with his children, of whom the interpreter said he had fifty-six. Next day they were treated at the young viceroy's court, though absent. The feast was accompanied with a farce, consisting of

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persons dancing in the shapes of lions, tygers, and other wild beasts. This prince's mother often appeared at a window in the apartment to view the company. She was richly dressed after the Tartar fashion, middle sized, slender, of a brown complexion and taking countenance. At their entrance they found a very rich painted chair appointed for her Majesty, to which, in honour to her, they paid their respects.

The ambassadors being to perform their journey to Pe-king by water, hired a large vessel to themselves: there were besides fifty more procured at the Emperor's charge to carry their attendants and goods. The command of this fleet was given by the Tu-tang to Pinxenton, with whom were joined two other mandorins. Besides the mariners and rowers, there was a score of soldiers on board, under the command of two considerable persons. As soon as the ambassadors embarked, they caused Prince William of Nassau's flag to be hung out; and post boys were dispatched to the magistrates of the next towns in the way, with notice of their approach, and orders for their reception.

SECT. III.—*The Ambassadors Journey from Kanton to-Nan-gan-fu, in the Province of Kyang-si.—They leave Kanton.—San-shevi-byen.—Chinese misery under the Tartars.—San-ivain, or ywen.—Dreadful Mountains.—In-ta-byen.—Mong-ley City.—Thaw chew-few.—Lu-zu, a Chinese Saint.—Five-Horse-heads Hills.—Nan-hyong-fu.—Goods not searched here.—The Governor feasts the Ambassadors.—Mountain Mulin.—Arrive at Nan-gan-fu in Kyang-si.*

LEAVING Kanton the seventeenth of March, they were rowed up the spacious river of Tay, close to the city, which made a most delightful prospect. The small towns, which are very numerous between Pe-king and Kanton, welcomed them by their cannon as they passed by. After some time, they struck into the Zin called by foreigners the European stream. Towards evening they came to the village Sa-bu, about six miles from Kanton: the soil is very fruitful, and the place, though inhabited mostly by peasants and silk weavers, has many good buildings.

The nineteenth, they got to Shan-shevi, the eleventh small city depending on Kanton, and about twenty miles distant.

It stands (about a league from the river on the right side) in a very pleasant vale: it is not very large, but was formerly exceedingly populous, and full of trade. The magistrates caused the side of the river to be lined with foot soldiers to receive the ambassadors, and sent them a few presents for their table: but understanding that it was not the tenth part of what the Emperor allowed for that purpose, they thought fit to refuse their civilities both here and in other places. Here they refreshed in a tent by the river side, before which the Tartars exercised their arms with much dexterity. One of them shot an arrow thrice together through the mark, but four inches broad, at the distance of thirty-five paces; for which he was rewarded with a small piece of money.

The viceroy's secretary, who had conducted them thus far, took leave, and returned to Kanton, having been nobly treated the night before. They went forward very slowly, being towed against the narrow stream with vast fatigue by the poor Chinese, whom the Tartars compel to haul their boats. They often slip into narrow paths, and are drowned; and if any grow faint and weary, there is one who follows and never leaves beating them till they go on or die: however they are relieved from time to time.

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The twenty-first, about midnight, they came to San-ivin, about forty miles from Shan-shivi. The magistrates of this city met them on the way. It is not large now, though strongly situated and populous, till the Tartars destroyed it.

Here the river becomes rapid from the torrents that descend from the mountain Sang-wan-hab, the highest and most uncouth in all China. Its many tops are wrapped in clouds, which make the passage at the bottom dark and gloomy.

On the side next the river stands a curious idol temple, richly adorned, to which they ascend by steps to make their offerings. They were three days getting clear of these dismal mountains, where they saw but one solitary village, called Quam-ton-low. In some places between the hills lie pleasant corn fields. Thevenot's copy adds, that Sang-wim-thap signifies the flying mountain, on account of a temple now ruined, which was conveyed thither in one night's time from some place to the north.

The twenty-fourth, they came to In-ta. This small city lies very pleasantly on an angle of the river on the right (or west) side, over against the mountain Sang-wan-hab: its walls are high and indifferently strong, the houses and temples stately. It was formerly very rich and populous; it has a safe harbour for vessels against the impetuous current of the river, at the entrance whereof, on the right, appears a very curious high tower. The ambassadors vessel was hereabouts in great danger, having been driven, by the violence of the stream, against a sunk rock.

Next day, they came in sight of the wonderful temple of Koniansiam, held in as great veneration as that of Sang-wan-hab: it stands on the river side, in a solitary, mountainous country: the way to it is first by stone steps, and then through dark passages. After the Chinese had performed their devotions, the ambassadors visited it.

The twenty-seventh, they reached Mong-ley, which makes a most pleasant prospect at a distance. You ascend from the water side by stately stone-steps to the gate of the city: the walls are high and fortified with tall bulwarks and watch-towers.

The twenty-eighth, in the night, there happened a most dreadful tempest, with thunder and lightning. Many ships were shattered: some lost their masts with all their tackle and rigging; others, driven ashore, were beaten in pieces, and all their men drowned.

On the twenty-ninth, they came with the remainder of the fleet before Shaw-chew, the second city in the province. It lies about thirty miles from In-ta, upon an angle near the west side of the river; its situation and safe harbour rendering it a place of a very great trade.

This city on the west side is inclosed with high and delightful hills, and on the other side, beyond the river, has a very populous, rich, and well built suburb. In the middle of the water stands a curious tower upon a small rock; there is a pretty good wall about it, but within nothing but ruins; which, however, witness its former splendour.

Toward the south this river is called Si-an, and sometimes Si-ho. It is formed by the rivers Chin and Vau, which meet not far from this city, and make an impetuous stream over sunk rocks, often fatal to vessels, in spite of the idol temple built by the water side for their protection.

Upon the Maw-wha, near a delightful valley, stands a monastery with a spacious temple. It was built by Lu-zu, a reputed saint, who spent all his time to grind and sift rice for the monks, and wore iron chains day and night on his naked body. These made holes in his flesh, which, for want of dressing, putrified and bred nests of worms: yet Lu-zu would not suffer them to be removed, but when any one dropped off, he would take it up again and say, *Have you not sufficient to feast yourselves left?* Why then forsake you my body, where you are welcome to feed? The ambassadors

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ambassadors pitched their tents near the walls, where the magistrates and governor brought several presents for their table, which, not being upon the Emperor's account, were accepted, and themselves nobly treated.

Next morning, early, they drew near a mountain, which the Tartars, for its strange shape, call the *Five-horses-heads*. Upon the tops of these hills, which are covered with clouds, and seemed inaccessible, stood several odd structures, some entire, others ruinous. Just beyond this mountain they were in great danger among other rocks and steep ascents, called the *Five ugly Devils*, the river being full of split ships lying under water. At length they got to *Suyt-jeen*, whose hills, intermixed with charming vales, stand along the river in as much order as if placed by art. The tops of them afford a surprising prospect.

The fourth of April, they came to Nam-hung, the third chief city of Quang-tong, and frontier on this side. It lies about forty miles from Thau-chew, is very large and well situated, fortified with walls and bulwarks: it is divided by the river, covered with a bridge: it is full of idol temples, and noble structures. There is also a custom house, where they receive the Emperor's dues for all goods exported or imported: but there is no tumbling of the commodities, or fees to searchers, the bills of lading being taken on the merchant's word.

There is no better mould in all China for making earthen ware. Not far from hence is a river, called Me-kyang, or Ink-water, from its blackness, whose fish, which are commonly very white, are much esteemed.

The ambassadors on their arrival going immediately on shore, the governor and magistrates sent a letter of compliment, and not long after came themselves in person, and were nobly treated. Next day the governor gave the Dutch a splendid dinner. He and the magistrates sat all at one side of the table, that the dishes might be removed without any disturbance to the company. They were not served up all at once, (according to the custom of the Chinese,) but only two at a time to each person, in sixteen courses. When dinner was over, every guest laid a piece of money at the governor's feet, to be divided among the musicians and waiters. The ambassadors presented them with six *tael* of silver, and some silks, which the governor at first refused, but at last accepted it.

At Nan-hyong they quitted their vessels to go to Nan-gan, the next city on the road, by land; but the high hills and rugged ascents make travelling very troublesome. The mountain called Mu-glin, that was more difficult than all the rest, one of the governors levelled at his own charge, so that it is now very passable; for which the inhabitants erected to his honour a stately temple. They were carried over the mountains in horse litters, and to protect them against robbers that infested the road, had a guard appointed of an hundred and fifty soldiers; which, with those who carried the goods, made a regiment of at least six hundred men.

The ambassadors lodged the first night upon the mountains, in the vilage Su-san, about half way over, whose inhabitants had fled for fear of them.

Next day, about noon, they came to a narrow mountain, which separates the provinces of Quang-tong and Kyang-si. It was adorned with several fair idol temples; and though no better than a wilderness, yet is rendered very delightful by its woods and vallies. At night they came to Nan-gan, the thirteenth first rank city of Kyang-si.

SECT. IV.—*Their Journey by Water from Nan-gan-fu to the Borders of the Province of Kyang-nan, or Nan-king.—The Ambassador's Reception at Nan-gan-fu.—Great Trade there.—A Whirlpool in the River.—Nan-kang-hyen.—Kan-chew-fu.—A great Tutang.—The City described.—Famous Temple.—Van-nan-gan City.—Lin-ge-iven.—Pek-kin-fu.—Tay-ko-hyen.—Kun-gan-fu.—Dangerous Rocks.—Kye-shevi-hyen.—Kya-kyang-hyen.—Mountain Mung.—Fung-ching-hyen.—Nan-chang-fu.—The Tu-tang's Civility.—City described.—Famous Temple.—The Philosopher's Elixir.—V-fyen-hyen.—China Ware.—Nan-kang-fu.—Temples and Monasteries.—Hu-kew-hyen.—Peng-se-hyen.—Chinese Superstition.*

THE ambassador's being arrived at Nan-gan, the governor sent to receive them at the city gate, and with some persons of quality visited them at their lodgings: he sent them likewise a handsome collection at the charge of the town, whose principal inhabitants often came to see them.

The commissioner appointed to furnish them with boats here, not being able to get them ready so soon as he desired, Pinxenton rated him with such bitter expressions, that taking it to heart, he drew his knife and would have stabbed himself, had he not been prevented by one of that mandarin's servants.

The country about this city is very pleasant and fruitful, surrounded with hills, one of which, for its delightfulness, being called Si-hoa, that is, a place of pleasure.

This city is divided equally by an arm of the river Chang, which renders it a place of great trade; all merchandizes designed for Quang-tong and other neighbouring parts being unladen here.

The south part of this city is well built and populous, but it falls short of Nang-hung for bigness and strength; although the Tartars were more favourable to it, forbearing to destroy such fabricks as were of any note. On the north side is an idol temple, surprizingly rich and well contrived. The ambassadors staid here four days.

The river Kan runs here as swift as an arrow from the bow, and is full of banks, banks, and shoals; so that, though they went down the stream, their ships were often in danger. In this passage the bark, in which was one of the ambassadors, with the presents to the Great Khan, fell into a whirlpool, and being whirled about by the eddies, at last ran aground, and could not be gotten off till they had unladen her: the mandarins commanded the waterman and master to be severely lashed with a thick leather whip for their neglect; but the ambassadors interceded for the latter.

The fourteenth, they passed by the small city Nan-kang, on the left side of the river Chang: it is square, inclosed with a strong wall twenty-five foot high: it has four gates near a mile asunder. It was totally ruined in the Tartar war, and its trade destroyed. They landed here at their return. On the river side stands an high tower, strong and well built. In the street leading from the south gate, is the governor's palace, and at the end of it a noble triumphal arch, which the Tartars spared.

The fifteenth, they came to Kan-chew, the twelfth city of the first rank in Kiang-si, and were visited aboard by some great mandarins in the name of the magistrates. The ambassadors in return visited the great Tu-tang of this city, who received them with extraordinary courtesy, and conducted them into his private apartment, where he placed them on his right hand. This officer had the command over the provinces of Kyang-

si, Fo-kyen, Hu-quang, and Quan-tung, and consequently was not much inferior to a vicéroy.

The ambassadors offered him some presents, but he refused them politely, saying, that he did not refuse them out of a Chinese dissimulation, but only to observe the custom of their country; which was not to receive presents from any foreigners, till they had made their appearance at the imperial court.

Kan-chew stands close to the river Kan (on the east side), in a most delightful country. The city is square, and surrounded with an high stone wall, about two miles in compass, in which are four gates. It is a place of great trade; the streets are handsomely paved, and well built. At the east end stands an high well built tower.

This town abounds with temples, richly adorned with pictures and images, one of which, called Kiul-kye-si-myau, or the church of Kiul-kye-si, may be reckoned amongst the most eminent in all China.

Round the walls of this temple were several bedsteads for travellers and priests to lodge in; for these places generally serve for inns. In the porch on each side stood two giants of plaister, one fighting with a dragon, the other had a dwarf lying under his feet, with a drawn sword in his hand. Beyond the river, upon an high hill, stands a temple, with a small but curious chapel near it, where passengers make offerings to escape the rocks and shoals. If they miscarry, they impute the cause to the meanness of the gift, or some other fault in themselves.

At the place where the two rivers Chang and Kan meet, the stream is crossed by a long bridge of boats, covered with planks, at the end of which stands a toll house.

The eighteenth, they passed by the ruinous city of Vannungam, which lies close to the river Kan, on the east side. The Tartars left nothing standing that was any ways remarkable: it appears to have been a wondrous delightful place, very regularly built, and full of inhabitants. The adjacent country produces two crops a-year; and not far off lies an hill with a silver mine, but the law forbids the digging for silver.

On the east side of this city is a mountain, called Chau, whose top reaches to the clouds; yet it is covered with trees and plants from bottom to top.

About half a mile from this place they saw lying the sixth small city, called Lin-geiven, which has a small inlet of the river Kan running up to it; but the whole lay in ruins, the Tartars having left nothing standing but one triumphal arch.

They came next to an eminent village called Pekkinsa, most pleasantly situated, where is a good trade for all naval materials. A great way on this side you see several cliffs cut in a surprising manner, but ruined by the Tartars. The author found one of them to be forty foot high. The like artificial rocks are to be seen in the Emperor's palace.

Late in the evening they came to the small city Tay-ko, on the west side of the Kan, towards which it hath high and strong walls. It stands in a charming country. The streets are well enough paved, but very small and narrow. All the stately edifices were destroyed by the Tartars, except an high tower and some idol temples.

The twenty-ninth of April, they arrived at Kin-un-gam, called by some Kyegan, the ninth prime city of Kyang-si: it stands in an hilly country, about forty miles from Tay-ko, or the western side of the Kan. It is defended with tall battlements: but within all its noble structures are destroyed by the Tartars, whom it resisted; except a few idol temples, one of which of modern building stands in an island opposite to the city. There are said to be gold and silver mines in its neighbourhood.

The river near this city is very dangerous, from the rocks and shoals, called by the natives, Ze-pa-tan, which require expert pilots.

At night they got beyond Kye-shwi, (a city of the third rank), on the river Chang, along which is a strong wall fifteen feet high. It is a mile and a half in compass, and surrounded with hills.

Next day they passed by Kya-kyang, (another city of the third rank.) It stands on the north side of the Kan, about thirty miles from Kye-shevi, at the foot of a mountain. A good part of its wall is built on the hills, and enclose ploughed grounds. Most of the houses were demolished by the Tartars. Here is an ancient idol temple, famous for two gates, each being of one entire stone. Not far off stands the mountain Mung, whose top reaches the clouds, and sides are clothed with woods and pastures.

Towards evening they got to Sin-kin, (a third rank city,) about twenty miles from Kya-kyang, which it resembles in size and ruins. In the middle of the wall towards the Kan, is a very high and well built gate.

The twenty-second, setting sail early, they arrived at noon before Fung-ching, (a third rate city.) It stands in a flat soil, is built square, and surrounded with an high wall above a mile in compass. On the north side is a populous well built suburb. Two great and high triumphal arches are much defaced, among other fine structures, by the late wars. From the mountain Pe-chang, not far distant, falls a mighty torrent of water with a most hideous noise.

The twenty-third of April, they came to Nan chang, the chief city of Kyang-fi, by which name also it is called by some. The magistrates immediately sent four very commodious boats to fetch them ashore, by reason of the sands. Not long after they came themselves to welcome them, and caused the mandarin Pinxenton to restore to the ambassadors one of the two boats which he had taken for his own use.

Next day the ambassador de Goyer (for de Keyzer was out of order) with all the train went to visit the Tu-tang, or governor. He shewed his displeasure at his interpreter for bringing the ambassador afoot, saying, that such persons as came from so remote parts, to congratulate his imperial majesty upon his victories and prosperities, ought to be received in great state: he was also very much offended at the Kanton mandarins, calling them asses. After the ambassador had taken his leave, one of the governor's gentlemen brought him a fine horse, and his secretary another, on which they rode to the water side. When the ambassadors set sail, they were saluted with the great guns from the walls of the city; nor would the Tu-tang receive the presents they offered him for the reason given by the great Tu tang of Kan-chew.

Nan-chang stands about five miles from Fung-ching, near the great lake Po-yang, and is enclosed with a stream like an island: it is square, with high walls and seven gates, four of them very handsome. This city boasts four stately temples, which are very richly adorned, and full of images. The most famous of them, called Thi-fikong, is covered with glittering pantiles. At the entrance stands three buildings together; in the first is an idol, called Kou-ya, he sits amongst a great many others on a rich seat, clothed after the manner of the old Romans, with a crimson mantle hanging over his shoulders: on each side upon an high pole are two terrible dragons, with their necks extended, hissing. Round the second structure is a broad gallery full of idols.

On the right hand, as you enter the first of these edifices, there is a square well full to the brim, twelve paces diameter, and curiously adorned with white stone.

The Chinese believe strange things of this idol Kou-ya and the well: they say, that formerly he dwelt here, and was very charitable to the poor; that his treasure was never exhausted, because, being a great alchymist, he was possessed of the elixir, which converts all metals into gold: that by order of their gods, he once, like a second St.

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George, overcame a most hideous dragon, which threatened destruction to the city; and having bound him to an iron pillar, flung him into the well. That at last he with all his family were taken up into heaven; and that in return for his services, the inhabitants erected this temple to him. Many other stories were told us of this their deity. Most of the other rare buildings were destroyed by the Tartars. In the last war, the province having revolted from those conquerors, under the governor Kuins, born in Lyau-tong, after several battles, he was besieged in this city. After four months, being pressed by famine, he forced his way with his followers through the Tartar army; which, entering the city, they destroyed it with all the inhabitants.

The twenty-fifth, they came to the village V-syen-yen, famous for shipping. There was then a great resort from all parts of the empire to lade with China ware. It lies near to the lake Po-yang, on the side of the river Kan, and is above a mile long: it is full of trade, and very handsomely built. On the side of a mountain near this place stands a well built idol temple, with a great many black lamps burning day and night. Here those who cross the lake sacrifice a cock or hog, if able, to the hideous idol for a safe and speedy passage, sprinkling the blood on his body and claws. They offer up likewise the feet of the dead swine, and the spurs and comb of the cock. The rest they feast on themselves in honour of the idol. The author saw this sacrifice.

The inhabitants told them, that the china was made in the village of Sinktesuno, an hundred miles eastward near the city Fu-lyang, subject to Yan-chew; and that the earth was brought from the city Whey-chew, in the province of Nan-king, but that the inhabitants there could not make it, because they knew not how to temper the earth with the water.

The twenty-sixth, they came to the chief city Nan-kang, fifty miles from Kan-chang. It lies on the west side of the lake, which is very broad and long, on an hilly ground. The walls are both high and strong, fortified with bulwarks, and a well built tower in the city. The streets are very crooked, the first on the left hand as you enter has several fine triumphal arches, but the houses are mean.

In view of the city stand several stately temples: the chief of them are built upon the mountains Quang-lyu and Yven-shyu, where dwell a great company of priests and friars, each in a little hut or cell, where they daily discipline themselves with lashing; which the people believe to be very meritorious in another world, for they hold the transmigration of souls. They told the Dutch, that on Quan-lyu, there were as many cloisters as days in the year. The country abounds with hemp, whereof the natives make cloathes for summer.

The twenty-ninth, they got to the city Hu-kew, forty miles from Nan-kang, upon the narrow of the lake Po-yang, and right side of the river Kyang. To the north of the city appears an antique rock, which hangs somewhat over the river, and makes a most delightful prospect, being covered with trees. At the bottom of this mountain stands a large and beautiful idol temple. The walls of this city are very thick and high. It drives an handsome trade, is full of people, well built, and abounds with provisions.

Near this city is the hill She-chung, that is, Stone-bell, so called from the noise which the waters of the lake make in stormy weather, beating against the hill.

At their arrival both old and young came running to view them with great admiration; but on sounding their trumpets, thinking to delight them, they were so affrighted, that they ran roaring back again.

From hence they sailed eastward down the Kyang, which divides China from west to east, to Peng-fe. This place lies behind an island on the east side of the river, and at

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the back of it are very high hills. It is well built, but far less than Hu-kew, which is thirty miles distant.

Near this city lies a mountain called Siau-ku, so steep and high, that it is inaccessible. It is surrounded with water, and has on the south side a safe road for ships. On the south side of the Kyang lies also a hill called Ma-kong, talked off with terror through all China for the abundance of shipwrecks which happen near it.

The Chinese pilots seeing the cook going to make a fire to dress dinner, came and fell on their knees before the ambassadors, and earnestly entreated them to forbid any such thing to be done, for that there was a certain spirit in this lake in the shape of a dragon, or great fish, who had the command over this country, and could not endure the smell of roasted poultry, boiled bacon or the like; for as soon so he was sensible of any such thing, he immediately raised a storm, which did infallibly cast away the vessel. The ambassadors to please them sent word to the cook, that they should be content with a cold dinner for that day.

About noon, they passed by two pillars which stood in the middle of the river, and divide the province of Kyang-fi from that of Nan-king.

SECT. V.—*The Ambassador's Journey continued from the Entrance of Kyang-nan to Nan-king.—Tong-lyew-hyen.—Gan-king-fu.—Chi-chew-fu.—Ton-ling-hyen.—V-fu-hyen.—Tay-ping-fu.—Arrive at Nan-king.—The City described.—Houses and Shops.—Money in Use there.—Number of Inhabitants.—The Imperial Palace.—Huge Bell.—Annual Presents to the Emperor.—Pau-lin-shi Temple.—Famous Porcelain Tower.—Character of the Inhabitants.*

HAVING entered the province of Nan-king, or rather Kyang-nan, on the twenty-ninth of April they came to Tong-lou, or Ton-lyew; a small city subject to Chi-chew-fu, on the south bank of the Kyang, in a very delightful soil, encompassed with fine hills. It is enclosed with a pretty strong wall, fortified with bulwarks: but except one street and the governor's house, all the rest is destroyed by the Tartars. Its trade consists wholly in timber. Not far from the city, by the river, rises the Kyew-wha, or nine headed mountain, much like the sun flower hanging down his head.

Two miles beyond, they came to an island called Song-lo, and saw in their passage the first rank city Gan-king, eminent for wealth and trade, all ships stopping here in their way to Nan-king.

The thirtieth, they passed by Anhing, called by some Chi-chew, another capital city on the south side of the river, where lies a fine suburb: the walls two miles in compass, and above twenty-five foot high, are fenced with watch towers and redoubts on an hill. Near the river stands a temple, with a stately steeple seven stories high.

Towards evening they came to Tong-ling, subject to Chi-chew, delightfully surrounded with woods, hills, and dales. This city, though but little, is well built, and encompassed with walls. It has a land locked harbour, guarded by a strong castle, which very much enriches the place. Near it is a hill, remarkable for its echo; likewise the mountain Hing, so named from the plenty of apricots which grow there.

Departing hence the first of May, they came on the third to the castle V-pun. It stands near the river, is square, and begirt with a strong stone wall. In the middle is a well built temple, with a high roof, adorned with curious pictures.

They cast anchor a little beyond, under the walls of U-fu, situate in an island, on whose

whose corners strong block houses are erected; but they have neither men nor guns to defend them. This city is cried up through all China for arms and lamps.

On the fourth, they passed by Tey-tong, which some call Tay-ping, lying in an island. The adjacent country, though full of hills and rocks, is yet exceedingly fertile, being watered by canals cut from the lake Tang-yang, which lies not far off to the south east, as well as from the river. At a distance they saw a high mountain called Tyen-mewen, that is, Heaven's gate; because the Kyang runs here between two small hills belonging to it, as through a gate. Over against the city lies another island, all of one entire rock, called Hyau, from the night birds which breed in the cavities thereof.

They were told, that this had been a stately city, and full of trade, which appeared by three gallant towers upon the river side; but it was totally ruined by the Tartars.

The same day, they cast anchor before the Su-fi-mon, or water gate of Nan king.

Next day, the ambassadors went in palankins, or fedans, and their followers on horse-back, to visit the three governors of this city: the two chief were Chinese, born in Lyau-tong. They were conducted in great state by the agent of the young viceroy of Kanton, who resided here and by two mandarins of the same place, Penxenton staying behind.

The chief governor shewed the ambassadors his withdrawing room, and made them sit down next to him: the second was no less courteous; but neither would receive presents, for reasons already given.

The third, who dwelt in the old imperial palace, sent for the ambassadors into his chamber; which was square, with benches round it covered with silk, and a stove for winter. This governor was a Tartar, a young, well set man; but not understanding the Chinese language, his sons were interpreters. His wife, a comely lady, who was present, spoke more than her husband, and seemed very inquisitive about Holland: far from being dismayed at their arms, she drew out their swords, and discharged their pistols, which much delighted her. The room was presently filled with Tartar gentlewomen, who waited on her, and brought a great silver kettle full of tea, mingled with milk and salt, which they placed in the middle of the chamber, and served about with wooden ladles. This sort of tea is always drank out of wooden vessels.

Visiting over, the agent conducted the ambassadors to his own house, and treated them with a sumptuous dinner. At night they returned aboard their vessels, in which they lay all their voyage, both to and from Peking, except at Kanton, Nangan, and Pe-king.

This stately city, which is by far the best in all China, lies about thirty-five miles from Tay-hing, on the east side of the Kyang, and in thirty-two degrees of latitude. Her situation is most pleasant, and the soil luxurious. The river runs quite through this city, whereof some streams, covered with bridges, are navigable for great vessels. This had been long the imperial court, till removed to Pe-king (by Hong-vu, about 1368) the better to prevent the invasions of the Tartar; and at present the governor of the southern provinces resides here.

From the river, you pass up to the town by a broad and deep canal, about half a mile long; and then pass over, on a bridge of boats, into the city, which is round, close, and well built. The wall is six Dutch miles in compass, excluding the suburbs, which runs out much farther. It is built of stone, above thirty foot high, with breast works and watch towers. It hath thirteen gates, whose doors, plated with iron and guarded continually with horse and foot, are built on four or five arches. So great a number of people passed continually through the gate they lay before, that there was no getting in or out without much crowding. There is, without this wall, another strong inclosure

inclosure for defence of the city, two days journey in compass, if you will believe the Chinese.

The chief streets of this city are twenty-eight paces broad, very neatly paved, and straight. There is, in no other part of the world, such good order observed for preventing housebreaking, or other disturbances, in the night.

The common houses are but mean, built without any convenience, and stand with the cross ridges next the street. They are but one story high, have but one door to go in and out at, and but one room to eat and sleep in. Next the street appears only a square hole for a window; which is commonly covered with reeds, instead of glass, to prevent people from looking in. They are covered with white pantiles, and the outsides white washed.

Those who dwell in such houses, have a very poor trade; but the shops of the better sort are filled with all manner of rich commodities of the empire, as cottons, silks, china ware, pearls, diamonds, and the like. Before each shop stands a board, with the name of the master, in gold letters, and what goods he sells. On one side of the board there is a high pole, which reaches above the house, upon which they hang pennons and flags, or something else, by way of a sign.

Instead of coined money, they use here (as indeed all over China) small pieces of silver, of different sizes. To avoid being cheated, you must carry scales about you, and watch the Chinese, who have two sorts of weights, and are very dexterous at changing them.

Although there are above a million of inhabitants in Nan-king, besides a garrison of forty thousand Tartars, yet provisions of all sorts are exceedingly cheap all the year round. Amongst other fruits there are most delicious cherries.

As no city escaped better in the late wars than this, it excels all others in China for stately idol temples, towers, triumphal arches, and other buildings, of which the Emperor's palace, situate on the south side, was the chief. This was the only part which the Tartars destroyed. It was a square, surrounded with a (high brick) wall, now much decayed, which incloses the greater part of the city, each side being three miles and a half long; so that it was as big as Haerlem in Holland. Within the first gate lay a large court, which led to the four squares and was paved with fine smooth stone.

The Tartars seated themselves in huts, near an idol temple called Pau-lin-shi, leaving the city to the Chinese. The buildings are all of a hard sort of stone, curiously painted with yellow; so that when the sun shines, they glitter like gold.

Over the gate of the second court of this palace hangs a great bell, about ten or eleven foot in height, three fathoms and an half in circumference, and near a quarter of a yard thick. The Chinese boasted much of its loud sound; but the Dutch found it very dull, and the metal not so good as that of European bells.

Every three months five ships are sent from hence to Pe-king, laden with all manner of silks and woollen cloths, as presents to the Emperor; for which reason they are called Long-i-chwen, that is, ships with dragon cloths. The author never saw any thing like them. They were most curiously contrived and adorned with images; and so thickly gilded and painted on the outsides, that it made his eyes dazzle to look on them.

Among other presents are certain fish, taken here, in the river Kyang, in May and June, called by the Chinese, Si-yu, but by the Portuguese, Savel. These being sent in boats, drawn by men day and night, are conveyed often twice a week fresh and good, to Pe-king, more than two hundred Dutch miles, in eight or ten days.

The ambassadors often went to take the air and view the city: one day they rode to

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see the famous temple before mentioned, and plain of Pau-lin-shi, which contains several curious structures. In one, exceeding the rest for art, beauty, and cost, they saw at least ten thousand images, all made of plaster (some six foot high but most of them only one) placed round the galleries and walls, in handsome order. The priests received the ambassadors with great respect, and set open all the doors of their temples.

In the middle of the plain stands a high steeple, or tower, made of porcelain, which far exceeds all other workmanship of the Chinese in cost and skill. It has nine stories, and an hundred and eighty-four steps to the top: each story is adorned with a gallery full of images and pictures, with very handsome lights. The outside is all glazed over, and painted with green, red, and yellow. The parts or materials of which this fabric is composed are so artfully joined, that the work seems to be all one entire piece. Round the corners of the galleries hang little bells, which make a very pretty noise when the wind jingles them. On the top of the tower was a pine apple, as they say, of massy gold. From the upper gallery, you have prospects over the whole city and adjacent country, to the other side of the Kyang. This wonderful pile the Chinese built by command, and in honour of the Tartar, who conquered their country seven hundred years ago.

This plain is surrounded with woods of pine, where formerly stood the sepulchres of the emperors, now totally demolished by the Tartars.

The Dutch found the inhabitants of Nan-king to exceed all the rest of the nation in sincerity, civility, knowledge, and understanding. The Tartars allow them very great privileges, that being the best method, in their opinion, to prevent rebellions.

They found here one Manual of Lisbon, a Jesuit, who often visited them, and professed great kindness.

The ambassadors were very desirous to have written from hence to Japan, but were informed, that the passage thither had been forbidden three years before; on complaint of the unshaven Chinese, that some of Koxinga the pirates men in that island, had injured them. These unshaven Chinese are such as will not submit to the government of the Great Khan, nor cut their hair after the Tartar fashion, as the conqueror had commanded, leaving only one lock behind. Rather than comply with this law, many thousands chose to suffer death.

SECT. VI.—*Continuation of the Journey from Nan-king to the Province of Shan-tong.*—*They leave Nan-king.*—*A Sacrifice.*—*Je-Jeu-hyen.*—*Sturdy Beggars.*—*The Pirate Koxinga's Attempt.*—*Quan-chew.*—*Famous Temples.*—*Jang-se-fu.*—*Handsome Women.*—*The City described.*—*Feast of the New Year.*—*Odd shaped, but sumptuous Barks.*—*Ka-yu-tsyu, or Kau-yew-chew, described.*—*Pau-ing-hyen.*—*Whay-ngan-fu.*—*Sluices.*—*Rivers and Lakes.*—*Visit from a Jesuit.*—*Siang-pu Village.*—*The Whang-ho, or Yellow River.*—*Tau-hen-hyen.*—*Tsi-fang.*—*Floating Villages described.*—*They enter the Province of Shang-tong.*

THE ambassadors, who had hitherto made use of ordinary barks and boats, were now accommodated with two of the Emperor's vessels; which were very large and commodious, all gilded and painted with dragons, having a place for music at one end. They were accompanied by several persons from Nan-king, besides the Kanton soldiers, whom they lodged in the music room.

Pinxenton and the two other mandarins had also two vessels. They all set sail from Nan-king the eighteenth of May, and passed by the ship-bridge of fourteen arches.

Being come to the farthest point of the city walls, about two miles from the Su-si-mon, or water-gate, Pinxenton, with the whole fleet, stopped to make an offering to a famous idol in a temple which stood there, in order to obtain a prosperous voyage. The sacrifice, which consisted of swine, goats, and cocks, was performed after this manner: the swine and goats, after being killed and cleansed, were laid upon the altar, behind which stood the chief image, and on the side several little ones; these were sprinkled with the blood of the cocks, and afterwards wiped clean. During the ceremony, the priests, upon their knees, made several grimaces and mutterings to themselves, as if they and the God had been in some earnest dispute, great tapers burning all the while,

From hence, sailing eastward down the river Kyang with great speed, they came in the evening to a famous village, called Wangsien. They proceeded next morning, and on the twentieth of June reached Je-jen-jeen, which some call Ho-ho, on the north side of the Kyang, about sixty miles from Nan-king. This city, though but small, is very pleasant and of great trade. It is built mighty close, and adorned with temples. The walls are strong, but not very high; and without is a populous well built suburb.

Here several beggars came aboard to shew their tricks. Amongst the rest, there were two, who knocked their heads with great force one against the other till the company bestowed their charity on them; otherwise they would continue toting them, till one or both had been killed, as hath often happened. The author saw likewise in this city another beggar, who kneeling down, and after muttering to himself, struck his forehead against a round stone with so much violence, that he made the earth shake under him. These and several other arts they practise to squeeze alms from strangers.

They were told here, that the famous pirate Koxinga had landed some force, thinking to surprize this city, but was obliged by the inhabitants to retreat to his ships with the loss of a great number of men; however, he burnt several of their vessels, and carried away a considerable number: likewise, that he had seized five great and fruitful islands in the river, about twenty miles from Je-jen-jeen, to harbour his ships in stormy weather.

Next morning, setting forward, they found upon the north side of the Kyang, near to the castle of Quam-chew, a large stone sluice, through which they passed into a canal made for a communication with the Yellow river. This artificial channel being cut at the Emperor's charge, is called the royal water. There is nothing more pleasant to be seen in the world: the banks on each side are smooth and large, planted with stately and shady trees, the adjacent country embellished with rich pastures and delightful woods, (the like not to be seen in all Asia,) interspersed with abundance of wealthy towns and villages, pleasant seats, and stately dwellings.

Towards the entrance of this canal stood a famous temple of the idol Kin-kang; and farther on they saw at a distance another great temple, called Quang-gua myau, adorned with a very fine tower of six stories. The Chinese and Tartars who accompanied the Dutch would fain have stayed to offer up cocks, hogs, and goats, for a prosperous voyage, but the ambassadors could not be prevailed with to lose so much time; only they gave leave to some to go see the place, which is set round with images, and the altar with lamps that burn day and night.

The twenty-fourth, they came to Jang-se-fu, called by some Yang-chew-fu, the seventh capital city of this province. It lies about twenty miles from Je-jen-jeen, is built square, at least five miles in compass, and surrounded with walls and strong bulwarks; exceeding most cities in China for wealth and trade, which consists chiefly in salt transported hence into most of the other provinces. They saw on the east side of the city, a great many pans, wherein they boil the sea water day and night.

This city is famous throughout China for comely and good humoured women. They have very small feet, and handsome legs; so that it passes for a proverb, that if a man would have a wife with a slender shape, brown hair, and a handsome leg and foot, he must come to Jang-se-fu; yet they no where bear so low a price, for parents may sell both their servants and daughters for prostitutes.

The emperor hath here a custom-house to receive the duties on all goods that pass. The city is well built and full of canals, covered with stone bridges. On the west side are very large suburbs, most of which were destroyed in the last Tartar war, but they are rebuilding them fast. Near this city is a very high mountain called Heng.

The twenty-fifth, departing, they saw on the bank of the canal twelve stone ovens; and not far from thence, on the left, lies the burial city of a great Soltan, much revered by the Chinese. About noon they came to a village called Saw-pu, where the inhabitants were celebrating the feast of the new year, it being then full moon, with great acclamations and signs of joy, making bonfires, and lighting up candles. They ran likewise up and down the streets as if distracted, with tapers in their hands twisted together in the form of dragons. The mandorin Pinxenton and his lady assisted at this solemnity.

They found here a great variety of strange built vessels. Among the rest were two barks or sloops, called Long-schon, that is, serpent boats. They were curiously painted with all manner of colours, and seemed much to exceed those boats which carry the fish from Nan-king to Pe-king for the Emperor's use. They were shaped like a water-snake, and had three masts. The stern was full of serpents, fastened with ribbons of several colours, and decked with standards, set off with tassels of hair, silk flags and long feathers. At it hung two nimble boys, who played tricks to divert the spectators. Upon the top of each mast stood an idol, adorned with silk flags and pennants; and on the poop another, dressed with ducks and drakes, whom a Chinese was continually torturing with a fork. The edges of the bark were hung round with gold and silver fringe. Under a lofty pavilion, thick set with flags and standards, sat twelve lusty seamen clothed in silk, with gilt crowns upon their heads, and their arms naked: they came aboard the ambassadors to make their compliments, and were requited with some presents.

The twenty-sixth of May, they came to Ka-yu-tsyu, called by some Kau-yew, a city of the second rank or order, near a great lake, named Pye-she, which supplies the royal canal with water. Formerly, when the passage was through the lake itself, barks used to lie weather-bound at this city, not daring to venture out in bad weather: for this reason a canal was made on the eastern side of it sixty furlongs in length, with white stone.

Kau-yew is very populous, and has stately squares, built very close and full of large houses. The bands round it produce great stores of rice, and is so thick set with dwellings, that it looks like one continued village. The country to the west lies much under water. As no trees will thrive hereabout, their only firing is reeds, which grow on the sides of the lake. The chief produce of the soil is rice, which must be looked after very narrowly, lest it perish by much moisture or drought: hence wind-mills with mat sails are so numerous in this country, being used to draw out the water in a moist season, and in a hot one to let it in. By this means the inhabitants have two plentiful harvests in a year.

The twenty-seventh, leaving Kaw-yew, they came to Pau-ing, (by some called Pau-nyen) a city of the third order, twenty miles distant, and on the east side of the royal canal. It is surrounded with strong walls, and of a circular form, being about a mile

and an half round. On the east it has the lake She-yang, and on the south west that of Pye-she.

This city, which was quite destroyed by the Tartars, appears, by the ruins of the wall and great edifices, to have been very stately, rich, and populous. Amongst the buildings yet standing is a famous temple without the wall, on the north side of the city.

The twenty-eighth, they arrived at Whay-ngan, the eighth capital city of Kyang-nan: it lies on the east side of the royal river, about thirty English miles from Pau-in, in a flat and marshy soil. It is surrounded with a wall, and divided by another into two parts; that to the south called Whay-ngan, the other to north east Yen-ching. The former of these has stately suburbs.

This viceroy keeps his court here in great splendour, commanding over the seven southerly provinces immediately under the Emperor. His office is to inspect the grand Khân's revenue, consisting chiefly in provisions of rice, &c.

To prevent the river Whay from overflowing the adjacent country, they have made two great sluices, with strong and high banks, which confine his stream when swelled by the torrents that are on the north side of the city.

There are two custom houses in the suburbs of Whay-ngan, one to receive the duties on goods, the other those on the barks passing this way.

The city is well built, and full of wealthy inhabitants. Not far from hence, on a very high mountain, called Yo-chew, stands a stately temple, with cloisters to lodge devotees.

The country is full of rivers and lakes, particularly that great one called She-ho, another to the east called Hung, producing reeds, which serve for firing, wood being very scarce throughout this province.

It being very foul weather when the ambassadors arrived, the viceroy and magistrates excused them from making the visit intended. The mandarin Pixento, according to his custom, gave them a very noble dinner, and in the evening, one Gascomez, a Jesuit, came to salute the ambassadors aboard their vessel. He seemed to be a very open-hearted person, professed great affection for the Dutch; and hinted, that they would meet with great opposition from the Portuguese, which proved true enough.

They departed next morning, passing through luxurious fields, and in the evening shot a very great sluice, at the entrance of a famous village called Siampu, which is of a very great length, and handsomely adorned with temples and houses on both sides of the canal. It has a custom house for the Emperor, one of whose officers searched all the barks, but those which carried the ambassadors.

The next night they came to another village called Ney-ne-myau, into which they were let by two great sluices. They saw the ruins of a great castle, which defended the Yellow river and the canal, but the Tartars destroyed it.

The day following they set sail, and came into the great Yellow river, called by some the Saffron river; which is so thick and muddy, that it is scarce passable, and at a distance it seems to be a marshy plain: yet the current is so violent, that no vessels are able to sail against the stream, but must be towed by a great number of bargemen. In some places it is half a mile broad, and in some more. The Chinese make this water very clear by flinging alum into it.

On the first of June, they came to the little city of Tau-yen-hyen, which is situate on the (west) side of the Yellow river, and fenced with a broad and strong mud wall.

It is replenished with handsome buildings, and full of rich inhabitants, who drive a very great trade.

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The country is very fruitful in pears, apples, prunes, cherries, and the like; and abounds likewise in quails, pheasants, and other sorts of fowl.

From hence, they sailed three days, before they came to any considerable place; at last, on the fourth, they arrived at the small town of Tsi-sang, situate in a very delightful soil, at the foot of an high hill. Though it has no walls, or any remarkable buildings, except a strong castle, yet its trade is great, and inhabitants are rich. At the entrance into the town stands a stately temple upon a steep eminence.

They saw on this Yellow river, which is continually plowed with great and small vessels, several floating islands, very artfully contrived, of Bambù canes, twisted so close together, that no moisture can penetrate. Upon these foundations the Chinese set up huts, or little houses of boards, and other light materials, in which they live with their wives, children, and cattle. Some of these floating towns are large enough to contain two hundred families, which subsist, for the most part, by traffic up and down the river. Wheresoever they come, they stay for some months before they remove, fastening their island with poles fixed in the ground.

After some hours sailing, they passed into another royal canal, called Inn-yun, cut from the Yellow river westward through the whole province of Shang-tong, into which they now entered.

SECT. VII.—*The Journey continued from the Entrance into Shan-tong to Tyen-tsing-woy, in the Province of Pe-chi-li, or Pe-king.—Royal Canal of Yun.—Kya-kya, fine Village.—Si-ning-chew City.—Fishing with Birds, Manner of it.—Strange Phenomenon.—Shan-tsi-byen.—Fine Country and Temple.—Tong-chang-fu.—Fruitful Soil.—Sort of Bezoar found in Cows.—Lin-tsin-chew: the City described.—Famous Temple: its beautiful Structure.—Vu-ching-byen.—Ku-ching-byen.—Ta-chew.—Ton-quan-byen.—Sang-lo.—The Governor's Lady.—Sing-ki-tfyen.—Sing-ko-tfyen.—Elegant Temple.—Sing-ye.—Swarms of Locusts.*

THE province of Shan-tong, into which they entered, is much enriched by this great artificial channel Yun; which beginning in Kyang-nan, at the city So-fyen, on the Yellow river, passes thence into Shan-tong to the city Si-ning-chew, and on forwards to Lin-sing, where it enters the river Guey. This canal hath at least sixty stone sluices, without which it would not be navigable, the water in some places running very low. Each sluice is attended by eight men to help through with the vessels.

On the sixth of June, they came to a famous village called Kya-Kya, which is very rich, and well built, containing several handsome edifices. It is encompassed with pleasant and fruitful fields, full of rosemary; so that their venison tastes of it, as they found by the flesh of several stags and deer which they ran down. They saw likewise abundance of all sorts of fowl, especially pheasants, and delighted the Tartars with shooting them flying.

They were three days on the canal without seeing any considerable place; but on the eleventh, arrived at another noted village called Jack-shin-no, in and about which stands thirty-six stately towers. They set forward, passing for two days through a country full of corn fields, with high hills to the east.

The thirteenth, they came to Si-ning-chew, a second rank city under Yeng-chew-fü, situate about the middle of the royal canal Yun, and encompassed with flat and marshy lands, full of pools and rivers, abounding with fish. Here custom is paid both for ship and goods. It exceeds even the chief city for trade, number of inhabitants and people

people of figure. Among other stately edifices, there are two famous temples beautified with pictures. On each side of the royal canal there is large suburbs, and a great sluice to keep off the out water, which sometimes rises six foot higher than the water within.

Here they saw them catch fish with a bird, called Lou-wa, somewhat less than a goose, and not much unlike a raven. It has a long neck, and a bill like an eagle. They go out in small boats, made of Bambú canes, placing the bird on the outside, which on sight of a fish shoots down and swims after it under water. As soon as she has caught her prey she rises, and the fishermen having taken it from her, sends her out to seek more.

To prevent the bird from swallowing the prey, they put an iron ring about her neck. If the fish is too big for her to bring up, she makes a noise in the water for the master to come to her help. When they have caught enough for their owners, the ring is taken off, and they are left to fish for themselves. In case they are averse to dive, they are brought to it by beating. The fishermen pay a yearly tribute to the Emperor for the use of these birds, which are much valued by the Chinese. One of those, which are well taught, is often sold for fifty taël of silver, which is about an hundred and fifty guilders. The Dutch would have bought a couple of an old fisherman, of whom they had some carp, but he refused to sell them, because they served to maintain his family. He could not inform them either whence those birds came, or how they were instructed; only he said they were left him by his ancestors, and bred very seldom.

All the public inns and victualling houses have their fidlers and comedians to recreate their guests at meals. Provisions are very cheap in those parts: the Dutch paid but two shillings a piece for their dinner, which consisted of several dishes.

Next day they left Si-ning, and after a few hours sailing, passed by the village Nam-waig, where the royal canal joins the river Luen. The Tartars and Chinese told the Dutch strange stories of this river: amongst the rest, that if you sling in nine sticks, six would drive to the south, and three toward the north; which the Dutch, upon trial, found to be true, but none could account for it.

The nineteenth, they came to Shan-tfui, a small city about thirty miles from Si-ning, and subject to Yen-chew. It is divided into two parts by the royal canal, and guarded at each end with a strong castle. It is square, well built, and encompassed with high walls, fortified with strong bulwarks. Here they saw the ruins of several great buildings, defaced by the Tartars. The adjacent country is often overflowed by the Yellow river, which sometimes drowns and carries away whole towns and villages.

Next morning they proceeded, passing by many fair villages and corn fields, as well as through several strong sluices.

Not far from Shan-tfui stands one of the most famed temples in all China, called Tey-wan-myau. It is built very high and strong, with grey stone, and nobly adorned. The top is covered with yellow glazed tiles, and the walls are painted with the same colour; so that when the sun shines, it glitters all over like gold.

The twentieth of June, they came to Tong-chang, the third capital city of Shan-tong. Its form is square, and walls defended with bulwarks: the streets are large and well built. In the middle of the city stands an high and curious fabric, with four noble arches: it is fenced with strong walls and towers, in which are several grates. The city is encompassed with a broad water, covered on the north side by a bridge an hundred and thirty-seven foot long. On the south side are stately suburbs, which, for

number

number of inhabitants, fine buildings, and greatness of trade, may pass for another city. Toward the east they shewed a very large iron tomb, erected above seven hundred years before in honour of some great lord, who lost his life in the wars for defence of his country.

The land round Tong-chang is very low and flat, but wondrous fruitful. No part of China produces so much silk as this, the inhabitants thereof living chiefly by this manufacture.

Here is sometimes found, in the maw of the cows, a stone called Nyew-whang that is, the yellow of the cows, from its colour. It is about the bigness of a goose egg, of a soft, chalky substance, and by some thought to be the bezoar stone. It is esteemed sovereign in fainting fits.

Next morning, setting sail, they passed over the lake Nan-yang, which abounds with fish, and that night came to the city of Lin-sing, about thirty miles from Tong-chang, and situated on both sides of the royal canal; which, at the end thereof, enters the river Guey, separating the province of Shan-tong, from that of Pe-king.

They were no sooner arrived at this city, but the governor appeared upon the wall to welcome and receive the ambassadors; intimating, that he could not entertain them at his court, because they had not yet appeared before the Emperor, and for the same reason refused their presents.

Lin-sing exceeds all the other eighteen cities depending on Tong-chang, in number of people, splendour of buildings, plenty of all things, and greatness of commerce; neither gives the place to any inferior city in the whole empire. Near the city stand two strong and large castles, one on each side of the royal canal, and opposite to the other, so that no vessel can pass without paying the duties. Between Shan-tui and this city there are fifty-eight sluices. There are two strong ones just before the city, made to force back the upper water which runs from the river Guey, and is sometimes two or three foot higher than the water of the canal. On the north side of the city lies a wooden bridge of nine arches, with a drawbridge in the middle to let through the barks.

Ling-sing stands in a flat, sandy soil, is very large, and surrounded with a mud wall, coped with stone. It abounds with all manner of fruit, and amongst the rest well rellished pears.

Without the wall, on the north side, stands an eminent temple, with an high tower, built after an exceeding curious manner. It is ascended by a pair of winding stairs, which are not built in the middle of the tower, but in the wall, which is double. The tower itself is an octagon of eight stories, each thirteen foot and an half high, whence the height of the whole is an hundred and twenty foot, and proportionably thick. The outward wall is of the same mould as the China dishes, and full of fretwork: the walls within are of polished marble of several colours, as smooth as a looking glass. The galleries which are nine, are of marble, cut in figures or images, with fine copper bells at the corners, according to the Chinese fashion. The windows belonging to these galleries are full of gilded bars. Upon the top of the tower stands the statue of the goddess to whom the temple is dedicated, made of plaster work: it is thirty foot high, and inlaid with gold and silver. The images standing round this tower are so curiously wrought that they may be reckoned amongst the greatest curiosities in China.

Pinxenton left his wife and children in this city; and a Dutch trumpeter, who died there, was buried in the idol temple with the consent of the magistrates.

Leaving

Leaving Lin-sing, they quitted the royal canal, and entered the river Guey, sailing eastward down the stream; and arrived on the twenty-fifth at the city of Vu-chin, thirty miles from Ling-sing. It is delightfully situated on the south side of the river, in the borders of Shang-tong, and encompassed with a square wall. On the north side are large suburbs, close built with stately houses; but the great edifices were all ruined by the Tartars, and the inhabitants severely treated.

The twenty-sixth of June, they got to Kû-ching, the first place they came at in the province of Pe-king, a city of the third rank, dependent on Ho-kyen-fû. It lies about twenty-three miles from Vu-ching, on the (north) side of the Guey, in a delightful flat country. The walls are high and well built, the suburbs very magnificent, and the whole full of people and commerce. They made no stay here, but proceeding, saw by the way, on both sides of the river, whole fields full of cotton trees, which occasions a mighty trade in the neighbouring parts.

The twenty-eighth, they came to Ta-chew, which some call U-kyau, about eighteen miles from Kû-ching. It is situated on the (east) side of the river, and surrounded with a wall thirty foot high, strengthened with bulwarks and watch-towers. It depends on Ho-kyen-fû, is well built, and adorned with several temples, having also a large suburb, which extends far on both sides of the river.

This city is the great mart for the Zam-zou, which is made of rice, and drank instead of wine. It is exported hence to all parts of China.

The Chinese told them, that about ten miles off, near to the city Hyen, there was a pool called Vo, whose water, if a stick be thrown into it, turns as red as blood, and that if any leaves fall from the trees which grow about the sides, they are instantly changed into swallows.

The twenty-eighth of June, they sailed by Tong-guan, which lies in a flat-country that extends to the ocean, about a mulket shot from the Guey (on the east side), subject to Ho-kyen. This place alone enjoys the privilege of having a guard only of Chinese: it is a square, surrounded with a strong wall, and a ditch both broad and deep. The fields near the town are curiously planted with all manner of fruit trees.

At the motion of Pinxenton, the author and some others were sent, with twelve Tartar soldiers, into the city, to see a lion made of iron that stood in the market place, which they reported to be extraordinarily large and terrible: but the Chinese, when they saw them coming, shut the gates for fear of the Dutch.

On the second of July, they cast anchor before the city of Sang-lo, about fifty-five miles from Tong-guan, (on the right side of the Guey.) It is a little distant from the river, is walled and has on both banks of it very fine suburbs, which are well built, like the city, and full of people and trade. The Tartars who dwell here are more numerous, and of better quality than they had found in any other place. These immediately came aboard in great state to bid them welcome; and the Dutch going ashore passed through five old triumphal arches on the east side of the city.

The governor's lady sent a soldier to the author, and some others of the retinue, desiring them to come to her. They were conducted into a very large parlour, where she, attended by several Tartar ladies richly dressed, expected them. She made Nieuhoff sit down, and asked him several questions concerning Holland. Afterwards they were treated with a noble banquet. Her husband was in great favour with the Emperor, and then at Pe-king.

The same day they left Sang-lo, and came in the evening to the village of Ton-nau, situated over against a strong castle, with a large garrison of Tartars. The houses are of mud, and fit only for dog-kennels, or the uncivil inhabitants, who live by plundering those who pass without a guard.

On the third they came to Sing-ki-tfyen, which, for brevity, some call Sing, a third rank city under Ho-kyen. It lies on the (right hand of the) river Guey, in a flat and pleasant soil, about ten miles from Sang-lo. This town, though not very large, is populous, and has a great trade, like most of the cities on this river. Several noble structures yet standing in and about it shew, that this was formerly a most magnificent place.

The adjacent country, (which is stored with cattle, and the rivers with fish) is all flat, only there is one hill not far off, called Si, whose top is a pleasant and fruitful plain.

Next day they sailed by Sing-ko-tfyen, another third rate city under Ho-kyen, about eight miles from Sing-ki-tfyen. It is neither large, populous, nor of much trade, but very strong, having several watch towers and bulwarks for its defence; and though adorned with some fine buildings, most of the houses are very mean and little.

Its greatest ornaments are the temples; but one, which stands without the walls, in an open field, exceeds all the rest, and shews the wonderful architecture of the Chinese in former ages. It consists of three stages, raised on a stone pedestal, into which you ascend by steps. The first is adorned with great gates, and each corner of the roof supported by sumptuous columns: the second and third rounds have stately windows and large pillars like the first. The whole outside is embellished with fret work, and at each corner hang little bells: but the inside of this fane is not equally beautiful.

The idolaters here seemed nothing so devout as those in other parts; for in some places their images were left quite naked, in others only covered with mats, and having straw hats on to keep off the weather.

The same day they passed by Sing-ye, a third rank city under Ho-kyen, on the left of the river, twenty miles from Sing-ko, enriched with noble suburbs. On the west side of the place stands a great and high temple, fenced in with a wall, having also a very curious garden. It being a cloyster for nuns, the Dutch could not be permitted to see it, for no men have that liberty. On the east side there is another stately fane, besides three curious obelisks, or pyramids, erected by the city, in honour of a great commander, who lay interred there for his faithful services done to his country.

Towards night the people were gathered in troops to defend their country against the grasshoppers, who visit them annually about this time; being brought by an easterly wind in such mighty swarms; that in a few hours they devour all before them, if once they alight: to prevent which, the inhabitants march to and again through the fields with their colours flying, shouting and hallooing all the while; never leaving them till they are driven into the sea, or some river, where they fall down and are drowned. It happened, that one of these hunted squadrons fell down on the vessel which carried the ambassadors, and quite covered them; but they cleared them, by flinging their unwelcome guests into the river.

The same day they arrived at the sea-port of Tyen-tsing-wey.

SECT. VIII.—*The Ambassadors' Arrival at Pe-king, and Reception at Court.*—*Tyen-tsing-wey.*—*The Ambassadors treated.*—*Jo-si-wo.*—*Fo-chew.*—*San-tfyan-wey.*—*Journey by Land.*—*Tong-ebew.*—*Arrive at Pe-king.*—*Visited by Grandees.*—*Suspected for Rovers.*—*Strictly examined, by the Emperor's orders.*—*Sent for to Court.*—*A Jesuit Mandorin.*—*The Presents viewed.*—*The Jesuit's Knavery.*—*The Dutch feasted.*—*Ambassador from Russia.*—*The Presents liked by the Emperor.*—*Great Mogul's Ambassador.*—*Emperor's Mandate, in favour of the Dutch.*—*Deceitful Ministers.*—*Intriguing Jesuits.*—*Cheating Viceroy.*—*Equitable Monarch.*—*Custom of saluting the Imperial Throne.*—*Emperor's Brother dies.*—*Russian Ambassador's departure.*

TYEN-TSING-WEY is reckoned the greatest trading town of all China, and one of its three chief ports, the other two being Kanton, in the province of Quan-tong, and Je-jan-jeen in that of Nan-king. Tyen-tsing-wey is situated in the utmost border eastward of the province of Pe-king, near an arm of the sea called Kang, where three rivers meet, defended by a strong fortress built on the point of confluence. This city lies about thirty miles from Sang-lo, in a very low and marshy soil, surrounded with strong walls twenty-five foot high, thick set with watch towers and bulwarks. It is very populous, and full of temples. As all vessels bound from any other part of China must touch here, and it is a free port where no duties are paid for goods either imported or exported, the resort of shipping is very great.

The governor and magistrates came aboard to welcome the ambassadors, but Pinxenton subtilely contrived to get the first visit from them: afterwards the Dutch were invited to an entertainment, prepared in a splendid idol temple. The design of this meeting was to consult in what manner the Emperor was to be applied to, and the grandees gained over to their interest. These matters being settled, the old viceroy of Kanton's mandorin was sent before to Pe-king to give notice of their approach, they following with all expedition.

On the eleventh, got to Jo-si-wo, a third rate city under Pe-king, about forty miles from Tyen-tsing, (and on the left hand of the river.) This place is small, but well built, hath a wealthy suburb, and drives a great trade. The revenue arising from the custom paid by vessels is very considerable. The ambassadors were entertained by the governor at his house in much state; and though he would not receive the presents offered him for the reason before mentioned, yet he made no scruple to ask some glasses of rose water, which were sent him.

Next they passed by Fo-chew, called by some Que, a third rank city under Pe-king, on the (left) side of the river, about fifteen miles from Jo-si-wo, in a very pleasant soil. This place is not very large, but is well built, and full of handsome edifices; among the rest are several triumphal arches. On the east side, without the walls, which are high and lengthened with watch towers and bulwarks, stands a very fine temple, with a curious tower of nine stories.

On the sixteenth, they came to San-tfyan-wey, or San-ho, about twelve miles from Fo-chew, and four from Peking, to which it is subject. It is a third rate city on the (left) side of the river: it is very populous and well fortified, having a strong castle. In the middle of the town stands a curious triumphal arch, of grey stone, and on the south side a broad stone bridge of five arches, forty-two paces long, with houses on each side.

Here the ambassadors went ashore to perform the remainder of the journey by land: and

and commonly all goods designed for Pe-king are unladed here, or at the next city called Tong-chew, and so carried by land either in waggons, or on mules or asses; which are always kept in readiness by the owners, this being the only subsistence of many poor people.

The same day the mandarin, whom the ambassadors had sent before to Pe-king, returned; and next day there arrived twenty-four horses, with several waggons and carts, which the council sent to fetch up their baggage and the presents. All things being ready, they began their journey in this order: two trumpeters rid at a distance before, then followed the standard bearer, with the Prince of Orange's flag; next to him the ambassadors, accompanied by several Tartar lords and gentlemen well mounted; the officers and soldiers, who had thus far conducted them, and were about fifty in number, came after in good order with the presents and goods. The road to Pe-king was exceeding bad, being very deep and uneven, so that the horses were up to the belly almost every step: yet it was so full of people, horses, and waggons, as if an army had been upon the march.

The seventeenth, they rode through Tong-chew, situated in a very low and deep soil. It is very large, and fenced with strong walls: it is likewise divided into two parts by a wall. The streets are not paved, but have many fine buildings: the country is very pleasant and fruitful. The ambassadors having refreshed themselves in a temple near the road, proceeded, and in the afternoon came to the suburbs of Pe-king, distant from Kanton one thousand five hundred and thirty miles.

They passed through two magnificent gates into the city, and lighted at a magnificent temple, into which they were invited to repose awhile, and wait for their carriages. They were no sooner entered, than saluted by the Emperor's kappado, who carried a falcon on his hand, by the agents of the Kanton viceroys who reside here, and by several grandees of the court. After they had refreshed themselves with victuals, and several sorts of fruit, and their carriages had been visited by the kappado, who told all the waggons, they were conducted in great state to their lodgings, provided for them by the Emperor. This house was not far from the palace, and had an high wall about it, with three stately gates, between which were very large courts.

At night came two Tartar officers with twelve soldiers to guard the gates, and take care that the ambassadors should be supplied with all things convenient.

Next morning they were visited by some lords of the imperial council, attended with the chief secretary Tong-lau-ya, a Chinese, and two other mandarins, Quan-lau-ya, and Hù-lau-ya: this last secretary to the council, though a stranger to the Chinese language. These came to welcome the ambassadors in the name of the Emperor and his council, to enquire after their healths, the number of their followers, and quality of their presents, as well as the person who sent them, and place they came from. They likewise enquired their uses, and having highly extolled them, fell to ask other questions concerning their voyage, country, and government, such as were put to them at Kanton.

As they could not be persuaded to believe that the Dutch had any settlement on the continent, but dwelt upon the sea, or in islands, they desired to see a map of their country, which the ambassadors having produced, they took it with them to shew the Emperor. In regard likewise that these commissioners could not well understand the nature of a commonwealth, because the Tartars and Chinese know no other sort of government than the monarchical, they were forced to make use of the name of the Prince of Orange, as if they had been sent by His Highness: upon this they asked several questions concerning him, and whether the ambassadors were allied to their prince;

for no foreign ambassadors are suffered to bow their heads before the Emperor's throne, unless they were a-kin to the prince who sent them, (like those of Korea and the Lique islands, who came to Pe-king the year before) having a notion that the majesty of the Emperor would be much lessened by giving audiences to persons of inferior quality.

The ambassadors replied, that they were not in the least allied to their prince; and that it was not the custom in their country to send his relations abroad in such employments. Then they asked them, what posts they held at court, what their titles were in Dutch, how many men they had under their command, and by what means they subsisted. Mention happening to be made of the governor-general of Batavia, they were inquisitive to know the quality of both. The ambassadors told them, that the governor-general, in regard of his commands, might be compared with the viceroys of Kanton, his jurisdiction extending over all the Dutch dominions in India; and that Batavia, the place of his residence, was the chief city of the whole.

The mandarins then presented each of the ambassadors with fifty tael of silver, and took their leave, but soon returned again one after another to ask more questions. The first came by order of His Imperial Majesty and his council to fetch the credentials, which were carried to him in great state, being put into a large silver dish, covered with three pieces of scarlet. Another came to see their arms, and know how they were made: the third asked, what sort of weapons the Dutch used in war, what nations they had been at war with, and whether they were at peace with the Portuguese? they went and came again, six or seven times on the same errand: at last, they asked pardon for the trouble they had given them, saying, that what they did was by the Emperor's order, who was always very inquisitive in things of this nature.

On the report of the commissioners, to the grand master, or rather chancellor of the empire, he sent next day two gentlemen, with orders, for the ambassadors to appear with the presents before the Emperor's council. It proving a very rainy day, they would fain have put off going till another time, lest the presents should be spoiled with the rain; but no excuse would be allowed of. At last they went to court without the presents; but were not admitted till such times as they had brought them: for the Emperor was resolved to see them that day. As soon as the presents came, they were admitted, and ordered to sit down, without shewing any manner of respect to that great assembly.

The chief commander sat at the upper end of the hall, upon a broad low bench, with his legs across, like the taylors: on his right hand sat two Tartar lords, and on his left, Adam Scaliger, a Jesuit, and native of Cologne in Germany, who had lived in great honour at the court of Peking near thirty years. He was a very comely old man, with a long beard, and went shaved and cloathed after the Tartar fashion. All the great men who were at this council, sat one among another, without any regard to order, state, or gravity; the chancellor himself being with his legs naked, and a little slight mantle about his body. As soon as this lord had made a short speech to the ambassadors, and ordered them to sit, the Jesuit came to salute them; which he performed with great civility in his own language, and asked after several of his religion in Amsterdam.

While this was doing, the Kanton mandarins, and even Pinxenton, (who had carried it so high upon the voyage,) were as busy as porters, to help in bringing the chests in which the Emperor's presents lay. The chancellor himself took them out, and asked several questions about them, which the ambassadors resolved; Scaliger, who acted as interpreter, affirming their answers to be true, and when any that was very

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curious appeared, he fetched a deep sigh. The chancellor commended several of the presents, and said they would be very acceptable to the Emperor.

Meantime came an order to the council, from His Imperial Majesty, that Scaliger should ask the ambassadors several questions, such as have been mentioned before, concerning the Dutch and the form of their government, and set their answers down in writing. The Jesuit did so; but deceitfully added, of his own accord, that the country which the Dutch then possessed was formerly under the dominion of the Spaniards, and did of right still belong to them: but the chancellor caused him to blot out those words, which he supposed might give offence to the Emperor; telling him, it was enough to know, that these people were possessed of a country, and had a form of government among them.

Whilst the clerks were making several copies of this writing, the chancellor found himself hungry, and sent for a piece of pork; which, though half-raw, he eat most heartily, and in so slovenly a manner, that he looked more like a butcher than a prince. As soon as he had done, he ordered the son of the old Kanton viceroy, who resided at court, to provide an entertainment for the ambassadors. When dinner was brought up, the chancellor and the rest of the Tartar lords fell on again, as greedily as if they had eaten nothing all that day; but neither the ambassadors nor Scaliger could taste of their cookery, most of the meat being raw. This His Excellency perceiving, caused the dishes to be removed, and a banquet of fruit and sweetmeats set upon the tables, urging the ambassadors to send home what was left; which they civilly refused.

Scaliger informed them, that about four months before, there came an ambassador from Muscovy, with a train of an hundred men, to desire leave to come once a year to trade in China; but that the Great Khân seemed very unwilling to grant their suite. Night coming on, the ambassadors took leave of the assembly, and returned to their lodgings, conducted in great state by the Jesuit; who was carried by four men in a palankin, or sedan, attended by several considerable persons on horseback.

Next day, at the request of the chancellor, the ambassadors set down in writing for whom the several presents were designed, and sent Baron, their secretary, to answer some farther questions: which having done, Tang-lau-ya and the two other mandarins returned to acquaint the ambassadors, that the presents were very acceptable to His Majesty, his mother and the Empress; and that His Majesty would be glad to have fifty pieces more of the white linen, to present to the wives of the Kanton viceroy's sons: but they could muster only thirty-six pieces.

On the third of August, they understood, that an ambassador from the Great Mogol was arrived at Pe-king, with a numerous train; in order to accommodate some differences lately arisen between the two nations, and procure liberty for their priests to preach, which had for some time been forbidden under severe penalties. The presents which he brought consisted of three hundred and thirty-six very fine horses, two ostriches, a diamond of an extraordinary bigness, and several other precious stones. These, being no less acceptable to His Majesty than those of the Dutch, procured him a quick dispatch in his business.

The ambassadors were frequently visited by lords of the court and mandarins, who teased them with questions on the same subjects over again. At length, on the thirty-first of July, the Emperor sent the following mandatory letter to the lords of his council.

GREAT AND WORTHY Li-pù,

THE ambassadors of Holland are come hither with their presents, to congratulate the Emperor and pay their obedience to him a thing which never happened before: and

and because this is the first time, I think fit to accept of them as ambassadors, and grant them leave to appear before me, and do homage, when I shall be seated on the throne in my new palace; to the end that they may obtain a favourable answer and a quick dispatch, in order to their return. Moreover, after the happiness of having seen me has caused them to forget the fatigues of their long travels both by sea and land, and they are able, without shutting their eyes, to behold the brightness of the sun in the heavens, how can we be unkind to them, or deny them their requests?

On the perusal of a new translation of the ambassador's credentials, by Scaliger, the Emperor sent a second letter, of the same nature, to the council. The chancellor hereupon desired to know of the ambassadors, whether the Dutch could not send annually to Pe-king, or at least every second or third year, to do homage to the Emperor? they answered, that every fifth year would be more convenient for them; but desired, that they might be allowed to trade annually with four ships to Kanton. Afterwards the chancellor summoning the Tartar and Chinese councils together, to consider of the proposals of the Hollanders, alledged, that it would be sufficient for them to come every fifth year to salute the Emperor.

Most of the Tartars were of this opinion: but the Chinese, pretending to shew them much more favour, would have had the time enlarged to nine years; imagining that the Dutch were not to be permitted to trade at Kanton in the mean time. They likewise suggested, that under the name of Hollanders, the English might find access, who, about thirty years before, came with four ships into the harbour of Heytamon; where they took away four vessels laden with salt, made the mandarin prisoner, and shot down a fort: for which outrages they had been declared enemies of the empire. They added, that besides it being contrary to the custom of the country to let them have a free trade in any part of the empire, it did not appear by the ambassadors credentials, that any such thing was desired; so that they concluded they had exceeded their orders.

The ambassadors were not a little surpris'd at these proceedings; for they look it for granted, that the Emperor had already, by his letters to the viceroy of Kanton, fully agreed to allow the Dutch a free trade in that port; and that they were come to Pe-king only to return His Majesty their thanks for that favour. They were well informed of the practices of Scaliger, and some other Jesuits, who had been bribed by the Portugueze to oppose the designs of the Dutch. These missionaries, to compass their end, endeavoured to prejudice the Tartars by such false reports as were spread at Kanton, and insinuating, that Ma-kaw would be quite impoverished by granting them a trade.

What most surpris'd the ambassadors, was to find themselves defrauded of the money paid to the Kanton viceroys, in order to gain the chancellor, and some other of the Emperor's council over to their interest. In these straits they tried several expedients: one was, to propose to the council, to admit them to live and trade in China on the footing of subjects; on which condition they promised to pay the usual duties, like those of Liegiow, Amiam, and Siam, and to salute the Emperor, with presents every third year.

But the ambassadors, after all their endeavours were not able to effect any thing for want of money; and being unwilling to take up any at eight or ten per cent. a month, they resolv'd to apply to the Emperor himself. Meantime, His Majesty, having sent to know how far the council had proceeded in the business, and understanding, that the ambassadors offer'd to come every five years to salute him, he was pleas'd to insert the number eight in place of it; alledging, that five years was time little enough to go

and come, if they travelled only by day; and that they ought to be allowed two or three years to rest at home: besides, why should we straiten them, said he, in such a point, who neither stand in need of me, nor fear me, but came, out of mere respect and affection, to salute me, and offer me their goods and presents?

This favourable answer of the Emperor gave the ambassadors great hopes: but the chancellor's chief secretary did all he could to dissuade them from making any farther request, saying they ought to be content, for the first time, with being admitted as friends; and that for them, who were never there before, to demand a free trade, would unhinge all. However, the ambassadors did not think fit to follow his advice, because the time drew near that the Emperor was to make his entrance into his new palace: but before they could have an audience, they were first to perform obedience in the old palace, where His Majesty's treasure and seal are kept; otherwise they would be dismissed without one, as it happened to the Muscovy ambassador; who, thinking it derogated from the dignity of his master, would not perform that ceremony. All the grandees of the kingdom must pay their respects to this throne before they appear before His Majesty; nay, the Emperor himself, before he is installed, is obliged to come and bow to it. The reason they give for this is, that it is older than the Emperor and deserves that respect. This custom is usually performed by ambassadors three days before their audience.

On the twenty-second of August, the agents of the Kanton viceroys, with the mandarin Pinxenton and others, came early in the morning to the lodgings of the Dutch; and not long after also appeared three Chinese doctors, and some of the court, in very rich habits. These persons conducted the ambassadors and their followers, in great state, into a room of the old palace, much like a library; for they saw none there but scholars and gownmen, with books in their hands. From hence, after some short stay, they were led into an open court, within a high wall, were they were commanded, by a herald, to kneel three times and bow their heads to the ground. After a short pause, the herald spoke aloud, in Chinese, the following words: *Ka shan*; that is, God hath sent the Emperor: *Que e*; fall upon your knees: *Kan to*; bow the head three times: *Ke e*; stand up (this he repeated three times:) lastly, *Ko e*; that is, range yourselves on one side. These ceremonies were performed in presence of at least a hundred Chinese doctors: after which the Dutch returned to their lodgings.

On the twenty-fifth of August, the day appointed for their audience, they were prevented by the sudden death of the Emperor's youngest brother, about sixteen years of age, not without suspicion of poison by some of the council; who, it seems, did not think him worthy to live, because he had provoked His Majesty by some ill language before their arrival at Pe-king: but others ascribed his death, to drinking a glass of ice water, when very hot, which carried him off in a few hours. The Emperor seemed much to lament his death; for he would not be seen by any person in three days. This young prince was kept unburied a whole month, which gave so much delay to the audience.

On the fourteenth of September, they understood, that the ambassador of Russia went from thence without audience, for the reason before mentioned; and about noon one of his retinue came and took leave in the name of all the rest: he desired the favour of a letter to shew in Russia that he had met with the Dutch at Pe-kin, which was readily granted. They were informed afterwards, that this ambassador was not suffered to depart, till such time as the Emperor had given him a pass.

SECT. IX.—The Ambassadors' audience of the Emperor, and other Transactions.—They are conducted to the Palace.—The Kalmuck Ambassador.—Great Mogol's Ambassador.—The Lama Ambassador.—Incredible Concourſe of People.—Hall of the Throne.—Splendid Appearance.—All reverence the Throne in appointed Stations.—Stage of the Throne.—The Emperor's State and Perſon.—His curioſity.—The Ambassadors feaſted.—Tartar Cookery and Slovenlineſs.—Regaled with Sam-fou.—Jeſuitical Fictions.—The Second Feaſt.—The Third Banquet.—Emperor's Preſents to the General; to the Ambassadors, their Secretary and Followers; to the Kanton Mandarins, Officers and Soldiers.—Form of delivering his Letters.—Emperor's Letter to the Dutch General.—Allowance of the Ambassadors, and their Retinue.—They leave Pe-king.—Arrive at Kanton.—How treated by the Viceroy.—Sail from thence.—Return to Batavia.

THE prince's funeral being over, the Emperor ſent word to the chancellor, that he ſhould conduct the Dutch ambaffadors two days after, as alſo thoſe of the Great Mogol before his throne: of this the miniſter gave notice, by proclamation, to all the grandees in Pe-king, who were likewiſe to be preſent.

Accordingly, on the firſt of October, about two in the afternoon, the Kanton mandarins, and others of the court, came, in very rich habits, with lanthorns, to conduct the ambaffadors, and fix of their attendants, who were ſelecſted from the reſt, the author being one. When they came to the palace, they paſſed into the ſecond court. They were ſcarce ſeated, before the ambaffador of the Great Mogol accompanied with five perſons of honour, and about twenty ſervants, came and placed himſelf next the Dutch ambaffadors: thoſe of the Lammas and Su-ta-tſe did the ſame: next to them ſat ſeveral lords of the empire. Here they were obliged to ſit all night on the bare ſtones and in the open air, in expectation of His Majeſty's appearance, early in the morning, on his throne.

Of all the foreign ambaffadors, thoſe of the Su-ta-tſe, who may be called South Tartars, were in moſt eſteem at the court of Pe-king. All Nieuhoff could learn of his buſineſs, was, that he was ſent with preſents to the Great Khan, according to the cuſtom of the bordering nations. This ambaffador had on a coat made of ſheepſkins, dyed crimſon, which came down to his knees, but was without ſleeves; his arms being naked up to the ſhoulders: his cap, turned up with fables, fat cloſe to his head, and had on the crown a tuft of an horſe's tail, coloured red alſo: his breeches made of a ſlight ſtuff, hung half way down his legs in a cluſterly manner: the boots he wore were ſo heavy and large, that he could hardly walk in them: on his right thigh hung a broad heavy ſword. All his attendants were clothed after the ſame manner, each with a bow and arrows at his back.

The Mogol ambaffador had a very coſtly blue coat on, ſo richly embroidered, that it looked like beaten gold: it reached almoſt to his knees, and was girt about his waſt with a ſilk girdle, which had great taſſels at both ends. He wore neat buſkins of Turkey leather, and a large turban of ſeveral colours.

The ambaffador of the Lammas was clothed in yellow; his hat much like a cardinal's; with broad brims. At his ſide hung a pair of beads, on which they ſay their prayers like the Romaniſts. Theſe Lammas are a ſort of religious (or prieſts) who enjoyed a toleration for a long time in China: but having been baniſhed by the laſt Chineſe Emperor, went and ſettled in Tartary; from whence they ſent this ambaffador to crave

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liberty to return. What success he met with, Nieuhoff could not learn, but says, his reception at court was very friendly.

At the court gate, where they fat expecting the dawn, stood three black elephants as centinels, with curious towers carved and gilded, on their backs. The concourse of people here was incredible, and the number of guards all in very rich habits surprisngly great.

At day break the grandees, who had been there likewise all night, came gazing at them with great admiration, but in a very decent manner. About an hour after, on a sign given, all started up. At the same time two Tartar lords, who usually were sent to the ambassadors, came and conducted them through another gate into a second court, lined round with Tartar soldiers and courtiers; and from thence to a third court, where stood the hall of the imperial throne, together with the apartments of the Great Khan, his wife and children. This court, containing four hundred paces in compass, was lined likewise with a strong guard, all of them in rich coats of crimson coloured satin.

On each side of the throne stood an hundred and twelve soldiers, every one holding a different flag, and in cloaths of a colour suitable thereto; only they had all black hats with yellow feathers. Next to the throne stood twenty-two gentlemen with rich yellow screens in their hands resembling the sun; and next to these ten persons holding gilt circles in the same form; then six others with circles imitating the moon at full; after these stood sixteen with half pikes or poles in their hands, hung full of silk tassels of several colours; and near them thirty-six more, each bearing a standard adorned with dragons, and such other monsters. In this manner were both sides of the throne guarded, not to mention an infinite number of courtiers all in very rich habits, of the same colour and sort of silk, as if a livery; which added greatly to the splendour of the place. Before the steps, leading to the throne, stood on each side six snow-white horses, with rich embroidered trappings and bridles beset with pearls, rubies, and other precious stones.

Whilst they were admiring the pomp and splendour of this court, they heard a larum bell, or chimes, which ceasing, the old Tu-tang, with thirty more of the most eminent persons of the empire, stepped forth; and at the motion of a herald paid their obedience to the throne, by falling on their knees and bowing their heads nine times to the ground, whilst delightful music, both vocal and instrumental, filled up the vacancies of the ceremony. These were succeeded by another set of lords. The next who performed the ceremony were the ambassadors of the Su-ta-tse and Lammas, conducted to the extraordinary state by the first and second chancellors.

Then the chancellor coming up to the Dutch ambassadors, asked them what degree in dignity they possessed; and being answered that of viceroys, he went to the Mogol ambassador, who returning the same answer, the under Tu-tang informed them, that their station was the tenth stone of the twentieth, which are set for that purpose in the pavement opposite to the middle gate of the hall where the throne stands. These stones are inlaid with plates of brass, on which are engraved in Chinese characters the quality of the persons who are to stand or kneel upon them. Then the herald called to them aloud, go stand before the throne: this done, he said, step into your place, which accordingly they did. His next command was, bow your heads three times to the ground; then rise up; and, last of all, return to your place. All which the Dutch performed.

They were afterwards along with the Mogol ambassador, conducted to a stage curiously built, which propped the seats of the throne, about twenty feet in height, and

adorned with several galleries of alabaster: here having kneeled and bowed their heads once more, they were ordered to sit down, and then treated with Tartar tea, mingled with milk, in wooden dishes and cups. Soon after, the bells tinkling again, all the people fell on their knees, while the Emperor ascended the throne. The ambassadors being obliged to keep their stations, could see very little of his Majesty; but their attendants, who staid below, could not get the least glimpse of him for the crowd of couriers that was about him.

He sat about thirty paces from the ambassadors. His throne so glittered with gold and precious stones, that it dazzled the eyes of all the beholders. Next, on both sides of him, sat the viceroys, princes of the blood, and other great officers of the court, served with tea in wooden dishes. These grandees wore all blue satin coats, curiously interwoven with golden dragons and serpents. Their caps embroidered with gold were decked with diamonds and other precious stones, which denoted their degrees and qualities. On each side of the throne stood forty of his Majesty's life guards, armed with bows and arrows.

This mighty prince having sat thus in magnificent state about a quarter of an hour, rose up with all his attendants; and as the ambassadors were withdrawing, de Keyzer observed the Emperor to look back after them. For what that gentleman could discern of him, he was young, of fair complexion, middle stature, and well proportioned, being clothed in cloth of gold. They much admired that His Majesty suffered the ambassadors to depart without once speaking to them; but this is a custom generally prevailing among the Asiatic princes. The courtiers, soldiers and life guards, marched off in much disorder. Though the Dutch had a sufficient guard to clear the way, they had much ado to pass the streets for the multitude.

They were scarce gotten into their lodgings, when two of the chief of the council arrived in his Majesty's name, to request (the sight of) a suit of cloaths in the Dutch fashion. The ambassadors delivered to them a black velvet suit and cloak, a pair of boots and spurs, a pair of silk stockings, boot-hose tops, drawers, a band, shirt, sword belt, and beaver hat: all which seemed so very rich to the Emperor, that he said, if the ambassadors wear such habits, how must their kings go clothed? In the evening his Majesty sent back all the cloaths by one of his council, who very much admired the stuff of the hat.

It is the custom in China to treat ambassadors on the tenth, twentieth, and thirtieth days after their audience, in token that their affairs are dispatched; but the Dutch being in haste to return prevailed to have their feasts on three successive days, and the first was given them on the day of their audience.

At two o'clock, in the afternoon, the ambassadors were conducted with all the Kantou mandarins, officers and soldiers, to the Li-pu, or first minister's house, where the entertainment was given. To the same were invited the ambassadors of the Great Mogol, the Su-ta-tse, and Lammas. These two last, with their followers, sat on one side of the table, the two former with theirs on the other side. The first course was of fruits and dried sweetmeats; the second of boiled and roasted mutton, beef, and other meat. The dishes were brought to table by persons of quality, dressed in cloth of gold. For each of the ambassadors, and two of their attendants, a particular table was covered, with thirty silver dishes full of rare fruits and sweetmeats. The Emperor's steward sat alone upon an high bench, and next him two other great lords, all cross legged, who took care to see the ambassadors well entertained.

Before the ambassadors sat down, they were obliged to turn themselves towards the north, and bow three times, as if the Emperor had been present. The meat was

brought to table in three dishes, but so ill dressed, that the Dutch hardly durst venture to taste of the cookery of the Tartars.

Dinner being almost ended, the Emperor's steward called his servants, and gave them all the dishes which stood before him, excepting one. This was a roasted rib of a camel, whereof he eat so heartily, as if he had been fasting all day.

As it is the custom for ambassadors to carry home what is left, it was pleasant to see how those greasy Tartars stuffed their pockets and leather drawers of their breeches with fat mear, that the liquor dropped from them as they went along the streets.

After dinner the waiters brought up several gold and silver pots full of Sam-sou, and served it to the company in wooden dishes, or cups. This drink, which, as a favour, came from the Emperor's cellar, was distilled from new milk; and though almost as strong as brandy, yet the ambassadors were forced to pledge the steward several times, and take home what was left: but they gave it to the soldiers at the gate. For the finishing stroke, they returned to the palace to perform their obedience before the throne, and then retired to their lodgings.

Next day being appointed for the second treat, the under Tu-tang, or vice-chancellor, came to visit the ambassadors; among other questions, he asked, whether it was true, that the Dutch could live under water for three days and nights together? for so the Portuguese jesuits had given out. The ambassadors assured him it was false; and on acquainting his highness, that as yet they had done very little in their business, he answered, that at present it could be no otherwise; but assured them, that if they would come once more and salute the Emperor, a free trade should be granted them at the expences of only a few presents.

At noon, they went to the second banquet, at which assisted some of the prime persons of the empire; with the Mogol ambassador, who sat opposite to them. Observing, that the under Tu-tang was more open-hearted to him, the Moors, and other guests, than to them, they asked the interpreter the cause, and found that this great lord had received 20 presents from them; although Pinxenton and the other Kanton mandarins had goods delivered to them at Nan-king sufficient for distributing to all the grandees. Upon this they desired to know now their goods had been disposed of, but the trustees refused to give them an account; alledging, that they durst not name those persons to whom they were presented, lest it should come to the Emperor's knowledge: for this reason, and because their business was not yet dispatched as it ought, the last banquet was deferred till the fourteenth of October.

The under Tu-tang in the interim having had his presents, the ambassadors were received by him on that day, seemingly with the greatest respect and affection. After they had sat about an hour at the table, and drank once or twice about, the presents were delivered to them in the name of the Emperor. They were spread in great order on two long tables that stood on one side of the hall. First, the present for the General Maatzuiker was delivered, which the ambassadors received kneeling, with both their hands: then the names of themselves and their followers being called over, their respective presents were delivered to them likewise upon their knees. Lastly, when they were ready to depart, they performed their obedience to the imperial throne, by thrice kneeling and bowing their heads.

The presents were as follows:—To the General John Maatzuiker, three hundred tael of silver, four pieces of damask, four pieces of black, and four of blue satins; four pieces of cloth of gold, two embroidered with dragons; four pieces of Thuys, twelve pieces of Pe-lings, ten pieces of Ho-kyen, four pieces of blue flowered damask, three pieces of Ga-fen, four pieces of Foras, and four pieces of black velvet.

To each of the ambassadors, one hundred tael of silver, four pieces of Pe-lings, four pieces of Ga-fen, four pieces of Ho-kyens, three pieces of blue satins, three pieces of black, and three of blue damask, and one piece of black velvet.

To the Secretary Baron, fifty tael of silver, two pieces of Pe-lings, two pieces of Ga-fen, one piece of damask, one piece of cloth of gold, and one piece of velvet.

To each of their followers, fifteen tael of silver, and two pieces of Ho-kyens. To the interpreter Carpentier, thirty tael of silver. To the interpreter Paul Durette, a damask gown.

The mandarin Pinxenton had given him, a mandarin's gown, embroidered with golden dragons, which he was to wear immediately. Each of the other two mandarin's received one horse without a saddle. Each of the two captains, who had the command over the soldiers, who conducted them from Kanton to Peking, a gown of blue silk damask. Lastly, each soldier, to the number of twenty, received a coat of black and blue silk damask.

On the sixteenth, the Tartar lords, who had been often sent to the ambassadors, caused fifteen waggons to be brought to carry their goods; after which Pinxenton sent them notice to repair to the court of Li-pù, to receive the Emperor's letter to the governor-general at Batavia. They rode thither about one o'clock, and were conducted into an anti-chamber, where one of the council took the letter off the table, which was covered with a yellow carpet, and opening the same, declared to them the contents. It was written both in the Chinese and Tartar tongues, gilded on the edges, and painted on both sides with golden dragons: then making it up again, he wrapped it in a silk scarf, and putting it into a box, delivered it to the ambassadors, who received it kneeling. Afterwards he took the letter again from them, and bound it to the back of one of the interpreters; who went along with it before the ambassadors through the middle gate of the court; which was set wide open for the purpose. This ceremony was performed in great silence; neither was the least mention made at any of their entertainments of the Dutch negotiations.

The Emperor's letter runs thus:

The King sends this Letter to John Maatzuiker, the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia.

OUR territories being as far asunder as the east from the west, it is with great difficulty that we can approach each other; and from the beginning till this present the Hollanders never came to visit us: but those who sent Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer to me, are a brave and wise people, who in your name have appeared before me, and brought me several presents. Your country is ten thousand miles distant from mine, but you shew your noble mind in remembering me; for this reason my heart doth very much incline to you, therefore I send to you — (Here the presents are mentioned.) You have asked leave to come and trade in my country, by importing and exporting commodities, which will redound very much to the advantage of my subjects: but in regard your country is so far distant, and the winds on these coasts so boisterous, as to endanger your ships, the loss of which would very much trouble me; therefore, if you do think fit to send hither, I desire it may be but once every eight years, and no more than an hundred men in a company, twenty of whom may come up to the place where I keep my court; and then you may bring your merchandizes ashore into your lodge, without bartering them at sea before Kanton. This I have thought

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thought good to propose for your interest and safety, and I hope it will be well liked of by you: and thus much I thought fit to make known unto you.

In the thirteenth year, eight month, and twenty-ninth day of the reign of
Song-te.

Underneath stood
Hong-ti T'fo-pe.

The ambassadors, on their return to their lodgings, were urged by the commissioners to depart; alledging, that by the usage of the empire, they could not continue two hours in the city after having received their dispatch, if they would avoid falling into some inconvenience: so that they were necessitated to quit the place at noon, after taking leave of the grandees. By this means they had no time to take a view of any thing else that was worth notice; for during their stay, they were shut up in their lodgings without ever once stirring abroad to take their pleasure, although they were provided with a plentiful allowance. The ambassadors received daily, for themselves only, six katti of fresh meat, one goose, two pullets, four cups of sam-sou, two tael of salt, two tael of tea, one tael, and one measure of oil, six tael of mison, one measure of pepper, six katti of herbs, four katti of meal, two fresh fishes, and two tael of suttati.

Their secretaries daily allowance was, one katti of fresh meat, five measures of tea, one katti of meal, one measure of taufoe, five coudrine of pepper, four tael of suttati, four measures of oil, four tael of mison, one katti of herbs, and one cup of arrac. Each of their followers received one katti of fresh meat, one cup of arrac, two tael of herbs, and one katti of rice.

Wood and fruit of all sorts were sent in daily in great abundance, besides China dishes: but the ambassadors sent and bought several other things for their table, and had them served up in a stately manner, to let the Chinese see what way they lived in Holland. After they had been before the Emperor, they received a double allowance, which was a favour seldom done to foreigners.

Leaving Pe-king, they traveled by land to San-t'ian-wei, where the imperial vessels, that brought them from Nan-king, lay expecting them. However, certain large junks, by his Majesty's orders, were provided to carry them: but these being slow, heavy sailers, the ambassadors hired lighter vessels for more expedition; left, arriving late at Kanton, they should be obliged to winter there. In these they embarked with the Tartarian lords sent to attend them, and the Kanton mandarins returned by the way they went.

The thirty-first of October, they got to Lin-t'ing, where they were treated nobly for two or three days by Pinxenton. Departing, with the wind at north, it blew so very hard and cold, that they were hardly able to endure it. The twenty-first of November they arrived at Nan-king, where they staid till the tenth of December; but the weather was so very bad and cold, that they could not stir abroad all the while they were there.

January the fifth, 1657, they got to the city Van-nun-gan, whose governor presented the ambassadors with some refreshments and candles; which were made of a thick oily juice, issuing from trees, and burnt very clear as well as sweet. The eleventh was extremely cold. The fifteenth they arrived at Nan-gan, from whence they crossed the mountains in chairs carried by thirty soldiers, and got, in one day, to Nan-hyong, where they again took water. The twenty-seventh, they came to Pa-fan, a delightful village, (which in going they passed in the night), and next day arrived at Kanton.

In the way to their lodgings the Emperor's letter to the general was carried by Baron the secretary upon both his hands, having a screen before him: next followed the ambassadors. The cannons aboard the ships were discharged twice. The walls and streets of the city were crowded with people to see them pass. Next day the ambassadors went in state to salute the viceroys, the young king's mother, and the Tu-tang. The viceroys received them very friendly with a dish of tea, and had some discourse concerning their business. The Tu-tang, after suffering them to wait two hours at his secretary's house, sent them word, that he would give them audience when Pinxenton was come.

The first of February, they were treated nobly by the old viceroy; the second by the young one; and on the third, by Pinxenton. The ambassadors wanting money to purchase a new year's gift for the viceroys, at last obtained a sum by the interest of Lantfman, which he had made during his abode at Kanton in their absence: but when the presents were brought to the viceroys, they seemed dissatisfied with them, and demanded not only interest for one thousand five hundred tael of silver, which they had disbursed for the use of their servants upon their departure to Pe-king; but likewise insisted, that the ambassadors should immediately pay the three thousand five hundred tael of silver which they had promised to the viceroys for a free trade at Kanton. This business occasioned much trouble, and at last the ambassadors were necessitated to comply with their demands, to prevent further mischief: for they found that the common people had been dealt withal, to affront them as they went along the streets; and not long after, Paul Duretti, one of their best interpreters, was barbarously murdered in his own house.

Hereupon the ambassadors went immediately to take leave of the viceroys: but they refused to give them audience, and only sent out word, that they were not to export any Tartar arms. That night they went aboard, and set sail early in the morning: but in a few hours, the wind changing, they were forced to come to an anchor again not far from Kanton. The twenty-third, the stewards of the viceroys, and the captains of the guards, with the mandorins who had accompanied the ambassadors in their journey, came and treated them in the name of their masters with their Sam-fou, in their king's own dishes, wishing them a safe voyage, and speedy return. As soon as their visitants were gone, they hoisted sail and came upon the twenty-eighth, about sun set, into the harbour of Hey-ta-men. The second of March, passing in sight of the famous village of Lantam, they shot beyond Ma-kau. The eighth, they came to Palo-Timon: here they met with shoals of flying fish. The twenty-first, they saw the island Linga, on the coast of Sumatra; and through the straits of Banka, between Sumatra and Java, arrived on the thirty-first at Batavia, having spent twenty months and six days in this tedious and expensive voyage. The value of the presents amounted to five thousand five hundred and fifty-five pounds one shilling and seven-pence sterling; the expences of the voyage, four thousand three hundred and twenty-seven pounds and ten-pence. In all, nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-two pounds two shillings and five-pence.

Nieuhoff was of opinion, that as the Emperor was at war with Koxinga, the Dutch might obtain a free trade by proposing to assist his Majesty with their ships to subdue that arch pirate; which expedient they some years after went upon.

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TRAVELS

FROM

ST. PETERSBURG IN RUSSIA, TO VARIOUS PARTS OF ASIA,

In 1716, 1719, 1722, &c.

By JOHN BELL, of Antermony.

To the Governor, Court of Assistants, and Freemen of the RUSSIA COMPANY, and to the BRITISH FACTORIES in Russia, the following Relation of Travels, &c. is respectfully inscribed, as a Testimony of Gratitude for the Favours received from many of them,

By their most obedient, and very humble Servant,

Antermony, Oct. 1, 1762.

THE AUTHOR.

THE PREFACE.

IN my youth I had a strong desire of seeing foreign parts; to satisfy which inclination, after having obtained, from some persons of worth, recommendatory letters to Dr. Areskine, chief physician and privy-counsellor to the Czar Peter the First, I embarked at London, in the month of July 1714, on board the Prosperity of Ramsgate, Capt. Emerson, for St. Petersburg. On my arrival there, I was received by Dr. Areskine in a very friendly manner; to whom I communicated my intentions of seeking an opportunity of visiting some parts of Asia, at least those parts which border on Russia. Such an opportunity soon presented itself, on occasion of an embassy then preparing from His Czarish Majesty to the Sophy of Persia.

Artemy Petrovich Valensky, a gentleman of a family of distinction, and a captain of the guards, was appointed ambassador by His Majesty. Upon his nomination, he applied to Dr. Areskine to recommend a person who had some knowledge in physic and surgery, to go in his suit in the embassy. As I had employed some part of my time in those studies, the Doctor recommended me; which he did in so cordial a manner as produced to me, from the ambassador, many marks of friendship and regard, which subsisted not only during the journey, but also continued from that time to the end of his days. The Doctor, at the same time, recommended me to the College of Foreign Affairs at St. Peterburg, by whom I was engaged in the service of Peter the First.

Having acquainted the reader with the manner of my entering on the travels, which are the principal subject of the following sheets, I shall take the liberty to say, that I have, through the whole, given the observations which then appeared to me worth remarking, without attempting to embellish them, by taking any of the liberties of exaggeration or invention frequently imputed to travellers.

I took notes of the subject of the following treatise, by way of diary, from time to time during the course of my travels, intending nothing further at that time than to keep them as helps to my memory, that I might, as occasion offered, communicate, in conversation with my friends, what I had observed worth remarking; and that I might be capable of giving information to others who might be desirous of it, on their being to make the same journeys.

About four years ago, spending some days at the house of a Right Honourable and most honoured friend, the subject of my travels took up a great part of our conversation;

tion; during which, upon his enquiring occasionally, whether I had taken any notes of the places, &c. through which I had passed in my several journies? and, upon my answering in the affirmative, he was pleased to take some pains to engage me to promise that I would collect my notes and observations, and form them into journals, as complete as the time elapsed would admit, and communicate them to the world.

It was not without reluctance that I set about this work, which, had I thought it worth the public's acceptance and perusal, I would have done long ago. Such as it is, I now offer it to them; and flatter myself, (with hopes at least,) that the plainness of the style in which it is written will be of no prejudice to it with candid readers, who may find in it some things new, and of which they would choose to be informed.

In regard to the translation of Mr. De Lange's Journal, I have given it for two reasons:—First, because it continues the negotiation begun by Mr. De Ismayloff, in the course of which Mr. De Lange furnishes the reader with a distinct detail of the manner of transacting affairs with the ministers of state, of their chicaneries, &c. at the court of Peking. Secondly, because I do not apprehend it hath ever appeared in the English language; at least, have made what inquiries I could, to find if it had been translated, which have been all fruitless.

As I well knew the worthiness and integrity of Mr. De Lange, and I am fully persuaded that his Journal was genuine, though perhaps obtained surreptitiously by the editor, I have closed the translation with the end of Mr. De Lange's Journal, on his arrival at Selinginsky on the frontiers of Siberia; having omitted an addition to it, made by the editor, of the trade and monies of China; concerning which, the editor, when he enters upon it, acquaints the reader that he had not the means necessary for sufficient information. For the rest, the translation is just, as may be seen by comparing it with the original.

Antwerp, Oct. 1, 1762.

JOHN BELL.

Names of the principal Persons who composed the Train of the Ambassador Artemii Petrovich Valensky, viz.

Secretary,
 Gregory Christopher Venigerkind,
 Captain Engineer,
 Jaques de Vilette,
 Gentlemen of the Embassy,
 Matphe Parfilich Kartzoff,
 Adrian Ivanovich Lopuchin,
 The Author of this Journal,
 Priest,
 Hylarion, a Monk.
 Interpreters,
 Vassile Kurdeffsky,
 Alexie Tulkatzoff,
 Demetry Petritz.
 Clerks or Writers,
 Vassile Shadayoff,
 Alexie Buchtaryoff.

With many others, viz. a band of music, consisting of trumpets, kettle-drums, violins, hautboys, &c. carpenters, smiths, tailors, valets, and footmen, amounting in all to above one hundred persons; besides a troop of twenty-five dragoons for our escort, from Astrachan to Ispahan.

A JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG IN RUSSIA TO ISPAHAN IN PERSIA, WITH AN EMBASSY FROM HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY PETER THE FIRST TO THE SO-PHY OF PERSIA SHACH HUSSEIN, IN THE YEAR 1715*.

CHAP. I.—*From St. Petersburg to Casan.*

ON the 15th of July 1715, I set out from St. Petersburg, in company with Messrs. Venigerkind, De Villette, and Kurdeffsky. That city, which has since grown so considerable, was then in its infancy, having been founded ten or eleven years before by that truly great man Peter the First, to whom no undertaking seemed difficult.

St. Petersburg is situated in sixty degrees north latitude, partly on the continent of Ingria and Carelia, and partly on different islands formed by the river Neva, which discharges itself by four channels into the Gulf of Finland, a little below the city. It is defended by a strong castle, built with stone and brick, inaccessible to ships of force, there being but eight feet water on the bar. As the Czar had determined to form a city all at once, and not to trust to time for the growth of a place which he had chosen for the seat of government, he assembled inhabitants from every province of his empire, and allured strangers from most parts of Europe; so that the place was even well peopled, and had not the appearance of a city so lately founded.

The adjacent country is generally covered with woods, consisting of various kinds of pines, birch, alder, aspine, and other trees natural to the northern climates.

To the southward, especially along the shore towards Peterhoff, the country in summer is very pleasant with country-seats, corn-fields, and meadows interspersed.

The river Neva falls out of the Ladoga lake at Sluffelburgh, a strong castle about sixty verst above St. Petersburg. It is a noble stream of clear wholesome water, with this peculiar quality, that it is seldom muddy. It contains a great variety of excellent fish, which supply the market all the year, and is navigable to the Ladoga by flat-bottomed vessels.

The woods on each side are stored with game; such as hares, which are white as snow in winter, and turn brown in summer; wild-deer, bears, and wolves; the last are so bold that I have known them in the night-time carry off a dog from a man's foot in crossing the river on the ice. There are also elks about the Lake of Ladoga. As for wild-fowl, few places can boast of greater variety. The chief are these: the urhaan, called in French *coq limoge*; this bird is black, with beautiful red streaks about its head and eyes. The cock is about the size of a turkey; the hen is less, and of a brown colour. The heath-cock, in French *coq de bruicre*, of the same colour and marks as the former, but not so large. The partridge, which the French call *gillnot*. These three kinds perch on trees, and in winter feed on fir-tops, and on crane-berries, which they scrape from under the snow. There is also found here the common English partridge; it is however but rare. The tarmachan, a bird well known in the northern parts of England and Scotland, are here in plenty.

As soon as the ice goes off in the spring, vast flocks of water-fowl come hither from the Caspian Sea, and other southern regions, to hatch. These consist of swans, geese, a variety of wild-ducks, teal, &c.

Snipes and wood-cocks breed here; many of which are caught by the Russians, who are excellent fishers and sportsmen.

* Some small portions of these valuable travels do not relate to China, but it was thought advisable to present them in one continued narration, as published by the author.

From St. Petersburg we directed our course along the western bank of the Neva, till we came to the brick-works. The weather being very hot we halted here a few hours, and in the evening pursued our journey to a small river which falls into the Neva, about thirty verst above St. Petersburg. At this place we let our horses go to graze, and lay in our waggons till the morning; but were much molested by the gnats and muskitos.

Next morning, we continued our journey, and passed a village called Ishora, where the inhabitants speak a language, and wear a dress different from the Russian, though they profess the same Greek religion. It is probable they are the descendants of a colony formerly brought hither from some of the provinces of Livonia.

Next day we came to the Volchova, a great river issuing from a lake called Ilmen, not far distant from the city of Novogorod, which discharges itself into the Ladoga. Here we left our horses, and, putting our waggons and carriages on board barks, went up the river, using oars or sails by turns as necessity obliged us. The banks of the Volchova are covered with many villages and fruitful corn-fields; intermixed with natural woods. We found, as we went along, plenty of fish and country provisions.

The 19th, we arrived at Novogorod Velikoi, or the Great Novogorod, so called to distinguish it from many lesser towns of the same name. This city stands about two hundred verst south-east from Peterburg. The Volchova runs through the middle of it, over which there is a wooden bridge defended by a fortress. There are many well-built churches in the town, and a great number of monasteries in the neighbourhood, pleasantly situated, which form a very agreeable prospect. It was formerly a place of great note, but is now much decayed. Here is an archbishop who enjoys a very considerable revenue.

July 22d, having put our carriages on board another bark, we sailed up the river to the Lake Ilmen; and, leaving it on our right hand, entered a small river called Msta, and at night came to Brunitz, a large village, thirty verst from Novogorod. Here we discharged our boats; and, having procured horses, we proceeded next morning thirty verst to the village of Zaytsoff, from thence to Krasnyltanky, and then to Krelitsky, where we changed horses, with which we travelled to Yashilbitza. Here begin the Valday hills, which run to a great distance from east to west, but are only about twenty or thirty verst broad. They are mostly covered with wood. We came next to the town of Valday. This place is pleasantly situated at the foot of the hills, adjoining to a large lake of the same name, in the middle of which is an island, whereon stands a monastery. The country in the neighbourhood is hilly, but not mountainous, exhibiting a beautiful variety of plain and rising grounds.

The next stage is Zimogory, and after that Vishnoyvolotzke. Here is a canal of considerable extent, cut by Peter the First, which opens a communication by water from St. Peterburg to all the places on the Volga, and many other parts of Russia, and proves a great encouragement to trade, and very advantageous to the merchant, in such extensive tracts of land.

Next day we came to Torskoak, a small town.

The 29th, we arrived at Tweer, a populous and trading town, defended by a castle; it is the capital of a province, and a bishop's seat. It derives its name from a rivulet in the neighbourhood, called Twertza, and stands on the banks of the famous river Volga.

The Volga, known formerly by the name of Rha, has its source not far to the westward of Tweer. At a small distance from the source of the Volga, two other noble

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rivers take their rise; the Dnieper, or Borysthenes, which runs into the Black Sea at Otzakof, and the Duina, which falls into the Baltic at Riga.

The Volga, after visiting in its course to the south-east many fruitful countries, discharges itself into the Caspian Sea, about sixty verst below Astrachan; and, in all this long course, there is not a single cataract to interrupt the navigation. As to fish, no river in the world can afford greater variety, better of their kind, nor in larger quantities.

Here we tasted the sterlett, a fish much and generally esteemed; it is of the sturgeon kind, but seldom grows above thirty inches long. It is found in other rivers of Russia; but the Volga produces the best and in greatest plenty. The caviare, or spawn, is very good to eat raw, after being cleaned and dressed. I never could find a fisherman who had seen their fry.

The same day, having changed horses, we proceeded on our journey to Gorodna, a large village, on the west bank of the Volga. From this place is seen a charming landscape, containing a full view of the windings of that river.

From hence, after passing many villages, we came to Kleen, a pretty large town, and the last stage to Mosco. The country between Kleen and Mosco is pleasant, having many tufts of wood, of unequal bigness, scattered among the corn-fields, that contribute to beauty that country, which had no great appearance of fertility.

About seven verst from Mosco, we passed through a large village, called Ffeswatzky, inhabited by Christians of the Eastern church, named Georginians; their ancient country was Gurgistan, now one of the northerly provinces of Persia; they were driven from their native country by the persecution of the Persians; and, flying into Russia, they there found an hospitable reception, many of them being employed in the service of the Emperor.

From this place there is a view of the city of Mosco, and, at this distance, few cities in the world make a finer appearance: for it stands on a rising ground, and contains many stately churches and monasteries, whose steeples and cupolas are generally covered either with copper gilt or tin plates, which shine like gold and silver in the sun.

August 2d, we arrived at the city of Mosco. I have omitted the names and distances of many inconsiderable places through which we passed; let it suffice, that the distance between St. Petersburg and Mosco is about seven hundred and thirty verst; and, although the hot weather detained us long on the road, in winter the journey is easily performed with sledges in three days.

On the 10th August, my friends Messrs. Lange and Girvan, arrived here in their way to China, on a message from the Czar to the Emperor of China: the first was a Swede, and the other a physician, from the county of Air in Scotland.

We staid in Mosco about three weeks, having many things to prepare for so long a journey. This city, standing on an eminence, as was already observed, commands an extensive prospect of a fine plain country, adorned with woods and clumps of trees, monasteries, and gentlemen's seats: the river Mosco runs almost through it, which emptying itself into the Volga, preserves a communication with all the southern parts of Russia, and even with Persia. From these advantages in situation, this place is very convenient for trade, which flourishes here to a considerable degree.

The city is fortified with a strong brick wall, called Beligorod, having embrasures and a ditch. Within this is another wall, called Kitaygorod; this last includes what is called the Crimlin, in which is the old imperial palace, compounded of a number of buildings, added to one another at different times. Some of the apartments are very spacious, particularly that called Granavitapallata, where audience was given to foreign ambassa-

dors; adjoining to the palace are many edifices, where were held the courts of justice; here also stands a lofty tower, wherein is hung the largest bell in the world, called Ivan Veleke, weighing about ten thousand poods; which, reckoning each pood at near thirty-six pounds English, will amount to about an hundred and sixty ton weight. Besides these, there is a cathedral church, and an arsenal, well furnished with brass cannon, mortars, and other warlike stores. Beyond the brick walls already mentioned, there is an earthen one, of great circumference, round the whole; and without this the suburbs also are very extensive.

The great plenty of provisions in this place surpris'd me not a little; I found here fruits of different kinds, which I did not expect, particularly excellent melons, and arboozes, or water-melons.

August the 21st, we shipped our baggage on board six small barks, adapted by their construction, either for sails or oars, as should be most convenient, and fell down the river. The ambassador only remained at Mosco, waiting for some dispatches from court. In the evening we pass'd Koluminka, a village pleasantly situated on the south side of the Mosco river, near which is a large country-house with gardens and orchards, belonging to the court.

October 3d, we came to Kolumna, a fortified town. Next day, the wind being favourable, we hoisted sail; and, after going about three verst, entered the river Oka, into which the Mosco falls, and loses its name. The Oka rises in the Ukrain, and runs to the south-east; it contains a great quantity of water, and is navigable very far up the country.

The 9th, we arriv'd at Pere slave-refansky, a large town to the left, situated about a verst from the river Oka. It is the seat of an archbishop, and the country around is very fruitful in corn.

The 16th, we came to Kassinova, formerly the residence of a Tartar Prince; but the family is now convert'd to Christianity, and retains only the old name of Kassinofsky Czarevitz. The place is at present inconsiderable. There are still here a few Mahometan Tartars, who are allow'd the free exercise of their religion, and have a small oratory. I accompanied our interpreter to visit one of them, an old acquaintance of his: he was a very decent man. We saw a horse newly killed, which they intended to eat. They prefer this kind of food to beef, and invited us to share their repast; which we declined, pretending we had not time.

The 17th, we left Kassinova; and the 21st arriv'd at Murum, a pretty large town, and a bishop's see. The country produces plenty of corn. About this place there are a few idolatrous Tartars, who live in little dirty cottages, thinly scatter'd; they are a very simple and harmless people; how or when they settl'd here is not known.

The 22d, we pass'd a large village called Paulovoperevoz, the property of Prince Tzerhaskoy. Its situation is on the south side of the river: here the banks are much higher than above this place.

We came the 23d to Nishna-novogorod, a great town, defended by a castle standing on the high banks of the Oka, opposite to where it loses itself in the Volga, which now forms a mighty stream.

The following day we dined at the governor's, where I saw General Creutz, and several other Swedish officers who had been taken prisoners at Poltava, and lived here at large.

The 25th, we sail'd from Nishna, and soon enter'd the Volga. The wind being northerly, we run along at a great rate; but, in the night, the river was suddenly fill'd with floating ice, which drove us on a sand-bank, where we lay a-ground that night and

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all the next day; however, after much labour and fatigue, we got clear, although the floating ice still continued. At last the wind changed to the south, and the weather turned milder, which enabled us to pursue our voyage.

We next passed Vasily-gorod, and then Kofmodeminsk, small towns, both on the right.

November 3d, we came to Zaback-zar, a pretty large town, on the same hand.

In this country are caught the best and largest falcons in the world, much esteemed for their strength and beauty, particularly by the Turks and Persians, who purchase them very dear. The Russians take few young hawks from the nest, preferring the old ones, which they man very dexterously to fly at swan, goose, crane, or heron. The Tartars fly them at antelopes and hares. I have seen them take a wild duck out of the water, when nothing of her could be perceived but the bill, which she was obliged to put up for air. Some of them are also used to catch doves. The manner of catching them is very simple: they erect a tall pole, free from wood, on a bank of the river, near which is placed a day-net, in which the net some small birds are fastened by a cord, which the hawk-catcher pulls, so that they flutter, on the appearance of the hawk, who observing his prey, first perches on the pole; and when he stoops to seize the birds, the person, who is concealed in the bushes, draws the net and covers him.

The 4th, we passed Kay-gorod, and the 5th, Swiaski; the first on the left, and the other on the right hand. This evening we arrived before the town of Kazan; and hauled our boats into the mouth of a small river, from which the town has its name, called Cazanka. We intended to continue our voyage directly to Astrachan; but, before we had made the necessary preparations at Kazan, the winter set in, and on the 6th of September, the Volga was filled with floating ice; this determined us to winter at that place; we therefore unloaded the boats, and came to the city, where we were hospitably received by the governor.

CHAP. II.—Occurrences during our Stay at Kazan; our Journey thence to Astrachan.

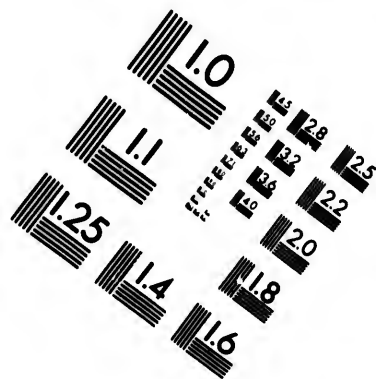
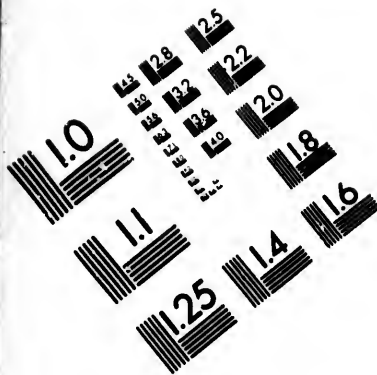
CAZAN is about seven hundred and thirty-five verst from Mosco by land, but much more by water: it is situated about five verst to the north of the Volga, on a high bank of the rivulet Cazanka, which is navigable from this place to the river. The town is strong by situation, and defended by a castle, fortified with walls of brick: within the citadel are the cathedral church, the palaces of the archbishop and governor, and the apartments for the courts of justice: the town is fenced with a ditch and palisades. The suburbs are inhabited chiefly by mechanics, except a street or two possessed by Mahometan Tartars, the posterity of the ancient natives; they live very decently, have the free exercise of their religion, and many other privileges; some of them are very rich by the trade they carry on to Turkey, Persia, and other places.

Kazan was anciently the capital of a part of Tartary, and the seat of government, where the royal family resided. It was taken from the Tartars by Czar Ivan Vasiloviz, in the year 1552, in consequence whereof, an extensive country to the southward easily fell into his hands. The conquered princes were converted to Christianity, and had lands assigned them in their own country, where the family still subsists.

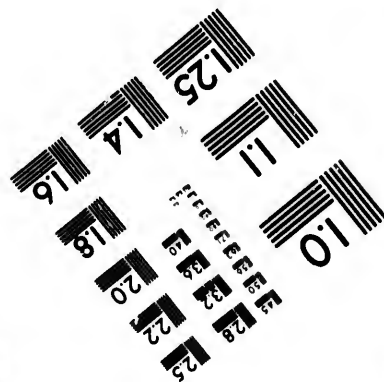
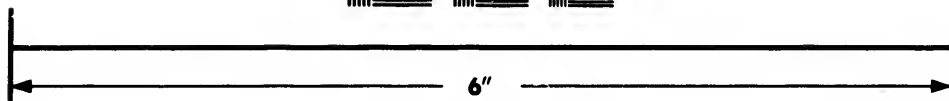
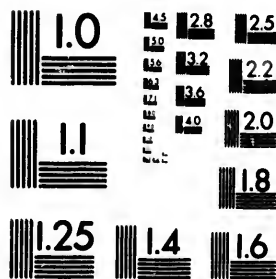
The country adjacent is very pleasant and fertile, producing wheat, rye, barley, oats, and several kinds of pulse. The woods to the south and west consist of stately oaks, sufficient to supply all the navies in the world; and from hence St. Petersburg is abundantly furnished with timber for all the purposes of ship-building, by an easy conveyance

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all the way by water. The woods to the north and east, which are of prodigious extent, consist of trees of all sorts.

In the spring, when the snow melts, the Volga overflows all the low grounds, sometimes to a great distance; the consequence is the same with that produced in Egypt, by the inundations of the Nile; for the mud carried down by the stream, fertilizes the country to a great degree; so that on the islands in the Volga, some whereof are very large, and overgrown with tall trees, I have found plenty of excellent asparagus.

Besides the sterlett, there are plenty of sturgeon, and a fish about the size and near the shape of the largest salmon, which is very delicious, and for the whiteness of its flesh, is called the white fish.

The woods afford abundance of game; and, in the spring, great numbers of water-fowl come hither to hatch from the Caspian Sea. At Cazan, we found good beef, mutton, and tame poultry, and provisions of all kinds very reasonable.

There is here a considerable manufactory of Russia leather, the hides here being reckoned the best in the empire: great quantities of this leather are exported to Leghorn, and other parts of Europe, and may be considered among the staple commodities of this country: the strong smell of this leather is acquired in the dressing, for instead of oil, common in other places, they use a kind of tar, extracted by fire from the bark of the birch-tree; which ingredient the Russes call deuggit, and which tree is here in greater abundance than in other parts of the world; and then they dye them with log-wood.

Besides the idolatrous Tartars, formerly mentioned, there are two pretty numerous tribes called the Tzerimish and Tzoowash; they speak a language quite different from the Mahometan Tartars in these parts, who use a corrupted dialect of the Arabic. The Mahometans likewise have some learning; but the Tzerimish and Tzoowash have none. They have a tradition among them, that, in former times, they had a book on religion; but as no body could read it, a cow came and swallowed it. They pay great veneration to a bull. From whence they came is unknown; but, from their complexion, it is probable they are from Asia. They live by agriculture; and seem to be an inoffensive kind of people. Their huntsmen offer in sacrifice, to some deity, the first creature they catch. Hence some curious men have imagined these people part of the ten tribes of the Jews, expelled by Shalmanezar. I advance this only as a conjecture, which every reader may follow or not, as he pleases.

By accident, I met with an Englishman at this place. He was by trade a carpenter; and had been in the Russian service; but, being suspected of deserting, he was condemned to banishment, to this country, for a certain time; and, notwithstanding that was elapsed, the poor man, deprived of all means of asserting his liberty, remained still in the same situation. He bought a Tzerimish wife from her father, for six roubles, about thirty shillings sterling. He brought her to visit me. She was a woman of a cheerful and open countenance, and dressed in the manner of her country; of which, for its singularity, I shall give a short description.

Her hair was plaited round her head, in many locks, but that on the back part longer than the rest, at the end of which was tied a tassel of red silk, and in the middle a small round brass bell. About her head was a fillet set with small shells, instead of jewels, and hung all round with silver pence. Above this was a piece of linen so artfully plaited and done up, that it looked like a grenadier's cap; at the top was a silk tassel, with another brass bell, which ginged as she turned her head. The rest of her dress was clean, though homely; and the whole seemed becoming enough.

I think

I think the cold is here more intense than at St. Petersburg, though it is five or six degrees farther south. In going about three miles from town, in a clear day, I had my face, fingers, and toes frozen, notwithstanding I was not half an hour on the road. I applied the common cure, that is, rubbing the numbed parts with snow, which I found perfectly effectual.

December 24th, our ambassador arrived from Mosco. At the same time came an express from court, with the important news of the Crown Princess (as she was commonly called) being safely delivered of a son, christened by the name of Peter. She died soon after her delivery, universally lamented for her many rare and excellent virtues. She was of the Wolfenbuttle family, and wife to Alexy Petrovitz, the Czarevitz. Besides this young Prince, she left a Princess called Natalia.

At Cazan we found two Swedish generals, Hamilton and Rosen, and many other officers of distinction, taken prisoners at Poltava, who were no farther confined than by having a soldier of the garrison to attend them at their lodgings; and, by the generosity of the governor, lived as easily as circumstances would allow. These gentlemen were invited to all the public diversions; and, by their polite and agreeable behaviour, contributed not a little to our passing the winter with a good deal of pleasure, in such a remote part of the world.

Upon the banks of the Cazanka stands a monastery, very pleasantly situated. I accompanied our interpreter to visit the abbot, who received us in a very friendly manner. He would not, however, give the interpreter his blessing, nor admit him into the church during divine service, unless he pulled off his wig. He, professing the communion of the Greek church, expostulated a little with the priest, telling him that their learned bishops at Mosco made no such scruples. The abbot replied, that it was contrary to the rules of discipline to allow any man to enter the church with his head covered.

The time was now come when we expected to leave Cazan. Our boats were ready in the beginning of May, but the Volga was still so high and rapid, that it was reckoned dangerous to proceed till the flood subsided; for the force of the stream frequently carries vessels from their course into the woods, where the water retiring, leaves them on dry land.

At last, on the 4th of June 1716, we left Cazan in eight barks, and rowed down the river with great velocity. In the night, one of our boats was driven, by the rapidity of the current, among the woods, and stuck fast between two trees, upon which the people climbed, being apprehensive of danger. The consequence, however, was not so fatal as the circumstances were alarming; for the vessel was got off next day with inconsiderable damage.

The 7th, we passed a small town called Tetoefk, and the 9th, Sinbirsky, pretty large, and the capital of a province of that name, both to the right. Sinbirsky is defended by a castle. Near this place are evident marks of camps and entrenchments, which I was told were the works of the great Tartar general called Timyrak-sack, or Lame Timyr, or Tamerlane, who came to this place with a great army; but, being informed of an insurrection in his own country, Samarkant, now Bucharia, returned home.

The 10th, we put off from Sinbirsky with the wind contrary, which greatly retarded our progress. We passed two hills, one of them exhibiting a very beautiful prospect, the other containing mines of sulphur, as clear as amber. We passed also a mound of sand, of considerable bigness, in the middle of a plain, where they say was buried a famous Tartar Prince called Mamay.

The 20th, we arrived at the town of Samara, situated to the left, in a fine plain. The place is but small, and fortified only with a ditch and palisades, with wooden towers.

towers at proper distances, mounted with cannon sufficient to defend it against the incursions of the Tarrars, called Kara Kalpacks, or Black Kaps, who inhabit the desert to the eastward of this place.

This tribe of Tartars is not very considerable; and, when their chiefs are united, which seldom happens, can scarce raise above ten or twelve thousand men, who are all mounted on horseback; because, in their long marches, to rob and plunder their neighbours, nothing but horse could be of any use. They live always in tents, with their flocks, removing from place to place, as led by inclination or necessity. Their weapons are bows and arrows, and sabres; some of them use fire-arms. While we were at Samara, the inhabitants were alarmed with the approach of two or three thousand of these people, who encamped about three miles distant. From one of the towers I could plainly see their camp, and them riding about it. As they had not artillery, the garrison was in no danger, though so weak, however, that it durst not at this time attack them. The people were obliged to keep a constant watch to defend their cattle. This place is reckoned about three hundred and fifty verst distant from Kazan.

The 21st, having provided fresh hands for the navigation of our barks, we departed from Samara; and, the weather being calm, rowed down the river, which is here very broad. The western bank is very high, but the eastern quite flat. The fields on both sides are very fruitful, but especially to the west, where the grass grows very high, intermixed with sage, thyme, and other herbs; there are also some woods of oaks. A few hundred acres of such land would be of great value in England, though it is here waste and uncultivated.

We came the 25th to the Ismeyovi-gory, or Serpent-hills, so called from the windings of the river at this place; and, after passing several towns, and many villages, all on the right, we landed at Saratof, a large town on the same side, about eight hundred and fifty verst from Kazan. It is but slightly fortified with a ditch, wooden walls, and towers mounted with cannon, and defended by a garrison of regular troops and Cossacks.

We dined next day with the Governor, who entertained us with great variety of provisions, particularly fish, and very fine mutton.

After dinner, a party of us crossed the river, to visit a great horse-market, held by the Kalmuck Tartars. We saw about five or six hundred of these people assembled in a field, with a number of horses, all running loose, except those on which the Tartars were mounted. The buyers came from different parts of Russia. The Tartars had their tents pitched along the river side. These tents are of a conical figure. There are several long poles erected, inclining to one another, which are fixed at the top into something like a hoop, that forms the circumference of an aperture for letting out the smoke, or admitting the light. Across the poles are laid some small rods, from four to six feet long, and fastened to them with thongs: this frame is covered with pieces of felt, made of coarse wool and hair. These tents afford better shelter than any other kind: and are so contrived, as to be set up, taken down, folded, and packed up, with great ease and quickness, and so light, that a camel may carry five or six of them. Where the Chan, or any person of character, resides, they are placed in straight lines. These Tartars are strong made stout men, their faces broad, noses flattish, and eyes small and black, but very quick. Their dress is very simple, consisting of a loose coat of sheep skins tied with a girdle, a small round cap, turned up with fur, having a tassel of red silk at the top, leather or linen drawers, and boots. Their heads are all shaved, except a lock behind, which is plaited, and hangs down their backs.

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They are armed with bows and arrows, a sabre, and lance, which they manage with great dexterity, acquired by constant practice, from their infancy. They are men of courage and resolution; but much afraid of cannon, which puts their horses in disorder. As they are almost always on horse-back, they are excellent riders.

The dress of the women differs little from that of the men; only their gowns are somewhat longer than the coats of the men, a little ornamented, and bordered with party-coloured cloth. They wear ear-rings, and their hair all plaited in locks. The better sort dress in silks in summer. It must be observed, for the honour of their women, that they are very honest and sincere, and few of them lewd. Adultery is a crime scarce ever heard of. The Tartars make very good and faithful servants; and the more mildly they are used the better they perform their duty; for their wandering unconfined manner of life naturally inspires them with sentiments of liberty, and aversion and hatred to tyranny and oppression.

All their wealth is their flocks. Like those who lived in the early ages of the world, they have camels, horses, cows, and sheep. The horses are of a good size for the saddle, and very hardy; as they run wild till they are sometimes six years old, they are generally headstrong. They are sold at this fair at five to fifteen or sixteen crowns, and the strong well-shaped natural pacers much higher. They have few camels, but many dromedaries, who have two protuberances on their backs. Their cows are of a middle size; the sheep large, having broad tails like those in Turkey; the wool is coarse, but the mutton very fine.

In the preceding century, a Kalmuck prince, named Torgott-Chorluke, came from Alack-Ulla, (which signifies the spotted mountains), a country situated between Siberia on the north, and India on the south, to the borders of Russia; and brought along with him about fifty thousand families or tents, as they sometimes reckon. In his march westward to the Volga, he defeated Eyball-utzick a Tartar prince, who lived in tents beyond the river Enbo. Advancing forward, he met three other Tartar chiefs, named Kitta-haptzay, Malebash, and Etzan, whom he also defeated; and at last settled to the east of the Volga, under the protection of the Russians. Chorluke had six sons. Dantzing, the eldest, succeeded him in the government or chanship.

The present chan, named Aijuka, is the fourth from Chorluke, and is much esteemed in the East for his sagacity and justice. I am informed that the reason why Chorluke left his own country, was a dispute about the succession to the chanship. He being engaged on the weakest side, and having unsuccessfully tried his fortune in the field, at last took the resolution of abandoning his own country altogether. These people are generally called the Black Kalmucks, though they are not black, but only swarthy.

They have no money, except what they get from the Russians, and their other neighbours, in exchange for cattle. With this they buy meal sometimes, but mostly cloth, silk stuffs, and other apparel, for their women. They have no mechanics, except those who make arms. They avoid all labour as the greatest slavery; their only employment is tending their flocks, managing their horses, and hunting. If they are angry with a person, they wish he may live in one place, and work like a Russian. Their language contains none of those horrid oaths common enough in tongues of more enlightened nations. They believe virtue leads to happiness, and vice to misery; for, when desired to do what they think wrong, they reply, in a proverb, 'Though a knife be sharp, it cannot cut its own handle.'

On long marches, all their provisions consist of cheese, or rather dried curd, made up into little balls, which they drink when pounded and mixed with water. If this

kind of food fails, they have always many spare horses, which they kill and eat. They broil or roast the flesh before the fire, on pieces of broken arrows, and never eat it raw, as is commonly believed, unless compelled by necessity. They have, indeed, large thick pieces of horse flesh, smoked or dried in the sun, which they eat; but this cannot properly be called raw. I have tasted some of it, and thought it not amiss.

As to their religion, I can say little: they are downright heathens; and have many lamas or priests, who can read and write, and are distinguished by their yellow habits. Their high priest is called Delay Lama, and lives far to the eastward.

July 1st, we put off from Saratof; and the 2d, 7th, and 9th, passed the towns of Kamofhinka, Czaritza, and Tzorno-yarr, all situated on the west bank, and fortified in the same manner as Saratof. At the first of these places, Captain Perry, an Englishman, with many workmen, was employed in cutting a canal between the Volga and the Don, which would have opened a passage to the Euxine Sea; but the ground being very hard, and rising in some places considerably above the level, the enterprize was laid aside, though the distance was not above fifty verst.

From Tzorno-yarr to Astrachan, it is not safe for Russians to travel on the western banks of the Volga, on account of the Cuban Tartars, who are their enemies. To the east, however, there is no danger, as the Kalmucks are friends. On the islands in the Volga, I observed great quantities of liquorish growing wild.

The 13th, we arrived safe at Astrachan, and were lodged in the citadel. This place was taken from the Tartars in the year 1554, by the warlike Czar Ivan Vasiliovitz; whereby all his conquests on the Volga were secured, and the way prepared for farther extending the Russian dominion to the south and east, which hath been successfully attempted since his time.

CHAP. III.—*Occurrences during our Stay at Astrachan; our Journey thence to Shamachy.*

ASTRACHAN is situated about sixty verst from the Caspian Sea, on an island in the Volga, having the main branch of that river to the westward. It is fortified by a strong brick wall, with embrasures, and square towers at proper distances. In the citadel are the cathedral church, governor's palace, and the public offices. There is a creek or haven for ships that navigate the river and the Caspian Sea. The houses are generally built with wood, conveyed in rafts along the river; for the neighbouring country produces nothing, being all a barren desert. To the westward there is no water to be found for many miles. The islands, however, adjacent to the town, are very fruitful, and produce excellent grapes, transplanted hither from Persia and other parts; also water-melons, esteemed the best in the world; and various kinds of muskmelons, peaches, cherries, pears, apples, and apricots.

Here are several large vineyards, belonging partly to the court, and partly to private persons. There is a Frenchman who superintends them. The wines are very good when drunk on the spot, but cannot bear carriage, for the least motion renders them insipid. Were it not for this circumstance, Russia would be able, not only to supply itself abundantly with wine, but even other parts of Europe. This pernicious quality is attributed to the nitrous particles of the soil where the vines grow. I have myself seen, in the furrows made for watering them, a whitish crust of salt: but the grapes, notwithstanding, are very sweet, without the least tincture of tartness.

About a mile below the town are collected great quantities of common salt. The people dig pits, into which they introduce the water; which, being exhale'd by the heat of the sun, the salt is left upon the bottom. After gathering, they transport it along the river, in large barks of about five or six hundred ton. The gun-powder manufactory is a little above the town; in which, and in the mines of saltpetre, near this place, are employed a great number of workmen for the service of the government.

The climate is healthy, though very hot. The weather is generally calm, during which great numbers of gnats and muskitos infest the inhabitants. These vermine indeed are sometimes dispersed by a breeze from the sea, which renders this place very pleasant. They are hatched and sheltered in the marshes towards the sea, which are so overgrown with strong tall reeds that they are altogether impassable.

The Mahometan Tartars here live without the town, and have the same privileges as in other places. I met several of their women in the street with rings in their noses, which were of different value, according to the rank of the person who wore them; some of gold, and others set with precious stones. On inquiring the reason of such a singular ornament, I was told, that it was the consequence of a religious dedication of these persons to the service of God: it is made by the parents, even while the mother is pregnant; in token whereof, as soon as the child is born, they put a ring in the right nostril, which continues there till death. I have seen some with two such rings.

Astrachan is a place of considerable trade to Persia, Chiva, Bucharua, and India. The people of these nations have a common caravansery, where they live and expose their goods to sale.

The Armenians carry on the greatest part of the Persian trade; for the Persians themselves seldom go out of their own country. There are a few Indians, or Banians, at this place, who have a streak of yellow down their forehead, made with saffron or some other vegetable. They are a good-natured, innocent kind of people, and live mostly on fruits.

The market is plentifully supplied with provisions of all kinds; but especially fish, of which no place that I know abounds with such variety. After the sale is over, which is usually about ten o'clock, what remains of the common sorts is thrown to the dung-hill, where the hogs and poultry feed upon them; and hence it happens that their very pork and fowls taste of fish. It would be tedious to mention all the different kinds this place affords: I cannot, however, omit the carp, which for size exceeds all of that name I ever heard of. I have seen some of them of more than thirty pounds weight, very fat and luscious. Those caught in autumn are carried to Mosco frozen, and sold there and in the places adjacent.

I observed also a great variety of uncommon birds, whereof I shall describe a few that seemed most extraordinary.

The first I shall mention, called by the Russians Baba, is of a gray colour, and larger than a swan; he has a broad bill, under which hangs a bag that may contain a quart or more; he wades near the edge of the river, and, on seeing a shoal of fry, or small fishes, spreads his wings and drives them to a shallow, where he gobbles as many of them as he can into his bag, and then going ashore, eats them, or carries them to his young. This bird I take to be the Pelican.

The next is altogether white, except its feet, which are black; it is somewhat less than a heron, and has a long broad bill. The Germans call this bird *Lesselganze*, the Russians *Kolpeck*.

There is another about the same size, also white; but its feet are long and red, and its bill crooked and round, and as red as coral: its wings are adorned with some bright scarlet feathers.

Besides these, I saw a kind of duck, something bigger than the common sort, called Turpan; it is easily tamed, and much admired for its beauty, and a certain kind of noise peculiar to itself. I have eat of all these fowls; but did not much relish them, on account of the fishy taste with which they are all infected.

There are also partridges and bustards, which need no description. The Kalmucks, who are keen sportsmen, particularly at hawking, in which they have arrived to a great perfection, kill the bustards with bows and arrows: when they see them feeding, they ride in upon them at full speed; and as the bustard is a heavy bird, and mounts slowly, they have an opportunity of shooting them with broad-headed arrows.

On the banks of the Volga, there is a species of deer of a brighter red, and somewhat larger than the fallow-deer; they have green horns, but not branched, about nine inches long, and covered with circles, rising one above another to the point, which is very sharp. This deer is very swift, and its flesh excellent; it has a high snout of gristle, which rises very near to the eyes—a circumstance which I have not observed in any other animal.

I saw also a small lively creature, called an Astrachan hare, about the size of a squirrel, and of a reddish colour, remarkable for having the fore-feet very short in proportion to the hind-feet; its tail is long, with a tuft of hair at the extremity; it burrows in the earth, and, being a very pretty creature, I have sometimes seen them in cages. The Kalmucks eat them very greedily.

While we were at Astrachan, an ambassador arrived there, from the Chan of Chiva, going to St. Peterburg. On his arrival he sent, according to the eastern custom, some small presents to our ambassador; they were brought by a part of his retinue, and consisted of a hawking glove, a small knife, an embroidered purse, and some fruits.

Chiva is a large territory, lying about two or three days journey eastward from the Caspian Sea; bounded by Persia on the south, and Bucharia to the east. The capital, which bears the same name, is large and populous, and governed by a Chan, elected by the people. They are very troublesome and dangerous, both to travellers and their neighbours, being frequently employed either in robbing the former, or making depredations on the latter. And though Chiva is well fortified, its situation, in so sandy and barren a desert, is its best defence.

One day, as I was walking through the streets of Astrachan, I observed a very singular appearance: it was a pretty Tartar lady, mounted astride upon an ox; she had a ring in her nose, and a string drawn through the nose of the ox, which served instead of a bridle: she was dressed better than common, and attended by a footman. The singularity of the equipage, but particularly her extraordinary beauty, drew my attention. The Mahometan must not be confounded with the Kalmuck Tartars; the first are a well-looked civilized people in comparison of the other.

Before I leave Astrachan it may be proper to rectify a mistaken opinion, which I have observed frequently to occur in grave German authors, who, in treating of the remarkable things of this country, relate that there grows in this desert, or stepp, adjoining to Astrachan, in some plenty, a certain shrub or plant, called in the Russian language Tartarkey Barashka, *i. e.* Tartarian lamb, with the skin of which the caps of the Armenians, Persians, Tartars, &c. are faced. They also write, that this Tartarkey Barashka

partakes of animal as well as vegetative life; that it eats up and devours all the grass and weeds within its reach. Though it may be thought that an opinion so very absurd could find no credit with people of the meanest share of understanding, yet I have conversed with some who have seemed much inclined to believe it; so very prevalent is the prodigious and absurd with some part of mankind.

In search of this wonderful plant, I walked many a mile, accompanied by Tartars who inhabit these deserts: but all I could find out were some dry bushes, scattered here and there, which grow on a single stalk, with a bushy top, of a brownish colour; the stalk is about eighteen inches high, the top consisting of sharp prickly leaves. It is true, that no grass or weeds grow within the circle of its shade; a property natural to many other plants here and elsewhere. After further inquiry of the more sensible and experienced among the Tartars, I found they laughed at it as a ridiculous fable.

At Astrachan, they have great quantities of lamb skins, gray and black; some waved, others curled, all naturally, and very pretty, having a fine gloss, particularly the waved, which, at a small distance, appear like the richest watered tabby: they are much esteemed, and are much used for the lining of coats, and the turning up of caps, in Persia, Russia, and other parts. The best of these are brought from Bucharia, Chiva, and the countries adjacent, and are taken out of the ewe's belly, after she hath been killed, or the lamb is killed immediately after it is lambed; for such a skin is equal in value to the sheep.

The Kalmucks, and other Tartars, who inhabit the desert in the neighbourhood of Astrachan, have also lamb skins, which are applied to the same purposes; but the wool of these being rougher, and more hairy, they are far inferior to those of Bucharia or Chiva, both in gloss and beauty, as also in the dressing, consequently in value. I have known one single lamb skin of Bucharia sold for five or six shillings sterling, when one of these would not yield two shillings.

On the 5th of August, we quitted Astrachan in five vessels, three of them flat-bottomed, and of about an hundred and fifty tons burthen, with three masts and ten guns each; the other two common barks. We sailed from Astrachan about noon; and at night came to an anchor at a fishery, called Utzugg. Both the banks are now flat; to the westward barren sands, and to the east marshy and tall reeds, abounding with vermine; so that we neither eat nor sleep in quiet, notwithstanding all the precautions we could use. I must confess this place had an aspect of horror, especially when it is considered, that, besides the wild and dismal appearance of the banks, we were carried down a mighty river, into a great gulf, in many places of dangerous navigation, and whose shores are inhabited by inhospitable and barbarous nations; for such I reckon all of them, except the Russians and Persians.

Next morning, at break of day, we got under sail, and about ten entered the Caspian Sea; into which the river discharges itself by seven or eight large channels, and many lesser ones: two only of these channels are navigable by ships of any burthen. At night, we cast anchor near four hillocks of dry sand, cast up by the sea, called Tzetergy Bugory, computed to be about thirty verst from the mouth of the Volga: all which distance we had not above six or seven feet water; and even this depth is very narrow; so that the passage is extremely dangerous in hard gales of wind.

The 7th, early, we again set sail with a gentle breeze from the shore, which soon drove us into three fathom water, and out of sight of land; the water however still continued fresh as the river. About noon the wind shifted to the south, which obliged

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us to come to an anchor, where we lay for near three weeks in calms and contrary winds.

All this time we did not see a single ship besides our own, except one Rus vessel that came from Guilan in Persia, with some Armenian merchants, who made a present to the ambassador of a basket of oranges, melons, and other fruits, which was the more acceptable, as our own provisions of that kind were all spent. As often as the weather would permit we got under sail, and endeavoured to reach the road of Terky, a small fortified town belonging to the Russians, on the north-west corner of the Caspian Sea, where we might be supplied with provisions, but the continual calms prevented our success.

On the evening of the 26th of August, the wind changed to the north-west; we hoisted all the sail we could, steering our course south south-east, and, before night, passed the island of Tullen, i. e. of Seals; many of which animals haunt this place. It continued to blow hard the whole night; and next morning we were in sight of the mountains called Skaffkall, which were distant about fifteen leagues. We proceeded the whole day, edging always a little nearer to the shore.

The 28th, in the evening, it fell calm; and, being about six leagues off the land, we cast anchor. Next day, the wind blowing fair, in the afternoon we passed the town of Derbent. The ambassador ordered the castle to be saluted with nine guns; but it seems the people are not accustomed to make any return. It is a place considerably large, and the frontier of Persia in this quarter. It is fortified in the ancient manner, with a strong stone-wall, which reaches from the mountains to the shore, so that no army can pass this way except mountaineers, or Tartars, who find roads every where. Derbent being a place of great consequence, is provided plentifully with cannon and ammunition, and a strong garrison, governed by a commandant appointed by the Chan, or governor of Shamachy, on which province it depends. It is reported that it was built by Alexander the Great. About the place there still remain several monuments of antiquity: particularly large stones, with inscriptions in uncommon characters. South from Derbent stands a very high mountain, called Shachdagh, the top of which is covered with snow the whole year round, though the vallies are exceedingly hot.

August the 30th, we arrived at Niezabatt, the place where we intended to land, on the territories of Persia. It lies about two days journey east from Derbent. There being no harbour nor creek, we hauled up our ships upon the shore, which we performed with little trouble, as they were all flat-bottomed.

The ship in which was our secretary Mons. Venigerkind, and several other officers, did not arrive till three o'clock afternoon. The wind was now very high, and a great sea upon the beach, which obliged them to drop an anchor in the open road; but the wind blowing still harder, it became dangerous to ride there, the skipper therefore slipt the cable, and stood out to sea. The gentlemen, however, did not like their situation on board; and, being eager to get to land, ordered the master to run the ship ashore, and they would be accountable for the consequences: which he, a Hollander, in the Czar's service, unwillingly complied with, under an easy sail, about two miles eastward of the place where we lay. All hands went to their assistance, but without effect; for, though the ship had received no damage, yet the sea run so high, that the boat could not be hoisted out to carry them to land.

In the mean time, the secretary, impatient of remaining on board in such circumstances, prevailed with one of the sailors to carry him ashore on his back: which being done, he took his way alone towards the other ships; but his cloaths being drenched in

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the salt-water, and the road lying through deep sands, he was soon fatigued; and therefore retired nearer to the woods, in hopes of finding a more smooth and easy path. He discovered what he sought; but, instead of leading him to the ships, it carried him away from the shore, and the right course into thick encumbered woods; and in these circumstances night overtook him, utterly ignorant of the dismal and dangerous wild into which he had wandered. Thus destitute of all assistance, he climbed a tree to save himself from the wild beasts with which these woods abound; and in this situation continued all the night, and till noon next day; for the people in his own ship never doubted of his having safely reached our tents; while we, on the contrary, had not the least suspicion of his having come ashore. At last, however, about noon, his servant came, enquiring for his master, who, he told us, left the ship the night before. This account filled us all with anxiety and apprehension; as we certainly concluded he would either be torn to pieces by the wild beasts, or murdered by the savages who inhabit these coasts. Immediate order was given for all our people to repair to the woods in search of him. He was at last found wandering from path to path, without knowing one direction from another. When he came to the tents he looked ghastly and wild, and related many strange stories of what he had heard in the night. All possible care was taken to alleviate his distress. During his sleep, which was very discomposed, he often started, groaned, and spoke; and, even after he awaked, he persisted in affirming that there were numbers of people round the tree in the night talking different languages. The imagination, no doubt, will naturally have a strong effect on any man in such uncommon circumstances; for, though the secretary was a man of penetration and sound judgment, in vain did we endeavour to undeceive him, by representing that it was nothing but the jackals which made the noise he had heard; and that, to be convinced of the truth of this affirmation, he needed only, at the approach of night, to step a little from the tents, where he would hear the same sounds repeated. All was to no purpose, since he insisted that the noise he heard was quite different from the yelpings of the jackals. He scarce ever recovered his former sagacity and soundness of mind. I must confess the situation of this gentleman moved me not a little, as he was a man of parts and learning, with whom I had contracted an intimate friendship.

Since I have mentioned the jackals, it may not be improper to give a short account of these animals. They are of a size larger than a fox, of the shape and colour of a wolf, with a short bushy tail. They dig burrows in the earth, in which they lie all day, and come out in the night to range for prey. They assemble in flocks among the woods, and frequently near towns and villages, when they make the hideous noise formerly mentioned, resembling, in some measure, a human voice, or the noise of the Tartars and Cossacks when they attack their enemies. They have fine noses; and hence the vulgar opinion has arisen, that they hunt prey for the lion. They are in great plenty all over Persia, and esteemed harmless creatures.

As soon as we landed, the ambassador dispatched an interpreter to Shamachy, to notify his arrival to the governor of that place, and to desire him to send camels and horses to transport him thither. The interpreter was kindly received, and an order was immediately issued out for answering his demands.

September the 1st, the Chan of Shamachy sent an officer of distinction to salute the ambassador; and the next day a present of provisions, consisting of an ox, some sheep, with fruits and confections.

About six or eight leagues to the eastward of Niezabart is a high rock, called *Barmach*, or the *Finger*, upon the shore, which a great many of the Armenians visit annually

ally to pay their devotions. They have a tradition that the prophet Elijah lived some years at this place.

September 2d, we were a little alarmed with intelligence, that a considerable body of mountaineers had plundered some villages in our neighbourhood. We had not yet received any guard from the Persians, and were therefore obliged to take every precaution possible for our defence. We armed all our own people, and all the sailors; and besides these we had twenty soldiers from the garrison of Astrachan. Cannon were brought from the ships and planted in proper places, to prevent a surprise. These preparations seemed to have intimidated the undisciplined savages, for they never attacked us.

Two days journey eastward from Niezbatt stand Absheroon and Backu, two considerable towns. At the former is a good harbour, reckoned the best in the Caspian Sea, except that of Astrabatt, which lies in the south-east corner of it. All the rest are so dangerous, that they scarce deserve the name of harbours.

In the neighbourhood of Backu are many fountains of Naphtha; it is a sort of petroleum, of a brown colour, and inflammable nature. The Persians burn it in their lamps; no rain can extinguish it, but the smell is disagreeable. I have seen of it as clear as rock-water.

The Caspian Sea is of an oblong irregular figure, about one hundred and fifty leagues in length from north to south, and forty or fifty leagues broad. The water is excessively salt, except where it is sweetened by the Volga, which is at least to the distance of ten leagues from the influx of that river.

The navigation of the Caspian belongs solely to the Russians; the Persians and other borderers having nothing but fishing-boats. It contains abundance of fish, but no shell-fish, except a kind of cockle, the shells of which are very pretty. In some places there is a great depth of water. The Persians observe that, of late, the sea has retired considerably from the shore; which they reckon ominous, presaging some calamity to the kingdom. It has no tides but such as are caused by the wind; and, notwithstanding the great quantities of water daily received, it continues nearly about the same height. Dr. Halley has demonstrated, that exhalations in so hot a climate is sufficient to account for this phenomenon, without having recourse to subterraneous passages.

The 4th, I was conducted by an Armenian merchant some leagues from our tents to visit a Persian. We were received in a very complaisant and friendly manner; the house was clean, and the floor spread with carpets. Our entertainment consisted of coffee and boiled rice.

On the 11th, arrived two Jesuits from India, named Valery and Martinet, on their way to Rome. They petitioned the ambassador for a passage in one of our ships to Astrachan, which was granted. About this time many of our retinue began to be seized with different diseases, particularly fevers, fluxes, and agues, which, in a few days, made such progress, that, at the ambassador's table, where seldom fewer than ten dined, he and myself only were present. These distempers exhibited a most disagreeable prospect, and made us wish earnestly to leave a place that threatened our destruction. For this purpose messengers were daily sent to the Chan of Shamachy to dispatch the camels, horses, and mules. Some of them, indeed, were already come, but not near the number we needed; for our numerous sick could only be transported on litters carried by mules.

The 12th, a conductor, called Mamander, arrived with a guard of Persian soldiers, and some more cattle, which were still too few. This officer is appointed by the Shach,

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or King, to guide ambassadors to court, and furnish them with provisions, carriages, and lodgings, at the Shach's expence, from the time they enter the kingdom.

Having accommodated ourselves in the best manner we could, we quitted Niezabatt on the 18th, keeping along the shore; and at night came to a small village, about three agatz from Niezabatt. We found the houses all empty, the people having fled to the woods or mountains on our approach.

The 20th, we reached a village about four agatz (an agatz is reckoned to be four English miles) from the former, where we lodged again in empty houses; and the 21st, proceeded four agatz further to a brook of white and muddy water, where we pitched our tents. About noon next day we came to a fountain of pure water, under a great oak. Here we halted two hours to refresh the sick; and, after travelling four agatz further, arrived at an old caravansery; a long day's journey for people in such distress.

The caravanseries are generally large square buildings, with a court in the middle. All round there are rooms for lodging travellers, and on one side a stable for horses. They are of different sizes and constructions, according to the bounty or ability of the founder. Some are built by charitable people, others by good Kings. They are situated as near fresh water as possible, and about a day's journey from one another.

As there are no inns in the east, these caravanseries in some measure supply that defect, though nothing is found in them but shelter. They are, however, very convenient for travellers; and some of them can contain five hundred men, with their horses. There is commonly an old man, who cleans the rooms, and fetches necessaries from the next town or village.

The 23d, we halted to refresh the sick; and here we buried two of our mechanics.

The 24th, we travelled to a ruinous caravansery, about four agatz from the former. This was the first instance that occurred of remissness and inattention in the present government of Persia; for the King, without attending to his own affairs, allows himself to be guided entirely by those whose interest it is to deceive him. Nothing, in the judgment of a foreigner, can render any people more contemptible than the notorious neglect of such useful public edifices. This day we received another supply of provisions from the Chan.

The 26th, we travelled to a plain within a league of Shamachy, where we lay all night, to be received into the town the day following in form and ceremony, according to the custom of Persia. At this place died my friend Capt. Jaques de Villette. He was a gentleman of a good family in France, and a very worthy man. And, besides the captain, two servants died here.

CHAP. IV.—*Occurrences during our Stay at Shamachy.—Our Journey thence to Tauris.*

THE 27th, in the morning, came the Kalentar and Dorruga, with many of the inhabitants, to pay their compliments to the ambassador. These officers are next in rank under the Chan, and have the sole direction of affairs in his absence. They brought some fine horses, richly caparisoned, for the chief of the retinue. As we approached the place we were met by other officers, particularly the Divan, Begg, and Ihagaffy, and magistrates, all mounted on stately horses, with rich furniture, which made a very splendid appearance. Before the ambassador's horse two young fellows tumbled all the way, with great agility. About two o'clock we entered the city.

As we passed along the streets, all the tops of the houses were filled with spectators. At last the ambassador arrived at the house of one of the principal officers, which was allotted entirely to him and his attendants. The houses in Persia are mostly flat-roofed. As there is but little rain in this country, a very small declivity is sufficient to carry off the water. I compute the distance between Niezabatt and Shamachy to be about twenty-five agatz, or an hundred miles.

October 1st, I had a visit from a gentleman well dressed in the Persian habit, and was not a little surpris'd to hear him talk good High Dutch. After some conversation, he told me he was born at Dantzick; that in his youth he came to Persia with a Polish ambassador, who died at Ispahan. That, some differences arising between him and his countrymen, to end the dispute he turned Mahometan, and settled in Persia, where he now enjoyed a small salary as a linguist. He often repented of this rash step; but having a wife and children at Shamachy, he could not abandon them.

The day following, the Chan, with a numerous retinue, paid a ceremonial visit to the ambassador. The Chan is a middle-aged man of a graceful aspect, by birth a Georgian, of Christian parents, but brought up at court from his infancy: and, it must be confessed, that his treatment of the ambassador was extremely obliging.

The 14th, the Chan sent an invitation to the ambassador to go a hunting, with horses for that purpose. We marched about two or three miles to the eastward, till we came to a plain overgrown with short reeds. We sprung a number of pheasants, ten or fifteen whereof were killed by the Chan's hawks; and several hares were run down by the greyhounds, which were all sent to the ambassador's lodgings.

About this time there happened a misunderstanding between the ambassador and secretary, by the imprudence of the latter. It is customary for the Shach to make presents in money, or other things, to all ambassadors, according to the dignity of their respective masters; and, though no money had yet been granted, the unlucky secretary, poor gentleman! not quite recovered, by an unseasonable and ill-advised claim, pretended a right to part of the future donative. The ambassador, on the contrary, alledged, that the secretary was entitled to nothing from him, except the privilege of his table, and provisions for his servants. Both my situation in the retinue, and an indisposition, prevented my intermeddling in this dispute. I only advised the secretary to postpone his claim till some more favourable opportunity. My advice, however, had no effect, for the difference still increased, till the secretary fell sick, and was confined to his lodgings, where he died suddenly on the 5th of November.

This event was the more melancholy to me, in particular as it was unexpected. By the death of this gentleman, I was deprived of another worthy friend. He was a Saxon by birth; was candid, honest, and sincere; and much esteemed by all his acquaintance for his learning and capacity.

A few days after there arrived at Shamachy a Persian ambassador, who had been in France, and had returned homeward through Russia. His behaviour in France, and in other places, had been little for the honour of his master. The ministry at Ispahan had perfect intelligence of his whole conduct, which he came to understand; and, being afraid to undergo a trial at court, went directly to the city of Erivan, the place of his residence when in his own country, where, as it was reported, he poisoned himself. He had treated a French engineer, whom he engaged in the service of his master, so cruelly, that he died two days after coming to Shamachy.

The 25th, I dined with Father Peter Ricard, in company with Mons. Bourgard, a French merchant. This Father hath lived as a missionary in different places of Persia

for many years: he had studied physic, which he practised occasionally, and thereby introduced himself to an acquaintance with many families of distinction: he is a man of a grave and sober deportment, which procures him great respect: he has a small congregation at this place, consisting only of Christian Armenians, who have been converted from the communion of the Eastern to the Western Church; for it is a capital crime to convert a Mahometan. Bourgard was employed by the English factory at Isfahan to buy raw silks here to be sent to Aleppo.

The ambassador sent a present to the Chan of fables and other rich furs, of considerable value; and had, in return, a fine horse, with a saddle, bridle, and other trappings, mounted with gold.

Some time after there arose a dispute between the ambassador and the Chan, about the Shach's gratuity; the first thought the sum offered was too small, while the latter affirmed he had no authority for a greater allowance. The determination of this affair detained us longer than we intended to stay; however, in the mean time, camels and horses were ordered to be got ready. After many messages on both sides, the Chan, unwilling to let the ambassador depart unsatisfied, sent Monf. Bourgard with an offer of ten tomans (a toman is equal to three pounds sterling) a day, during his journey to Isfahan, and that sum for three days only of the time he continued at Shamachy: this proposal was at last accepted, and the money paid. I shall, before we leave this place, add a few remarks on the city and its environs.

Shamachy is situated in about 40 degrees north latitude; it was anciently part of Media, but now the capital of an extensive province called Shirvan. The city stands on the declivity of a hill, inclining to the south, and rises toward the top in form of an amphitheatre; the place is large, but the houses are meanly built, excepting those of the governor, the chief magistrates, and a few rich merchants; the streets are narrow and irregular; the greater part of the inhabitants are Persians; there is also a considerable number of Georgians and Armenians; the vulgar language is Turkish, but the people of distinction speak Persian. The air is more healthy than at places nearer to the Caspian Sea.

Above the town, on the summit of a hill, stands an high edifice, having many windows and a gallery, in which, every day at the rising and setting of the sun, is held a kind of concert of music, composed of long trumpets, large drums, and hautboys, which make a dreadful sound. It is reported, that this custom is as ancient as the time of Alexander the Great.

There are also in the city several mosques with high pillars adjoining, which the moulla or priest ascends every day at twelve o'clock to call the people to prayers, for the Mahometans use no bells. They have besides several public baths, some for men, others for the women, to which both sexes resort daily for ablution, conformably to the law of their religion. The women go generally in companies of five or six, so concealed with a white veil, that nothing of them is visible but the eyes and nose. There are several spacious caravanseries very convenient for strangers or merchants, who there expose their commodities, for which they pay a small impost.

There is a considerable traffic at this place, particularly in raw silk, which is produced in the neighbourhood: the greatest part whereof is purchased by the English and Dutch factories at Isfahan, and sent to Aleppo; also cotton, which indeed is mostly sold to the natives, and consumed in stuffs for their own use. The country about Shamachy, besides many kinds of fruits, produces plenty of wheat, barley, and very fine grapes, from which the Christians make very good wine; they keep it in great jars resembling Florence oil ones, which they deposit under ground in their gardens, cover-

ing them above with a thin stone neatly pasted about the edges, for the better preservation of the liquor. When they give an entertainment they spread carpets round the jar, which is generally placed in a shade; and on these the guests are seated.

About two miles to the northward of the city, stands a high mountain, named Guilistan-dagh, where are seen the ruins of an ancient castle built of stone; it appeared not to be of eastern architecture. I could procure no information who was the founder, or by whom it was demolished. Adjoining to this mountain is another, on which are the tombs of two saints, or heroes; whither great numbers of devout people come annually to worship. I observed near these tombs several hallowed rocks covered with small shells brought hither by the worshippers; I observed likewise, on the common rocks, many shells imprinted and petrified, which seemed very extraordinary.

December 4th, all things being prepared for our departure, we were furnished by the conductor, or maymander, with one hundred and sixty camels, and near two hundred horses and mules, on which we left Shamachy, travelling along the rising grounds. We halted two days at an Armenian village, called Kalekanü.

On the 7th, we descended into a desert plain, called by the Russians Mugan, and by the Persians Kurdistan. At midnight we came to some wells of brackish water, where we lodged in such tents as are used by the inhabitants, which were prepared by the conductor.

We proceeded the 10th five agatz to a little copse-wood where was found tolerable water; and the 11th arrived at the river Kure, or Cyre, which we passed on a bridge of boats, and pitched our tents on the other side. The water of the river is sweet and wholesome.

About half a league above the bridge the river Araxis, now Arras, falls into the Kure, which together form a considerable stragm, that discharges itself into the Caspian Sea, about a day's journey below the bridge, running northward all the way; but the mouth of the river is so choaked up with sand, that it is navigable by no vessel of any burden.

The river Kure divides the province of Shirvan from Kurdistan. The Kurdy, probably so called from the name of the river, are a very ancient people, and seem to be the same whom Xenophon, in the Anabasis, calls Karduchi, who so strenuously opposed his passage in his famous retreat from Artaxerxes. They are still reckoned a brave people. Their horses are most esteemed of any in Persia, both for beauty and strength.

We left the Kure on the 13th, and proceeded seven agatz to Chuda-tzoolatzy, where the water was very brackish and muddy. The country around appeared plain as the sea.

Setting out early next morning, we travelled ten agatz, and in the evening reached a brook of tolerable water, called Bolgar. This was the last day's journey in the plain of Mugan. The inhabitants, the Kurdy, live in tents all the year. The soil is very dry and barren, notwithstanding the cattle are in good condition, and the mutton particularly very good.

While we halted about noon some Persian sportsmen, who by their dress seemed persons of distinction, pitched their tents near ours: they sent the ambassador a present of wild-fowl, and an antelope. The ambassador invited them to share a traveller's dinner. Three of the gentlemen accepted the invitation, but excused themselves from eating any thing, pretending they had already dined; but it is well known that the Mahometans scruple to eat with Christians; each of them however drank a dish of coffee, and an old man a dram of brandy. They had several greyhounds and a couple

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of large hawks, which were trained to fly at antelopes: the hawks cannot hold indeed so strong a creature as an antelope, but they fly about its head and thereby retard its velocity, till the greyhounds or horsemen overtake it; for the antelope far out-runs any greyhound I ever saw. In this desert I have seen flocks of them consisting of two or three hundred.

In manning hawks to fly at antelopes, they stuff the skins of these animals with straw, and feed the hawk between their horns, placing food there for that purpose: hence they are accustomed to hover round the head, which proves the destruction of these creatures. I was informed, that it is in this manner the Tartars manage hawks to fly at foxes and wolves. These particulars may possibly appear immaterial; however as they may contribute to amuse the reader, it was thought not improper to insert them.

After resting the 16th, we travelled next day four agatz, to the foot of a very high mountain, where we found a few poor cottages, deserted by their inhabitants on our approach. The water was in plenty and good. The weather was very cold, and no fire-wood could be got, except a little we brought along with us. One of our people, straggling too near the rocks, was dangerously wounded with a stone, throw by some of these cottagers who had retired thither. On these rocks I saw a creature like a goat, called by the Germans Steinbuck; it is much bigger than the common kind of these animals, and its horns are of a prodigious size.

The 18th, we advanced five agatz farther; and the 19th, seven agatz, to a large village called Katchoochana, where the Chan of Mугan has a good house. The weather being cold and frosty, we continued here all the 20th.

The 21st, we travelled five agatz to a village under a great mountain, where was a water-mill for grinding corn, the first machine of that sort I saw in Persia.

The 22d, we came to a small town called Aggar. The Kalentar ordered the citizens to arm and oppose our entry; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of our conductor, he persisted unalterable in his purpose, affirming he had no order to admit such a body of armed men. He did not however refuse us provisions, wood and water, for money. We were therefore obliged to content ourselves with these, and lodge in our tents on an open field in cold weather.

Next day, we proceeded two or three agatz, to a large populous village, where the people, in imitation of those at Aggar, assembled in arms, and barricadoed all their entries, refusing us admittance; they beat our quarter-master, a Persian officer belonging to the conductor, for offering to force his way into the place. We therefore lodged again in the open air. They sent out some fire-wood, and whatever else they could spare. I must confess I could scarce blame these people for their behaviour; because, had we been admitted, the inhabitants must all have left their own houses, and where could a parcel of poor women and children have found shelter in such extremity of cold!

The 24th, we continued our journey between two great mountains, where the north wind was very piercing. We passed an old ruinous caravansery, and arrived in the evening at an empty village, which the natives had forsok the day before. All next day we halted, being Christmas.

The 26th, we marched about four agatz, to another village. The inhabitants were so hospitable as to afford us lodging, but charged dear for every thing we needed, especially wood, which was bought at the rate of three-pence for seven pounds.

On the 27th, we travelled over exceeding high mountains, from whence, I was told by an Armenian merchant in our company, might be seen, in a clear day, the top of the famous mount Ararat, called by the Persians Aggry, by the Armenians Messin; the summit

summit is constantly covered with snow, and often with a cloud: it is the highest of all that chain of mountains in Armenia on which we then stood.

How far my information might be true I cannot determine, but certain it is, that when the Armenians see this mountain, they make a sign of the cross, and say their prayers, as is their custom when they approach any place which they esteem sacred.

In the evening we arrived at the city of Tauris, Terris, or Tebris, as it is pronounced by some. The ambassador was met about half a mile from that place by the Kalentar, and chief officers, who, after the common salutations, conducted him to his lodgings. Our baggage was deposited in a large caravanfery in the neighbourhood.

CHAP. V.—*Occurrences during our Stay at Tauris. Our Journey thence to Ispahan.*

TAURIS is a large and populous city, the capital of the province of that name, and the residence of the Chan. It is situated in a fruitful plain, encompassed by the high rocks of mount Tauris, about ten days journey from Shamachy and twenty-five from Ispahan, I mean to a caravan. It is supposed to be the ancient metropolis of Media. It is still of considerable extent, but not near what it has been. There are yet to be seen many curious remains of ancient grandeur, particularly an old temple, converted into a mosque, now neglected and ruinous. The roof is supported by many stately pillars of porphyry, almost entire, some whereof are of a greenish colour, with other colours and veins of gold interspersed. The proportions seemed to be regular, and the workmanship very fine and curious. In short, I am unable to describe the symmetry and beauty of these pillars, and wonder how they have escaped the fury of so many barbarians. It is no less surprising where were got such massy pieces of marble, seeing nothing like them is now to be found in this country. These particulars demonstrate the ancient grandeur and riches of this place. It is however a deplorable truth, that this country in general hath undergone so many revolutions since the time of Alexander the Great, her first conqueror, that, a few places excepted, the present names and descriptions of cities and provinces bear almost no resemblance to those of antiquity, so that one can scarce imagine them accounts of the same places: to such a degree hath time and barbarous invaders changed the appearances of things! Fire and sword have raged to destroy magnificent cities; stately temples and palaces are demolished; whole provinces depopulated, and fruitful fields converted into a desert, by diverting the springs, or turning the rivers that watered them into other channels. Such are the consequences of lawless ambition on the finest productions of nature and art: the last is a circumstance to which few countries are so much exposed as Persia; for, in the inland part of it, there is almost no rain, which obliges the inhabitants to water all their vegetables from springs and brooks. They often convey even rivers several leagues, in channels under ground, for this purpose. The dew indeed is very plentiful, but would be insufficient of itself for the purposes of vegetation.

The streets of Tauris are narrow and irregular. The houses are built of bricks made of mud, mixed with chopped straw, and dried in the sun; the governor's palace, indeed, and a few more houses, are built of stone, and make a good appearance. The roofs are generally flat, and covered with a terrace. The walls are white-washed on the inside, and look very white and clean. The floors of every house are spread with carpets, or mats, according to the circumstances of the inhabitants. The people of distinction have great halls of audience in their outer courts, arched with square bricks, which are plastered and painted with flowers; this is done at a small expence, and makes a very fine show.

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There are several well-built mosques, with stately minarets, or pillars, which the moulla ascends to call the people to prayers; also a high building for the music that plays evening and morning, as mentioned at Shamachy. There are also some large caravanseries: so that no stranger can be at a loss for lodging at a small expence. The city is quite open, having no castle or fortification to defend it. Indeed one would imagine the desert mountains, scarcity of water, and other obstructions, would be a sufficient defence against all invasions: the fury of the Turks, however, in their wars with Persia, surmounted all these obstacles.

Tauris is supplied with water from a brook, called Shankuy, which runs through the city, and some springs in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants are mostly Persians, though there are among them many Armenians. They have a considerable commerce in raw silk, and manufactories of carpets, and silk and cotton stuffs. They have great crops of wheat and barley, when at the trouble and expence of watering the fields; but their principal support is rice, brought from the province of Guilan, where it grows very plentifully: for this kind of grain, which of all other thrives best on wet land, agrees wonderfully with that rich moist soil near the Caspian Sea.

The Capuchin missionaries have a convent at this place for the use of the Armenians of the Roman Catholic profession; which is superintended by two Fathers of that order.

About a league from the city, on the road to Ispahan, are seen the ruins of a bridge, on the top of a hill, where, I believe, no water has run since the deluge. It is said that it was built by a whimsical priest, in order to introduce himself to the King, Shach Abbass, who could not avoid taking notice, when he passed that way, of such an extraordinary appearance.

About four or five leagues from Tauris, in a plain called Roomy, there are several springs of water that petrify wood, and, I have been informed, even reptiles, such as lizards. One thing is certain, that, after a stagnation of this water, for a certain time, there is a substance like marble found at the bottom, which the Persians cut into any breadth or length at pleasure. I have seen of it two or three inches thick. It is easily polished, and is diaphanous, but not transparent. After sawing it into slabs, they fix them for windows in their bagnios and private apartments. Perhaps it is not improbable the large pillars, formerly mentioned, might be hewn out of this kind of marble.

During our stay at Tauris little material happened. The weather continued very cold, which, together with want of horses and camels, detained us longer than we expected. I could not but pity the poor people of this place; the cold was so excessive, and bread and other necessaries so dear, that I was informed many of them perished in the streets.

January 2d, 1717, Monf. Ricard, a French Jesuit, arrived, in his way to Ispahan, with some letters from Rome to the Sophy. He sent Monf. Duffus, one of his retinue, with his compliments to our ambassador.

The Chan being absent, the Vizir, who is his lieutenant, came the 6th, in great state, to visit the ambassador; who, on the 11th, returned the compliment, attended with all his retinue. He was received in a magnificent hall, spread with fine carpets. There was a seat placed for the ambassador; but the rest of the company sat cross-legged on the carpets, in the Persian manner.

The 20th, there was a great fall of snow, which very much softened the cold piercing northerly winds.

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The 23d, having with great difficulty procured horses and camels, we left Tauris, and travelled two agatz through deep snow, which incommoded us not a little, particularly on account of the camels, which cannot bear deep roads.

The 24th and 25th, the roads were impassable. I saw here a male camel trample one of his keepers under his feet; for, at this season, when the females are rutting, the males are very furious and ungovernable, and must be managed with great caution.

The 26th, we travelled two agatz to a spacious well-built caravanfery, founded by Shach Sephy, sufficient to contain some hundreds of men and horses. Here we halted some time, and proceeded in the afternoon five agatz farther. In this day's journey you have the choice of two roads, both leading to Ispahan: one through the cities of Ardeville and Casbin, and the other by Zengan and Sultany: the last whereof we choosed, being somewhat shorter.

Ardeville is reported to be a very fine place, and is famous for the monuments of Shach Sephy the First, and other Persian princes and heroes esteemed for their virtue and piety. A great many devout people come from all parts of the country to worship at these tombs, where a considerable charity is daily distributed to the poor pilgrims; to support which, there is a fund settled by the King, with proper officers appointed to superintend the management of it, and prevent frauds. I wanted much to visit this place, but found it impracticable.

The 27th, we advanced three agatz, through deep snow, to a caravanfery built of bricks. We were at no loss for water while the snow lay upon the ground. The next day we reached a large village, called Kara-China, inhabited by Persians and Armenians. About a mile from the place we were met by an Armenian priest, attended by a company of country people, who came to welcome us as fellow-Christians. One of them carried a painted crucifix, raised on a long pole, others played on flutes and haut-boys, and other musical instruments, to which one or two persons kept time, by beating two thin brass plates against each other; and many of them sung hymns and psalms. In this manner they accompanied us to our lodgings, where we were better accommodated than we had been hitherto. We received from these people, in particular, very good wine and grapes, which they preserve through the winter by hanging them in dry and open places.

About this time many of our people had sore eyes, and swelled faces, caused by the strong reflection of the sun-beams from the snow. The Persians themselves are liable to the same disorders. As a remedy they wear a fillet of net-work, made of black horse-hair over their eyes, which I found, by experience, altogether effectual.

The 31st, we set out early, and travelled four agatz to Turkoma, a large village. The snow continued very deep. Here we were obliged to wait for our camels, some of which did not arrive till next day.

February 2d, we travelled eight agatz, to a little town called Miama, where is a caravanfery for horses only. Here we buried another of our people.

The 4th, after two hours march, we passed a river, over which is a stone-bridge, standing under a high mountain, called Kaplanton. Leaving that place, we saw, on the left hand, the ruins of an old fortification. We repassed the river on another stone-bridge; thence to a caravanfery, called Tzamatura, and at night reached another, called Sartzam, being eight agatz from Mianna. Here we halted till our camels arrived; the greatest part whereof came not before next day. We perceived the depth of the snow to lessen daily as we advanced to the south.

The 7th, we travelled five agatz to a small town named Zengan, where we lodged in a good caravansery. The Sultan, or chief magistrate, waited on us, and gave us a friendly and hospitable reception. He has under his jurisdiction both this place and Sultany; at each he resides half the year by turns.

Here we met a Russian merchant, who had about fifteen or twenty camels loaded with various kinds of merchandise, going to Bucharia.

We halted two days on account of the deep snow in this neighbourhood; and the 10th, after travelling six agatz, came to Sultany. This place is at present small and inconsiderable, though it appears to have been a great and famous city in former times. There are still to be seen several stately mosques and minorets; one of these mosques is the tomb of a Persian prince, called Chudabendie, which has a brass gate of latticework, seemingly of great antiquity. In the same mosque is the tomb of Sultan Bajazet, son to Chudabendie.

On the 12th, we travelled four agatz to a village, where we staid all night; and the 13th, three agatz to another, through deep snow, which prevented our proceeding next day.

The 15th, we travelled five agatz, and the 16th, four, to a large village called Guiga Zayn. At this place a Russian youth applied to the ambassador for freedom and protection. He had been carried away by the Tartars from some of the southern provinces of Russia, and was sold some years before in Persia. He was forced to turn Mahometan; had almost forgot his mother tongue, and was obliged to explain himself by an interpreter. The ambassador afforded him the protection he sought. His master claimed either his slave, or the money he had paid for him; neither of which demands could be granted.

The 18th, we arrived at Sexabbat, a village four agatz from the former; where we quartered that night, and rested all the next day.

The 20th, we advanced three agatz to Arazant, a small village. This district being much pestered with strong gangs of highwaymen, we marched with great circumspection; and in the night the baggage was guarded, both by our own people and the conductor's soldiers.

The 21st, after a journey of three hours we came to an old caravansery, called Idjoop, where we rested; then advanced four agatz to another, called Kockera, situated in an extensive plain. The snow was now altogether gone, and the water at this place very bad. In an upper room of this caravansery I saw the names of many Europeans cut on the wall, in different languages: among which was that of Olcarius, secretary to the Holstein ambassadors, who published a very exact account of that fruitless embassy.

The 22d of February, we set out very early, and in three hours reached Denggie, a caravansery, where we halted for refreshment; and at night arrived at Saba or Sava, seven agatz from Kockera.

Saba appears, from many ruins, to have been a place of great note. It stands in a fruitful and extensive plain, which produces all sorts of fruit natural to the climate, particularly pomegranates, the largest I have seen. The trees were now in full bloom, and had a very fine appearance. Some years ago this place was almost ruined by a deluge. It has been repairing ever since, but is still far from its former condition.

The 24th, our road lay through a desert and barren plain, abounding with saltpetre. We travelled six agatz to Jeffrabbat, a new caravansery, and the 25th, five agatz, to the town of Koom.

About two leagues from Koom we saw a round hill to the left, called in Turkish *Gedeen-Gedmaze*, which signifies, that whoever goes up never returns; which the Persians say was the fate of a page sent up by *Shach Abbals*, with a lighted torch in his hand. However this be, it is certainly no easy matter to ascend this place; because the whole hill consists of sand, which is shifted from place to place by the wind, and must soon tire whoever attempts to climb it.

Koom is reckoned among the chief towns in Persia, and is the residence of a Chan. It is situated in a fertile plain, well watered by a pretty large river, over which is a fine stone-bridge. In the town is a spacious caravansery, and several well built mosques and minarets. One of these mosques is highly esteemed by the Persians, because of the sepulchre of *Shach Sephy* and his son *Shach Abbals the Second*, and that of *Sidy Fathima*, grand-daughter to their prophet *Mahomet*. These tombs are much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Persia, who resort hither once a-year to pay their devotions, and are supported by a fund appropriated to that purpose.

Before you reach the mosque you pass through three neat courts, and, in the middle of the fourth, where the mosque stands, there is a large basin of clear water. Above the gate are engraven in gilt letters the names of the deceased princes, with some verses in their praise. The monument of *Sidy Fathima* stands in the front of the building, encompassed with a grate-work of pure silver, very valuable. To each of the princes are consecrated magnificent apartments, where the priests read the *Koran* night and day.

This is also a place of refuge for debtors, and unfortunate people, who are maintained at the public expence. Adjoining to the mosque is a large hall, where alms are daily distributed to the poor. Few Christians are admitted into this sacred place. The ambassador, however, with a few of the retinue, obtained this favour. Koom is famous for manufacturing the best blades in all Persia for sabres and poinards.

The 27th, we travelled from Koom five agatz to *Kassim-abbatt*, a considerable village, where we lodged. The weather now began to be so hot, that we could travel only in the morning and evening.

On the 28th, after travelling six agatz, we came to *Sinnbzy*, another village. Here our huntsman caught a porcupine, and brought it home alive.

March 1st, we arrived at a place called *Kashan*, six agatz from the former. At some distance we were met by the *Doroga*, or judge, attended by about fifty horsemen. He came to salute the ambassador, and conducted him to his lodgings. The house belonged to the *Shach*, and was pleasantly situated in the middle of a fine garden, planted with various kinds of fruit-trees.

Kashan is a large and populous city. It is situated in a fertile plain, which secures plenty of all necessaries, and contains several well-built mosques and caravanseries. The market-place is well furnished with merchandise of different kinds. The common manufactures of Persia are found here, viz. silk and cotton stuffs, carpets, besides some other articles, which make this place of considerable trade.

This city is much pestered with scorpions, especially the black kind, reckoned the most venomous. Their sting proves mortal in a few days, nay, even hours, if proper remedies be not applied. The cure used by the Persians is, to anoint the wound with the oil of these animals, extracted by frying. Of this oil they have generally a quantity in reserve. If it is wanting, they bruise any scorpion, and apply it to the part affected. Either of these remedies taken in due time, seldom fail of success. The Persians have such a dread of these creatures, that, when provoked by any person, they with a *Kashan*

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scorpion may sting him. They are the more terrible, as few houses are free from them; for most of the floors being of earth, and covered with carpets or mats, below these the scorpions find or make holes for themselves, where they lurk unseen. They do not indeed often hurt, unless touched suddenly. It is advisable for all travellers to examine diligently the place where they are to sleep, before they go to bed. As the scorpion is well known, it will be unnecessary to say any more of it.

The 5th, we reached Buzabbatt, five agatz from Kalhan. The weather was very hot. At this place I saw a creature called the *stello*, or tarantula, and by the Persians *inkureck*. It is in shape and size somewhat like a large spider, but overgrown with hair. I was informed that it neither stings nor bites, but drops its venom upon the skin, which is of such a nature that it immediately penetrates into the body, and causes dreadful symptoms; such as giddiness of the head, a violent pain in the stomach, and a lethargic stupefaction. The remedy, as in the former case, is the application of the same animal when bruised to the part, by which the poison is extracted. They also make the patient drink abundance of sweet milk, after which he is put in a kind of tray, suspended by ropes fixed in the four corners; it is turned round till the ropes are twisted hard together, and, when let go at once, the untwining causes the basket to run round with a quick motion, which forces the patient to vomit.

They also make them dance to musical instruments, which the sick person sometimes does, of his own accord, till he drops down upon the spot. One of these terrible creatures happened to fall out of the ceiling upon my hand as I was going one night to bed; I shook it off instantaneously without receiving the least harm. Every thing was moved and searched for it, but to no purpose, there being many holes in the floor. It may easily be imagined that apprehension would prevent my sleeping much that night.

The 6th, we travelled five or six agatz to Kaltabbatt; and the next day five, to Nattanee, a small town situated under some high mountains. Here the Shach has a pretty little palace, with gardens, fountains of fine water, and cascades. We lodged in the palace. The jackals were so bold that they howled under the windows all the night long, and carried off some of our poultry. On the top of a mountain near this place, stands a high tower, built by Shach Abbass, which is seen at a great distance.

The 8th, we left Nattanee, and in three hours passed a fine house, with gardens, built by Shach Abbass, and situated by itself in a pleasant plain. About three hours after we came to Tutrin, an old caravansery, where we lodged. The heat increased daily as we advanced to the south. The 9th, we reached Ruck, eight agatz distant from Tutrin, and four hours journey from the city of Isfahan.

The 10th, being the vernal equinox, when the new year commences among the Persians, we halted all day. In the evening thirty fine horses, with rich furniture, were sent from the Shach's stables to the ambassador. Some of the bridles were ornamented with gold, others with silver. Two lions were brought by a Persian to be shewn to the ambassador. They were led into a court-yard and let loose upon a goat; but, instead of the goat, they ran at some of our people, who narrowly escaped by getting into a house and shutting the doors. It seems the sight of so many strangers had frightened them; for the keeper himself with difficulty chained them, and one of them even bit his hand.

The 11th, we advanced two agatz, to Davilett-abbatt, a village.

On the morning of the 13th, the Maymander Basba, or chief conductor, arrived with many attendants. In the evening we mounted; and, being accompanied with a numerous train of courtiers, and other people, we travelled two agatz to the suburbs of the city, where we lodged in a palace called Tuchtzy, belonging to the Shach.

The 14th, in the morning, came a number of horses sufficient for the ambassador and all his train; this being the day appointed for our public entry.

About noon the Maymender Basha returned to conduct the ambassador to his lodgings in the city. He was attended by many persons of distinction.

After noon we mounted, and entered the city. We passed through many streets crowded with spectators, as were also the tops of the houses. It was said that the Sophy himself was at a window *incognito*, with some of his ladies. Curiosity had caused such a crowd, that, had not the way been cleared by the Persian guards, it would have been impossible for us to pass along. At last, we reached the end of our journey; a noble palace in the middle of the city, with a garden, three courts, and apartments sufficient for the ambassador and all his retinue.

The Order of the Entry.

- An Officer.
- Three dragoons.
- A kettle-drum.
- Four trumpeters.
- Thirty dragoons, three a-breast, with drawn swords.
- Six spare horses, with sumptuous trappings.
- The steward.
- Twelve footmen.
- Two pages.
- Three footmen.
- Two interpreters.
- Two hey-dukes in Hungarian habits.
- The Ambassador, with the Maymender Basha, and interpreter.
- The priest and one gentleman.
- Myself and one gentleman.
- Two clerks.
- Faulconers, huntsmen, &c.

CHAP. VI.—*Occurrences during our Stay at Ispahan.*

THE 15th, the agents of the English and Dutch factories, viz. Mr. Coppin the English agent, sent Messrs. Batson and Reynardson, the Dutch agent likewise sent two gentlemen of their company to salute the ambassador.

The 16th, the Maymender Basha invited the ambassador to an audience of the Etmadowlett, or prime minister, which he would not comply with till he had an audience of the Shach, and delivered his credentials, though it is usual first to take an audience of that minister. This day I visited the English factory, where I met with a friendly reception.

On the 27th was a great fall of rain, such as had not been seen at Ispahan for seven years: it was the cause of great joy in this sultry dry climate, though to me it seemed nothing extraordinary.

April 1st, I went to Julffa to see a friend, accompanied by Mr. Batson. It is a large place in the suburbs, inhabited by Armenians, who have the free exercise of the Christian religion. On the 10th, I dined at the Dutch house, the weather very hot.

May

May 4th, the ceremonial part of the ambassador's introduction to the Shach being previously agreed on, he was this day to have his first audience. In the morning horses were sent from the King's stables, all of them magnificently equipped, with grooms to attend them; many of the saddles and bridles were garnished with gold and silver.

We marched in the same order as at our entry above mentioned, only the dragoons had not their swords drawn. After passing through several streets we came to the great market-place, called Bazar, and then to a gate called Alla-capy, i. e. God's Gate, where we dismounted. Across this gate is hung a chain, and none are permitted to enter on horseback except the Shach himself. We walked through the guards drawn up on each side, to an inner court, and thence to an arched gate, surrounded with benches and spread with carpets. Here the ambassador was desired to sit down till the Shach was ready to receive him. We waited at least two hours, during which time all the ministers of state and officers of the household passed us in great state; after them came a large elephant, mounted by his keeper and adorned with gold and silver stuff; then two large lions, led by their keepers with chains of massy gold.

When this parade was over, an officer informed the ambassador that the Shach waited for him; whereupon, proceeding immediately through the gate, we entered a spacious garden. The first thing that presented was a noble view of twenty horses standing in a row, richly caparisoned, having all their saddles and bridles ornamented with gold and silver, and some of them set with sapphires, emeralds, and other precious stones of great value. The horses were all tied to a rope fixed to the ground at the extremities by a stake of gold, near which lay a mallet of the same metal for driving it, according to the custom of Persia; the hind-feet were also fastened to a rope to prevent kicking: this is an excellent precaution, for, though they were all stoned horses, they could neither hurt one another nor any thing else; the chains that bound their hind-feet, with the stakes and mallets, were also of gold. The Persian horses are well managed, neither do I think them so vicious as those in Europe; whether they are naturally more gentle I shall not determine, perhaps it is entirely owing to the milder treatment of their grooms. At each end of the row stood a large vessel of gold full of water for the horses to drink.

Approaching nearer to the hall of audience we passed the two lions, chained to the ground, one on each side of the passage; near them were placed two basons of gold filled with water for drink; next to the lions stood the elephant, with his keeper on his back. As the ambassador passed both the lions couched, and the elephant bent his fore-knee, at the word pronounced by the keepers.

We now turned to the left and had a full view of the hall of audience, about an hundred yards distant. It seemed to stand by itself in the middle of the garden; it is indeed contiguous to the seraglio on the south, but is quite open to the north. Before the entry is a large fountain of pure water, which springs upward in three pipes, and falls into a bason filled with roses, jessamine, and many other fine flowers.

When we came to the stair, we were desired to put off our slippers, and our servants were no further admitted. The ambassador only and six of his retinue (among whom I was) entered the hall. We ascended by eight steps of marble, the whole breadth of the hall. From the roof hung a canvas, which was stretched out over the stair, and shaded the whole inside of the edifice. The hall is a spacious square building with a terrace roof; the ceiling is very magnificent, being all arched and set with mirrors of different magnitudes till within three feet of the floor, which is quite covered with silk carpets, interwoven with branches and foliage of gold and silver. In the middle were two basons, into which several pipes, each about eight feet high, spouted water, which, falling

falling upon roses and other flowers, has a fine effect on a hot day. The farther end of the hall is a semicircle; here sat the Shach upon a sofa, raised about a foot from the floor, which was elevated four steps above the rest of the hall; he was attended by twenty eunuchs; one carried his sabre, another his bow, a third the quiver with arrows, a fourth the calianne, or tobacco-pipe, so that each had his office of state.

The ambassador was received in the hall by the master of the ceremonies, called Ishaggan Basba, to be by him introduced to the Shach. He continued sitting upon his sofa, with his legs across, while all his ministers of state stood in their places, clothed magnificently in their robes; which they never wear except on solemn days, and, when these are over, they leave them in a wardrobe at court, appointed for keeping them. I must confess the appearance was very splendid, and put me in mind of the accounts left us by the ancients of the magnificence of the Kings of Persia.

At our entry into the hall we were stopped about three minutes at the first fountain, in order to raise the greater respect; the pipes were contrived to play so high that the water fell into the basin like a thick rain; nothing could be discovered for some time, and the Shach himself appeared as in a fog. While we moved forward every thing was still as death; the master of the ceremonies took the ambassador by the arm, and conducted him within six yards of the throne, who, offering to advance, in order to deliver his credentials, was prevented by the Etmadowlett, or prime minister; this minister received the credentials and laid them before the Shach, who touched them with his hand as a mark of respect. This part of the ceremony had been very difficult to adjust; for the ambassador insisted on delivering his letters into the Shach's own hands, the Persian ministers, on the other hand, affirmed that their Kings never received letters directly from the ambassadors of the greatest Emperors on earth.

The ambassador now made a short speech, which the Sophy answered, through the Etmadowlett, in very obliging terms. He then enquired after his Czarish Majesty's health, and asked several questions about the Swedish war, and whether the ambassador had suffered any hardships on the road during so long a journey? To all which he returned answers suitable to the occasion. At last he was desired to take his seat, to which he was led by the master of the ceremonies: it was about a foot high, and placed at the distance of ten yards from the King. A little behind the ambassador were placed his attendants, on seats nearly of the same height. During all this ceremony music played, consisting of a variety of instruments which were not unharmonious, and the Musti, or high priest, read, without intermission, chapters of the Koran.

Before the ambassador was seated the presents from His Czarish Majesty to the Sophy, carried by fifty men, were brought to the entry, and received by the proper officers: they consisted of fables and other valuable furs, falcons, a variety of fine tea, musical clocks, gold watches set in diamonds, &c.

As soon as the ambassador had taken his seat all the ministers of state sat down on their hams, on both sides of the hall, in rows; for none are allowed to sit cross-legged in presence of the Sophy.

There was now placed before the company little tables on which were set all kinds of sweetmeats and confections; and before the ambassador was laid a golden calianne, or tobacco-pipe, which the Persians reckon an high instance of respect.

The music continued playing, and the Musti continued still reading, but every thing else was very silent. Several messages passed between the King and the ambassador, by means of the master of the ceremonies and our interpreter. The King spoke the Persian language and the ambassador the Russian, while the other two used the Turkish.

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In the mean time some pure water, with a bit of ice in it, was brought in golden basons to drink. About an hour after victuals were brought by a number of servants, who carried them on their heads in large square baskets. First the Shach was served, and next the ambassador with his retinue, then all the officers of state that sat in the hall. The grand steward of the household waited on the King, and his assistants on the rest of the company, according to their different ranks. At the same time our servants were entertained in the garden.

The entertainment consisted mostly of different kinds of rice boiled with butter, fowls, mutton, boiled and roasted lamb. The whole was served in large gold or china dishes, and placed in the baskets, which stood on a long cloth spread above the carpet. The dishes were interspersed with saucers filled with aromatic herbs, sugar, and vinegar. But, according to the custom of the country, we had neither napkins, spoons, knives, nor forks; for the Shach himself eat with his fingers, and every one followed his example. There were indeed, besides the common bread, some very large thin cakes, which we used instead of napkins to wipe our fingers. They are made of wheat-flour; the Persians sometimes eat them; they are not disagreeable. Our drink was sherbet, and water cooled with ice. Formerly it was usual on such occasions to drink wine, and have women to dance and sing. But the present Sophy, being a sober and devout prince, thought it proper to abolish a custom productive of so many indecencies, and directly contrary to the rules of the Koran. We had therefore only men to sing, and no dancing.

The ambassador, and all the gentlemen who were admitted into the hall, continued with their heads covered during all the time of the audience. They only, on entering the royal presence, uncovered once, and bowed to His Majesty.

When the entertainment was over the ambassador took his leave, and returned to his lodgings, conducted by the Maymender Basha, in the same manner as in the morning. The streets were lined with the Sophy's guards, to prevent any inconvenience from the vast crowds of people.

The same evening the Shach sent a present to the ambassador of the golden calianne he had used at court; it was neatly wrought in filigree, and valued at forty or fifty pounds sterling; also twenty large dishes of solid gold, filled with variety of sweetmeats. Those who brought them returned immediately, leaving the plate, which remained at the ambassador's lodgings above six weeks. All this time it was uncertain whether such a valuable treasure was forgot, or intended as a present. The dishes however were at last demanded, and delivered. They weighed about thirty pounds a-piece, but were of mean workmanship, being all beat out with a hammer. From this and many similar instances, some conception may be formed of the immense riches whereof the Sophy is possessed.

The Shach's name is Husein; he is about thirty years of age, of a middle stature, open countenance, and has a short black beard. It is said his legs are remarkably short, in proportion to his body. He is very good-natured, and of a beneficent disposition. He has several children by different ladies. Tachmaz the oldest, at present in his minority, seldom appears out of the Haram. Husein himself, though a prince adorned with many virtues, yet being educated in the Haram among the women, is little acquainted with the world, and leaves the management of the empire wholly to his ministers: in them he places an entire confidence; and they, in their turn, persuade him that it is below his dignity to attend to any public affairs whatever. At this very time there was a formidable rebellion begun at Chandahar, a strong town on the borders

of India by Mery-Mahmut, an enterprising and powerful chief, who took advantage of the weakness of the present administration.

The Persian ministry neglected and despised these rebels, threatening, in their style, to send some troops to cut them all to pieces. Time hath shewn the vanity of these high words. I must observe, that they want neither men nor money; but their soldiers were undisciplined, and, above all, they had no officers of sufficient abilities to command them.

The 9th of May, the ambassador had his first audience of the Etmadowlett. We were conducted in the same manner as when we went to court. The entertainment was likewise of the same kind, but much more magnificent. The palace was grand, and had a fine garden adjoining. The Etmadowlett, whose name is Phatalychan, was by birth a Georgian, of Christian parents; but educated in the seraglio. He is a tall well-shaped man, of a friendly aspect, and a great favourite of the Sophy. After we returned home the Etmadowlett sent the ambassador a present of a fine horse, with a saddle and bridle, richly mounted, after the Persian fashion, and a gold calianne, little inferior to that given by the Shach. It was reported that no foreign ambassador had ever been treated with so much respect.

The 11th, the ambassador had a second audience of the Sophy, at the same palace as formerly, called Tavalea Telear, i. e. The Palace near the Stables; it was very short, and no entertainment was given. Next day he received from the Shach a present of some excellent Sherras wine, and a gold bottle that contained about two quarts, with a small cup of the same metal.

On the 15th, the ambassador had a second audience of the Etmadowlett, relating to the subject of the embassy.

Three days after the Hackim Basha, or chief physician, sent me an invitation to visit him. He received me in a very courteous obliging manner; and detained me above two hours, talking on different subjects. He told me that the physicians in Persia made vegetables, and their virtues, their chief study; they dealt but little in minerals and chemical preparations. Then he asked me, whether the European physicians admitted opium in their prescriptions? I told him they did, with great success. To which he replied, that the qualities of that drug were known to very few. He enquired whence tea came? how it should be made? and what were its virtues? All which I answered to his satisfaction. Hence it is evident, that the Persians have no correspondence nor commerce with the Chinese. The physician is an elderly man, of a grave deportment, and might pass for a doctor any where. On taking my leave, he told me he was sorry he could not converse with me but by means of an interpreter, which was tedious and disagreeable.

The same day the Dutch commissary, Mynheer Vonkettler, made his public entry at Ispahan, as envoy from the governor of Batavia to the Shach of Persia. He was preceded by six elephants, sent as a present to the King by the governor. He had a numerous retinue, and was attended by several gentlemen, and made as grand an appearance as if he had been a minister from any court of Europe. He took up his lodgings at the Dutch factory. Mr. Kettler told me that he was born in Courland; that, in his youth, he had enlisted as a soldier in the service of the Dutch East India company; by his uncommon abilities he had raised himself from that low situation to the honourable place he now held.

The following day Mr. Kettler sent two of his retinue to compliment our ambassador; and, both our gentlemen being indisposed, I was sent next day to return the compliment.

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The 28th, I dined at the Dutch house, where we had a grand entertainment.

June 2d, the ambaffador intended to go a-hunting, and to take a view of the country about Ifpahan. But an officer came from court, defiring him to delay it till another opportunity; for the Shach had pitched on that day to vifit a country-houfe, in company with his ladies; on which occafion it is death for any one to be feen near the place where the court paffes. To prevent accidental tranfgreffions in this refpect, a cryer is previoufly difpatched to warn the inhabitants, who proclaims through the ftreets and along the road, that nobody, under pain of death, fhall appear either in the way, or from any houfe near it, by which His Majefty and the ladies are to march. The Shach rides on horfeback, attended only by eunuchs. The ladies are mounted afloat, fome on horfes, others on mules and affes. They are all veiled with white muflin, fo that nothing can be feen of them but the eyes and nofe.

The Perfians tell a pleafant ftory of Shach Abbas's behaviour on an occafion of this nature. The Shach at a certain time was riding along, attended by his concubines, when he happened to meet a poor country-fellow upon the road. He was immediately brought before the King; and, expecting infant death, fell on his knees, moft fubmiffively begging pardon for fo heinous an offence, and pleaded ignorance in his excufe, having neither feen nor heard of any cryer. The prince was pleafed with the fimplicity and innocence of the peafant, ordered him to take courage, and all the ladies to unveil; then defired him to pick out any of his concubines he liked beft, and he fhould have her for a wife. This treatment difpelled his fear; he pitched on one that pleafed him moft. The Shach approved fo much of his tafte that he carried him to court, where he foon became a great favourite.

The 9th, I dined at the Englifh factory, where Mr. Coppin, and the other gentlemen belonging to the company received me in the moft friendly manner. The day was very hot, and in the evening we fupped near a fountain in the garden. On a fudden we felt a gulf of wind, as hot as if it had come from the mouth of an oven. It was foon over without any bad effect. But I was informed that thefe hot winds are very dangerous in travelling over the deferts, and often kill people immediately. The only refource, on perceiving them coming, is to fall down flat, with the face to the ground, and continue in that pofture till they are gone.

On the 12th, the ambaffador had a third audience of the Shach at Farrabbatt, a country-houfe near the city. It is an extremely pleafant place, adorned with gardens, fountains, and cafes, furrounded with parks for all kinds of game. While we were at fupper on the terrace we had a fqual of wind, which almoft carried away every thing, and actually fwept off the thin broad cakes which the Perfians ufe inftead of napkins.

The 16th, Monf. Ricard, whom I mentioned at Tauris, and twelve miffionaries of different orders, were invited to dine with the ambaffador. Several of thefe gentlemen had been long in India and Ethiopia, which rendered their converfation very entertaining.

The 21ft, the ambaffador was invited to dinner by the Devettar, or keeper of the great feal and ftandifh. Here, as in all other countries, this is an office of great trust. We were entertained with more magnificence than by the prime minifter, or even at court. Soon after we entered there were ferved up a great variety of fweetmeats, and all kinds of fruit that the climate afforded. Coffee and fherbet were carried about by turns. We were placed crofs-legged on the carpets, except the ambaffador, who had a feat. During this part of the feaft we were entertained with vocal and inftrumental mufic, dancing boys, tumblers, puppets, and jugglers: all the performers executed their parts with great dexterity. Two of them counterfeiting a quarrel, one beat off

the other's turban with his foot, out of which dropped about fifteen or twenty large serpents, which run or crawled about the room. One of them came towards me with great speed, which soon obliged me to quit my place. On seeing us alarmed, they told us the creatures were altogether inoffensive, as their teeth had been all drawn out. The fellow went about the room and gathered them into his turban again like so many cels. The victuals were now served in a neat and elegant manner. Every thing was well dressed in the Persian fashion. Our host was very cheerful, and contributed every thing in his power to please his guests. He excused himself handsomely enough for not having wine, as it was not then used at court.

On the 23d, the Maymander Basha brought a message from the Shach to the ambassador, intimating, that the business of his embassy being now finished, he might choose his own time to depart. This was not very agreeable news to the ambassador, who alledged, that before he could procure shipping to transport him to Astrachan, the season would be far advanced, and oblige him to winter in some part of Persia.

July 1st, the Shach sent the ambassador, and the principal parts of his retinue, what the Persians call the *kalatt*. It consists of a tunic, a long robe of gold and silver stuff, a sash and turban, and some pieces of Persian silk, whereof about ten or a dozen fell to my share. The whole value was not considerable; but the Shach bestows this mark of favour to all foreign ministers who come on friendly errands. On this occasion, he sent the ambassador, in particular, a present of two fine horses from his own stables.

The 3d, the ambassador had his last audience of the Shach at a palace in the city; when he received an answer to the Czar's letter, and immediately took leave standing, without further ceremony.

The 8th, the Shach sent the ambassador another present, consisting of an elephant, two lions, two leopards, six monkies of different kinds, three parrots, two white and one green, three fine horses, and an Indian bird called *Myana*; it is in colour, shape, and size like a blackbird, and whistled a very fine note.

August the 3d, we began to prepare for our journey homeward, which took up much time. The 18th we removed from our lodgings in the city to a house belonging to the Shach in the northern suburbs, called *Tauchtzy*.

The 26th, I took leave of my friend Mr. Coppin, who set out this day on his journey to England, by way of Aleppo. The English factory at Ispahan are very well situated in the middle of the city, have a spacious garden adjoining, and are separated from the rest of the town by a wall. Most of the great houses in the city are surrounded in the same manner, which renders it very extensive.

Ispahan is situated nearly in 32 degrees north latitude, on a fruitful plain, in the province of Hierack, anciently the kingdom of the Parthians. About three or four English miles distant from the city, to the south, runs an high ridge of mountains from east to west. Shach Abbass the Great transferred the seat of the Persian government from Casbin to this place.

Ispahan is plentifully supplied with water from the river Schenderoo, which runs between the city and the suburbs, keeping its course to the north. It rises near the city, and is fordable almost every where unless during great rains, which seldom happen. After passing this place its course is but short, for it soon loses itself in dry parched plains. Over the Schenderoo there are three stately stone-bridges in sight of one another; but the one in the middle, betwixt the city and that part of the suburbs called *Julpha*, which terminates the spacious street *Tzar-bach*, far exceeds any structure of that kind I ever saw. It is broad enough for two carriages and a horseman to pass
a-bread,

abreast, and has galleries on each side, which are covered for the convenience of people on foot; and watchmen are stationed at each end to prevent disorders. There are few houses in the town which have not their chaufes, i. e. cisterns of water conveyed in pipes from the river: a most salutary and refreshing circumstance, in such a dry and sultry climate.

The city is populous, and, as I already observed, very extensive. As most of the inhabitants have their houses apart, surrounded with gardens, planted with fruit and other trees, at a distance it appears like a city in a forest, and affords a very agreeable prospect.

The streets are generally very narrow and irregular, excepting that leading to the great bridge already mentioned. This noble street is very broad and straight, and near an English mile in length. On each side are the King's palaces, courts of justice, and the academies for the education of youth, with two rows of tall chinar-trees, which afford a fine shade. These trees have a smooth whitish bark, and a broad leaf, like the plane-tree. At certain distances there are fountains of water that play continually, round which are spread carpets; and thither the Persians resort to drink coffee, smoke tobacco, and hear news: which I must confess is very agreeable in hot weather.

About half a mile below the city is a fine plain upon the banks of the river, where the Persians every evening exercise their horses in riding, and accustom them to the discharge of fire-arms. They also shoot at butts with bows and arrows, and throw blunted darts at one another: at which they appear very dextrous.

The city is almost quite defenceless, having only a slight wall round it, built of mud dried by the sun, which is broken down in many places: so that if the army is defeated in the field, Ispahan cannot defend itself one day; for even all the artillery I saw consisted of about twenty brass cannon, which stood in the grand court before the palace-gate, and were more for parade than real use.

The houses here, as in other places of Persia, are generally built with bricks hardened by the sun. The roofs are flat, and covered with a terrace. They make but a mean appearance from the street, though within they are neat and clean, and very convenient for the Persian manner of life. The Shach's palaces, the public edifices, and the houses of all persons of distinction, are built with stone.

As the streets are not paved, when it is windy, the city is sometimes involved in such a cloud of dust that the sun is scarcely visible. This obliges the inhabitants to water the streets at least every evening. These gusts of wind are very disagreeable, but they happen seldom, and are of short duration.

At Ispahan are many manufactories of silk and cotton, and a great many silk-worms in the neighbourhood. As the consumption of silk is very considerable at this place, little of it is exported. The making carpets, however, employs the greatest number of hands, for which the demand is great; as they are preferable in quality, design, and colour to any made elsewhere.

The fields about the city are very fertile and produce plentiful crops of excellent wheat and barley; but then they must all be watered on account of the dryness of the soil, which is a work of labour and expence. Besides these I saw no other grain.

The Persians tread out their corn with oxen or asses. For this purpose they make a circle about twenty or thirty feet in diameter, on the circumference whereof the sheaves are laid. There is a light sledge or hurdle drawn by the cattle, in which the driver sits, and directs them round and round as often as is necessary; and new sheaves are always added when the former ones are trodden sufficiently. This operation also softens the straw, and renders it very good provender. There is no hay in Persia; and

the best horses are kept in a condition for any service by this food, and a small quantity of dried barley, twice a-day.

They have flocks of large sheep, whereof the mutton is very good, but the wool coarse. In the province of Karamenia, indeed, they have exceeding fine wool, some of which I have seen little inferior to silk. Their horned cattle are buffalos, which afford them milk, and are used in ploughing the ground, and drawing carriages. They have also the common kind of cattle of different sizes. The better sort of people eat chiefly mutton and fowls, but very little beef.

Besides the cattle I have mentioned there is another kind, having a high rising upon the shoulder, with clean limbs, which are very handsome.

As I have formerly observed that the Persians make use of ice to cool their water in summer, it may be asked, where are got such quantities, in so hot a climate, as are daily sold in the streets for that purpose? I was informed, that there were people who made it their business to watch the frosty nights in the winter season; on which occasions they went to the mountains near the city, and threw water on certain places, which being frozen, they continued to repeat the operation till the ice was of convenient thickness; then they cut it in pieces and carry it into caves hewn in the rocks, where it is preserved during the summer. What they cannot carry off before the sun rises is covered to defend it from his heat.

While I remained at Ispahan I visited the Shach's aviary. It contains a great variety of all kinds of birds, many of which had come from India and other foreign parts. Among the rest were a couple of turkeys, which it seems are rare birds in Persia. The place is very neat and elegant. The aviary is about fifteen feet high, and covered with a net-work of brass-wire to prevent the birds flying away.

Provisions of all kinds are very dear at Ispahan, which is sufficiently apparent from the number of poor that go about the streets. Nothing, however, is so extravagantly high as fire-wood.

The Roman Catholics have three convents in the city, viz. those of the Carmelites, Capuchins, and Augustins. The Jesuits and Dominicans have their separate convents in the suburbs of Julpha, which is inhabited by Armenians, who are allowed the free exercise of their religion.

There is a considerable number of Jews in the city, who are either merchants or mechanics.

In the neighbourhood of the city is a tribe of people, called by the Persians Giaur, who worship fire, being the posterity of the ancient inhabitants of this country, who paid divine honours to that element. They are a poor indolent race, and live in nasty huts, or in tents. They speak a different language from the Persians, have black hair, and are of a swarthy complexion. They have some sheep and cattle, but many of them go about the streets begging.

About three or four miles to the southward of the city are to be seen the ruins of a tower on the top of a mountain, where it is said Darius sat when Alexander the Great fought the second battle with the Persians. I was also told that, about two days journey from Ispahan, are distinguishable the remains of the tomb of Queen Esther, a lady celebrated in holy writ for many virtues. These, and many other places, I intended to have examined on the spot, but was unluckily prevented for want of time.

While we lay at Tauchtyz waiting for horses and camels, two of our servants were stung with scorpions, but were soon cured, by timely application of the oil of scorpions, prepared after the Persian manner, without any other remedy. The jackals made a dismal howling under our windows every night.

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I have now finished my observations on whatever seemed most remarkable in and about the city of Ispahan. I shall only add, that, among the many lofty and pompous titles which this mighty monarch assumes, there are some very extraordinary; of which I shall mention one: "That the greatest Kings of the earth may think it an honour to drink out of his horse's footsteps." Several more instances might be given in the oriental style fully as extravagant.

The Shach's Palaces.

1. Tzel Sootun, or that of forty pillars.
2. Tevelâ Telear, near the stables.
3. Hafta-Behafi, chambers of paradise.
4. Othiat Tallard, near the Haram.
5. Guldesta, house of eunuchs.
6. Tauchtzy, at the north entry.
7. Farrabbatt, south-east from the city.

Persia is at present divided into sixteen provinces, many of them of great extent. I shall mention their present names, together with those they seem to have borne among the ancients, distinguishing the latter by Italics.

1. Turkomania, — *Great Armenia.*
2. Diarbeck, — *Mesopotamia.*
3. Kurdistan, — *Part of Assyria.*
4. Hierack Arabee, — *Chaldea, or Babylon.*
5. Hierack Aggemy, — *Region of the Parthians.*
6. Shirvan, — *Towards the north-west coast of the Caspian Sea.*
7. Guilan and Mefanderan, — *Hyrkania.*
8. Astrabatt, — *Margiana.*
9. Usbeck, — *Bactria.*
10. Korassan, — *Aria.*
11. Sablestan, — *Parapomisia.*
12. Sigistan, — *Drangiana.*
13. Arachosia.
14. Machran.
15. Karamenia, — *Reaching to the Gulf of Ormus.*
16. Pharsistan, — *Old Persia, whereof Persepolis was the capital city.*

I have added the ancient names according to the best information I could procure; for, under the various revolutions of this country, the records have been almost wholly either lost or destroyed: so that the Persians themselves know very little of the ancient history of their country.

CHAP. VII. — *From Ispahan to Shamachy; Occurrences during our Stay there.*

SEPTEMBER 1st, having procured horses and camels and every thing necessary, and having also got a conductor from the Shach, we this day left Ispahan in order to return to Russia. We travelled short stages along the same road by which we came to Ispahan. Little material happened for a considerable time, and I shall not repeat what I formerly observed; I shall only take notice, that many of the places through which we passed were much infested by strong gangs of highwaymen. We were therefore obliged:

obliged to travel very cautiously, and to keep our people together near the baggage, but particularly to procure a safe caravansery for our lodgings. The weather continuing very hot was the reason of our making easy marches; and these chiefly in the mornings and evenings, and sometimes in the night, when it could be done with safety.

We travelled in this manner till the 26th of September, when we arrived at a village called Arrazant, where we lodged. Next day, instead of pursuing the same route by Tauris, we turned to the right, and took the road leading to Casbin and Guilan.

The 27th, we proceeded five agatz, to Membereck; and the 28th four, to the city of Casbin. This place is situated in a spacious plain, having a ridge of high mountains to the north. I mentioned formerly that Casbin was once the seat of government, and the residence of the Persian monarchs. There are still to be seen the ruins of many stately mosques, palaces, and other public edifices. The city appears to have been in former times very large and flourishing, but is now much contracted and decayed.

The plague raged here all the preceding summer, which had almost depopulated the place; and, although the fury of that contagious distemper was much abated, people continued to die daily, which made us resolve to remain no longer than was absolutely necessary, in order to prepare things for our journey to Guilan. This could not be soon accomplished at a time of such public calamity.

In the mean time many of our people were seized with pestilential fevers, who all recovered but one. He died suddenly, with the usual symptoms of the plague. I and several of our people were likewise taken with fevers, occasioned by our being lodged in houses where the Persians had lately died. These circumstances made the ambassador resolve to leave the place at all events. During the time therefore which we were obliged to wait for horses and camels, we removed out of town about a mile, to a garden belonging to the Shach, provided for us by the commandant of the city and province. Here we set up our tents, and in this situation, by the help of free air and good water, our people recovered surprisngly, so that in a short time most of them were able to ride; another gentleman only and myself were carried in litters between two mules.

The 12th of October, we set out again, pursuing our journey northward. After travelling about two leagues through a plain we ascended a high and steep mountain, and, proceeding onward about a league, came to a small village, where we lodged. All the inhabitants had forsaken their houses. Whatever else was wanting, we had here the comfort of pure air, which had such an effect on me that next day I was able to mount on horseback, though, at setting out, I was scarcely in condition to bear the easy motion of the litter.

We continued our journey ascending and descending many steep rocks and mountains for four days, when we arrived at Menzyly, a little town situated in a charming valley, where grow abundance of citrons, oranges, olives, beside grapes and other fruits. These I own were tempting objects, but sad experience taught many of us to value them no more than sloes or bramble berries. Menzyly is governed by a kalentar, or judge; it is a pretty romantic place, encompassed by high mountains on all sides, which decline to the north, and are covered with grass. This is a rare sight in Persia, and is caused by the great autumnal rains; for along the south coast of the Caspian Sea it rains at this season almost without intermission, for the space of six weeks or two months. In this and the neighbouring villages are bred a great number of silk-worms, which produce the best and greatest quantities of raw silk made in the province of Guilan; from whence it is exported by the Armenian merchants partly through Russia to Holland, and partly by land to Aleppo, for the Levant trade.

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Having staid two days at Menzyly, we set out again in heavy rains, through deep roads, which greatly incommoded our camels: for they often slipped, and sometimes fell down under their burthens; however in five days we reached Reshd, the capital of the province of Guilan.

Reshd stands in a plain surrounded with great woods on every side, about a day's journey from the nearest shore of the Caspian Sea, where is a very good harbour for ships of small burthen.

The houses are thinly scattered, resembling rather a large village than a town. As the ground at this place is very flat, the inhabitants are obliged to choose the driest places to build on. In the market-place I saw about eight pieces of cannon, mounted on sorry carriages; among which was a neat brass field-piece, with the name of that noted prince the Duke of Holstein Gottorp upon it: it seems to have been left here accidentally by the ambassadors of that Duke to the then Shach of Persia.

The houses are mean in comparison with those in other parts of Persia; the roofs are raised and tiled to carry off the great falls of rain.

The marshes and pools with which Reshd is surrounded renders it very unhealthy, especially in the heat of summer, when it is often visited with the pestilence; and, although it is a place of the greatest plenty, the inhabitants look as half starved. I was told they were obliged to confine themselves to a scanty diet; that, if they allowed themselves the least indulgence, even so far as to eat their rice with butter, they were liable to agues, the reigning distemper in this climate. Many of our people were actually seized with these agues, though none of them proved mortal. Here, as at the capitals of the other provinces, we were obliged to remain a considerable time, much longer than we inclined; for every province bears the expence of ambassadors from the time they arrive at its capital till they reach the capital of the next province, where fresh supplies of money and cattle are to be procured. The obtaining these things, and the rainy weather, detained us in this disagreeable place. The pools are full of frogs that chatter like magpies, and make such a loud croaking besides their chattering, that a person cannot sleep till he is accustomed to that noise.

The country above Reshd is very fruitful, particularly in rice, which grows plentifully on the marshy grounds, and is sufficient to supply most of the other provinces of Persia; there is also plenty of fruit natural to the climate. The Armenians who inhabit Reshd make good wine, both red and white; and even in the woods you may see the vines loaden with clusters of grapes twisting about the trees, which are left to the birds, as they are not worth gathering amid such plenty.

Great flocks of fieldfares, thrushes, blackbirds, with vast quantities of storks, cranes, swans, wild-geese, and all other kinds of water-fowl, come hither from the north during the winter, and return to the northern regions in the spring.

The staple of Guilan is raw silk, of which they make great quantities, both for their own consumption and for exportation.

While we remained at Reshd two ambassadors arrived from the Aijuka Chan, Prince of the Kolmuck-Tartars, in their way to Ispahan.

November 9th, we left Reshd, and travelled through thick woods to the shore, along which we kept to the left, in all about five agatz, and then lodged in a small empty village.

The 13th, we proceeded six agatz to a small town called Keshker. This day the road lay through pleasant woods. At some distance from sea we met with some groves of orange-trees, where we found blossoms, ripe and green fruit on the same tree. The great rains detained us some days at Keshker; during which a new Maymander arrived.

rived from Ispahan, who arrested the former one for some fault he had committed on the road.

The 20th, we travelled from Keshker to the shore three agatz, and halted a little, then along the shore four agatz farther, and at midnight reached an empty village; a disagreeable circumstance, after marching in constant rain the whole day, which had rendered the rivers almost impassable to camels.

From the 21st to the 27th, we advanced along the shore. The roads were very good. At last we came to a town called Astara, where we halted for refreshment. There is nothing remarkable about this place, except its pleasant situation.

December 1st, we reached Siarakent, a large village. And next day Langgara, situated on the shore at the mouth of a river, an agatz distant from the former. And the 3d to Kyzillagatch, five agatz from Langgara. This day we passed along several large bridges, over very deep rivers. In great rains and strong northerly winds, these rivers swell above their banks, and, spreading to a great extent round the bridges, render them impassable.

The 5th, we travelled five agatz to Tzarnachava. I was surpris'd at the great flocks of water-fowl near this place: so numerous were they that one of our people killed eight geese at one discharge.

The 7th, we entered the plains of Mugan. I described what seemed most remarkable in this desert when going southward, and shall not recapitulate any thing I formerly observed. The road was very good. We lodged at the river Bulgara, six agatz from Tzarnachava, the water of the river is muddy and brackish. Next day we advanced seven agatz, and lodged again in tents; for there are no houses in this plain, and only pit water, very brackish.

On the 9th, we travelled seven agatz to some small huts beyond the river Kure, which we passed on a bridge of boats. We passed this river about a day's journey above this place, in going to Ispahan, when I made my remarks upon it. Seven agatz from these huts stands a place called Karakurody, the last stage in the desert, where we lodged on the 11th.

The 12th, we arrived at Shamachy, five agatz from the last stage. Since the time we left this place it had suffered grievously by the plague, which raged here all the preceding summer. It was now much abated, though not quite extinguished. This was a disagreeable circumstance; many of our people were sickly, and two of them died of the distemper: for the empty houses where the Persians had died, notwithstanding every precaution, particularly smoaking the walls, still proved infectious.

I was informed, that about seventy thousand persons had been carried off by the pestilence within the last eight months, in Shamachy and the province of Shirvan.

The 15th, my old acquaintance Monf. Yelisky, the Dantzicker, whom I formerly mentioned, came to visit me. He was so altered by sickness that I scarcely knew him. He told me what dismal havoc the plague had made, particularly in his own family. I asked, why he did not retire to the country for better air? His answer was, whither could he fly from God Almighty! This I find to be the general opinion of the Mahometans, both Persians and Turks. The same day I had a visit from Father Backond, the only missionary at present in these parts, his companion Father Ricard being dead of the plague.

The season being now far advanced, it became proper to pitch on some place for winter-quarters. The terrible pestilence which had prevailed so long, and with such destruction, greatly deterred us from choosing this place. The superior convenience, however, of it, the present abatement of the plague, and chiefly because a province is not obliged

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to support the expences of an ambaffador till he arrives at the capital, and feveral other reafons, determined us to winter at Shamachy.

January 15th, 1718, the Chan came to town from the country, where he had been all the laft fummer.

The 21ft, the ambaffador paid the Chan a vifit, which was returned the 25th.

Nothing material happened during the winter; only we often heard of the bad fuccefs of the Shach's forces, which were fent to Chandahar againft the rebel Mery Mahmut, and of many incurfions into the Perfian provinces, made by the mountaineers who inhabit between the Black and Cafpian Seas.

March 10th, one of our gentlemen, Monf. Lepuchin, was fent away by land to Afrachan, with an elephant and all the horfes. He was efcorted by thirty Ruffian foldiers, and fome Afrachan Tartars. In his march, between Derbent and Terky, he was attacked by fome hundreds of the mountaineers, called Shaffkalls, who killed one man and two horfes, and wounded feveral men and the elephant. Meeting, however, with a warm reception, they thought proper to retire, but carried off three of the horfes. The gentleman arrived fafe without any further misfortune at Afrachan.

April 14th, fhips, commanded by Captain Rentle, arrived at Niezabatt, in order to tranfport the ambaffador to Afrachan. He could not, however, proceed immediately to embark, for we were obliged to wait for an answer to an exprefs, which the Chan had difpatched to Ispahan on affairs of importance, which did not return till the end of May. All of us impatiently defired to leave Shamachy before the great heat came on. In the mean time we diverted ourfelves with hunting. I went often to fee the filkworms feeding on mulberry-leaves. The inhabitants were apprehenfive that the plague would break out again in the fummer; and we had already buried twenty-two of our people fince our arrival on the frontiers of Perfia.

On the night of the 8th of May, there were fuch flafhes of lightning as had not happened in the memory of man; though the night was dark, I could plainly fee the cattle in the adjacent fields by means of the corufcations; the lightning was accompanied with dreadful claps of thunder, which lafted above two hours.

CHAP. VIII.—*From Shamachy to St. Peterfburg.*

JUNE 16th, we left Shamachy, and in four days arrived fafe at Niezabatt, where we found fhips waiting to receive us.

On the 21ft, we began to load the voffels with all poffible difpatch, which was foon accomplifhed by the affiftance of fome Ruff foldiers who had wintered at this place. Since I have mentioned thefe foldiers, I fhall briefly relate how they happened to be on this coaft.

The people of Chiva, a territory eaftward from the Cafpian Sea, having feveral times robbed and plundered fome caravans of Ruffian merchants going to Bucharia, His Czarifh Majefty determined to fend a fmall body of regular troops, and fome Cofacks, to demand fatisfaction for fuch outrages committed in time of peace. For this purpofe, Mr. Beckvitz, a captain of the guards, who was appointed to command in this expedition, repaired to Afrachan, in fummer 1716, in order to make all the neceffary preparations againft next fpring. Having accordingly embarked his men, provifions, and ammunition at the proper feafon, he fteered his courfe along the Cafpian Sea, and landed at a place called Krafna-vooda, i. e. Red Water, as near to Chiva as he conveni-

ently could. This place was barren and uninhabited. Having therefore moored his transports, he erected a small fort to secure his retreat, in case of accidents.

In the mean time, he sent a friendly message to the Chan of Chiva, to notify his arrival, and to desire that he would furnish him with provisions and quarters for his men; for which he offered to pay ready money. The crafty Tartar returned for answer, that he might come to Chiva with the greatest safety, where all his demands should be granted. At the same time sent him a present of fruits and fresh provisions, and guides to conduct him on the road, accompanied with the highest expressions of respect to His Czarish Majesty. Mr. Beckvitz, having left about three hundred men in the fort, to guard the camp and provisions, proceeded with the rest, and a few field-pieces, towards Chiva.

In three or four days, he arrived in the neighbourhood of the town, where he was met by several of the chiefs, who came with compliments from the Chan, and to settle matters relative to the cantonment of the soldiers. This particular was difficult to adjust.

Mr. Beckvitz insisted that all his men should be quartered in the town, and nothing but infatuation could have influenced him to alter so prudent a resolution. But the Tartars started many objections against putting it in execution, and pretended that the Chan and themselves were willing to agree to it, but the people were averse, and jealous of having so many armed men lodged within their walls; and therefore they proposed, as a means of quieting the minds of the people, that he should separate his men, in order to be quartered more conveniently in the adjacent villages, and that himself should have lodgings in the town, with a sufficient guard to attend him. This motion was strongly opposed by all the old officers, who looked on it as a stratagem laid for their destruction. And such in reality it proved in the end.

Mr. Beckvitz, deluded by false promises, at last consented to canton his men. No sooner were they divided into small parties than they were inclosed, and attacked by great numbers of Tartars, and most of them either killed or taken prisoners, who were afterwards sold for slaves. A few of them, taking the alarm, stood to their arms, and made a brave defence, for some time endeavouring chiefly to regain their camp and ships; but having a barren desert to pass, and the Tartar horse harassing them day and night, they were at last obliged to submit to fatal necessity. The imprudence of the general was the sole cause of all these misfortunes; for, being in no want of provisions or ammunition, had he only kept his men together, the whole combined power of these Tartars could not have prevented his regaining the camp and shipping.

The camp was next attacked by the Tartars, but they were repulsed by the garrison, which having now intelligence of what had passed at Chiva, demolished the fort, re-embarked the men and stores, and set sail for Astrachan. The season was now too far advanced to gain that port; this circumstance, together with hard gales of contrary winds, obliged them to put into Niezabatt, in order to pass the winter. Here they were hospitably received by the Persians; and the presence of the ambassador at Shamachy contributed greatly to the relief of these poor unfortunate people.

Unhappy Beckvitz himself happened to be taken prisoner. He was sent for to the Chan's tent, on some pretence of business, where they first struck off his head, then, after venting their barbarous rage on his dead body, they slayed it, and having stuffed the skin with straw, placed it, a miserable spectacle, on one of the city gates.

This unfortunate gentleman was the son of a petty prince, or chief of a tribe, in Tzerkessia, and had been sent to Russia in his infancy, as a hostage for his father's fidelity.

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Being now on the point of departing from Persia, called by the Persians Iran, and also Pharsistan, I shall close what I have to offer regarding that country, by giving a list of the principal officers of state who attend that mighty monarch at the megilifs, i. e. public audience of ambassadors; they sit in the hall of audience according to their respective ranks, and have all of them, on those occasions, magnificent capes and robes of state, kept in the King's wardrobe for that purpose.

1. The Etmadowlett, prime minister.
2. Spaffelaar, general in chief.
3. Kurtfy Basha, general of 12,000 men.
4. Kular-agassy, director of the prisons.
5. Tfengy Basha, general of musketeers.
6. Ishek-agassy Basha, master of ceremonies.
7. Divan Begg, chief justice.
8. Toptshy Basha, master of the ordnance.
9. Vaggian Aviz, secretary of state.
10. Merish-kaz Basha, grand falconer.
11. Dgevedar Basha, general of the artillery.
12. Milachurd Basha Giloff, master of horse.
13. Milachurd Yafy Basha, master of the field-horses.
14. Kolopha.
15. Mamalek, comptroller of the household.
16. Kchassa, cabinet secretary.
17. Nazyr Daftar, steward of the household.
18. Vifir Ispahan, chief magistrate of Ispahan.
19. Vifir Kurtfy, general of horse.
20. Vifir Kule.
21. Chafnadar Basha, chief treasurer.
22. Kaliphar Kashkar, chief judge in civil affairs.
23. Doroga Taftar, judge of the city.
24. Sachapt Tauchtzy.
25. Sachapt Narvis, chief astrologer.
26. Hakim Basha, chief physician.

The following officers attend the Shach wherever he goes :

1. The Ibrahim Aga, chief of the eunuchs.
2. Yeush Basha, chief of the white eunuchs.
3. Achmet Aga, chief of the black eunuchs.
4. Klitch Kurtshy, sword-bearer.
5. Tzatzyn Basha, quiver-bearer.
6. Saddach Kurtshy, bow-bearer.
7. Tfang Kurtshy, musket-bearer.
8. Dgid Kurtshy, dart-bearer.
9. Kalchan Kurtshy, target-bearer.

The following are the chief doctors of the law of Mahomet :

1. Sadyr Chassa, the same office in Persia as that of the Mufti in Turkey.
2. Sadyr Mammalek.
3. Fazyl.
4. Shach Islam.
5. Chazy.
6. Mullah Basfa.
7. Mudarafs.
8. Pishnamash.
9. Mutafhet Basfa.
10. Woasham Basfa.

These are the principal ; besides whom there are many other officers too numerous to recite. With the foregoing list I close what I have to say regarding Persia.

The 26th, we set sail from Niezabatt with a fair wind at south-east, which lasted only a few hours ; after which we were becalmed for three days.

July 2d, the wind became again fair, and carried us with a gentle breeze out of the deep water into soundings ; but turning contrary, we came to anchor in thirty fathom water, where we lay till the 10th, when it blew a very hard gale, which drove us from our anchors out to sea ; and, continuing for two days, brought us again in sight of the Persian shore, which was at this time no very agreeable object.

The 13th, the wind chopped about favourable, and so continued, with little variation, till the 18th, when we arrived safe at Astrachan, to the great joy of all our company.

September 7th, leaving Astrachan, we sailed up the Volga. Our progress, contrary to the course of the river, was very slow and tedious. In calms the boats were drawn up by men, who went upon the banks ; but in hard gales, we were obliged to haul them near the side, and lie still.

October 12th, after a voyage of five weeks we arrived at the town of Saratoff, about eight hundred verst distant from Astrachan. The winter drawing on prevented our farther progress by water. We therefore unloaded, and discharged the boats, being resolved to remain here till the snow fell, when we might proceed by land in sledges.

November 1st, there had now been a little fall of snow, sufficient to smooth the roads, and this day we set out from Saratoff in sledges.

The 3d, we came to a little town called Petrosky, about ninety verst from Saratoff.

The 8th, we came to a large town called Penze, ninety verst from the former. As we advanced to the north the frost and snow daily increased, which made the roads very smooth and easy. Before we left this place, a sudden rain obliged us to halt a few days. Here we met with Brigadier Kropotoff, who, with some regiments of dragoons had winter quarters at this place.

The 14th, the frost and snow returning, we set out from Penze.

The 15th, we reached Saraniky, eighty verst from the former. Here we found many Swedish officers taken at Poltava, who were well quartered in a plentiful country.

The 17th, we left Saraniky, and the 21st, arrived at Arzamafs, an hundred verst from Saraniky.

The 24th, we came to Murum, three hundred and sixty verst from Saratoff, which I mentioned in going southward by water. From Saratoff to Petrosky the country is somewhat

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somewhat dry and barren, but the rest of the country through which we passed is very fruitful, producing all kinds of corn, fine woods, particularly of oaks, interspersed with many villages; and the face of the country, constantly varied by plain and gently rising grounds, affords a most beautiful prospect. From Murum we came to the town of Wolodimir, an hundred and thirty verst from Murum. This place is large and well peopled, and famous for being formerly the residence of a great prince of the same name.

The 30th, we arrived safe at the city of Mosco, an hundred and forty verst from the former, and seven hundred and seventy from Saratoff.

December 19th, we proceeded towards St. Petersburg, where we arrived on the 30th. Nothing material happened during our return through Russia; and what was most remarkable in the country I described in going southward. I cannot help taking notice of an extraordinary case of one of our people, in an excessive cold night. The fellow, expecting to banish all feeling of cold from himself, drank a large quantity of spirits, which produced a drowsiness, that ended in sleep in an open sledge. On arriving at a village, the person was found stiff, speechless, and apparently quite dead; but being carried to a brook hard by and plunged several times in the water, and then rubbed with snow, and brought into a warm room, with proper regimen he soon recovered, and was able to proceed next day.

I have often observed, in other instances, that the use of spiritous liquors in cold weather is the worst of remedies; for, though they warm at first, they leave a chillness behind them, not to be got clear of for a considerable time. I have found by experience nothing preferable to weak warm liquors, mixed with a little spirits. The Russian travellers carefully avoid the excessive use of brandy in strong frosts.

Thus I have finished my account of a long, tedious, and dangerous journey, which lasted for three years, attended with many difficulties, not easily conceived by those who have not travelled the same road. At our return to St. Petersburg we found His Majesty at that place, who, I was informed, was well satisfied with the conduct of his ambassador, whose principal errand was to cultivate and cement amity, and a good correspondence between the two crowns of Russia and Persia.

Notwithstanding the war with Sweden had continued near twenty years, this active monarch had not neglected, nor even suspended the building and adorning his new capital. During my absence the appearance of things was so changed, that I could scarce imagine myself in the same place; so surprising was the alteration in so short a time. Besides, this prince had fitted out a navy of thirty ship of war, and three hundred gallees: enterprises which might have been the work of ages, but not superior to the single industry and activity of Peter the First.

A JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG IN RUSSIA, TO PEKIN IN CHINA, WITH AN EMBASSY FROM HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, PETER THE FIRST, TO KAMHI EMPEROR OF CHINA, IN THE YEAR 1719.

Names of the principal Persons who composed the Train of the Ambassador, Loeff Vassilovich Ismayloff.

Secretary of the Embassy,
Laurence de Lange.
The Ambassador's Secretary,
Ivan Glazunoff.
Gentlemen of the Embassy,
Kneaz Alexander Safeckin,
Nicolaus de Pauli Krefnitz,
Lukian Nesteroff,
Alexie Divioff,
David Grave,
The Author of this Journal.
Gregory, a Priest.

Interpreters, clerks, a band of music, valets, footmen, &c. in all to the number of about sixty persons; besides a troop of twenty-five dragoons, for our escort, from Tobolsky to Pekin, and back.

CHAP. I.—*From St. Petersburg to Tobolsky, the Capital of Siberia.*

WHEN I arrived at St. Petersburg from Ispahan, I met with a very sensible mortification, on finding that my very worthy friend, Dr. Areskine, was no more; he died about six weeks before my arrival. Not long after which, upon being informed that an embassy was preparing for China, and that His Majesty had nominated Loeff Vassilovich Ismayloff, a gentleman of a family very well known and much respected in Russia, and a captain of the guards, for that employment, I became very desirous of making that journey in his train.

Upon my acquainting my very good friend, Artemy Petrovich Valensky, with my desire, he, without loss of time, recommended me to Loeff Vassilovich Ismayloff, the appointed ambassador, in such a manner as produced, on all occasions, marks of friendship and regard for me, as well during the journey, as also after our return, until he died in 1736.

The time between my return from Ispahan and my setting out for Pekin, I spent with much satisfaction with my friends and acquaintance at St. Petersburg. Among whom I esteemed as such, not only several worthy persons of my own countrymen, as well in trade, as in the service of His Majesty; but also not a few of the Russian gentry, to whom I became known on occasion of my journey to Persia, and of whom I found many to be persons of much worth and honour.

At length the presents for the Emperor of China being got ready, as well as the ambassador's dispatches, I set out from St. Petersburg the 14th of July, 1719, in company with Messieurs Lange and Grave, attended by a few servants; the first was a native of Sweden,

Sweden, and the other of Courland. We travelled to the city of Mosco in small parties, the more easily to procure post-horses. The weather being very hot obliged us to make short stages, confining us mostly to the mornings and evenings. Having in my Persian journal described what is most remarkable on this road, I have nothing to add to what I have there observed.

Nothing material happened during our journey to Mosco, where we arrived on the 30th of July, and joined the ambassador, who had arrived there two days before, having passed us on the road. We took up our lodgings at the house of Mr. Belayof, near the triumphal arch. Here we spent five weeks in preparing barks to go by water to Kazan, and necessaries for so long and unfrequented a road. This interval we passed very agreeably, being invited to all the entertainments the place afforded.

September 9th, having shipped our baggage, and prepared every thing for our departure, we went ourselves on board; and, after firing nine guns, rowed down the river Mosco. There is a shorter way from Mosco to Siberia through Yaroslave; but as we were incumbered with heavy baggage, consisting chiefly of presents from His Majesty to the Emperor of China, it was thought best to proceed as far as possible by water.

Accordingly, we continued our course down the Mosco river to Kolumna, then into the river Ocka; and, passing Pereslave-Refansky, Murum, and other towns of less note, we arrived at Nishna-Novogorod, situated to the right hand, on a high bank of the Ocka, at its confluence with the Volga. Leaving Nishna, we entered the river Volga, and proceeded towards Kazan.

After a voyage of six weeks, we arrived at Kazan on the 20th of October. We intended to have continued our route farther down the Volga to the river Kama, which falls into the Volga about sixty versts below Kazan, and then up the Kama to Solikamsky; but the advancement of the season, and the frost coming on apace, made us resolve to remain at Kazan till the winter set in, lest we should run the hazard of being frozen up near some uninhabited place on the Kama.

In consequence of this resolution, the barks were discharged, and we took up our lodgings in the city. Here I found many of my old friends and acquaintance, particularly the Swedish officers; among others General Hamilton, General Rosen, and Baron Wachmaier, who still remained prisoners of war, regretting the hard fate of their long captivity. We staid here about five weeks, waiting for the snow falling to smooth the roads; and in the mean time were employed in preparing sledges, and other necessaries for our journey. Having formerly made my remarks on this route, and particularly on Kazan and its neighbourhood, I shall now pursue our journey towards Siberia.

November 24th, we sent off the heavy baggage; but Monsieur Ismayloff, with a few of the gentlemen, remained some days longer, because it was disagreeable travelling on rough roads with loaded sledges. At last, on the 28th, late in the night, the ambassador quitted Kazan, keeping to the north-eastward. There being many villages on the road, we changed horses as often as occasion required.

The 29th, we travelled through woods, consisting chiefly of tall oaks, fir, and birch. This part of the country is very fruitful, producing plenty of cattle, corn, and honey. The hives are not made like those in England; the inhabitants take the trunk of a lime tree, aspen, or any soft wood, of about five or six feet long; having scooped it hollow, they make a large aperture in one side, about a foot in length, and four inches broad; they then fix cross rods within the trunk for the bees to build upon, and having done this, close up the place carefully with a board, leaving small notches for the

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bees to go in and out. These hives are planted in proper places, at the side of a wood, and tied to a tree with strong wythes, to prevent their being destroyed by the bears, who are great devourers of honey. The wax and honey exported yearly from Cazan, make a very considerable article of trade. I have seen above an hundred hives near one village; and was informed that they have a method of extracting the honey and wax without killing the bees, which would certainly be worth knowing; but I was told it so indistinctly that I could not understand it, and had no opportunity of seeing it practised.

The villages through which we passed were mostly inhabited by the Tzermish and Tzoowash Tartars, whom I have formerly mentioned. The three following days the roads were rough and narrow, lying through dark woods, interspersed with some villages and corn-fields. We passed the Ick and several smaller rivers, and then the Viatka, a pretty large one; all which discharge themselves into the Kama.

After a tedious journey of six days, we came to a small town called Klinof, or more commonly Viatka from the river of that name running near it. The situation of this place is very pleasant, having round it corn-fields and fine pasture; and the rivers in the neighbourhood abounding with a great variety of fish.

The country about Klinof is reckoned so proper pasturage for sheep, that His Majesty ordered some thousands of German sheep, most esteemed for their wool, to be brought and sent thither, with a view to establish a manufactory at this place, for clothing his army. He also caused a German shepherd to be engaged in his service, who is settled here, and enjoys a considerable salary. The flocks are already so numerous, that I am persuaded they will in time answer the end proposed. A thousand other instances might be produced of the unbounded genius of this great and active prince, who spares no expence, and overlooks nothing that can contribute either to the honour or advantage of his empire. I cannot omit another seemingly inconsiderable article; I mean pump-leather. This commodity was formerly brought from England and Holland, at no small charge; to save which, His Majesty gave orders to engage an English tanner for a certain number of years, whom he sent to Cazan, where the best hides are, to teach the natives the art of dressing them. This scheme has fully answered the end in view, and produced abundance not only of pump-leather, but of every other kind of leather whereof that country hath any need.

There being no verst-posts on this, though on most other roads in Russia, I compute the distance between Cazan and Klinof to be about five hundred verst; each verst measures one thousand one hundred and sixty-six yards and two feet English. Here I met with several Swedish officers, who passed a solitary life in a pleasant and plentiful country. We halted one day to refresh ourselves; and the next, being the 5th of December, we left the baggage to follow leisurely, and set out again towards Solikamsky. On the 7th, we reached Kay-gorod, a small town. We perceived the cold becoming daily more intense as we proceeded northward along the banks of the Kama.

The 8th, we quitted Kay-gorod, in a vehement cold. Though there was little wind, and a thick fog, the frost continued so penetrating, that several of our people, who were most exposed, had their fingers and toes frozen. Most of them recovered by the common method of rubbing the numbed parts with snow; but, had we not halted from time to time at villages to let them warm themselves, they must have perished by cold. On the 9th, we arrived at the town of Solikamsky, derived from Sole salt and Kama the river, on the banks of which it is situated. Our arrival was a most agreeable circumstance, as the piercing frost still prevailed.

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Solikamsky is a large and populous town, and the capital of a province of that name; which is at present annexed to the government of Siberia. Its situation is very pleasant, upon the eastern bank of the Kama. This river is of great fame in these parts of the world. It rises far to the north, and in its course receives the Parma, Pilva, Koyva, and many other rivers, which together form a mighty stream, very nearly equal to the Volga, into which it discharges itself, about sixty verst below the city of Kazan, and loses its name. Its long course to the south-west is now turned short, by the current of the Volga, and carried towards the south-east. The Kama is well stored with variety of excellent fish. On the banks are fine corn-fields and pasture grounds, but often-interrupted by thick woods, especially to the north. These woods are stocked with different kinds of game, and wild beasts natural to the climate.

Solikamsky is famous for having many salt-pits in its neighbourhood, the property of my worthy friend Baron Stroganof, by virtue of a grant from His Majesty. The Baron has brought these works to such perfection, that he is able to serve all Russia with salt, and could besides furnish a considerable quantity for exportation, were there any demand. The salt is of a brownish colour, and very good of the kind.

The common method of procuring this salt is as follows: they dig pits in the earth till they come to the salt rock, which seems to lie in these parts at a certain distance from the surface, as coals do in other places of the world. When the pit is finished, it is naturally, and of course, filled with water; which, standing for a convenient time, till it is sufficiently impregnated with salt, is then drawn out, with pumps and other engines, and put into large iron cauldrons, where it is boiled to a proper consistence; when, the water being evaporated, the salt is left upon the bottom.

I was informed of another curious and extraordinary process, by which they draw salt-water from a fresh-water river, which I cannot omit taking notice of. In the rivers near this place, there is a mixture of salt-water arising from the springs, which either have their source in the salt-rocks, or run through them. It is the business of the inhabitants to discover the places where these springs empty themselves into the rivers, which they do by diving, or some other manner; having done this, they make a large frame of strong thick balks or beams joined very close, about fifteen or twenty feet square, and of depth enough to reach the bottom of the river, while part of it remains above the surface; when the ice is very strong, they sink this machine into the river, over the place where the salt spring issues, and drive strong piles of wood all around, to hinder its being forced from this position by the current, or by floating ice in the end of winter. During the winter, they draw out all the water, mud, and sand, contained within the machine, and sink it still deeper until it hath penetrated the bottom of the channel of the river, and prevented all further communication between it and the salt-spring. The frame is now filled only with the salt-water, issuing from the spring, from whence it is drawn, and the salt extracted, as formerly described.

However tedious and expensive this process may seem, these people perform it with great readiness and ease; and, what is still more extraordinary, without regular instruction in any art subservient to that purpose, but by the mere force of natural genius. The Baron has a great number of hands constantly employed in this service. And the woods for fuel are inexhaustible.

When the salt is made, it is laid up in granaries, till the season of transporting it to Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other places. The barks for this purpose, called by the Russians lodia, are of a construction somewhat uncommon. I have seen some of them longer and broader than any first rate man of war in England, and not one iron nail in the whole fabric. All of them are flat-bottomed, having one tall tree for a mast, and

a sail of light canvas in proportion. To manage this mighty machine, six or eight hundred men are necessary. The rudder is nearly as long as the bark, and so unwieldy, that sometimes it requires forty or fifty men to steer it. They load these ships very deep, and let them float down the Kama into the Volga; where, if the wind is not favourable, they are obliged to draw them, against the stream, to the place of their destination.

I cannot leave Solikamsky without mentioning the rich iron-mines in the country adjacent, at Katherenburg, and other places of that district, which produce iron equal, perhaps, in quality to the best in the world. These works have of late been brought to great perfection, by the skill and indefatigable industry of Mr. Demidof, a native of Russia, enabled and encouraged to carry them on by a beneficial grant from His Majesty, who is always ready to assist and protect those who, by their ingenuity, form projects to the advantage of his country.

These works, I am informed, are still capable of great improvement. The ore is very good, and rises in many places to the very surface of the earth, and may be dug at a small expence. As for wood to smelt it, no place in the world can have greater advantage. Besides, all the machines may be driven by water; and there is an easy communication by the rivers to St. Petersburg, for exportation, and to many other parts of Russia, for inland consumption.

In these mines are often found magnets of various sizes. I have seen some of them very large, and of high virtue.

There are several other iron-works in Russia; for instance, at Tula, Olonitz, and other places; but the metal is of an inferior quality to that of Siberia. Besides these of iron, there also rich mines of excellent copper at this place, which, being lately discovered, are capable of great improvement. The copper-ore also rises to the very surface.

In the neighbourhood of Solikamsky is found the fossil called asbestos; of which is made a kind of cloth like linen, that may be put into the fire, and taken out again unconsumed. This cloth was known among the ancients, and used by them on several occasions. At present, it goes by the name of the incombustible linen.

The asbestos, like many both curious and useful discoveries, was found out by mere accident in these parts. I shall briefly relate in what manner: a certain huntsman being about to load his fowling piece, and wanting wadding, observed a great stone in the woods, which seemed to have some flakes upon it like loose threads; he soon found that, by rubbing, it turned into a soft downy substance fit for his use: he therefore filled his pocket with it; but, having fired his piece, was surpris'd to see that the gunpowder had no effect upon the wadding. This rais'd his curiosity so far, that he kindled a fire on purpose, into which he put the asbestos; but still took it out entire, and of the same use as formerly. This experiment so frightened the poor sportsman, that he imagin'd the devil had taken possession of the fossil. On returning home, he narrated what had happened to the priest of the parish, who, amaz'd at the relation, repeated it so frequently, that at last he told it to a person who was acquainted with that quality peculiar to the asbestos; and, on examination, found the flakes to be that fossil.

The weather is much colder at Solikamsky than at other places situated several degrees nearer to the north pole. Perhaps its great distance from any part of the ocean may be partly the cause of the excessive cold which sometimes prevails.

December 10th, the ambassador took post-horses, and set out for Tobolsky, leaving the baggage to follow as should be most convenient. About midnight we came to a

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village called Martinsky; here having changed horses, we soon reached the mountains named Verchaturfsky-gory, where we found the snow very deep, and a strong frost still continued. We kept on our journey, ascending and descending these high and steep mountains for the space of fifteen hours. In such of the valleys as are fit for culture, are found Russian villages well peopled. And, where the woods are cut down, there appeared a beautiful landscape, even at this bleak season.

These mountains divide Russia from Siberia. They run in a ridge from north to south, inclining a little to the east and west of these points. They are quite covered with wood, consisting of tall firs of different kinds, larixes, birch, and other trees natural to the climate; and abound with game, and various kinds of wild beasts. Their length, from north to south, I cannot ascertain; but compute their breadth, where we passed, to be about forty English miles. But they are not near so high as the mountains I have seen in Persia, and other parts of the world.

Having passed these mountains, we descended, on the 11th, into a country finely varied with plains and rising grounds, interperfed with woods, villages, corn-fields, and pasturage; and, in the evening, reached the town called Verchaturia, from Verch, which signifies high, and Tura, the name of the river on which the town stands. This river is navigable, and runs to the east till it empties itself into the Tobol. Verchaturia is pleasantly situated upon a rising ground, and fortified with a ditch and pallisades. It is governed by a commandant, who has under him a garrison, consisting of some regular troops and Cossacks. What makes Verchaturia considerable, is its being a frontier town, and commanding the only entry from Russia into Siberia. Here is a custom-house, where all merchants are obliged to make entry of what sums of money or merchandise they carry into Siberia, or from Siberia into Russia; on all which is charged a duty of ten per cent. to His Majesty. Though this impost may appear high, it is really very moderate, considering the profits which the trade yields, and it extends only to the money to be employed in traffic; for every merchant is allowed a certain sum for his expences, free of all duty.

The country adjacent to Verchaturia is inhabited by a race of people called Vogullitz, who differ in language, dress, and manners, from any nation I ever saw. Their features and persons have a resemblance of the Tzoowashians near Cazan. They have some obscure notions of the Deity, and are very fond of a kind of wizards called Shamans, whom they hold in great esteem. I shall have occasion to speak more fully of these Shamans afterwards. The Vogullitz know nothing of agriculture, but live in huts in the woods, and subsist by hunting and fishing. They are an honest inoffensive people, but not very numerous; arising, perhaps, from their unfocial and uncomfortable manner of life. The Archbishop of Tobolsky hath of late, by his pious labours, converted many of them to Christianity; who now begin to build houses, and cultivate some appearance of society; and probably, in time, the rest will follow so laudable an example. This, however, will depend much on the encouragement they meet with from the clergy and sub-governors of provinces. I visited them as often as any opportunity offered, both in their huts and houses, and endeavoured to procure some information about their original, or from whence they came to settle in these northern parts, but could obtain nothing satisfactory on either of these heads.

Before we enter Siberia, it will not be perhaps improper to give a short account of the singular manner in which this most extensive country was discovered by the Russians.

About the beginning of the last century, a certain Don Cossack, named Yarmak Timetheovitz, being obliged, by some accident, to leave his native country, and having

no means of subsistence, he, with a few accomplices, betook themselves to robbing on the high-ways. He soon became famous and powerful; for he robbed only the rich; and, by a generosity uncommon in such a character, liberally bestowed to such as were in want. He never killed, nor even hurt any person, unless compelled to such outrages in his own defence. This behaviour so raised his reputation, that all the idle fellows in the country enlisted themselves in his gang, proud to follow so brave and enterprising a leader. He became at last so troublesome, that the governors of the southern provinces sent out troops to apprehend him; but, being previously informed of the design, he withdrew from the land; and procuring boats upon the Volga, commenced pirate on that river. Being attacked here also, he was forced to cross the Caspian Sea, and shelter himself on the Persian shore, where he passed some time under the disguise of a merchant. Being again discovered, he was obliged, by the Persians, to quit their coast: and now his only refuge was to return to the Volga, where he behaved with great circumspection, often lurking in woods and villages; and, being in no want of money, paid the inhabitants liberally for every thing he needed. Foreseeing, however, that such a numerous gang could not be long concealed, he took the resolution of leaving the Volga, and steered his course up the river Kama, at that time little frequented by the Russians, or any other nation; here he hoped to find, at least, a safe retreat during the winter. Yarmak, therefore, with his followers, amounting to the number of two hundred, continued their voyage up the Kama, till they were stopped by the ice, at no great distance from a large village, now belonging to Baron Stroganof. The inhabitants were alarmed at the sight of so many armed men, whom they were not able to oppose, and therefore gave them an hospitable reception. Yarmak demanded only provisions and winter-quarters for his money, promising to leave them unmolested next spring. In consequence of this declaration, he and his followers passed the winter very quietly in this remote place; afraid, however, at the approach of summer, of being discovered by the government, and uncertain what course to steer, it was at last determined to cross the mountains of Verchaturia, and go to the eastward, in hopes of finding some inhabited country, or at least a safe retreat.

Having passed the mountains, they arrived at the river Tur; and, finding it navigable, soon made a sufficient number of canoes for the whole gang. After rowing for some days down the Tur, they discovered several villages of Mahometan Tartars, who were surprised at the sight of such a number of strangers, of whom they had before never so much as heard. Yarmak, having got what intelligence he could procure of the situation and government of the country, pursued his voyage to the river Tobol, where he found the towns populous, and the land well cultivated. His approach alarmed the King of the Tartars, who assembled a numerous body of horse and foot, armed with bows and arrows, lances, and other such weapons, with whom our adventurer had many skirmishes, and defeated great multitudes, by means of his fire-arms, which had never before been known in these parts. The poor Tartars were as much amazed and terrified at the sight of the Russians, and their arms, as the inhabitants of Mexico on the arrival of the Spaniards in America, to which Siberia may, in many respects, be compared.

Yarmack, finding his enemies daily more numerous the nearer he approached the residence of the Tartar King; having also lost many of his men, in continual encounters, and spent the greatest part of his ammunition; knowing, besides, of

no place of safety, where he might pass the winter, which is both long and severe in this quarter, at last determined to retreat. He therefore steered his course to the west, up the Tobol and Tur rivers. The furious Tartars gave him no rest, but harassed him perpetually from the banks. He himself and a few more escaped, with a considerable booty, and returned to the village, where they wintered the preceding year. The inhabitants, on seeing the rich furs and other spoils, gave them a welcome reception. And Yarmak did not forget to dispense his favours liberally among those who had entertained him in his distress, when he fled from justice.

Our adventurer had now time to reflect on his miserable circumstances. He considered, that his lurking in these parts, though remote from any town, could not be long a secret: to make another attempt against the Tartars, with a handful of men, ill provided with arms and ammunition, might perhaps be ruinous, and certainly unsuccessful. He therefore resolved to submit himself to His Majesty's clemency, in hopes of obtaining a gracious pardon for himself and his accomplices, on condition of pointing out the way to a rich and easy conquest of a country which he had lately discovered. The proposal was made at court by a friend, and was of too great importance to be neglected. In short, Yarmak was brought to Mosco, under a safe conduct, where he communicated the whole affair. He begged His Majesty's pardon, and asked a certain number of troops, which he promised to lead to a glorious conquest. His Majesty granted him a pardon, approved of the expedition, and gave immediate orders for the troops to attend him. They marched to Solikamsky, where they passed the winter in making preparations for the enterprize, which was to be undertaken in the spring.

During this interval, Yarmack behaved with surprising prudence and activity, and discovered himself to be a person of uncommon genius. He collected such of his former followers as remained, and formed them into a company in whom he could confide on all occasions.

At the proper season, the troops set out towards Siberia. On coming into the inhabited part of the country, they found many straggling parties of Tartars in arms, ready to oppose them, and a number of boats upon the rivers, full of armed men. The King of the Tartars himself was on board of one of these vessels. This expedition was of short duration; and, in the issue, fully answered the expectation of the Russians. I cannot omit a few particulars of the last action. The Tartars in the boats, being pursued by the Russians, a battle ensued on the river Irtysh. Yarmak observing the King's barge, ordered his crew to board her; which he endeavouring to do at the head of his men, jumped short, fell into the river, and was drowned, to the great grief of all his followers. Thus fell poor Yarmak! Notwithstanding this misfortune, the Russians gained a complete victory. The brave King of the Tartars lost his life in the action. His son, and the rest of the royal family, were taken prisoners, and sent to Mosco, where they were honourably received by the Czar, and treated according to their quality. The Prince had an extensive property granted him in Russia, which the family enjoys to this day, together with the title of Sibirsky Czarevitz, or Prince of Siberia; which, I believe, is a more generous treatment of the conquered than any of the mighty monarchs of Peru or Mexico, or any of their lineage, have experienced.

December 11th, we left Verchaturia, in deep snow. The cold was excessive, and the sky clear.

Next day, we came to a large village, having a few of the Vogullitz Tartars in the neighbourhood; and the 13th, arrived at the town of Epantshin. From Verchaturia

to

to this place the country is mostly covered with woods. About the villages there are large plains, for corn or pasturage. The cattle are in good condition. The horses, particularly, being of the Tartar breed, are larger and better shaped than ordinary, and fit for any use.

Epanthsin is but a small place, fortified with a ditch and pallisades, and defended by a few soldiers in garrison. This place is sometimes alarmed with incursions of the Tartars, called Kossatthy-Orda, and Kara-Kalpicks; but the Russians have of late so fortified their frontiers, that these rovers appear seldomer than formerly. Both these tribes are Mahometans, live always in tents, and spread themselves, with their flocks, in the great desert. Both are very numerous, and own subjection to different chiefs, whom they call Batteer, which signifies a hero. These are chosen by themselves; and are the most famous among them for their abilities in military exploits. They are at continual war with the Kalmucks, who inhabit along the Volga, and with all their other neighbours. They are not able to stand against regular troops; and when attacked by them, retire into the wild desert, with their families and cattle, whither none, but people accustomed to their manner of life, can follow them.

The country of the Kara-Kalpicks, or Black-Caps, so called from a kind of caps they commonly wear, turned up with black lamb-skins, lies to the south-west, towards the Volga. That of the Kossatthy-Orda extends to the south-east, as far as the river Irtysh. The course of this river I shall have occasion to mention afterwards.

The 14th, we came to a pretty large town, called Tuma, situated upon the north bank of the river Tuma, from whence the place takes its name. The banks of the Tuma are high and steep. There is a very convenient wooden bridge at this place. The Tuma has its source far to the west; and in its course is augmented by the Tura, and several other rivers. It continues to run to the east, till meeting with the Tobol, it loses itself and name.

The country between Epanthsin and Tumen begins to be more open, and better peopled, than that westward of these places. For, besides the Russians, who make the greatest part of the inhabitants, we meet several villages inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Mahometans, who were natives of these places. These Tartars subsist by agriculture, and pass their lives without care or disturbance, in the free exercise of their religion, and other privileges.

Tumen is a pretty neat place, and well fortified: the streets are spacious, and the houses built in a straight line. The adjacent country is covered with fine woods, interspersed with villages, corn-fields, and pasturage; and provisions of all kinds are very plentiful. The merchants of this place have a considerable trade in furs, particularly the skins of foxes and squirrels; which, indeed, are not so valuable here as they are to the eastward.

Early on the 15th, we left this place, keeping on our course along the banks of the Tuma, till we arrived at the river Tobol, which we crossed, and proceeded along the eastern bank, through a fine country, and well peopled. Though the frost still continued strong, it was not near so violent and piercing as about Solikamsky; which may proceed from the woods being cut down, and the country cultivated. On the other side of the river, indeed, the face of the country appeared flat and morassy, abounding with tall and dark woods.

The 16th, about noon, we were in sight of the city of Tobolsky, though distant from us about twenty English miles. It stands upon a very high bank of the Tobol. The walls are white, and the crosses and cupolas of the churches gilded, and make a very fine appearance. About two o'clock we arrived safe at the city of Tobolsky, the capital

of

of this mighty province, and the residence of the governor. We lodged in the broad street, leading to the governor's palace, and the courts of justice.

We travelled between Tumen and Tobolsky, about two hundred and fifty verst, in the space of thirty hours. Sledges are the most simple and convenient machines for travelling on snow that can be imagined. And the person in the sledge may either sit or lie along upon the couch, according to his inclination.

CHAP. II.—*Occurrences at Tobolsky, Observations on the Kalmucks, &c. and Journey continued to Tomsky.*

TOBOLSKY is situated in latitude 58 degrees 40 minutes north, at the conflux of the Irtysh and Tobol. From this last the city has its name. Both these rivers are navigable for several hundred miles above this place. The Irtysh, after receiving the Tobol, becomes a noble stream, and discharges itself into the Oby. This situation was chosen by the Russians, both for its strength and beauty. Formerly the Tartar princes had their abode at a place about thirty verst south from Tobolsky, which is now neglected and ruinous.

Tobolsky is fortified with a strong brick wall, having square towers and bastions at proper distances, and is well furnished with military stores. Within the town stand the governor's palace, courts of justice, several churches built of brick, particularly a large cathedral, and the palace of the Archbishop. From the walls you have a very extensive prospect of a fine country, especially to the south. To the west the land is also flat, and overgrown with tall woods. The inhabitants are chiefly Russians, of different professions; many of them are merchants, and very rich, by the profitable trade they carry on to the borders of China, and many places of their own country.

These live mostly upon the hill. Under the hill, in the suburbs, along the banks of the river, are several large streets, called the Tartar-streets, occupied by the remains of the ancient inhabitants of these parts. Here, as at other places, these people enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the privileges of trade. They resemble, in their persons, religion, language, and manners, the Tartars of Cazan and Astrachan: their houses are cleanly: they are very courteous to strangers, and esteemed honest; on which account they get credit in their commercial affairs. Besides the fortification formerly mentioned about the town, the whole suburbs are surrounded with a ditch and palisades.

When we were at Tobolsky, Siberia was superintended by Mr. Petrof Solovy, vice-governor, a person well acquainted with the business of the government, and a Captain of the guards. The former governor, Kneaz Gagarin, had incurred His Majesty's displeasure, and was recalled: and his successor, Kneaz Alexie Michaylovitz Cherkasky, a nobleman worthy of such an important trust, was not yet arrived.

As in most other towns through which we passed, we found here many Swedish officers of distinction. Among others, Monsieur Dittmar, formerly secretary to Charles XII. King of Sweden. He was a native of Livonia, and equally esteemed for his probity and capacity. He was much respected by the late governor, who, indeed, was a friend to all these unfortunate gentlemen. They were allowed to walk about at large, a hunting or fishing, and even permitted to travel to other places, to visit their countrymen. For my part, I think the greatest favour His Majesty shewed these prisoners, was the

the cantoning them in these parts, where they may live well at a small expence, and enjoy all the liberty that persons in their circumstances can expect.

I cannot but observe, that the Swedish prisoners, dispersed in most of the towns in this country, contributed not a little to the civilizing the inhabitants of these distant regions, as they were the means of introducing several useful arts, which were almost unknown before their arrival.

Many of the officers, being gentlemen of liberal education, the better to support their tedious captivity, devoted their time to the study of the more agreeable and entertaining parts of science, particularly music and painting; wherein some of them attained to great perfection. I was present at several of their concerts; and was not a little surpris'd to find such harmony, and variety of musical instruments, in this part of the world.

They sometimes amus'd themselves with teaching young gentlemen and ladies the French and German languages, music, dancing, and other similar accomplishments, whereby they gained many friends among the people of distinction; a circumstance to men in their situation both honourable and useful.

In Tobolsky there are always about five or six thousand regular troops, horse and foot, besides a number of irregulars. These troops, added to the natural strength of the place, effectually secure it from any attacks of the neighbouring Tartars.

The woods and fields about Tobolsky are stored with all kinds of game natural to the climate; such as the *coq-limoge*, *coq-bruiere*, and *gilinots*; the last are about the size of a partridge, their flesh is white and very agreeable. There is another kind of these *gilinots* somewhat larger, with rough feet, which, in the winter, turn white as a dove. Also the common partridge, which, on the approach of winter, flies off to more temperate climates; woodcocks, a great variety of snipes, which fly off in the autumn, after having hatched their young. As for water-fowl, no country in the world can produce such numbers and variety; they are also birds of passage. In my Persian journal, I gave an account of the vast flocks of these fowls on the shores of the Caspian Sea.

Here also you meet with several kinds of small birds about the size of a lark, particularly those called snow-birds. They come to Siberia in vast flocks in autumn and remain till the spring, when they disappear. Many of them are white as snow, some speckled, and others all over brown. They are reckoned a very fine and delicious dish.

I observed another very pretty bird about the size of a thrush, having beautiful red and yellow feathers in the wings and tail, with a tuft of brown feathers on its head, which it raises at pleasure. These are also birds of passage; and, as they breed nowhere in Europe or Asia, that I know of, perhaps both these and the snow-birds may come to Siberia from the northern parts of America. This conjecture will appear not improbable, when it is considered, that these birds are of a hardy nature, and the flight not so far as is generally imagined.

In the woods are various kinds of wild beasts, such as bears, wolves, lynxes, several sorts of foxes, squirrels, ermins, fables, martins, and rosio-macks, called *feelfres* by the Germans. The furs are better of their kinds than those of any other country. The ermins commonly burrow in the open fields, and are caught in traps baited with a bit of flesh; this is done only in the winter, when they are altogether white, and the fur most valuable. In summer most of these animals turn brown, when they are not killed, because, at this season, the fur is of little use. There are also otters in the rivers and lakes, whose skins yield a considerable profit. Indeed furs of all sorts, in this country, are very profitable. At present few fables are caught in this neighbourhood; it is said they

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they fly from smoke, which, perhaps, is partly true; yet I am apt to believe, that these poor animals are chased away towards the north to the wild woods, on account of the high value of their skins.

The woods of Siberia abound also with venison of several sorts; as elk, rein-deer, roe-buck, together with an incredible number of hares, which change their colour from brown in summer to white in winter. The hares are generally caught by the country-people in toils, more on account of their skins than their flesh, of which they make but little use. The skins are bought by the merchants, and sent in great quantities to St. Peterburg, and other ports, in order to be exported to England, Holland, and other countries, where they are chiefly manufactured into hats.

Having described the land animals, I shall now give some account of the fish. In my opinion, there are few countries in the world so well watered with navigable rivers and lakes as Siberia; and few rivers and lakes produce greater quantities, or more variety of excellent fresh water fish, than those in this country. For, besides sturgeon, white-fish, sterlet, and others, to be found in the Volga, and the rivers in Russia, there are several kinds peculiar to this part of the world; particularly the muchsoon, about the size of a large carp, and much esteemed by persons of delicate taste.

Southward from Tobolsky the soil is fruitful, producing abundance of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and other grain. The cattle also are very numerous, and in winter are fed with hay. In a word, provisions of all kinds are extremely reasonable. From what I have said, it will appear, that Tobolsky is by no means such a disagreeable place as is generally imagined. Whatever the opinions of mankind may be, it is the business of a traveller to describe places and things without prejudice or partiality, and exhibit them fairly as they really appear. This principle it shall be my study to keep always in view.

Captain Tabar, a Swedish officer, was at this time writing a history of Siberia. He was a gentleman very capable for such a performance; and, if it shall ever be published, it cannot fail of giving great satisfaction to the curious.

Before I leave Tobolsky, it will not be improper to give a short account of the famous river Irtysh, that passes this place. It continues its course a little to the eastward of the north, in a strong but smooth current, visiting several small towns and villages, and receiving many lesser streams, and a large river called Konda, running eastward, till it discharges itself into the Oby, at a town called Samariofsky-yamm, about six hundred verst below Tobolsky.

The Irtysh takes its rise from a great lake, named Korzan, in a mountainous country, about fifteen hundred verst to the southward of Tobolsky. The country about this lake is inhabited by the Black Kalmucks, a mighty and numerous people, governed by a prince called Kontaysha. From these the Kalmucks on the Volga are descended. After the Irtysh hath run for many miles through a hilly country covered with wood, it passes through a fine fruitful plain, inhabited by the Kalmucks, till it comes to a house called Sedmy-palaty, or the Seven Rooms, situated to the right in coming down the river. It is very surprising to find such a regular edifice in the middle of a desert. Some of the Tartars say it was built by Tamerlane, called by the Tartars, Temyr-ack-sack, or Lame-temyr; others by Gingeez-chan. The building, according to the best information I could obtain, is of brick or stone, well finished, and continues still entire. It consists of seven apartments under one roof, from whence it has the name of the Seven Palaces. Several of these rooms are filled with scrolls of glazed paper, fairly written, and many of them in gilt characters. Some of the scrolls are black, but the greatest part white. The language in which they are written is that of the Tongust, or Kalmucks. While I

was at Tobolsky, I met with a foldier in the street with a bundle of these papers in his hand: he asked me to buy them; which I did for a small sum. I kept them till my arrival in England, when I distributed them among my friends; particularly to that learned antiquarian Sir Hans Sloane, who valued them at a high rate, and gave them a place in his celebrated museum.

Two of these scrolls were sent, by order of the Emperor Peter the First, to the Royal Academy at Paris. The Academy returned a translation, which I saw in the rarity-chamber at St. Peterburgh. One of them contained a commission to a lama or priest; and the other a form of prayer to the Deity. Whether this interpretation may be depended on, I shall not determine. The Tartars esteem them all sacred writings, as appears from the care they take to preserve them. Perhaps they may contain some curious pieces of antiquity, particularly of ancient history. Above the Sedmy-palaty, towards the source of the Irtysh, upon the hills and valleys, grows the best rhubarb in the world, without the least culture.

Several days journey from the Palaces, down the Irtysh, on the western bank, stands an old tower named Kalbazinshabashna, or the tower of Kalbazin. Below this is the lake Yamishoff, to the right, where the Russians have built a small fort, for the convenience of making and gathering salt from that lake, great quantities whereof are made by the sun; it is brought in barks down the river to Tobolsky, and other places. This fort created some jealousy to the Kontaysha; he sent an ambassador to the governor of Siberia, requesting to have it demolished; but this demand not being granted, the difference came to an open rupture, the event of which time must discover.

Descending farther, you meet with another settlement of the Russians, called Shelezinsky, from a rivulet of that name in its neighbourhood. A little below Shelezinsky stands Omuska, a considerable town, which also derives its name from a river. Both these places are situated on the eastern bank of the Irtysh. You now pass some considerable places before you arrive at Tara, a little town situated on the western bank, on the road leading from Tobolsky to Tomsky, through a country called Baraba, of which I shall give some account as we proceed to the east.

Between Tara and Tobolsky are a few small towns, and many villages, inhabited by Mahometan Tartars. And the country abounds with corn, cattle, and fine pasturage.

I have now pointed out the course of the Irtysh till it reaches Tobolsky, and from thence till it empties itself into the river Oby. I have nothing further to remark concerning Tobolsky and the country around it, and should therefore now pursue our journey to the eastward; but, before I leave this place, I imagine it will not be improper to subjoin a few more particulars relative to the Kontaysha, Prince of the Kalmucks, whom I formerly mentioned. I am the more inclined to do this, as I can entirely depend on my intelligence, having procured it from persons who have been in that country, and seen this prince; but particularly from an ingenious and penetrating gentleman, who fills a public office in this place, and was employed in several messages to him from the late governor of Siberia.

The territories of this prince are bounded by three of the most potent empires in the world; on the north by Russia, by China on the east, and by the country of the Great Mogul to the south. From the two first he is separated by desert plains, and from the third by almost impassable mountains. To the south-west his frontiers reach near to Bucharra. The Kontaysha is a very powerful prince, and able to bring into the field, at a short warning, an hundred thousand horsemen, who are all of them able-bodied men, well mounted, and armed with bows and arrows, lances and sabres. This is a

greater

greater number of horse than any prince that I know can muster, except His Russian Majesty, and the Emperor of China. These Tartars live in tents all the year, removing from place to place, as called by necessity or inclination. This is the most ancient and pleasant manner of life. It is entertaining to hear them commiserate those who are confined to one place of abode, and obliged to support themselves by labour, which they reckon the greatest slavery.

The Kontaysha has always some thousands of his subjects encamped near himself, who treat him with great veneration and respect. And, in justice to him, it must be confessed, that he is as attentive to the interests of his people, and as assiduous in the administration of justice, in particular, as if they were his own children.

The Kalmucks are not such savage people as they are generally represented; for I am informed, a person may travel among them with greater safety, both to his person and effects, than in many other countries.

The Kontaysha received the deputies from the governor of Siberia, like ambassadors from foreign princes, and treated them accordingly. This shows what high respect these eastern princes entertain for his Czarish Majesty, when the governor of Siberia is regarded as a sovereign. The ceremony on these occasions was as follows:—

The deputy with his servants were admitted into the tent, where the Kontaysha sat with his queen and several children about him. He desired all of them to sit down on carpets or mats; for the Kalmucks, like most Asiatics, use no chairs. They were entertained with tea before dinner; and after it, the Kontaysha dismissed the deputy in a friendly manner, telling him he would send for him next day to receive an answer to the governor's letter, which he punctually performed. This answer was expressed in very plain and concise terms. These Tartars in general write with brevity and perspicuity. I have seen several of their letters translated, which pleased me extremely; as they contain no tedious preambles, nor disgusting repetitions, which serve only to perplex the reader.

The Emperor of China was some time ago engaged in a war with the Kontaysha, about some frontier towns, of which the latter took possession, and maintained his claim with a strong army. The Emperor sent against him an army of three hundred thousand men, under the command of his fourteenth son, who is reckoned the best general of all his children. Notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, the Kontaysha defeated the Chinese in several actions. The Emperor, at last, thought it best to accommodate the difference, and a peace was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties.

It must be observed, that the Chinese, being obliged to undertake a long and difficult march, through a desert and barren country, lying westward of the long wall, being also incumbered with artillery and heavy carriages, containing provisions for the whole army during their march, had their force greatly diminished before they reached the enemy. The Kontaysha, on the other hand, having intelligence of the great army coming against him, waited patiently on his own frontiers till the enemy was within a few days march of his camp, when he sent out detachments of light horse to set fire to the grass, and lay waste the country. He also distracted them, day and night, with repeated alarms, which, together with want of provisions, obliged them to retire with considerable loss.

This method of carrying on the war, by wasting the country, is very ancient among the Tartars, and practised by all of them from the Danube eastward. This circumstance renders them a dreadful enemy to regular troops, who must thereby be deprived

of all subsistence, while the Tartars, having always many spare horses to kill and eat, are at no loss for provisions.

I have only to add, that the Kontaysha must be the same prince who, in our European maps, is generally called the Great Cham of Tartary. As no Europeans travel through that country, these maps must be very erroneous. It is, however, to be expected, that the Russians will in time make a more complete discovery of the eastern parts of Asia.

Our baggage did not arrive at Tobolsky till the 23d of December. The people refreshed themselves till the 27th, when they again set out, taking the road along the Irtysh to Tara. The ambassador and his retinue remained, to pass the rest of the holidays.

January 9th, 1720, we proceeded towards Tara. We passed through many Tartar villages; and at night lodged in one of their little huts, and warmed ourselves at a good fire on the hearth. These houses consist generally of one or two rooms, according to the ability of the landlord. Near to the hearth is fixed an iron kettle, to dress the victuals. In one end of the apartment is placed a bench, about eighteen inches high, and six feet broad, covered with mats, or skins of wild beasts, upon which all the family sit by day, and sleep in the night. The walls are built of wood and moss, consisting of large beams, laid one above another, with a layer of moss between every two beams. All the roofs are raised. A square hole is cut out for a window, and to supply the want of glass, a piece of ice is formed to fit the place exactly, which lets in a good light. Two or three pieces will last the whole winter. These Tartars are very neat and cleanly, both in their persons and houses. They use no stoves as the Russians do. Near the house there is commonly a shade for the cattle.

We continued our journey along the banks of the Irtysh, having the river to the right or left, as the road lay from one Tartar village to another.

The 15th, we reached Tara, a small town, reckoned about five hundred verst from Tobolsky. In all this road we did not meet with a Russian village, except a small one near Tara. The country abounds with woods, corn-fields, and fine pasturage; which appeared sufficiently from the quantities of hay, and the good condition of the cattle, though the face of the country was covered with deep snow. We found the air at Tara much milder than at any place since we left Kazan.

Tara is situated on the Irtysh, and fortified with a deep ditch, strong pallisades, and wooden towers, sufficient to defend it against the sudden attacks of the Tartars, called Kossatthy-orda, who inhabit westward of the Irtysh, and are very troublesome neighbours.

Here we laid in provisions for our journey over the Baraba, which signifies, in the Tartar language, a marshy plain. Its inhabitants are a mixture of different Tartar tribes, called Barabintzy, from the name of the country in which they live. They are a poor miserable people, being treated as subjects both by the Emperor and the Contaysha, and obliged to pay a tribute, in fur and skins of wild beasts, to each. They have no grain or cattle of any kind, except a few rein-deer, and subsist by hunting and fishing. What fish they consume not in the summer, are dried and smoked for their winter provisions. They are partly of the Mahometan, and partly of the Kalmuck religion; but this difference causes no disputes.

It is generally reckoned, that more robberies are committed in Baraba than in any country on the road to China; not by the natives, for they are very honest and hospitable, but by the Kalmucks, who come to collect tribute for the Contaysha, who sometimes pick up travellers, and carry them off, with all their effects. It was said, that a

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strong party of them, having intelligence that the ambassador was to pass that way, waited to intercept him; on which account, he took thirty dragoons, and some Cossacks, from the garrison of Tobolsky, to escort him to Tomsky; which was a sufficient guard against any robbers who might attack us; and he knew the Contaysha was too polite a prince to authorize his subjects to molest any foreign minister who had done him no injury, notwithstanding the differences that subsisted between him and His Czar's Majesty.

Our baggage having waited at Tara till our arrival, we left that place on the 18th; and next day came to a large Russian village, sixty verst from Tara, and the last inhabited by Russians, till you pass the Baraba, and come to the river Oby.

In the places through which we passed, the ambassador sent for all the hunters and sportsmen, that he might inquire what kinds of game and wild beasts were in their neighbourhood. Hunting is the employment of most of the young fellows in this country, and is very profitable, as they sell the furs to great advantage. We found that this place produced great plenty, both of game and wild beasts, but few fables. In the spring, a number of elks and stags come hither from the south; many of which are killed by the inhabitants, both on account of their flesh and their hides. What of the flesh is not consumed fresh they salt. The hides are very large, and are dressed into excellent buff. The huntsman having found the track of a stag upon the snow, pursues it upon his snow shoes, with his bow and arrows, and little dog, till the animal is quite fatigued; for, the snow on the surface being melted by the heat of the sun, and congealed at night by the frost, but not strong enough to bear the weight of such an animal, he sinks deep at every step, and the sharp ice cuts his ancles, and lames him; so that he becomes an easy prey to the hunter.

One of these hunters told me the following story, which was confirmed by several of his neighbours: that in the year 1713, in the month of March, being out a hunting, he discovered the track of a stag, which he pursued; at overtaking the animal, he was somewhat startled, on observing it had only one horn, stuck in the middle of its forehead. Being near this village, he drove it home, and showed it, to the great admiration of the spectators. He afterwards killed it, and eat the flesh, and sold the horn to a comb-maker in the town of Tara, for ten alteens, about fifteen-pence sterling. I inquired carefully about the shape and size of this unicorn, as I shall call it, and was told it exactly resembled a stag. The horn was of a brownish colour, about one archteen, or twenty-eight inches long, and twisted from the root till within a finger's length of the top, where it was divided, like a fork, into two points very sharp.

The 19th, we entered the Baraba, and continued travelling through it for ten days, when we came to a large Russian village called Tzaufsky Ostrogue, from a rivulet of that name, which discharges itself into the Oby, a little distance eastward from this place. Here is a small fort, surrounded with a ditch and pallisades, mounted with a few cannon, and garrisoned by some militia of the country, in order to prevent the incursions of the Kalmucks. We staid a day at this place, to refresh ourselves, and having changed horses, proceeded towards Tomsky.

Baraba is really what its name signifies, an extensive marshy plain. It is generally full of lakes, and marshy grounds, overgrown with tall woods of aspin, alder, willows, and other aquatics; particularly many large birch-trees, having their bark as white and smooth as paper. The lakes abound with various kinds of fishes, such as pikes, perches, breams, eels, and particularly a fish called karras, of an uncommon bigness, and very fat. These the inhabitants dry, in summer, for winter provisions, which are all the food to be found among them. I have eat of it often, and thought it not disagreeable.

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In winter they use melted snow for water. They are very hospitable; and desire nothing in return of their civilities, but a little tobacco to smoke, and a dram of brandy, of which they are very fond. The dress, both of men and women, consists of long coats of sheep-skins, which they get from the Russians and Kalmucks, in exchange for more valuable furs. As they wear no other apparel, nor even shirts, they are very naked. Their huts are most miserable habitations, and sunk about one half under ground. We were glad, however, to find them, as a baiting place, in such a cold season.

The Barabintzy, like most of the ancient natives of Siberia, have many conjurers among them, whom they call Shamans, and sometimes priests. Many of the female sex also assume this character. The Shamans are held in great esteem by the people; they pretend to correspondence with the shaytan, or devil; by whom, they say, they are informed of all past and future events, at any distance of time or place. Our ambassador resolved to inquire strictly into the truth of many strange stories, generally believed, concerning the Shamans, and sent for all of fame in that way in the places through which we passed.

In Baraba we went to visit a famous woman of this character. When we entered her house, she continued busy about her domestic affairs, without almost taking any notice of her guests. However, after she had smoked a pipe of tobacco, and drunk a dram of brandy, she began to be more cheerful. Our people asked her some trifling questions about their friends; but she pretended to be quite ignorant, till she got more tobacco and some inconsiderable presents, when she began to collect her conjuring tools. First, she brought the shaytan; which is nothing but a piece of wood, wherein is cut something resembling a human head, adorned with many silk and woollen rags of various colours; then a small drum, about a foot diameter, to which were fixed many brass and iron rings, and hung round also with rags. She now began a dismal tune, keeping time with the drum, which she beat with a stick for that purpose. Several of her neighbours, whom she had previously called to her assistance, joined in the chorus. During this scene, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, she kept the shaytan, or image, close by herself, stuck up in a corner. The charm being now finished, she desired us to put our questions. Her answers were delivered very artfully, and with as much obscurity and ambiguity as they could have been given by any oracle. She was a young woman, and very handsome.

On the 29th of January, we reached the Oby, which we crossed on the ice, and entered a country pretty well inhabited by Russians, where we found provisions and fresh horses, as often as we wanted them. The country is generally covered with woods, except about the villages, where are fine corn-fields and good pasture grounds. Our course lay a little to the northward of the east from Tzauzky Ostrogue.

February 4th, we arrived safe at the town of Tomzky, so called from the noble river Tomm, upon the eastern bank of which it stands.

CHAP. III. — *Occurrences at Tomzky: Observations on the Tzulinn Tartars, &c. and Journey continued to Elimzky.*

THE citadel of Tomzky is situated on an eminence, and contains the commandant's house, public offices, and barracks for the garrison. The fortifications, like most others in this country, are of wood. The town stands under the hill, along the banks of the river Tomm. The country about this place is pleasant and fruitful. From the top

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top of the hill you have a very extensive view every way, except to the south, where it is interrupted by hills. Beyond these hills there is a large, dry, and open plain, which stretches a great way southward.

About eight or ten days journey from Tomsky, in this plain, are found many tombs and burying-places of ancient heroes, who, in all probability, fell in battle. These tombs are easily distinguished by the mounds of earth and stone raised upon them. When, or by whom, these battles were fought, so far to the northward, is uncertain. I was informed by the Tartars in the Baraba, that Tamerlane, or Timyr-ack-sack, as they call him, had many engagements in that country with the Kalmucks, whom he in vain endeavoured to conquer. Many persons go from Tomsky and other parts every summer to these graves, which they dig up, and find among the ashes of the dead considerable quantities of gold, silver, brass, and some precious stones, but particularly hilts of swords and armour. They find also ornaments of saddles and bridles, and other trappings for horses, and even the bones of horses, and sometimes those of elephants. Whence it appears, that when any general or person of distinction was interred, all his arms, his favourite horse, and servant, were buried with him in the same grave: this custom prevails to this day among the Kalmucks and other Tartars, and seems to be of great antiquity. It appears from the number of graves, that many thousands must have fallen on these plains; for the people have continued to dig for such treasure many years, and still find it unexhausted. They are sometimes indeed interrupted, and robbed of all their booty, by parties of the Kalmucks, who abhor the disturbing the ashes of the dead.

I have seen several pieces of armour and other curiosities that were dug out of these tombs, particularly an armed man on horseback, cast in brass, of no mean design nor workmanship; also figures of deer, cast in pure gold, which were split through the middle, and had some small holes in them, as intended for ornaments to a quiver, or the furniture of a horse.

While we were at Tomsky one of these grave-diggers told me, that once they lighted on an arched vault where they found the remains of a man, with his bow, arrows, lance, and other arms, lying together on a silver table. On touching the body it fell to dust. The value of the table and arms was very considerable.

The country about the source of the river Tomm, near which these tombs are, is very fruitful and pleasant. At the source of the Tomm the Russians have a small town, called Kuznetsky. The river is formed by the Kondoma, and many lesser rivers; all which run to the north.

In the hills above Kuznetsky, there had lately been discovered rich mines of copper, and some of silver; which, since I was in this country, have been greatly improved.

On the hills and in the woods near this place are many sorts of wild beasts, particularly the urus, or uhr-ox, one of the fiercest animals the world produces, and exceeding in size and strength all the horned species. Their force and agility is such, that no wolf, bear, nor tiger, dare to engage with them. These animals are found in the woods of Poland, and some other parts of Europe. As they are well known, I need not describe them.

In the same woods is found another species of oxen, called bubul by the Tartars; it is not so big as the urus; its body and limbs are very handsome; it has a high shoulder, and a flowing tail, with long hair growing from the rump to the extremity, like that of a horse. Those I saw were tame, and as tractable as other cattle. Here are also wild asses. I have seen many of their skins. They have in all respects the head, tail, and hoofs of an ordinary ass; but their hair is waved white and brown, like that of a tiger.

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There is besides a number of wild horses, of a chestnut colour, which cannot be tamed, though they are caught when foals. These horses differ nothing from the common kind in shape, but are the most watchful creatures alive. One of them waits always on the heights to give warning to the rest, and, upon the least approach of danger, runs to the herd, making all the noise it can; upon which all of them fly away, like so many deer. The stallion drives up the rear, neighing, biting, and kicking those who do not run fast enough. Notwithstanding this wonderful sagacity, these animals are often surpris'd by the Kalnucks, who ride in among them, well mounted on swift horses, and kill them with broad lances. Their flesh they esteem excellent food, and use their skins to sleep on instead of couches. These are the animals peculiar to this part of the country; and besides these, there are many more common to this place with the rest of Siberia.

The river Tomm, having passed Kuznetsky, Tomsky, and several other towns of less note, empties itself into the Oby, at a place called Nikolky, about an hundred vers below Tomsky, in a country overgrown with thick woods. Here the Tomm loses its name, and makes a great addition to the Oby, which now commences a mighty stream.

The Tomm abounds with variety of fine fish; such as sturgeon, sterlet, muchsoon, and the largest and best quabs, called in French guion, that I have any where seen. The method of catching these fish is by planting pales across the river, in which there is left one narrow opening for the fishes to pass through. Above this opening a hole is cut in the ice, and near it is placed a fire upon some stones laid for that purpose. The fish, on seeing the light of the fire, stops a moment in its passage; and, at this instant, the fisherman strikes it with a spear through the hole in the ice. This exercise requires great quickness, for the fish is gone in a trice. I killed several of them myself.

Thus, having made a short excursion up and down the Tomm, and given a brief description of the country adjacent, I return again to Tomsky.

Tomsky is a good market for furs of all sorts; but particularly of fables, and black and red foxes, ermins, and squirrels. The squirrels called Teleutsky, from the name of the district where they are caught, are reckoned the best of that species. They have a blackish stripe down their back.

Besides the common squirrel, there is another species found here called the flying squirrel. There is little peculiar in its shape or size, only it has, at the upper joint of the thigh of the fore-leg, a small membrane, stretching to the shoulder, somewhat like the wing of a bat, which it extends at pleasure, and is thereby enabled to spring much farther, from tree to tree, than it could do without the help of these wings. Both the ermins and squirrels are caught only in winter, because in summer their fur is quite brown, short, and of little use.

We waited some days at Tomsky for the arrival of our baggage. Here we found several Swedish officers, who had good quarters in a plentiful though distant place. After our people had refreshed themselves for two days, they set out again on the road to Yeniseysky.

During our abode in Tomsky, we diverted ourselves with fishing and hunting. We were present also at several concerts of music, performed by the Swedish officers, at Mr. Kosloff's, commandant of the place. These gentlemen were not less expert in touching their instruments than their companions at Tobolsky. Mr. Kosloff is a good-natured and cheerful gentleman, and treats these officers with great humanity. They had along with them a Swedish parson, Mr. Vestadius, a man of genius and learning.

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The 9th, we were entertained at the commandant's, where were assembled some hundreds of his Cossacks, or light horse, armed with bows and arrows. After going through their usual exercise, they showed their dexterity in shooting on horseback at full speed. They erected a pole for a mark in an open field, and passing it, at full gallop, let fly their arrows, and soon split it all to shivers.

The 12th, about midnight, we went into our sledges, and set out on our journey towards Yeniseysky. For the two following days we had tolerably good roads, lying through a pretty fine country, inhabited by Russians. The villages are but thinly scattered, yet sufficiently near one another to afford provisions and fresh horses.

On the 14th, we reached a large navigable river, called Tzulimm. We went up this river upon the ice. We met with neither house nor inhabitant for the space of six days. We could get no fresh horses, and were obliged to carry both provisions and forage along with us, which made this part of the road very tedious. During all this time, we had no where to warm ourselves, or dress our victuals, but in the thick overgrown woods, which occupy both sides of the river. There is great plenty of fallen trees in these woods, of which we made large fires. The trees are chiefly pitch fir, rising like a pyramid, with long spreading branches hanging to the ground, which render these woods almost impassable to man or beast. We frequently set fire to the moss and dried fibres of these firs. In the space of a minute, the fire mounts to the top of the tree, and has a very pretty effect. The kindling of many fires warmed all the air around.

In summer, the banks of this river are inhabited by a tribe of Tartars, called by the Russians Tzulimmzy, from the name of the river, who live by fishing and hunting. We found several of their empty huts as we went along. In autumn, these people retire from this inhospitable place towards the south, near to towns and villages, where they can find subsistence.

The 20th, we arrived at a Russian village called Meletsky Ostrogue, where we staid a day to refresh ourselves and horses. In the neighbourhood of this place, we found many huts of the Tzulimm Tartars, who seem to be a different race from all of that name I have yet mentioned. Their complexion indeed is swarthy, like that of most of the other descendants of the ancient natives of Siberia; but I have seen many of them having white spots on their skins, from head to foot, of various figures and sizes. Many imagine these spots natural to the people; but I am rather inclined to believe they proceed from their constant diet of fish and other animal food without bread. This, of course, creates a scorbutic habit of body, which often breaks out in infants; and the scars falling off, leave that part of the skin as if it had been scalded, which never recovers its natural colour. I have however seen several children with these spots, who seemed healthy.

The Tzulimms, like other Tartars, live in huts half-sunk under ground. They have a fire in the middle, with a hole at the top to let out the smoke, and benches round the fire, to sit or lie upon. This seems to be the common method of living among all the northern nations, from Lapland eastward to the Japanese ocean.

The Tzulimms speak a barbarous language, composed of words from many other languages. Some of our people, who spoke Turkish, told me, they had many Arabic words which they understood. They are poor, miserable, and ignorant heathens. The Archbishop of Tobolsky in person came lately hither, and baptized some hundreds of them, who were inclined to embrace the Christian faith. As they are a well-disposed and harmless people, probably in a short time they may be all converted.

The river Tzulimm has its source about three hundred verst above Meletsky Ostrogue; from this place it continues its course to the northward till it meets with the river Oby, at a place called Shabannisky Ostrogue. Ostrogue, in the Russian language, signifies a strong palisade, inclosing a certain piece of ground. On the first settlements made by the Russians in these parts such inclosures were necessary to prevent any surprise from the inhabitants.

The 21st, early in the morning, we left Meletsky, and travelled through thick woods, along narrow roads. Next day we came to a small Russian village, called Melay-keat; where we found our baggage, for the first time since we quitted Tomsky. Near this place the river Keat has its source; and runs towards the west, till it meets with the Oby. Having changed horses at Melay-keat, we left our baggage and proceeded on our journey.

On the evening of the 22d, we came to a zimovey, where we halted a little to refresh ourselves and bait our horses. A zimovey is a house or two, built in a place at a great distance from any town or village, for the convenience of travellers; and is a sort of inn, where you generally find a warm room, fresh bread, and a wholesome and agreeable liquor called quafs, made of malt or rye-meal, steeped and fermented; with hay and oats at easy rates.

From this place we travelled to Beloy, a large village, where we changed horses, and proceeded. From hence to Yeniseysky the country is well cultivated. Upon the road are many Russian villages, where we got fresh horses as often as we pleased, without halting ten minutes. Thus we continued travelling day and night till we arrived, on the 23d, at the town of Yeniseysky, where we had a friendly reception, and good entertainment from the commandant Mr. Becklimishof, who had come some miles from town to meet his old friend the ambassador.

Here I found Mr. Kanbar Nikititz Aikinsiof, with whom I got acquainted at Cazan, while we wintered there, in the journey to Persia. Some cross accident had been the occasion of his coming to this place. He enjoyed full liberty to walk about at pleasure. He understood several languages, was well acquainted with history, and a cheerful good-natured companion.

Here we passed the holidays called Maslapitza, or the Carnival, which is held on the week before Lent. In the mean time our carriages arrived, which were dispatched again as soon as possible.

The town of Yeniseysky is pleasantly situated in a plain, on the western bank of the river Yenisey, from which the town takes its name. It is a large and populous place, fenced with a ditch, palisades, and wooden towers. Here is a good market for furs of all sorts; particularly of the animals called piebly, which are of two colours, white and dove-colour. These creatures are caught far to the northward of this place. They are nearly of the shape and size of a fox; having a short bushy tail, and a thick soft downy fur, very light and warm, which is much esteemed by the great men in the northern parts of China; and, by them, made chiefly into cushions, on which they sit in winter.

Besides the above there is here another creature called rossomack in Rus, and feciefers by the Germans; because they imagine it eats a great deal more in proportion than other animals. I have seen several of them alive. They are very fierce, and about the shape and size of a badger; the neck, back, and tail are black, but about the belly the hair is of a brownish colour. The blacker they are the more valuable. The skin being thick is only used in caps and muffs. Also elks, rein-deer, and stags. The latter retire

retire to the south on the approach of winter, and return in the spring. Here are likewise an incredible number of white hares, which perhaps I may mention afterwards.

I must not omit the black foxes, which are in great abundance about Yeniseysky. Their fur is reckoned the most beautiful of any kind; it is even preferred to the sable, with respect to lightness and warmth. I saw here one of their skins valued at five hundred crowns, and some of them far exceed this sum.

Before I leave this place, I shall give a short description of the course of the famous river Yenisey, according to the best information I could procure. It rises in a hilly country, at a great distance southward from this place; being joined by many rivers in its course, it grows into a mighty stream, and is, at Yeniseysky, full as large as the Volga. It runs the longest course of any river on this vast continent. The first town of any note in coming down this river is Krasno-yarr, which stands on the western bank. It is a place of considerable trade, particularly in furs. From this place along the banks are many villages, till the Yenisey meets the lower Tongusta, a large river, coming from the east, a few verst above Yeniseysky. Below this place there are many considerable settlements till you come to Mangaseysky, a town famous for furs, and the shrine of an illustrious saint called Vassile Mangaseysky, much frequented by the devout people in these parts.

Above this place the Yenisey receives the Podkamena-Tongusta, a large river, running from the south-east; and at Mangaseysky it meets another river called Turochansky, coming from the west. The Yenisey now continues its course almost due north, till it discharges itself into the ocean. This river abounds with variety of excellent fish, such as I have already mentioned, but in lesser quantities.

The 27th, we left Yeniseysky, and travelled about eight or ten verst along the south bank of the river, when we came to thick and tall woods, which obliged us to leave the land and march along the river on ice, which was very uneven. This roughness is caused by the frost setting in about autumn, with a strong westerly wind, which drives up great cakes of ice upon one another, in some places four or five feet high. If the frost happens to begin in calm weather, the ice is very smooth, and easy for sledges.

The 28th, we proceeded along the Yenisey, meeting sometimes with villagers. The rigour of the cold was much abated, but the face of winter appeared every where, without the least sign of spring. At evening we entered the river Tongusta, which we found as rough as the former; but, as both the banks were overgrown with thick woods, we were obliged to keep along the ice.

Next day, we still proceeded along the river, in blowing weather and driving snow.

The 1st of March, we overtook our baggage, which we passed; it being thought more convenient, both in order to procure lodging and fresh horses, that the heavy carriages should travel behind.

We continued our journey for several days along the Tongusta. We found, now and then, little villages, or single houses, on the banks. One day, we chanced to meet a prodigious flock of hares, all as white as the snow on which they walked. I speak within compass, when I say there were above five or six hundred of them. They were coming down the river, very deliberately, on a small path of their own making, close to the beaten road. As soon as they saw us, all of them run into the woods, without seeming much frightened. I am informed, that these hares travel to the south, in much greater flocks than this, every spring, and return in autumn, when the rivers are frozen, and the snow falls. In most of the villages we found plenty of this sort of venison; the inhabitants, however, value it but little; for they catch these hares

more on account of their skins, of which they make considerable profits, than their flesh.

The Tongusy, so called from the name of the river, who live along its banks, are the posterity of the ancient inhabitants of Siberia, and differ in language, manners, and dress, and even in their persons and stature, from all the other tribes of these people I have had occasion to see. They have no houses where they remain for any time, but range through the woods, and along rivers, at pleasure; and, wherever they come, they erect a few spars, inclining to one another at the top; these they cover with pieces of birchen bark, sewed together, leaving a hole at the top to let out the smoke: The fire is placed in the middle. They are very civil and tractable, and like to smoke tobacco, and drink brandy. About their huts they have generally a good stock of rein-deer, in which all their wealth consists.

The men are tall and able-bodied, brave, and very honest. The women are of a middle size and virtuous. I have seen many of the men with oval figures, like wreaths, on their foreheads and chins; and sometimes a figure resembling the branch of a tree, reaching from the corner of the eye to the mouth. These are made in their infancy, by pricking the parts with a needle, and rubbing them with charcoal, the marks whereof remain as long as the person lives. Their complexion is swarthy. Their faces are not so flat as those of the Kalmucks, but their countenances more open. They are altogether unacquainted with any kind of literature, and worship the sun and moon. They have many shamans among them, who differ little from those I formerly described. I was told of others, whose abilities in fortune-telling far exceeded those of the shamans at this place, but they lived far northward. They cannot bear to sleep in a warm room, but retire to their huts, and lie about the fire, on skins of wild beasts. It is surprising how these creatures can suffer the very piercing cold in these parts.

The women are dressed in a fur-gown, reaching below the knee, and tied about the waist with a girdle. This girdle is about three inches broad, made of deer's skin, having the hair curiously stitched down and ornamented; to which is fastened, at each side, an iron ring, that serves to carry a tobacco pipe, and other trinkets of small value. Their gowns are also stitched down the breast, and about the neck. Their long black hair is plaited, and tied about their heads, above which they wear a small fur-cap, which is becoming enough. Some of them have small ear-rings. Their feet are dressed in buskins made of deer-skins, which reach to the knee, and are tied about the ankle with a thong of leather.

The dress of the men is very simple and fit for action. It consists of a short jacket, with narrow sleeves, made of deer's-skin, having the fur outward; trowsers and hose of the same kind of skin, both of one piece, and tight to the limbs. They have, besides, a piece of fur, that covers the breast and stomach, which is hung about the neck with a thong of leather. This, for the most part, is neatly stitched and ornamented by their wives. Round their heads they have a ruff, made of the tails of squirrels, to preserve the tips of the ears from the cold. There is nothing on the crown, but the hair smoothed, which hangs in a long plaited lock behind their backs.

Their arms are, a bow, and several sorts of arrows, according to the different kinds of game they intend to hunt. The arrows are carried in a quiver, on their backs, and the bow always in their left hand. Besides these, they have a short lance, and a little hatchet. Thus accoutred, they are not afraid to attack the fiercest creature in the woods, even the strongest bear; for they are stout men, and dexterous archers. In winter, which is the season for hunting wild beasts, they travel on what are called snow shoes, without

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without which it would be impossible to make their way through the deep snow. These are made of a very thin piece of light wood, about five feet long, and five or six inches broad, inclining to a point before, and square behind. In the middle is fixed a thong, through which the feet are put. On these shoes a person may walk safely over the deepest snow; for a man's weight will not sink them above an inch. These, however, can only be used on plains. They have a different kind for ascending hills, with the skins of seals glued to the boards, having the hair inclined backwards, which prevents the sliding of the shoes, so that they can ascend a hill very easily; and in descending they slide downwards at a great rate.

The nation of the Tongusy was very numerous, but is of late much diminished by the small-pox. It is remarkable, that they knew nothing of this distemper till the Russians arrived among them. They are so much afraid of this disease, that, if any one of a family is seized with it, the rest immediately make the patient a little hut, and set by him some water and victuals; then, packing up every thing, they march off to the windward, each carrying an earthen pot, with burning coals in it, and making a dreadful lamentation as they go along. They never revisit the sick till they think the danger past. If the person dies, they place him on a branch of a tree, to which he is tied with strong wythes, to prevent his falling.

When they go a-hunting into the woods, they carry with them no provisions, but depend entirely on what they are to catch. They eat every animal that comes in their way, even a bear, fox, or wolf. The squirrels are reckoned delicate food; but the ermins have such a strong rank taste and smell, that nothing but starving can oblige them to eat their flesh. When a Tonguse kills an elk or deer, he never moves from the place till he has eat it up, unless he happens to be near his family; in which case, he carries part of it home. He is never at a loss for a fire, having always a tinder-box about him. If this should happen to be wanting, he kindles a fire, by rubbing two pieces of wood against each other. They eat nothing raw, but in great extremity.

The fables are not caught in the same manner as other animals. The fur is so tender, that the least mark of an arrow, or ruffling of the hair, spoils the sale of the skin. In hunting them, they only use a little dog and a net. When a hunter finds the track of a fable upon the snow, he follows it perhaps for two or three days, till the poor animal, quite tired, takes refuge in some tall tree; for it can climb like a cat; the hunter then spreads his net around the tree, and makes a fire; the fable, unable to endure the smoke, immediately descends, and is caught in the net. I have been told by some of these hunters, that, when hard pinched with hunger on such long chaces, they take two thin boards, one of which they apply to the pit of the stomach, and the other to the back, opposite to it; the extremities of these boards are tied with cords, which are drawn tighter by degrees, and prevent their feeling the cravings of hunger.

Although I have observed, that the Tongusy, in general, worship the sun and moon, there are many exceptions to this observation. I have found intelligent people among them, who believed there was a being superior to both sun and moon, and who created them and all the world.

I shall only remark farther, that, from all the accounts I have heard and read of the natives of Canada, there is no nation in the world which they so much resemble as the Tongusians. The distance between them is not so great as is commonly imagined.

The 4th of March, we came to a little monastery, called Troytza, dedicated to the Holy Trinity; where we found about half a dozen monks, who gave us an hospitable reception in their cells, and furnished us with provisions and fresh horses. The monastery stands upon the north side of the river, on a very pleasant though solitary bank,
 encompassed.

encompassed with woods, corn-fields, and good pasturage. Most of the villages are on the north side of the river, as it is higher than the south side.

The same day, we proceeded on our journey along the river. We met with, daily, great flocks of hares in their progress to the westward, and many Tongusians in their huts. It is to be observed, that, from this river northward to the Frozen Ocean, there are no inhabitants, except a few Tongusians, on the banks of the great rivers: the whole of this most extensive country being overgrown with dark impenetrable woods. The soil along the banks of this river is good, and produces wheat, barley, rye, and oats. The method taken by the inhabitants to destroy the large fir-trees is, to cut off a ring of bark from the trunk, about a foot broad, which prevents the ascending of the sap, and the tree withers in a few years. This prepares it for being burnt in a dry season; by which means the ground is both cleared of the wood, and manured by the ashes, without much labour.

The Russians observe, that, where the sort of fir commonly called the Scotch fir grows, the ground never fails of producing corn; but it is not so where the pitch, or any other kind of fir, prevails.

The 7th, we came to the head of the Tongusky, which is formed by the conflux of two other rivers, the Angara and the Elinim. The first issues from the great Baykall lake, and runs towards the west, till it meets the Tongusky, when it loses its name. We left the Angara and Tongusky on our right hand, and proceeded along the Elinim, which we found much smoother than the Tongusky. The Elinim is a considerable large and navigable river. The banks on the south side are very high, and covered with rugged rocks, overgrown with woods; but, to the north, you meet with several villages, corn-fields, and pasturage.

We kept on our course up the Elinim, a little to the northward of the east, till the 9th, when we arrived at the town of Elimsky, so called from the name of the river, which stands in a narrow valley, on the south side of the river, encompassed with high hills and rocks covered with woods. This place is but small, and is only considerable, as it stands on the road to the eastern parts of Siberia; for travellers to China generally take to the south-east, towards Irkutsky; and those who travel to Yakutsky and Kamtatzky to the north-east.

CHAP. IV. — *Observations on Yakutsky and Kamtatzky, &c. — Journey continued to Irkutsky; and Occurrences there, &c.*

AT Elimsky I met with General Kanifer. He was adjutant general to Charles XII. of Sweden, and much esteemed by that great warrior, for his military exploits. Kanifer was a native of Courland. He was taken prisoner by the the Russians in Poland, and sent thither, where he lived in ease and solitude, and was regularly visited by all travellers.

This gentleman had a creature, called kaberda, which was brought to him when a fawn, by some of the Tongusy. It is the animal from which the sweet-smelling drug called musk is taken. The musk grows about the navel, in form of an excrescence, which is cut off, and preserved, when the creature is killed. There are many of them in this country; but the musk is not so strong scented as that which comes from China, and more southern climates. The general had bred this creature to be very familiar. He fed it at his table with bread and roots. When dinner was over, it jumped on the table, and picked up the crumbs. It followed him about the streets like a dog.

I must confess it was pleasing to see it cut caprioles, and play with children like a kid.

The kaberda is a size less than the fallow-deer, and its colour darker. It is of a pretty shape, having erect horns, without branches; is very swift, and haunts rocks and mountains of difficult access to men or dogs; and, when hunted, jumps from cliff to cliff with incredible celerity and firmness of foot. The flesh is esteemed better venison than any of the deer kind of larger size, whereof there is great variety in these parts.

Before I leave Elimsky I shall, as usual, give a short account of some of the places adjacent, particularly those to the north-east, towards the river Lena and Yakutsky, according as I have been informed by travellers, on whose veracity I could entirely depend.

The people, who travel in winter from hence to these places, generally do it in January or February. It is a very long and difficult journey, and which none but Tungusians, or such hardy people, have abilities to perform. The Russians frequently finish it in six weeks. The common method is as follows: after travelling a few days in sledges, when the road becomes impassable by horses, they set themselves on snow-shoes, and drag after them what is called a nart, containing provisions and other necessaries, which are as few and light as possible. This nart is a kind of sledge about five feet long and ten inches broad, which a man may easily draw upon the deepest snow. At night, they make a large fire, and lay themselves down to sleep in these narrow sledges. As soon as they have refreshed themselves, they again proceed on their snow-shoes, as before. This manner of travelling continues about the space of ten days, when they come to a place where they procure dogs to draw both themselves and their narts. The dogs are yoked by pairs, and are more or fewer in number according to the weight they have to draw. Being trained to the work, they go on with great spirit, barking all the way; and the person, who lies in the sledge, holds a small cord to guide the dog that leads the rest. They are fastened to the sledge by a soft rope, which is tied about their middle, and passes through between their hind legs. I have been surprised to see the weight that these creatures are able to draw; for travellers must carry along with them provisions for both themselves and the dogs. These watchful animals know the time of setting out in the morning; and make a dismal howling, till they are fed, and pursue their journey. This way of travelling would not, I believe, suit every constitution; the very sight of it satisfied my curiosity. Thus, however, these people proceed for near three weeks, till they arrive at some villages on the Lena, where, leaving the dogs, they procure horses, with which they travel to the town of Yakutsky. This place has its name from a rivulet, called Yakut, which empties itself into the Lena.

I have been, perhaps, too particular in describing the method of travelling with snow-shoes and dogs; but as these things are known to few Europeans, I concluded an account of them would not be disagreeable. I have seen several Swedish officers who have travelled to Yakutsky in this manner. I tried the snow-shoes myself, and found them very fatiguing; but time and practice make them easy and familiar.

There is a more agreeable road from Elimsky to Yakutsky than that I have mentioned, which is by water, down the river Lena; but this route will not agree with the time and circumstances of every traveller. Those who travel from Irkutsky by this course go by land to a place called Vercholenky Ostrogue, situated near the source of the Lena, where they embark, and fall down the stream. Those who go from Elimsky, cross the country directly, about two days journey, to the first convenient place upon the Lena, where they procure vessels, and sail down the river to Yakutsky, or any
other

other place; but in this passage by water they are pestered with numbers of large gnats and muskitoes, which lessen the pleasure of the voyage.

Before I proceed to the northward, it will not be improper to give a short description of the famous river Lena; which, for the length of its course and quantity of water, may be compared to any of the largest rivers in the world.

The Lena rises at a small distance northward from the Baykall lake, and runs to the north, with a little variation, till it discharges itself into the Northern Ocean. I compute the length of it from the source to the ocean, to be about two thousand five hundred English miles, though it is much more by common report. It is navigable during this whole course, having no cataracts so great as to prevent the passage of vessels of considerable burden. It receives many great rivers, most of which come from the east. It may be easily imagined, that the Lena cannot fail of being stored with various kinds of excellent fish when the other rivers in Siberia afford such plenty and variety. The banks are generally overgrown with tall thick woods, wherein are abundance of game, and wild beasts. The country between its source and the Baykall lake is well peopled, abounding with many Russ villages and corn-fields along the banks of the river.

Having formerly mentioned Yakutky and Kamtatzky, I shall add a few observations on these two provinces.

The town of Yakutky, capital of the province of that name, is situated on the west bank of the river Lena, and governed by a commandant; whose office is reckoned very lucrative, as many fables and other valuable furs are found in that province.

The winter here is very long, and the frost so violent that it is never out of the earth, in the month of June, beyond two feet and a half below the surface. When the inhabitants bury their dead three feet deep, they are laid in frozen earth; for the heat of the sun never penetrates above two feet, or two feet and an half; so that I am informed all the dead bodies remain in the earth unconfused, and will do so till the day of judgment.

The town and many villages in its neighbourhood are inhabited by Russians, who have horses and cows, but no sheep nor corn. They are plentifully supplied with corn from the southern parts of the country, by water-carriage along the Lena. And, in summer, they make hay enough to feed their cattle in winter.

The province of Yakutky is inhabited by a numerous tribe of Tartars, by which name the Russians call the whole of the natives of this country, however they differ from one another in religion, language, and manners. Those of this province are named Yakuty. They occupy a great space of territory round this place, especially to the east, where they border with the extensive province of Kamtatzky.

The Yakuty differ little from the Tongusians, either in their persons or way of life. Their occupation, like that of the other natives, is fishing and hunting. They have flatish faces, little black eyes, and long black hair plaited, and hanging down their backs. Many of the men are marked in the face with charcoal, after the manner of the Tongusians. I have, however, seen many of these people, both men and women, of good complexions. They often sell their children to the Russians, who are very fond of them, as they generally make trusty servants.

These people, though otherwise humane and tractable, have among them one very barbarous custom: when any of their people are infirm through age, or seized with distempers reckoned incurable, they make a small hut for the patient, near some river, in which they leave him, with some provisions, and seldom or never return to visit him. On such occasions they have no regard to father or mother, but say they do them a good

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office in sending them to a better world. Whereby it appears, that even these rude ignorant people have a notion of a future state.

Under Kamtatzky I include all that vast tract of land reaching from the river Amoor, along the shore of the Eastern or Japanese Ocean, called by the Russians Tikoe More, or the Calm Sea, to the north-east point of the continent. The country along the shore is very pleasant and healthy, especially to the south, where the climate is temperate. This part of the country produces grain, and, as I have been informed, even grapes and other fruits. The inhabitants are very humane and hospitable.

When the Russians first entered this province, the Kamtzedans endeavoured to oppose them. For this purpose they assembled great numbers of men armed, after the fashion of their country, with bows, arrows, and short lances, headed with bone, sharpened at the point. Whence it appears, that these people knew no more the use of iron than the Mexicans on the arrival of the Spaniards in America. Their multitudes were soon dispersed by a few Russians with fire-arms, which, in those days, had rifled barrels, and a small bore, which killed at a great distance. The poor Kamtzedans, seeing their people fall without any visible wound, and astonished with the fire and noise of the gunpowder, left the field in the utmost consternation. Their dispositions now were wholly inclined to peace; and a few of their chief men were sent to the Russians in order to obtain it. They prostrated themselves, in the most submissive manner, before the leader of the party, and begged of him to grant them peace; which he did, on condition of their paying to His Majesty an annual tribute of fables, or other furs. This condition they have punctually performed ever since.

Many parts of Kamtatzky are hilly and mountainous, particularly to the north, and covered with tall woods. At Ochotky is a good harbour, and timber enough to build a royal navy. There are many great and small rivers that run through the country, and empty themselves into the Eastern Ocean, among which is a great river called Anadeer. To the north of this river towards the ocean lies an extensive tract of land, little known, and inhabited by a fierce and savage people, called by the Russians Ana-deertzy, who continue very untractable.

I have nothing further to add concerning these remote provinces, only I am persuaded that the islands of Japan can be at no great distance from the southern parts of Kamtatzky. What confirmed me in this opinion is that I saw at St. Petersburg a young man, a native of Japan, who, I believe, is yet alive in the Academy of Sciences at that place. I asked him, by what accident he was brought so far from his own country; and he gave me the following account:—That his father and himself, with a few persons more, being at a noted town called Naggisaky, on the west coast of the island, employed about some affairs of trade, and having finished their business, intended to return to their own habitations on the north shore, by sailing round the coast. Therefore went they on board a small boat, and began their voyage homeward; but, meeting with a strong gale off the land, they were unfortunately driven out to sea, and in a few days were cast upon the coast of Kamtatzky half starved, and in the greatest distress. In this condition they met with a Russian Officer, who afforded them all that assistance which common humanity dictates on such occasions. Notwithstanding all his care, several of the old people died, being quite spent with fatigue, and want of victuals. That he and another youth, who was since dead, were sent to St. Petersburg, where His Majesty was pleased to order that they should be provided for in the Academy. This young man could read and write both the Japanese and Russian languages.

We set out from Elimsky on the 12th; and next day, in the evening, came to a small village upon the north bank of the river Angara, about eighty verst distant from

Elimsky. During these two days, we saw no house nor any inhabitants, the whole of the country through which we passed being covered with tall and thick woods. There is a narrow road cut for sledges, and the trees on each side meeting at the top shade it by day, and in the night make it very dark, and almost dismal.

We passed the night in this village, where we got fresh horses; and next morning repeated our journey almost due east up the river Angara upon the ice. Along the banks we found many villages well peopled. The face of the country had now a different aspect from what I had seen for several months; sometimes we saw a fine champaign country, exhibiting a beautiful and extensive prospect; at other times, the view was agreeably varied with woods and rising grounds. The north side of the river is mostly overgrown with woods. There are some openings along the banks where we found villages, and abundance of cattle and provisions.

The 15th, we arrived at a large village called Balagansky, situated on the south side of the Angara, near a rivulet running from the south called Unga. The situation of this place is very pleasant, as it stands in a fruitful plain, and has many corn-fields and woods in the neighbourhood.

Here we found another tribe of the natives of Siberia, who differ in some particulars from all those I have formerly described. They are called by the Russians Bratsky, but by themselves Buraty. They live in tents all the year, and, having large flocks of sheep, and many cows and horses, they remove from place to place, as the convenience of grazing requires. Their language has a great affinity to that of the Kalmucks; and they have priests among them who can read and write that language. As to their dress and manner of life, I could observe little difference between them and the Kalmucks on the Volga; and therefore conclude they have both descended from the same original. Their faces, however, are not quite so flat as those of the Kalmucks, their noses being somewhat higher, and their countenances more open.

The Buraty are stout active men, but hate all kind of labour: for, though they have the example of the Russians ploughing and sowing their ground, and living plentifully on the produce of this rich and fertile soil, they choose still to live in their tents, and tend their flocks, on which their subsistence entirely depends.

The chief exercise of the men is hunting and riding. They have a good breed of saddle-horses, and their horned cattle are very large. Their sheep have broad tails, and their mutton is excellent. They have also great abundance of goats; for all these animals they make no provision of fodder, but leave them to feed in the open fields. When the snow falls to a great depth, which seldom happens in these parts, they drive them to the southwards to rising grounds, where little snow lies.

Their arms are bows and arrows, lances, and sabres, all of which are used on horseback; for, like the Kalmucks, they have no infantry. They are dexterous archers, and skilful horsemen.

These people were formerly subject to a prince of the Mongals, but now live very quietly under the Russian government. They are at present a very numerous people, reaching towards the east and south of Baykall lake, and are generally reckoned very honest and sincere.

As to their dress, the men wear a coat, or rather gown, of sheep-skins, girt about the middle, in all seasons; a small round cap, faced with fur, having a tassel of red silk at the top, which, together with a pair of drawers and boots, makes up the whole of their apparel. The women's dress is nearly the same, only their gowns are plaited about the waist, and hang down like a petticoat. The married women have their hair hanging in two locks, one on each side of the head, drawn through two iron rings, to prevent

its floating on the breast, and looking very like a tye-wig. Round their forehead they wear a hoop of polished iron, made fast behind, and on their head a small round cap, faced with fur, and embroidered, in their fashion, to distinguish it from those of the men. The maids are dressed in the same manner, only their hair is all-plaited, hanging in separate locks round their head, and is as black as a raven: some of them have good complexions. Both the men and women are courteous in their behaviour. I should like them much better if they were a little more cleanly. Both their persons and tents are extremely nasty, from their using only skins to preserve them from the cold; on these they sit or lie, round a little fire, in their tents.

The religion of the Buraty seems to be the same with that of the Kalmucks, which is downright Paganism of the grossest kind. They talk indeed of an Almighty and good Being, who created all things, whom they call Burchun, but seem bewildered in obscure and fabulous notions concerning his nature and government. They have two high priests, to whom they pay great respect; one is called Delay-Lama, the other Kutuchtu. Of these priests I shall have an opportunity to give some account afterwards.

In passing the tents of the Buraty, I often observed a long pole, whereon was hung, by the horns, the head and skin of a sheep. On enquiring the reason of this appearance, I was told that the animal, whose head and skin these were, had been slain, and offered in sacrifice to the god who protected their flocks and herds. I could observe no images among them except some relics given them by their priests, which they had from the Delay-Lama; these are commonly hung up in a corner of their tents, and sometimes about their necks, by way of an amulet, to preserve them from misfortunes.

The 16th, we came to another large village, called Kamenka, situated on the north bank of the river, where we found many of the Buraty in their tents. This day we had some rain, which melted much snow, and made it dangerous to travel upon the ice, so that we were obliged to leave the river, and make the best of our way along the banks; for several of our horses broke through the ice, and were got up again with no small difficulty.

The 17th, our route lay to the south-east. The alteration of the weather was now very perceptible, the heat of the sun was very intense, and the snow suddenly disappeared, leaving no marks of winter, except the ice upon the river, which was vanishing very fast. Thus, in the space of a few days, we passed from a cold winter to a warm spring; and one would almost have imagined we had been imperceptibly dropped into another climate. Our sledges, in which we had travelled and lodged, for most part, during the winter, could now be of no use; and we left them to be put on wheel-carriages, in order to follow us as should be convenient.

Having procured such horses and furniture as the place afforded, we proceeded along the north bank of the Angara, towards Irkutky. We were escorted by some Cossacks, and a party of the Buraty, armed with bows and arrows. We hunted all the way as we travelled; and were not a little surpris'd to see the Buraty kill many hares with their arrows. This exercise was very seasonable, as we had been confined to sledges for more than three months, during our journey from Cazan to this place.

On the 18th of March, we arrived at the town of Irkutky, so called from the rivulet Irkut, which falls into the Angara near it. It stands on the north bank of the Angara, in a large plain, to the north of which the grounds are very high, and covered with woods. On the south side of the river, towards the Baykall lake, are high hills, rising to the south, and covered with tall trees, among which are many larches and Siberian cedars. The larch, called in Rus's *livinitza*, is a well known tree in these parts;

parts; near the root of it grows a famous drug, called agarick, in form of a mushroom; it sheds its leaf in autumn, and in summer it looks like a pine; it grows very straight and tall, and is reckoned good timber for ship-building; it bears a cone like the fir-tree, containing the seed, but not half so large.

What is called the cedar is a large tall tree, which never sheds the leaf; it is white and smooth, but has not the least smell of cedar. They use it chiefly in building houses, and it makes the finest white floors, and free from knots, of any wood I know. The leaves are like those of a pine, but grow in tassels, very beautiful. The cones are large, and, instead of seed, like the fir, contain a small nut with a kernel, of which the people in this country are very fond, and eat it by way of a desert, in place of better fruit. It has a pleasant taste, like that of raisins, and is esteemed good for the stomach.

The town of Irkutsky is fortified with a ditch, and strong palisades, having towers at certain distances. The garrison consists of some regular troops, besides a number of Cossacks, or the militia of the country. The town contains about two thousand houses, and the inhabitants are plentifully supplied with provisions of all kinds from the neighbouring villages. The adjacent woods abound with variety of game. The river affords sturgeon, and many other kinds of fish, but no sterlet; because, as I apprehend, they delight in muddy streams, and the water at this place is so clear, that, in two fathoms deep, one may see the pebbles at the bottom.

At Irkutsky is a good market for furs of all sorts, and likewise for many kinds of Chinese goods. All merchandise must be entered at the custom-house in this place, and pays a duty of 10 per cent. which produces a considerable revenue to His Majesty.

The 25th of March, our baggage arrived, after surmounting many difficulties on the road. They had been obliged to leave many of the sledges, after taking the baggage off them, and putting it on wheel-carriages.

Our design was to have crossed the Baykall Sea upon the ice, and then proceeded by land to the town of Selinginsky, but we came too late for that purpose. The season was so far advanced, that before our carriages arrived, the river was almost free of ice. We were informed, indeed, that the ice upon the lake was sufficiently strong to bear horses, but, upon considering the matter, it was thought most adviseable to remain here, till the ice in the sea was also melted, that we might go by water to Selinginsky; and orders were immediately given that vessels should be prepared for this purpose.

April 1st, we crossed the river, accompanied by Mr. Rakitin the commandant, in order to take a view of the country towards the south. We rode through fine woods of stately oaks, and other trees, formerly mentioned. We hunted all the way, and found abundance of game. At last we came to a small Russian village, in a fruitful valley, encompassed with hills covered with woods, where we lodged. Next day we went ten or a dozen miles farther, in search of wild beasts, but, finding none, we returned to the same village; and the day following to Irkutsky.

The 10th, we were entertained with a famous Buratsky Shaman, who was also Lama, or priest, and was brought from a great distance. As these shamans make a great noise in this part of the world, and are believed by the ignorant vulgar to be inspired, I shall give some account of the behaviour of this one, in particular, by which it will appear that the whole is an imposition.

He was introduced to the ambassador by the commandant, accompanied by several chiefs of his own tribe, who treat him with great respect. He was a man of about thirty years of age, of a grave aspect and deportment. At his introduction he had a cup of brandy presented to him, which he drank, but refused any more.

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After some conversation, he was desired to exhibit some specimen of his art; but he replied, he could do nothing in a Russian house, because there were some images of saints which prevented his success. The performance was therefore adjourned to a Buratky tent in the suburbs. Accordingly, in the evening, we went to the place appointed, where we found the shaman, with several of his companions, round a little fire, smoking tobacco, but no women among them. We placed ourselves on one side of the tent, leaving the other for him and his countrymen. After sitting about half an hour, the shaman placed himself cross-legged upon the floor, close by a few burning coals upon the hearth, with his face towards his companions; then he took two sticks about four feet long each, one in each hand, and began to sing a dismal tune, beating time with the sticks; all his followers joined in the chorus. During this part of the performance, he turned and distorted his body into many different postures, till at last he wrought himself up to such a degree of fury, that he foamed at the mouth, and his eyes looked red and staring. He now started up on his legs, and fell a dancing, like one distracted, till he trode out the fire with his bare feet. These unnatural motions were by the vulgar attributed to the operations of a divinity; and, in truth, one would almost have imagined him possessed by some demon. After being quite spent with dancing, he retired to the door of the tent, and gave three dreadful shrieks, by which his companions said he called the demon, to direct him in answering such questions as should be proposed. He then returned, and sat down in great composure, telling he was ready to resolve any question that might be asked. Several of our people put questions in abundance; all which he answered readily, but in such ambiguous terms that nothing could be made of them. He now performed several legerdemain tricks, such as stabbing himself with a knife, and bringing it up at his mouth, running himself through with a sword, and many others too trifling to mention. In short, nothing is more evident than that these shamans are a parcel of jugglers, who impose on the ignorant and credulous vulgar.

The 6th of April, we went to a monastery, about five miles to the eastward of this place, where we dined with the Archbishop of Tobolsky. This prelate had lately come hither to visit some monasteries, and in his way had baptised a number of Osteaks and other heathens. From this time till the 8th of May little material happened. We waited patiently for the dissolving of the ice on the Baykall lake, of which we expected to receive the most certain knowledge, by means of the floating ice on the Angara; for, when this happens, that river is filled with floating cakes, which are driven along with great fury by the wind and current.

The 11th, the river was now clear of ice. Our baggage was shipped on board large flat-bottomed boats, and drawn up the stream; the wind being southerly, made the progress of the boats very slow. The ambassador therefore resolved to remain at this place, till he heard they had nearly reached the lake, which is about forty yers from Irkutsky.

Before we left this place, Mr. Kremenky, our interpreter for the Latin tongue, died of a hectic disorder. He was a Polish gentleman, and had laboured under this distemper for some years.

CHAP. V.—*From Irkutsky, cross the Lake Baykall, to Selinginsky.—Some Account of the Kutuchtu, &c.*

THE 15th of May, the weather being very hot, we did not set out till after dinner, when we left Irkutsky, accompanied by the commandant and some other officers of the place.

place. We rode along the north bank of the river, through pleasant woods, and some open fields, till we came, about midnight, to a few fishermen's huts, where we halted for a few hours, and repeated our journey early next morning.

At noon, we arrived at a small chapel, dedicated to St. Nicolas, where travellers usually pay their devotions, and pray for a prosperous passage over the lake. About this religious house there are a few fishermen's huts. Two monks constantly attend, to put people in mind of their duty, and receive a small gratuity from the passengers.

Here we found our boats waiting for us below the falls of the Angara. From hence you can see the lake, bursting out betwixt two high rocks, and tumbling down over huge stones, that lie quite cross the river, which I reckon to be about an English mile broad. The whole channel of the river is covered with these rocks, from the mouth of the lake down to the Chapel of St. Nicolas, about the distance of an English mile. There is no passage for the smallest boats, except along the east shore, through a narrow strait, between the rocks and the land. In the most shallow places, there is about five or six feet water, and breadth all the way sufficient for any single vessel. But if, by stress of weather, or any other accident, a boat should have the misfortune to miss this opening, and be thrown upon the rocks, she must immediately be dashed to pieces, and the whole crew inevitably perish. The waters, dashing upon the stones, make a noise like the roaring of the sea, so that people near them can scarce hear one another speak. I cannot express the awfulness with which one is struck, at the sight of such astonishing scenes of nature as appear round this place, and which I believe are not to be equalled in the known world. The pilots and sailors who navigate the lake speak of it with much reverence, calling it the Holy Sea, and the mountains about it, the Holy Mountains; and are highly displeas'd with any person who speaks of it with disrespect, or calls it a lake. They tell a story of a certain pilot who always gave it that appellation, but was severely punished for his contempt. Being on a voyage in autumn, he and his crew were tossed from side to side of the lake, till they were half starved, and in great danger of perishing. Necessity, at last, forced this hardy mariner to comply with the prevailing custom, and pray to the Holy Sea and Mountains to have compassion on him in such distress. His prayers were effectual; and he arrived safe to land; but was observed, ever after, to speak of the sea with the greatest respect.

The afternoon was spent in adjusting the tackle, and preparing the barks for being drawn up the strong narrow current.

The 17th, the wind being contrary, and blowing pretty fresh, the pilots would not venture out. I, and three more of our company, took this opportunity of walking up to the top of the mountains, where we had a full view of the sea, and the land to the south on the other side of it, and also to the west, as far as it extends. The land on the south side of the lake rises gradually, till it terminates in hills mostly covered with wood; but, on the western shore, there are very high mountains, several whereof are overspread with deep snow, which we could easily discern, though at a great distance.

The Baykall Sea, opposite to the mouth of the Selinga, is reckoned about fifty English miles broad, though it is much broader in some other places, and about three hundred miles in length. It is wholly fresh water, and is supplied by the Selinga, and many other rivers, from the south, and by the higher Angara from the east. The course of the sea is from south-west to north-east, and has very few shelves or rocks. There is only one large island, near the middle of it, called Olchon. It is bounded on the north by a ridge of high rocks, which run from one end of it to the other. The only opening by which it discharges itself is that into the Angara, which, though it is a natural passage, appears as if cut through the rocks by art. In my opinion, one cannot imagine

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imagine a more beautiful prospect of nature than is seen from the top of these mountains, which may easily be perceived from the short and imperfect sketch I have drawn of it. The woods on the summit of the rocks are short and thinly scattered; but, on their declivity towards the north, and in the valleys, the trees become gradually both taller and larger. There is abundance of game and wild beasts in these woods, particularly the wild boar, which was the first of that species we found in this country; a certain sign of a temperate climate; for these animals cannot endure the excessive cold in more northerly parts. The hunting of these animals being a dangerous kind of sport, we carefully avoided their haunts. In the evening, we returned to our barks at the chapel of St. Nicolas.

The Baykall is abundantly furnished with various kinds of excellent fish, particularly sturgeon, and a fish called omully, in shape and taste resembling a herring, but broader and larger. The sea produces also great numbers of seals, whose skins are preferred in quality to those of seals caught in salt-water. I am of opinion, that both the seals and fish in the Baykall came originally from the Northern Ocean, as the communication between them is open, though the distance be very great.

The seals are generally caught in winter, by strong nets hung under the ice. The method they use is to cut many holes in the ice, at certain distances from one another, so that the fishermen can, with long poles, stretch their nets from one hole to another, and thus continue them to any distance. The seals, not being able to bear long confinement under the ice, seek these holes for relief, and thus entangle themselves in the nets. These creatures, indeed, commonly make many holes for themselves, at the setting in of the frost. In this manner, they catch not only seals, but fish of all kinds, in winter.

The 18th, the wind being favourable, we put off from St. Nicolas's. As we had workmen enough, we left part of them on board, to assist the pilot, by setting poles, while the rest were employed on shore in towing the barks against a strong current. In about the space of three hours we got clear of the current, and all hands came on board. We were now quite becalmed, and obliged to take to our oars. We rowed along shore to the eastward till about noon, when we had an easy breeze, which soon carried us two thirds over the sea, under our main-sail. The wind now chopped about to the east, and blew so fresh, that we could not make the river Selinga, which was the port where we intended to land. As these barks cannot turn to windward, we were drove about ten miles to the westward of the Possoltky monastery, which stands about six miles to the westward of the Selinga, in a pleasant and fruitful plain, furnishing an extensive view in all directions; where, endeavouring to get to land at any rate, we steered into a bay in which we fancied we saw the shore covered with cockle-shells or white sand. On a nearer approach, our mistake appeared. For what seemed shells or sand, at a distance, was only great and small cakes of ice, beating with the waves against the main body of the ice, which lay firm, and covered the whole bay. Our people, on distinguishing the ice, immediately struck sail, and were in no small confusion. But Mr. Ismaeloff ordered the sail to be again set, and to steer directly for the ice. In the mean time, all hands were employed in hanging boards about the bow of the vessel, to prevent the cutting of the planks, and in setting poles to push off the large cakes. At last we came among the ice, which made a terrible rattling at first; but the farther we advanced, the easier our bark lay, till we came to the main body of the ice, where she remained as unmoved as if she had been in a mill-pond, though it still continued to blow hard. We now quitted the ship, and walked about upon the ice, which was yet strong enough to carry horses. By this time the sun was set,

let, which prevented our design of going ashore, for the distance was at least five English miles; and there was a great gap in the ice near the place where we lay.

About midnight, the wind turned westerly, and, at break of day, we left our station, and sailed to the eastward, and, about noon, entered the river Selinga, where we found our other three barks. They having been two or three miles before us the preceding night, had time enough to reach anchoring ground, and, by this means, escaped the ice, so little expected at this season of the year. We ourselves, before entering the bay, had founded, in order to discover whether we could come to an anchor; but no bottom could be found, though we joined several lead-lines together, amounting to above one hundred and fifty fathoms.

The mouth of the Selinga is surrounded with tall reeds, and contains several islands. The entry into it is very difficult, except the wind be fair, because of many shoals and sand-banks, thrown up by the current of the river. Here we found great flocks of all kinds of water-fowl, particularly snipes.

The wind continuing fair, we sailed up the river to a small oratory, dedicated also to St. Nicolas, where all hands went ashore to return thanks for their safe passage. The prior of the Possolky monastery came to this place to salute the ambassador, and brought a present of fish, and such other provisions as these religious houses afford.

In the evening, we proceeded up the river, till night overtook us, when we hauled our boats close to the bank, and lay till next morning, which was the 20th of May. This day being calm, the bark was towed up the river; and we walked along the banks, hunting all the way in a very pleasant country. At night, we lay by, as formerly.

The 21st, the weather was very hot. We continued our voyage in the same manner as before.

The 22d, the wind being fair, we hoisted sails; and in the evening arrived at a large village, well built and peopled, called Kabbansky Ostrogue. This place is pleasantly situated, on a rising ground upon the west bank of the river, surrounded with many corn-fields and much pasturage. Here we took new hands on board our barks, and dismissed the former to return in open boats to Irkutsky.

The 25th, we reached another large village, called Bolshoy Zaimka, situated in a fertile country. In the neighbourhood is a small monastery, and many lesser villages. Many of the Buraty were encamped, with their flocks and herds, on both sides of the river.

The climate on this side of the Baykall lake is much more temperate than on the north side. The land produces rich crops of wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, and pease, besides kitchen roots, and other garden stuff. The inhabitants have not yet begun to plant any kind of fruit-trees, which I am persuaded would thrive exceedingly, as the winters are short, and the snow does not lie above six weeks or two months. The banks of the river appeared very pleasant, being finely varied with plains and woods.

The 26th, we came to a large town, called Udinsky, from the rivulet Uda, which runs into the Selinga, on the east bank. This place also stands in a fertile plain, having hills covered with woods towards the east. In these hills are found several rich ores, particularly of lead; in digging which many hands are now employed. The mines say it is of too hard a quality; however, they have extracted considerable quantities of silver from it; and I have been informed that they also found some veins of silver ore. As these works are but lately begun, it is not doubted that they are capable of great improvement, at an easy charge, as the metal lies but near the surface.

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Samples of these ores have been sent to St. Petersburg; and, I am informed, His Majesty has engaged some German miners to make experiments upon them.

Both here and on the Angara iron is to be found in great abundance at the very surface: but as the distance is too great for exportation, it is not worth the labour. To supply the common consumption of the country, the smith takes his bellows, goes to the mine, and smelts and works as much iron as he needs. I have seen some of this iron of an excellent, soft, and pliable quality.

Besides the above mentioned, there are at this place very rich mines of copper. I have seen some of the ore with large veins of pure copper running through it. I make no doubt but time and future discoveries will bring these mines to perfection, to the great emolument of the Russian empire.

All this country is under the jurisdiction of the commandant of Irkutsky, who sends deputies to all the towns of this extensive province, to administer justice, and take care of His Majesty's revenues. The power of nominating sub-governors and commandants, is vested by His Majesty in the governor of Siberia, which gives him an authority equal to a sovereign prince.

The ambassador, finding the progress of the boats against the stream very slow and tedious, being besides much pestered with gnats and muskitoes, resolved to go by land the rest of the way to Selinginsky: for which purpose, the superintendent of this place ordered horses, and a proper escort, to be got ready against next morning on the other side of the river, the road on this side being interrupted by thick woods and deep rivers.

The 27th, having sent off our barks, we crossed the river, and, having no baggage, we soon mounted. The road lay through a fine plain, covered with excellent grass. In the evening, we came to a fountain of pure water, where we lodged in the tents of the Buraty, and slept on bull-hides.

The 28th, early, we proceeded, travelling over some pretty high hills overgrown with wood. About noon, we came to a river called Orongoy, which we crossed, on a tall camel, it being too deep for horses. At this place, we found a number of the Buraty encamped, with their flocks grazing in the neighbourhood.

Our horses having swam the river, we went into one of the Buratsky tents till they were dried. The hospitable landlady immediately set her kettle on the fire to make us some tea; the extraordinary cookery of which I cannot help describing. After placing a large iron kettle over the fire, she took care to wipe it very clean with a horse's tail, that hung in a corner of the tent for that purpose; then the water was put into it, and soon after some coarse bohea tea, which is got from China, and a little salt. When near boiling, she took a large brass ladle, and tossed the tea till the liquor turned very brown. It was now taken off the fire, and, after subsiding a little, was poured clear into another place. The kettle being wiped clean with the horse's tail as before, was again set upon the fire. The mistress now prepared a paste, of meal and fresh butter, that hung in a skin near the horse's tail, which was put into the tea-kettle and fried. Upon this paste the tea was again poured, to which was added some good thick cream, taken out of a clean sheep's skin, which hung upon a peg among other things. The ladle was again employed, for the space of six minutes, when the tea, being removed from the fire, was allowed to stand a while in order to cool. The landlady now took some wooden cups, which held about half a pint each, and served her tea to all the company. The principal advantage of this tea, is, that it both satisfies hunger and quenches thirst. I thought it not disagreeable; but should have liked it much better had it been prepared in a manner a little more cleanly. Our bountiful hosts, however,

ever, gave us a hearty welcome; and as these people know not the use of money, there was nothing to pay for our entertainment. We only made her a present of a little tobacco to smoke, of which these people are very fond. I have given this receipt with a view that some European ladies may improve upon it.

After this short repast, we mounted again; and, in the evening, came to a neat Russian village, on the front of a pleasant hill covered with wood. This place is surrounded with extensive valleys and fine pasturage, and our accommodation was better than the preceding night. Here we met Mr. Firsoff, colonel of the cossacks, or militia of Selinginsky, with a squadron of horse, armed with bows and arrows, and some firelocks, who came to escort the ambassador to that place.

The 29th of May, we mounted early, and, by means of our cossacks, hunted and ranged the woods, as we went along, in the manner of this country, called *oblave* in the Russian language. Their method is to form a semi-circle of horsemen, armed with bows and arrows, in order to inclose the game. Within the semi-circle a few young men are placed, who give notice when the game is sprung; those only are permitted to pursue, the others being confined to keep their ranks. Our cossacks with their arrows, killed three deers, and several hares: and, if killing harmless animals can be called diversion, this may properly be reckoned one of the finest. After this fashion they hunt bears, wolves, foxes, and wild boars.

About noon, we came to a village on the Selinga, where we halted a few hours; and then crossed the river in boats, which was near a mile broad at this place. Our cossacks, however, fought no boats, except one to transport their arms, cloaths, and saddles; which being done, all of them mounted their horses, and plunged into the river without the least concern. As soon as the horses were set a swimming, for ease to them the men dismounted, and laying hold of the mane with one hand, guided them gently by the bridle with the other. This is the common method in this country of transporting men and horses, which I look upon to be both safe and easy, provided the horse is managed with a gentle hand, without checking him with sudden jerks of the bridle.

We halted a little, after crossing the river, till the horses were dried; after which we mounted, and, in the evening, arrived at the town of Selinginsky, where we intended to wait for our barks, and the rest of our people.

Selinginsky is situated on the east bank of the noble river Selinga, in a deep, barren, sandy soil that produces almost nothing. The choice of this situation was extremely injudicious; for, had the founders gone but half a mile further down, to the place where now the inhabitants have their gardens, they would have had a situation, in every respect, preferable to the present.

This place consists of about two hundred houses and two churches, which are all of them built with wood. It is defended by a fortification of strong palisades, on which are mounted some cannon.

About a mile eastward of the town is a ridge of high hills, quite covered with wood. On the other side of the river the country is open, dry, and somewhat barren, but affords excellent pasture, particularly for sheep, whereof the Buraty, the inhabitants, have large flocks. They are of that kind which hath broad tails; and their mutton is very good. These people have, besides, a large sort of horned cattle, and abundance of horses and camels, wherein all their riches consist. Here ends the tribe of the Buraty; and the nation of the Mongalls begins.

The Mongalls are a numerous people, and occupy a large extent of country, from this place to the Kalgan, which signifies the Everlasting Wall, or the great wall of China.

China. From this wall, they stretch themselves northward, as far as the river Amoor, and from the Amoor westward to the Baykall Sea, where they border with the territories of the Kontaysha, or prince of the Black Kalmucks. On the south, they are bounded by a nation called Tonguts, among whom the Delay-Lama has his residence. One may easily imagine, from the vast tract of land which the Mongalls occupy, that they must be very numerous, especially when it is considered that they live in a healthy climate, and have been engaged in no wars since they were conquered, partly by the Russians on the west, and partly by the Chinese on the east; to whom all these people are now tributaries. In former times, the Mongalls were troublesome neighbours to the Chinese, against whose incursions the great wall was built.

Kamhi, the present Emperor of China, was the first who subdued these hardy Tartars, which he effected more by kind usage and humanity than by his sword; for these people are great lovers of liberty. The same gentle treatment hath been observed by the Russians towards those of them who are their subjects. And they themselves confess, that, under the protection of these two mighty Emperors, they enjoy more liberty, and live more at ease, than they formerly did under their own princes.

The present prince of Mongolia is called Tush-du-Chan, and resides about six days journey to the south-east from Selinginsky. The place is called Urga, and is near to where the Kutuchtu or high-priest inhabits. When the Mongalls submitted themselves to the Emperor of China, it was agreed, that the Tush-du-Chan should still maintain the name and authority of a prince over his people, but undertake no war nor expedition without the consent of the Emperor; which has strictly been observed ever since.

It is very remarkable, that in all the vast dominions of Mongolia, there is not so much as a single house to be seen. All the people, even the prince and high-priest, live constantly in tents; and remove with their cattle from place to place, as convenience requires.

These people do not trouble themselves with plowing or digging the ground in any fashion, but are content with the produce of their flocks. Satisfied with necessaries, without aiming at superfluities, they pursue the most ancient and simple manner of life, which, I must confess, I think very pleasant in such a mild and dry climate.

From the river Volga to the wall of China there are three great Tartar princes, the Ayuka-Chan, the Kontaysha, and the Tush-du-Chan. These three mighty nations have almost the same features, religion, and language, and live in the same manner. It will easily be perceived, by casting an eye on the map, what an extent of territory these princes possess, whose subjects go by the general name of Kalmucks. Few languages can carry a traveller over a greater extent of country than that of the Kalmucks. With the Arabic, indeed, a person may travel through many places of the east, from Egypt to the court of the great Mogul; but with the Illyric he can travel much further than with either of the former, viz. from the Gulf of Venice to the utmost boundaries of Kamtzatka; for the Russian is a dialect of the Illyric.

The greatest part of Mongolia is one continued waste, except the places along the Amoor, and towards the Russian borders on the west. The soil also to the south from Selinginsky, is exceedingly fine, and capable, by proper culture, of producing grain of several sorts.

Since I have mentioned the Amoor, I presume this will be no improper place to give some account of that river. It is called by the Tartars Shagcalynoulla, or the Black Dragon, I suppose from the colour of its waters, and the windings of its course. It is formed of two large rivers, whose sources are in the desert, far to the eastward of this place. One is called Amgun, which issues from a lake named Delay; the other is

Ingoda, on the north bank of which stands the famous Russian town Nertzinsky. The conflux of these rivers produces the Amoor, which runs towards the east, augmenting daily by means of the many great and small streams it receives, till it becomes one of the largest rivers in this part of the world, and, after a long course, discharges itself into the Eastern or Chinese ocean. It is remarkable, that from Casan to these parts, the Amoor is the only river that runs eastward. Most, if not all, of the great rivers in Siberia have their courses to the north and north-west.

Our barks arrived at Selinginsky on the 4th of June. After we had taken out of them what necessaries we wanted, they were dispatched with the rest of the baggage, for their greater security, to His Majesty's store-house at Streaka, about four miles up the river, where the caravan for China then lay.

In the mean time, the ambassador wrote a letter to the Allegada, or prime minister, at the imperial court of Pekin, to notify his arrival, and desire his excellency would give orders for his reception on the borders. This letter was sent to the prince of Mongalia, to be by him forwarded to court; for no strangers are allowed to travel through his territories to China without his permission. The officer who carried the letter to the prince, was treated with great civility, and his letter immediately sent to court by an express. A few days after, the prince sent two gentlemen, one of whom was a lama, to congratulate the ambassador on his arrival in these parts. They were invited to dine with the ambassador, and behaved very decently.

The same officer, who carried the ambassador's letter to the prince of Mongalia at Urga, was ordered to present his compliments to the Kutuchtu, or high priest, who is a near relation of the prince. He received the officer in a very friendly manner, desired him to sit down in his presence; an honour granted to very few, except ambassadors and pilgrims from remote countries; and, at his departure, gave him a present of some inconsiderable things, particularly a few pieces of Chinese silks.

I cannot leave this venerable personage, without taking some notice of him. I shall therefore relate a few things concerning him, among thousands more ridiculous, which the people in this country tell and believe.

This extraordinary man assumes to himself the character of omniscience, which is the interpretation of the word Kutuchtu; and the people are taught to believe that he really knows all things past, present, and future. As his intelligence, by means of his lamas, is very extensive, he is easily able to impose on the vulgar in this particular. They also believe that he is immortal, not that his body lives always, but that his soul, upon the decay of an old one, immediately transmigrates into some young human body, which, by certain marks, the lamas discover to be animated by the soul of the Kutuchtu, and he is accordingly treated as high priest.

When the spirit of the Kutuchtu has taken possession of a new body, that is, in plain English, when he is dead, the lamas are immediately employed to discover in what part of the world this wonderful person is regenerated, or born again, as they express it. They need, however, go to no great distance to find him; for, the affair being previously concerted among the chief lamas, they soon determine the choice of a successor, who generally happens to be a young boy, that has been well instructed how to behave on that occasion. When a successor is pretended to be found, a company of lamas are sent to examine the matter, who carry along with them many toys, such as small silver bells, and things of that nature, which belonged to the former Kutuchtu, intermixed with others that did not. All these are laid before the child, who picks out such things as belonged to his predecessor, and discovers the greatest fondness for them, but rejects with disgust whatever is not genuine. Besides this trial,

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some questions are put to him relative to wars or remarkable events in his former state, all which are answered to the satisfaction of the concilive; whereupon he is unanimously declared to be the self-same Kutuchtu, is conducted with great pomp and ceremony to Urga, and lodged in the tent of the high priest.

Till the new Kutuchtu arrives at a certain age, he is entirely under the government of the lamas, and few are permitted to see him, except at a great distance, and even then it is not easy to get access to him. It may seem surprising, that in so numerous an assembly of lamas no intrigues should be carried on, nor disputes arise among the electors. All is conducted without noise or contention. It is, however, imagined that the authority of the prince greatly contributes to their unanimity.

The Mongalls relate that their Kutuchtu now has lived fourteen generations, and renews his age every moon; for at the new moon he appears like a youth; when she is full, like a full grown man; but when near the change, he is an old man with gray hairs.

What they call the Urga is the court, or the place where the prince and high priest reside, who are always encamped at no great distance from one another. They have several thousand tents about them, which are removed from time to time. The Urga is much frequented by merchants from China and Russia, and other places, where all trade is carried on by barter, without money of any kind. The Chinese bring hither ingots of gold, damasks, and other silk and cotton stuffs, tea, and some porcelain, which are generally of an inferior quality, and proper for such a market. The Russian commodities are chiefly furs of all sorts. Rhubarb is the principal article which is exchanged for these goods, great quantities whereof are produced in this country without any culture. The Mongalls gather and dry it in autumn, and bring it to this market, where it is bought up at an easy rate, both by the Russian and Chinese merchants.

The Kutuchtu and his lamas are all clothed in yellow, and no layman is allowed to wear this colour except the prince. This mark of distinction makes them known and respected every where. They also wear about their neck a string of beads, which are used in saying their prayers. The Mongalls believe in and worship one Almighty Creator of all things. They hold that the Kutuchtu is God's vicegerent on earth, and that there will be a state of future rewards and punishments.

The following relation which I had from a Russian merchant, to whom the thing happened, will shew the methods taken by these lamas to maintain the dignity and character of their mighty high priest. This merchant had gone to the Urga, with an intention to trade with the Chinese. While he was at this place, some pieces of damask were stolen out of his tent. He made a complaint to some of the lamas with whom he was acquainted, and the matter was soon brought before the Kutuchtu, who immediately ordered proper steps to be taken with a view to find out the thief. The affair was conducted in this uncommon manner: one of the lamas took a bench with four feet, which seems to have been of the conjuring kind; after turning it several times in different directions, at last it pointed directly to the tent where the stolen goods lay concealed. The lama now mounted astride the bench, and soon carried it, or, as was commonly believed, it carried him, to the very tent, where he ordered the damask to be produced. The demand was directly complied with: for it is in vain, in such cases, to offer any excuse.

I shall now subjoin a few observations on the Delay-Lama, or priest of the desert, who is reckoned still superior to the Kutuchtu. He lives about a month's journey to the south-east of this place, among a people called the Tonguts, who use a different language from the Kalmucks. I am informed, that the religion of the Tonguts is the same with

that of the Mongalls; that they hold the same opinions with respect to the transmigration of the Delay-Lama, as the Mongalls do about the Kutachtu, and that he is elected in the same manner. What appears most surprising is, that these two, who by the way keep a good correspondence, and never encroach on one another's privileges. The word *Delay* signifies either the sea, or a great plain, such as this priest inhabits.

CHAP. VI.—*Occurrences at Selinginsky; several Parties of Hunting; and Journey continued to Saratzyn, the Boundary between the Russian and Chinese Territories.*

THE Tonguts are a separate people, governed by a prince whom they call *Lazin-Chan*. One of their princes was lately killed in an engagement with the *Kontaysha*, King of the Black Kalmucks. The *Delay-Lama* himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, notwithstanding all his foresight. The *Lama* threatened the *Kontaysha* with many disasters, as the consequences of such proceedings. The *Kontaysha*, however, regarded them very little, till he had attained his ends; after which he generously reinstated both the Prince and the *Delay-Lama* in their former dignity. The *Kontaysha* is of the same profession with the *Delay-Lama*, and acknowledges his authority in religious matters.

I am informed there is a third lama, called *Bogdu-Pantzin*, of still greater authority than either of the former. But as he lives at a great distance, near the frontiers of the Great Mogul, he is little known in these parts. Though I am unwilling to throw the least reflection on any society of men instituted for the promotion of religion and virtue, from all I can collect concerning these lamas, they are little better than shamans of superior dignity.

The answer to the letter which the ambassador had written to Peking was not yet arrived. In the mean time we were obliged to remain at *Selinginsky*, where we entertained ourselves in the best manner we could.

June the 12th, walking along the bank of the river, I was a little surpris'd at the figure and dress of a man, standing among a number of boys who were angling for small fishes. The person bought all the fishes alive, and immediately let them go again into the river, which he did very gently one by one. The boys were very civil to him, though they looked upon him as distracted, on account of his behaviour. During this ceremony he took little notice of me, though I spoke to him several times. I soon perceived, by his dress, and the streak of saffron on his forehead, that he was one of the *Brachmans* from India.

After setting all the fish a-swimming, he seem'd much pleas'd; and, having learned a little of the Russian language, and a smattering of the Portuguese, began to converse with me. I carried him to my lodgings, and offer'd to entertain him with a dram, but he would taste nothing; for he said it was against the rules of his religion to eat or drink with strangers. I asked him the reason why he bought the fish to let them go again? He told me, that perhaps the souls of some of his deceased friends or relations had taken possession of these fishes; and, upon that supposition, it was his duty to relieve them; that, according to their law, no animal whatever ought to be killed or eaten; and they always lived on vegetables.

After this interview we became so familiar, that he came every day to visit me. He was a cheerful man, about seventy years of age. He had a bush of hair growing on his forehead very much matted, and at least six feet in length. When it hung loose it trailed upon the ground behind him; but he commonly wore it wrapped about his

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head in form of a turban. The hair was not all his own, but collected as relics of his friends, and others of his profession, reputed saints; all which he had intermixed and matted with his natural hair. Persons of this character are called Faquers, and esteemed sacred every where.

He told me he was a native of Indostan, and had often been at Madras, which he called Chinpatan, and said it belonged to the English. This circumstance, added to several others, made me believe he was no impostor, but an innocent kind of creature, as are most of that sect. He came to this country in company with some others of his countrymen, on a pilgrimage, in order to pay their devotions to the Kuruchitu and Délay-Lama. They had been twelve months on their journey, and had travelled all the way on foot, over many high mountains and waste deserts, where they were obliged to carry their provisions, and even water, on their backs. I shewed him a map of Asia, whereon he pointed out the course of his journey, but found many errors in the geography; and no wonder, since few Europeans would have had the resolution to undertake such a journey as this man had done.

The 14th, a chief named Taysha, of those Mongalls who are subjects of His Majesty, came to pay his respects to the ambassador, who gave him a friendly reception, and kept him to dinner. He was a merry old man, near fourscore, but so vigorous that he could mount a horse with as much agility as many young men. He was accompanied with five sons, and many attendants, who treated him with equal respect as a king, and even his sons would not sit down in his presence till he desired them. I confess it gave me great pleasure to see the decency with which they behaved. One of our company, a pretty fat man, asked the Taysha what he should do in order to be as lean as he was? The old man replied in these words, "Eat less, and work more;" a saying worthy of Hippocrates himself. In his youth he had been engaged in many battles with the Chinese, whom he held in great contempt. As he was a keen sportsman, the ambassador made an appointment with him for a grand hunting match. After which he and his retinue returned to their tents.

The 15th, we dined at Streaka with the commissary, Mr. Stepnikoff, of the caravan going to China. Streaka is situated, as I formerly observed, about three or four miles up the river from Selinginsky, in a fruitful plain of a triangular figure, formed by the conflux of two fine rivers; the Streaka running from the east, and the Selinka from the south. This would have been the strongest and most beautiful situation in this province, for the town of Selinginsky. I am informed that the foundation of this view to this delightful place, but the choice was determined against them by fortuitous lots, to which it was referred. This method of choosing situations by lots has not many noble cities, and rendered the work of ages ineffectual to remedy the defect.

The same evening we returned by water to Selinginsky, and next day we proceeded to the west of the Selinka. We had about two hundred Cossacks along with us, who followed the common method of ranging the woods, mentioned above. We killed six roe-bucks, and many hares. In the evening we pitched our tents about a fountain, and feasted on venison.

The 16th, early, we left the woods to our right, and descended into a barren plain, where we found great flocks of antelopes. Our people killed about twenty of them. These animals avoid the woods, and frequent the open plains and deserts. They are exceedingly swift and watchful; and so far resemble sheep, that if one breaks through the circle, the whole flock follows, though an hundred horsemen were in the way, which proves the destruction of many of these creatures. The noise of the arrows with which they are hunted, contributes much to their confusion. The heads of the ar-

rows are broad, and fixed in a round bit of bone, with two holes in it, which makes them whistle as they fly through the air.

At noon we set up our tents near a lake of brackish water called Solonoy-ofera, or the salt lake. Round the edge lies a thick scurf of salt, as white as snow, which the inhabitants gather for use. Here we found great flocks of water-fowl, such as swans, geese, ducks. The weather being very hot, we remained till next day.

The 17th, we hunted along the same waste plain, directing our course to the south, towards the river Selinga. This day also we had very good sport. In the afternoon we pitched our tents near a spring of fresh water, which is no small rarity in these parched deserts, and is as much regarded here as a good inn would be in other parts of the world. I found at this place a prickly shrub about three feet high, with a beautiful smooth bark as yellow as gold.

The 18th, in the morning, we had terrible flashes of lightning, accompanied with thunder, and heavy showers of hail and rain, which determined us to leave the plains, and return by the shortest road to Selinginsky. Besides the game already mentioned, we found many large bustards, which haunt the open country. As it is a very large bird, and rises slowly, our light horsemen killed several of them with their arrows.

The 24th, arrived an officer from the court of Pekin, sent on purpose to discover the number and quality of the embassy. This gentleman, whose name was Tulushin, was a Mantshu Tartar by birth, and a member of the tribunal for western affairs, with which he was very well acquainted. These officers are called Surgutsky by the Mongalls, and by the Europeans Mandarin, a Portuguese word derived from *mando*. He had formerly been in this country, and had learned the Russian language. He pretended to have been employed on some business with the Tush-du-Chan at Urga, and, hearing of the ambassador's arrival, had come to pay his respects to him. It was, however, well known, that he was sent to enquire whether the ambassador came on a friendly errand. He was received very kindly, and, after he had staid three days and made his observations, returned very well satisfied. At his departure, he told the ambassador that orders would soon be given for his reception on the frontiers; but these could not be issued till his arrival at court, because on his report the whole affair depended. This wise and cautious nation, jealous of all the world, suffer none to enter their territories but such as bring friendly messages. By this circumstance we were confined some time longer at Selinginsky.

I shall now give a description of the course of the Selinga, according to the best information I could procure from those who had been at its source. The Selinga is formed of two other rivers, called the Idyr and the Tzolato, coming from the mountains of Kungay, far to the southward of this place. It is afterwards joined by two inconsiderable rivers, the Orchon from the south-east, and the Tzida from the south-west, and lastly by the Strealka from the east, a little above the town of Selinginsky. At this place it is at least twice the breadth of the river Thames, and is navigable a great way above it. The course now is due north, till it discharges itself into the Baykall lake. The source of this river is estimated at the distance of ten or twelve days journey above Selinginsky, which is the common method of computation in this country. It is plentifully furnished with variety of excellent fish. The omuly, which I formerly described, come in vast shoals from the Baykall in autumn up this river to spawn; after which they return to the sea so weak that many of them are carried down floating on the surface of the stream. During the progress of the omuly up the river, the inhabitants of the adjacent villages assemble with their nets, and catch as many of them as they please. On this occasion the poor take what they can use, and the rest are left upon the banks.

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These fishes advance up the river about ten miles a-day. On their first appearance the report is soon spread over the country, and in two or three hours the people catch as many as they need, either for present use or winter provisions. The fish is very agreeable food, either fresh or salted. It is observed, they are much better and fatter the nearer they are caught to the sea; a plain argument that, were they caught in the sea, they would still be preferable to any caught in the river. I have often thought, what inestimable treasure these omuly would produce in other parts of the world, whereas here, the consumption being small, they are little valued. It is remarkable, that the omuly are not to be found at any season in the Angara, or other rivers to the north of the Baykall.

July 5th, the Taysha-Batyr arrived, in consequence of his appointment with the ambassador, and brought along with him three hundred men, well-mounted for the chase. This old gentleman had the appellation of Batyr; a title of great respect among the Mongalls. It signifies a hero; and is conferred only on those who have signalized themselves by their courage and conduct in the field of battle. Besides these Mongalls, we carried with us fifty of our Cossacks and our tents, as we proposed to be abroad some days.

Early on the 6th, we took our way to the eastward, over high hills, and through tall woods, having almost no underwood to incommode the horses, or interrupt our view, which made it very pleasant. After riding a few miles, the Taysha, being master of the chase, ordered his men to extend their lines. The Taysha and we were in the center, and often saw the game pass us, pursued by the horsemen at full speed, without the least noise, but the whistling of arrows. The horses, being accustomed to this kind of sport, follow the game as a greyhound does a hare; so that the riders lay the bridles on their necks, and attend to nothing but their bows and arrows. One may easily imagine the exquisite entertainment, in seeing several of these horsemen in pursuit of an elk or stag through the valleys. When the animal is driven from the woods, it flies for safety to the nearest rocks. Some of these creatures are nearly as large and strong as the horses that hunt them. The stags are of two kinds; one called zuber, the same with the German crown-hirsch, but somewhat larger. The zuber is large and beautiful, and carries its head almost upright as it runs, which prevents its horns being entangled with branches of trees. There are none of them in Russia, nor even in Siberia, except about the Baykall lake and eastward from it; the places farther to the north being too cold for them. The elk is larger than the stag, and stronger made, having also long branchy horns, but a little flat.

Tired with sport, we left the hills in the afternoon, and came down into a fine valley, where we pitched our tents near a pure brook. The Taysha then ordered all the dead game to be brought before him, and ranged in proper order. We found that this day we killed no less than five large elks, four stags, a dozen roe-bucks, several wolves and foxes, besides fawns and hares.

The Taysha caused the game to be divided among the huntsmen, who began immediately to dress it, some of them by boiling, others by broiling, and eat it without either bread or salt. The tails of the stags, which by these people are reckoned very delicate, fell to the Taysha's share. He cut them into slices, and eat them raw. I eat a bit of one of them, and thought it very palatable. The taste resembled nothing so much as that of fresh caviare. After we had feasted on variety of excellent venison, for we had no other provisions, we went to rest, well satisfied with the diversion of the day.

July 7th, early in the morning, we left the plains, and directed our course eastward, in the same order we observed the preceding day. As our sport was much the same, I

need not mention the particulars. About noon we pitched our tents near a spring of fresh water, in a valley where the grass was about two feet long. This circumstance is a proof of the goodness of the soil, which in my opinion cannot fail, if properly cultivated, to produce any kind of grain. As the weather was excessively hot, we staid in this place till next day.

July 8th, we continued our sport in the woods till noon, when we came into an extensive plain, in which we set up our tents, near a spring of brackish water. In this place we observed several flocks of antelopes, which we reserved for next day's hunting.

In the morning our Taysha dispatched some of his horsemen to the tops of the hills, in order to discover where the antelopes were feeding; which, as I formerly observed, are the most watchful, and, at the same time, the swiftest animals in the world. When they returned we extended our wings to a great distance, that we might surround these creatures with the greater ease, and before noon our people killed above twenty of them. After which, we returned to our tents that were left standing in the morning.

July 10th, we took leave of the Taysha, whose tents were to the east of this place, and returned next day to Selinginsky.

During this short excursion I could not enough admire the beauty of the country through which we passed. The gentle rising of the hills, many of which have their tops only covered with wood, and the fertility of the vales, contribute to form one of the most delightful landscapes the world can afford. To this may be added the temperature and dryness of the climate, in which respect this far exceeds any country with which I am acquainted. After midsummer there is almost no rain till December, when the snow falls, and in such moderate quantities, that it does not hinder the cattle from lying abroad all the winter.

In surveying these fertile plains and pleasant woods, I have often entertained myself with painting, in my own imagination, the neat villages, country-seats, and farm-houses, which, in process of time, may be erected on the banks of the rivers, and brows of the hills. There is here waste land enough to maintain, with easy labour, several European nations, who are at present confined to barren and ungrateful soils; and with regard to the Mongalls, whose honesty and simplicity of manners are not unamiable, I should like them very well for neighbours.

From what I have read of North America, I am of opinion, that this country resembles none so much as some of our colonies in that quarter of the world, particularly the inland parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Both countries lie nearly in the same latitude; in one we find great lakes and mighty rivers; in the other, the Baykall Sea and rivers, which for the length of their course and quantity of water, may be ranked with any in the western world.

Having rested ourselves a few days after our fatigue, on the 16th of July, we set out on another hunting-match, attended by our own Cossacks, and a few of the neighbouring Mongalls. We went on this occasion farther northward, and nearer to the Baykall lake than in our former expedition. Our sport was almost of the same kind as already described. I shall only add, that both the stag and elk shed their horns once a year; at which time they retire to thickets and solitary places till their horns begin to spring again. It is surprising that animals so large, with such prodigious weight of branchy horns, should run with almost incredible speed through the thickest woods, without entangling themselves: but, to avoid this misfortune, they point their noses always parallel to the horizon. When either the elk or stag are closely attacked, they make a vigorous defence both with horns and hoofs. At rutting-time especially, these creatures

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tures are so very furious, that it is extremely dangerous for any person to approach their haunts; they will then run at a man full speed, and, if he escapes being wounded by their horns, will trample him to death with their sharp hoofs. As the weather was excessively hot, we kept the field only two days, and then returned to Selingsky.

July 20th, another Mandarin arrived from Pekin, accompanied by an officer from Arga, who brought a letter to the ambassador from the Tush-du-Chan, acquainting him, that he might soon expect a person, properly authorized, to conduct him to the imperial city. No news could be more agreeable. We hoped now to be soon released from this solitary place, and arrive at the end of our journey. We were indeed well enough lodged, and wanted neither the necessaries nor conveniences of life. The abundance of rural diversions which this place afforded, coinciding happily with the genius of most of our gentlemen, and the harmony that subsisted among the retinue, though composed of people from most nations in Europe, and some from Asia, contributed not a little to our passing the time very agreeably. Notwithstanding these advantages, and the affability and courteous behaviour of the ambassador, which heightened them all, we were uneasy at being detained so long on the frontiers. We were apprehensive that some accident might happen to prevent our journey, especially as it was reported among the Mongals, that the Emperor of China, being far advanced in years, was sometimes sick, and not disposed to receive foreign ministers.

The 24th, there fell such a shower of hail-stones as no man then alive had ever seen. It was happy for us we were not then abroad, as the open field affords no kind of shelter. The hail lay some days in the woods and cooled the air, which before that time had been excessively hot. This day the Kutuchta sent two lambs to compliment the ambassador, to wish him a good journey, and a happy sight of the Emperor, or Boghdoychan, as he is called by these people.

August 9th, a courier arrived from Pekin, who told the ambassador that he had passed our conductor on the road, and that we should now prepare for our journey to the capital, as that gentleman would arrive in a few days.

On the 24th, our conductor, called Lomy, at last arrived. He was by birth a Mantshu Tartar, and a member of the court for the western department. After remaining with us for some days, he returned to Yolla, a place upon the border, in order to procure horses and camels for our journey.

September 8th, we sent our baggage by water to Streaka, and next day we followed it. We lived in tents while we staid at this place, till horses and camels were got ready. In the mean time, our people were employed in packing up the baggage into proper loads for camels. Streaka, I formerly observed, is the place where His Majesty's commissary of the caravan has his abode, and the government of Siberia their storehouses. I imagine, therefore, it will not be improper, before we proceed, to give some account of the trade carried on from this place.

Formerly the fur trade was free to all His Majesty's subjects, both Russians and Tartars. The merchants repaired to Siberia at the proper seasons, where they bought at cheap rates, all the rich furs they could find, and disposed of them in Persia, Turkey, and Poland, at a price much below the real value. The government of Siberia perceived a very considerable diminution of the revenue in that country, and soon discovered the true cause of it; which was, that a great part of the furs belonging to His Majesty remained unsold. Upon inquiry, it appeared that this was owing to the foreign markets being supplied with these commodities at low rates, by the subjects, before the goods belonging to the government could be exposed to sale. The government of Siberia represented to His Majesty the loss of so considerable a branch of his revenue; in

consequence of which, an order was immediately issued, prohibiting all private persons for the future to export fables in particular. Since this regulation took place, the government have sent their own furs, generally once in three years, by caravans to China. The value of one of these caravans is reckoned to amount to four or five thousand roubles, and yields a return of at least double that sum. The Emperor of China, from regard to the friendship and good neighbourhood of His Majesty, gives the caravans free quarters, and liberty to dispose of their goods, and buy others, without exacting any impost. At first, the Emperor not only gave the caravan free quarters, but also maintained, at his own charge, both men and horses during their stay in Pekin. This last expression of His Majesty's bounty is, however, now withdrawn.

September 15th, our conductor having acquainted the ambassador that the horses and camels were ready, our baggage was dispatched to the frontiers, escorted by our own soldiers and some Cossacks; though indeed there was no great occasion for any guard, as the Mongalls seem to have little use for any thing that belonged to us.

After dining with the commissary of the caravan at Streaka, on the 18th, we left that place in the evening, accompanied with the commissary and most of the officers at Selinginsky. After we had travelled about twenty English miles to the south-east, through fine plains covered with exceeding long grass, we arrived at the end of the first stage called Kolludtzy, where we found our tents, which had been sent off in the morning, ready for our reception. This day we saw some scattered tents of Mongallians with their flocks.

Next day, we travelled about twenty miles farther to a single house, built by the commissary for a shade to his cattle in winter. We hunted all the way through a pleasant country, interspersed with little hills covered with wood, but saw as few inhabitants as the day before.

The 26th, about noon, we reached a place called Saratzyn, or the New Moon, situated on the bank of a rivulet of the same name. This rivulet is the boundary between the Russian and Chinese territories, and separates two of the most mighty monarchies in the world. The distance between Selinginsky and this place is computed to be about one hundred and four verst, nearly seventy English miles.

The conductor was encamped on the east side of the rivulet, and we pitched our tents on the other. The ground on both sides rises a little, and the soil seems to be extremely good. The grass is rank and thick, and, as the season is very dry, would, with little labour, make excellent hay. This grass is often set on fire by the Mongalls in the spring during high winds. At such times it burns most furiously, running like wild-fire, and spreading its flames to the distance of perhaps ten or twenty miles, till its progress is interrupted by some river or barren hill. The impetuosity of these flames, their smoke and crackling noise, cannot easily be conceived by those who have not seen them. When any person finds himself to the leeward of them, the only method by which he can save himself from their fury, is to kindle immediately the grass where he stands, and follow his own fire. For this purpose, every person is provided with flints, steel, and tinder. The reason why the Mongalls set fire to the grass, is to procure early pasture for their cattle. The ashes left upon the ground sink into the earth at the melting of the snow, and prove an excellent manure; so that the grass in the spring rises on the lands, which have been prepared in this manner, as thick as a field of wheat. Caravans, travellers with merchandise, but especially armies, never encamp upon this rank grass. And there are several instances of considerable bodies of men being put in confusion, and even defeated, by the enemy's setting fire to the grass.

Before

Before I leave the Russian territories, I shall give some account of the marches between these two famous empires. The frontier, according to the best information I could procure, begins a great way westward of this place, near the source of the river Dzida; from thence it proceeds to the east, crossing the Selinga, and runs along the tops of the hills, inclining sometimes to the north, and sometimes to the south, till it meets with the rivulet Saratzyn. It runs then in a very irregular line, varying its direction according to the course of the rivers and brooks, or from the top of one hill to some other remarkable point in view, pointing in general towards the north-east, till it ends at the river Argun, which, together with the Ingoda, forms the Amoor. This boundary includes a vast tract of excellent land on the Russian side; and that part of the Mongalls who inhabit it, being stout men, and living much at ease, will in time become a numerous people.

The marches were settled upon the present footing about twenty-five years ago, on the following occasion: the Mongalls, on the Chinese side, alledged that their countrymen, subjects of Russia, encroached on their borders, which created some disputes between the two nations. The causes of this misunderstanding being represented to the two courts, it was agreed to send ministers, with full powers, to terminate the affair in an amicable manner. His Majesty's minister, Theodore Alexiovitz Golovin, met the Chinese plenipotentiaries on the frontiers, in the neighbourhood of Nerzhinsky, a considerable town belonging to Russia, near the river Amoor. All matters were soon accommodated to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, on the footing of *uti possidetis*; i. e. each of the parties retaining the people and territories that then belonged to them.

This determination kept all quiet for some time. The Chinese, however, soon appeared to be dissatisfied with the decision, and want to have the marches reviewed; to which, in my opinion, the Russians will not easily assent.

The 21st, the conductor came to congratulate the ambassador on his arrival at the borders, and acquainted him, that the horses and camels being ready, he might proceed when he pleased. I cannot omit an inconsiderable circumstance that happened at this place, as it strongly represents the caution and prudence of the Chinese. Our conductor having seen some women walking in the fields, asked the ambassador who they were, and whither they were going? He was told they belonged to the retinue, and were going along with it to China.

He replied, they had women enough in Peking already; and as there never had been an European woman in China, he could not be answerable for introducing the first, without a special order from the Emperor. But if his Excellency would wait for an answer, he would dispatch a courier to court for that purpose. The return of this messenger could not be sooner than six weeks; it was therefore thought more expedient to send back the women to Selinginsk, with the waggons that brought our baggage to this place.

CHAP. VII.—*From passing the Saratzyn, and entering the Chinese Territories, to our Arrival at the Wall of China.*

THE 22d of September, having loaded the camels with our baggage, and procured carriages for the boxes that contained His Majesty's presents to the Emperor, which were too large for camels to bear, we mounted and passed the Saratzyn, and soon entered the Chinese territories. We travelled fifteen miles, when we arrived, about evening, at the river Orchon, running with a smooth stream to the north. The carriages retarded our progress greatly, as the horses were sprightly, and unaccustomed to draught.

This

This day we commenced gueits of the Emperor of China, who entertains all ambassadors, and bears their expences, from the day they enter his dominions, till the time they quit them again. Our retinue consisted of about one hundred persons, who were allowed fifteen sheep every day. The overplus of this large allowance was given to the Mongalls who drove the camels. Besides mutton and beef, there is no other kind of provision to be found, till you come within the wall of China. The mutton is of a middle size; but, I must confess, exceeding fine. The conductor was attended by an officer from the Tushdu-Chan, who procured, from the Mongalls encamped nearest our road, what sheep we wanted. The camels were very tractable and stooped to take on their loads. But the horses were at first very unmanageable. Many of them had never before been employed for any use, and were saddled with great difficulty; but mounted with much more; for the very smell of our clothes, which they perceived to be different from that of the Mongalls, their masters, made them snort and spring with great fury. They were easily managed notwithstanding, when we got upon their backs.

Our road this day lay through fine plains and vallies, covered with rank grafs; but not a single tent was to be seen. I inquired why such a fine soil was without inhabitants, and was told, that the Chinese had forbid the Mongalls to encamp so near the Russian borders, for fear of being allured to pass over to their territories, as many had formerly done. These fruitful vallies are surrounded with pleasant hills, of easy ascent, whose summits are covered with tufts of trees. Many of these tufts being of a regular figure, and having no underwood, appear as if they had been planted and ordered by art; others are irregular, and sometimes a ridge of trees runs from one hill to another. These objects afford a prospect so pleasing to the eye, and so seldom to be found, that one cannot help being charmed. And this pleasure is still heightened by the gentle-flowing rivulets, abounding with fish, and plenty of game in the vallies, and among the trees.

The 23d, we set out early, and came to a rivulet called Ira, running to the north-west, till it falls into the Orchon, which we passed, and pitched our tents on the other side. The rank grafs by accident took fire, and had not water been at hand to extinguish it, and the weather very calm, the consequences might have been fatal. We travelled farther this day than the former, as fewer inconveniences arose from the restlessness of the horses.

The 24th, we continued our journey towards the south-east, along smooth roads, through a pleasant country; and, at evening, reached a rivulet called Shora, or the yellow rivulet, on the banks of which we set up our tents. The vallies now were more contracted, and less wood upon the hills than formerly.

The 25th, we came to a rivulet called Kara, or the black rivulet, from the colour of the water, which is tinged by the richness of the soil.

The 26th, we proceeded. The country retained much the same appearance, and the weather was very fine; but not a single inhabitant was yet to be seen. In the evening, I walked from our tents, with some of our company, to the top of a neighbouring hill, where I found many plants of excellent rhubarb; and, by the help of a stick, dug up as much as I wanted.

On these hills are a great number of animals called marmots, of a brownish colour, having feet like a badger, and nearly of the same size. They make deep burrows on the declivities of the hills; and it is said, that in winter they continue in these holes, for a certain time, even without food. At this season, however, they sit or lie near their burrows, keeping a strict watch; and, at the approach of danger, rear themselves upon their

their hind feet, giving a loud whistle like a man, to call in the stragglers; and then drop into their holes in a moment.

I should not have mentioned an animal so well known as the marmot, had it not been on account of the rhubarb. Wherever you see ten or twenty plants growing, you are sure of finding several burrows under the shades of their broad spreading leaves. Perhaps they may sometimes eat the leaves and roots of this plant. However, it is probable the manure they leave about the roots contributes not a little to its increase; and their casting up the earth, makes it shoot out young buds and multiply. This plant does not run and spread itself like docks, and others of the same species, but grows in tufts at uncertain distances, as if the seeds had been dropped with design. It appears that the Mongalls never accounted it worth cultivating, but that the world is obliged to the marmots for the quantities scattered at random in many parts of this country; for whatever part of the ripe seed happens to be blown among the thick grass, can very seldom reach the ground, but must there wither and die; whereas, should it fall among the loose earth, thrown up by the marmots, it immediately takes root, and produces a new plant.

After digging and gathering the rhubarb, the Mongalls cut the large roots into small pieces, in order to make them dry more readily. In the middle of every piece they scoop a hole, through which a cord is drawn, in order to suspend them in any convenient place. They hang them, for most part, about their tents, and sometimes on the horns of their sheep. This is a most pernicious custom, as it destroys some of the best part of the root; for all about the hole is rotten and useless; whereas, were people rightly informed how to dig and dry this plant, there would not be one pound of refuse in an hundred, which would save a great deal of trouble and expence, that much diminish the profits on this commodity. At present, the dealers in this article think these improvements not worthy of their attention, as their gains are more considerable on this than on any other branch of trade. Perhaps the government may hereafter think it proper to make some regulations with regard to this matter.

I have been more particular in describing the growth and management of the rhubarb, because I never met with an author or person who could give a satisfactory account, where, or how it grows. I am persuaded, that, in such a dry climate as this, it might easily be so cultivated as to produce any quantity that could be wanted.

I omit any computation of the distances of places along this road, as the whole of it, from the borders to Peking, has been measured by a wheel, or machine, given to the caravan by the governor of Siberia, for that purpose. I shall afterwards subjoin the exact distances taken from this measurement.

The 27th and 28th, we pursued the same road, over hills and through vallies; for, though few travel this way, the caravans, with their heavy carriages, leave such marks as are not soon effaced. It is only of late that the caravans travelled this road. Formerly they went farther to the north, by a Russian town called Nertziasky, and thence to a Chinese city called Naun. That road is more convenient than the present, as it lies through places better inhabited; but the present is shorter, and therefore taken by most travellers.

The 29th, we reached a river called Burov, where we lodged. At this dry season all these rivers are fordable; and they abound with sturgeon and other fish. Next morning, Mr. Venant, our chief cook, dropped down, as he was coming out of his tent, and immediately expired, notwithstanding all possible care was taken for his recovery. We interred him as decently as time and circumstances would admit; and proceeded to a river called Borgualy, where we pitched our tents for this night.

October 1st, after a long day's journey, we reached a rivulet called Koyra. The face of the country appeared nearly the same as formerly.

The 2d, after another long march, we came to the banks of the river Tola, the largest we had seen since we left the Selinga.

Next day we crossed the Tola, at a pretty deep ford, where the river was in breadth about the flight of an arrow at point blank. It was noon before our camels got over, and too late to proceed. We were therefore obliged to set up our tents on the east bank of the river, which was overgrown with tall ozers.

Here our conductor furnished us with fresh horses and camels. From the borders to this place our stages were regulated by brooks and rivers, for the conveniency of getting water: and, for the same reason, as there are no rivers nor brooks from hence to the wall of China, fountains and springs will be our only stages.

On the banks of the Tola, we found many Mongalls encamped, with numerous flocks of cattle, being the first inhabitants we had seen since our leaving the border. The Russians, and the Mongalls who are subjects of Russia, claim all the country westward from the Tola, which, they say, is the natural boundary between the two empires. This would indeed be a considerable addition to the dominions of Russia: but as both these mighty monarchs are abundantly provided with a vast extent of territory, neither party think it worth while to dispute about a few hundred miles of property, which obtained would perhaps not balance the cost, or contribute but little to the advantage of either.

The appearance of the country was now greatly altered to the worse. We saw no more pleasant hills and woods; neither could I find one single plant of rhubarb. The soil was dry and barren, and the grass not to be compared to what we had already passed over.

The 4th, after every man had drunk his fill of the pure and wholesome water of Tola, and filled his bottle with it, we departed with some regret, as we could hope for no more rivers or brooks till we came to the wall of China. We soon entered the desert, commonly named by the Mongalls the Hungry Desert. How far it deserves that title, will be seen as we advance.

In the evening, we reached some pits, called Tolatologoy, of brackish water, where we pitched our tents. The road still pointed to the south-east, with little variation, over grounds that rose a little at first, but afterwards gradually declined. We saw many Mongolian tents and cattle dispersed along the desert.

The 5th, we set out again; and in the evening, came to some fountains, called Chelo-tologoy, of pretty fresh water. The country was quite level, and appeared to the eye as plain as the sea. The soil was dry, barren, and gravelly, and neither tree nor bush to be seen; a prospect not very agreeable.

The 6th, early in the morning, we proceeded eastward, through the same sort of flat country. The weather was very fine, and the roads excellent. In the evening, we arrived at a pool called Tylack, of brackish water, where we remained the following night. This day we saw several large flocks of antelopes, and some Mongalls in their tents, which was no disagreeable object in this continued plain. We passed few of these tents without visiting them, where we always found an hospitable reception, and were entertained with some zaturan, a kind of tea which I formerly described. And, if we happened to stay till our baggage was gone out of sight, the landlord conducted us by the shortest way to the springs that terminated the next stage.

The next day, we came to the wells called Gachun. Our biscuit being now spent, we were reduced to live on mutton only, during the rest of our journey through this desert;

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desert; which we accounted no great hardship as it was extremely fine. It is not a little surprising, that, notwithstanding the barren appearance of this unsheltered plain, the cattle are in good condition, but particularly the sheep. The short grass, though in many places thinly scattered, must be of a very nourishing quality. This will naturally proceed from the climate, and the soil, which every where partakes of a nitrous quality, as plainly appears from the scurf of salt round the edges of the lakes and ponds, and the taste of the water, generally brackish in the springs and pits.

The 8th, our conductor furnished us with a fresh set of cattle, which detained us later than our usual time of setting out. This day, the soil was very much inclined to gravel, containing a number of red and yellow pebbles, many of which, being transparent, made a fine appearance while the sun shone. We were informed there were sometimes stones of value found here, which so much excited our curiosity, that each of us, every day, picked up a considerable quantity. On examination, most of them were thrown away, as altogether useless; the few we thought proper to retain were wrought into very good seals. A man might gather a bushel of such stones every day in this desert. One of our people, a Georgian by birth, who understood something of the nature of stones, found one that he called a yellow sapphire, and valued it at fifty crowns. Perhaps these pebbles might be of that kind which the lapidaries call cornelian; for they are sufficiently hard, and take a fine polish.

The 9th, we set out early, and travelled to a pool named Oko-toulgu. This day, a lama from the Kutuchtu, going to Pekin, joined our company, who, by his habit and equipage, seemed to be a person of eminence. In marching along the tedious desert, the conversation turned on a terrible earthquake, which happened during the month of July last in China, between the long wall and Pekin, and had laid in ruins several villages and walled towns, and buried many people in their ruins. The lama inquired what was the opinion of the learned men in Europe concerning the cause of this phenomenon. We told him, it was commonly reckoned to be subterraneous fire; and then asked, in our turn, to what cause such extraordinary appearances were imputed by his countrymen: he replied, that some of their learned lamas had written, that God, after he had formed the earth, placed it on a golden frog; and, whenever this prodigious frog had occasion to scratch its head, or stretch out its foot, that part of the earth immediately above was shaken. There was no reasoning on a notion so fantastical; we therefore left the lama to please himself with his hypothesis, and turned the discourse to some other subject.

The 10th, we came to the springs called Korpartu. The appearance of things this day were almost the same as on the preceding days. The soil appeared so barren, that none of the common methods of improvement could make it bear any kind of grain, or even alter its present condition. The dispositions of its inhabitants, the Mongalls, seem wonderfully suited to their situation, as they appear more contented with their condition than those who possess the most fruitful countries.

In the evening of the 11th, we arrived at Khododu, where we found the water clear and pretty fresh, bursting in a strong spring, from the gravelly earth, and running in a stream to a considerable distance, till it loses itself in the sand. This was the first running water we had seen since we left Tola. And we were as happy, while sitting round this fountain, and broiling our mutton-chops, as others at a table plentifully furnished with Burgundy and Champaign. Our appetites were indeed very keen; to which daily exercise, the coldness of the air, and drinking nothing but water, greatly contributed.

Next morning, being the 12th, there was a little frost upon the ground. Several flocks of gray plovers came to drink at the spring, of which our people killed as many as our present circumstances required. These poor harmless birds seemed insensible of danger; and, perhaps, they had never before heard the report of a gun; for, no sooner was the piece fired, than they took a short flight round the fountain, whistling as they flew, and immediately alighted to drink again. The plover is a pretty bird, and a constant to eat; and the soles of its feet are as hard as so much horn, which prevent its being hurt by the stones or gravel. In the evening, we came to the wells called Bouk-horlike, without any thing material happening, or any difference on the face of the country.

The 13th, we continued our journey to the wells of Burduruy, where we were again furnished with fresh horses and camels.

The 14th, we came to a place called Kadan-Kachu, where we were obliged to dig a pit four feet deep, in order to procure water, which was very bad, having both a disagreeable smell, and bitter taste; but was drinkable, when boiled with some tea. We could, however, get none for our cattle, as the high wind filled the pits with sand as fast as we could dig them. The sand is of a whitish colour, and so light and dry, that it is driven by the winds into your face and eyes, and becomes very disagreeable. Most of our people, indeed, were provided with a piece of net-work, made of horse-hair, which covered their eyes, and is very useful in drifts, either of sand or snow.

The 15th, we travelled over deep sands; and in the evening, arrived at other springs, called Tzaganteggerick. The wind continuing high, it was with much difficulty we set up our tents. It is to be observed that, on these deep and light sands, our European tents are of little use, as there is no earth in which the tent-pins can be fastened. The Tartar tents are much preferable; for, their figure being round and taper, like a bee-hive, the wind takes but little hold of them, and they stand equally well on a sandy, or any other surface. They are, besides, warmer, more easily erected, taken down, and transported.

The 16th, we left the deep sand, and travelled along the same sort of dry gravelly ground as formerly. In the evening, we pitched our tents at the springs called Sadjin. The variety of objects, in this dreary waste, are so few, that in this, as well as in other respects, it much resembles the sea. Here one can see no farther than if he was placed on the surface of the water, out of sight of land; the rounding of the globe, in both cases, being the same. Sometimes, in the morning, I have been agreeably surpris'd in fancying I saw, at a small distance, a fine river, having rows of trees growing upon its banks; but this was only a deception of the sight, proceeding from the vapours magnifying some scattered shrubs into great trees.

The 17th, we came to some wells of very bad water, called Oudey, where we found fresh horses and camels waiting for us. Our conductor resolv'd to lose no time, being apprehensive that we might be overtaken in the desert by the frost and deep snow, which usually happens at this season. Such an event would have retarded our march, and incommoded us not a little in many respects. We therefore travelled as long stages as the convenience of water, and the strength of our cattle, would permit.

The 18th, after a long day's journey, we came to the wells called Ulan-kala. We found, almost every day, Mongalls in their tents, which stood like so many hives, dispersed through this solitary plain.

The 19th, we mounted again, and travelled to the springs named Tzilan-teggerick. This day we saw several flocks of antelopes; and, indeed, few days pass'd in which we did not see some of these animals.

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The 20th, we came to a place called Ourandabu. The weather still continued fair, the sky clear, and the mornings frothy. The water at this place was tolerable; but we were obliged to dig for it. When it happened that we had a long stage from one spring to another, for fear of coming too late, we usually sent a couple of men before us, in order to gather fewel, and to dig pits, that the water might have time to settle before our arrival.

The 21st, we proceeded, and in the evening arrived at a lake of salt water. After digging, however, we found some fresher. Were it not that these lakes and pits are scattered through this desert, it must have been altogether uninhabited, either by man or beast. This consideration, among many others, has often led me to admire the infinite wisdom of Almighty God, in the dispensations of his providence, for the support of all his creatures.

In my opinion, these springs are produced by the rains and melted snow in the spring; for the water, sinking into the sand, is thereby prevented from being exhaled, in summer, by the heat of the sun, which must be very scorching in this desert, in which there is not the least shadow of a cloud.

The 22d, we quitted the salt lake on a cold frosty morning, and a strong northerly wind, which was very disagreeable. In the evening, we reached the wells of Kulat. These pits take their names from the quality of the water, as salt, sour, sweet, bitter, or from the different tribes of people who inhabit the country in the neighbourhood.

In the midst of our fatigues, we had the satisfaction to be among a friendly people, who did every thing in their power to lessen our wants.

Next day, we reached the wells of Mingat. The weather, though cold, was not unpleasant; and, the 24th, having got fresh horses and camels, we came, in the evening, to a pond of brackish water, called Koranteer, upon the extremity of a dismal bank of sand, running across our road.

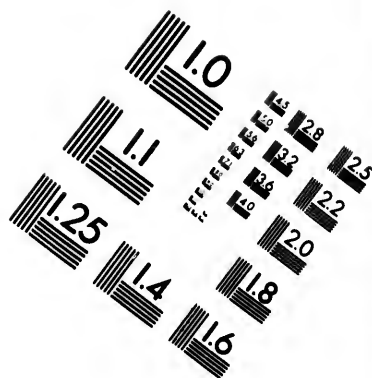
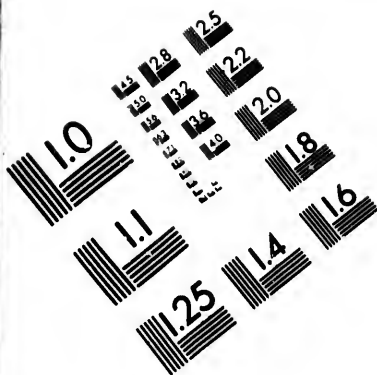
The day following, we entered on the sand-bank, along a narrow and crooked passage between two hillocks. Every one prayed for calm weather while we travelled over the sand; which put me in mind of being at sea. We continued our journey through deep sand till about noon, when all our horses and camels being tired, we halted in a hollow place, where we dug, and found very bad water. We remained here till next morning.

Our cattle being a little refreshed, though they had been very indifferently fed among the sand, where nothing was to be seen but some tufts of withered grass, we set out again. Along this bank there is not the least track or path of any kind; for the smallest blast of wind immediately effaces it, and renders all the surface smooth.

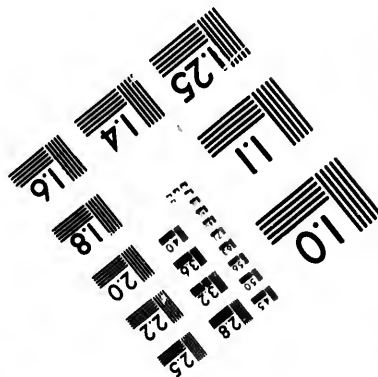
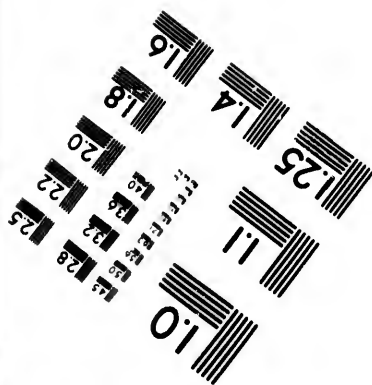
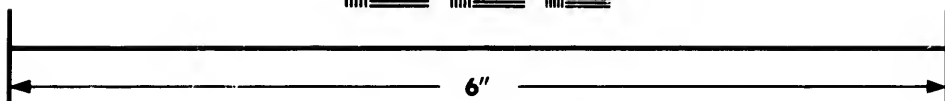
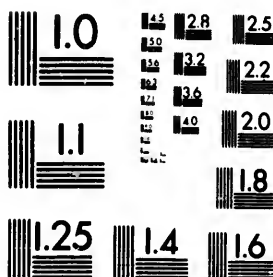
We had gone but a few miles, when most of our people were obliged to alight, and walk on foot, the horses being quite tired with the deepness of the sand; which made our progress extremely slow. The weather, fortunately, was still very calm. About noon, we pitched our tents in a hollow place, encompassed with high hillocks of sand. I observed that, in the open desert, we had already passed, the prospect was much confined; but here it was quite straitened; for, if you ascended one of these mounts, you could see nothing but mount rising above mount, like so many sugar-loaves, or rather like so many cupolas.

In the evening, it began to blow a little at north-east, which drove about the light sand like snow; but, about midnight, the wind rose to such an height, that all our tents were overset at once, and our beds filled with sand. As it was near morning, we thought it not worth while to pitch them again. We therefore prepared ourselves to set out at dawn, in hopes of getting over the sand-bank before night; which by riding





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and walking by turns, in order to hasten our progress, we happily effected; and, in the evening, reached the springs of Kocatu.

At the place where we passed the sand, it was not above twenty English miles in breadth, which took us up three days. We could have travelled four times that distance on the plain, with more ease both to ourselves and cattle. I am informed this bank of sand runs a great way southward, and, in some places, is above thirty leagues broad. They, whose business calls them often to cross the sands, have thin leather coats made on purpose, and round pieces of glass ~~and~~ before their eyes.

This sand-bank appears like the waves of the sea; for the hillocks, some of which are about twenty feet of perpendicular height, are of so light a nature, that the wind carries them from place to place, levelling one, and forming another:—and hence it is easy to conceive, that a weary traveller, lying down on the lee-side of one of these hillocks, might, in a few hours, be buried in the sand; which is reported to have often happened in this and other sandy deserts.

The 28th, we proceeded along the plain to the springs called Chabertu. I cannot but take notice of the uncommon manner the people here have of killing their sheep. They make a slit with a knife between two ribs, through which they put their hand, and squeeze the heart till the creature expires; by this method all the blood remains in the carcase. When the sheep is dead, and hungry people cannot wait till the flesh is regularly dressed, they generally cut the brisket and rump, wool and all, and broil them on the coals; then scrape off the singed wool and eat them. This I have found by experience to be no disagreeable morsel, even without any kind of sauce.

The next day, we travelled another stage to the wells of Saminsa, where we found better water than usual. The length and thickness of the grass showed that the soil now began to mend. This day there fell some snow, and the wind was cold and northerly.

The 30th, we got fresh horses, and proceeded to the springs of Krema. From the appearance of the grass one would conclude, that the soil at this place was very fine. We saw great numbers of horses belonging to the Emperor turned out to graze. Notwithstanding all the haste we had hitherto made, we were this day overtaken by a fall of snow, which proved very inconvenient, not so much on account of the cold, but it covered all fowls, so that we could find none to dress our victuals.

The 31st, we came to a place called Naringkarussu, where, to our great satisfaction, we found a small brook of fresh water, and some Mongolian huts. I observed, that, from the sand-bank eastward, the soil becomes gradually better every day. This was now the fortieth day since we left the border; during which time we had not halted one day, nor seen a single house, and the twentieth and eight from the time we quitted the river Tola, and entered the desert, in which we had neither seen river, tree, bush, nor mountain. Though we were obliged now and then to fetch a compass, on account of the watering places, yet in general our course deviated but little from the south-east point.

The 1st of November, we halted at this place, that we might have time to put things in order before we passed the long wall, which was now at no great distance.

Next day, we proceeded; and about noon we could perceive the famous wall, running along the tops of the mountains, towards the north-east. One of our people

people cried out LAND, as if we had been all this while at sea. It was now, nearly as I can compute, about forty English miles from us, and appeared white at this distance. We could not this night reach the passage through the mountains, and therefore pitched our tents in the open plain as usual. We now began to feel the effects of the cold; for the snow, continuing to lie upon the desert, proved very inconvenient on many accounts, but particularly by retarding the progress of our heavy and cumbersome baggage. But we comforted ourselves with the hopes of soon seeing an end of all our toils, and arriving in a rich and inhabited country; for, though all of our people were in good health, they began to be very weary of the desert, and no wonder, as many of them had lain in the open field ever since we left Selingsky.

November 3d, after travelling about an hour, we passed the vestiges of a camp, which seemed to have been regularly designed. I was informed that the Emperor encamped here, when he led his troops against the Mongalls, called by the missionaries in China the Western Tartars.

The nearer we came to the mountains we were the more surpris'd at the sight of the so much celebrated wall of China, commonly called for its length the endless wall. The appearance of it, running from one high rock to another, with square towers at certain intervals, even at this distance, is most magnificent.

About noon, we quitted the plain, and entered an opening between two mountains. To the left, the mountains are very high. On the right, they decline, as far as they are within view; but, I am told, they rise again to a great height.

We descended by a narrow path about eight feet broad, between the mountains, till we came to a small Chinese monastery, situated on the declivity of a steep rock. Curiosity led us to visit this solitary place: but the road being impassable to horses, we alighted, and walked thither. On our arrival near the place, the monks came out to meet us, with the usual friendly salutation of the country, which is performed by laying one of their hands on the other, and then shaking them, and pronouncing these words *Cho-loy-cho*. The compliment being returned, they conducted us into the apartments of their little chapel, and treated us with a dish of green tea, which was very agreeable. In the chapel was a sort of altar-piece, on which were placed several small brass images; and, in one of the corners, I observed a sack filled with wheat. The habit of the monks was a long gown with wide sleeves. On their heads was a small cap, and their long lank hair hung down over their shoulders. They had very few hairs in their beards. This being the first Chinese house we met with, I have on that account been more particular in describing it. Every thing now appeared to us as if we had arrived in another world. We felt especially a sensible alteration in the weather; for, instead of the cold bleak wind in the desert, we had here a warm and pleasant air.

We again proceeded along the narrow path, but of breadth sufficient for a wheel carriage. The road being steep, and in many places rugged, we walked down the hill, and in half an hour came to the foot of it, where we found ourselves surrounded on all sides by high rocky mountains. Our route now lay along the south side of a rivulet, full of great stones, which had fallen from the rocks in rainy weather. In the cliffs of the rocks, you see little scattered cottages, with spots of cultivated ground, much resembling those romantic figures of landscapes which are painted on the China ware, and other manufactures of this country. These are accounted fanciful by most Europeans, but are really natural.

After we had travelled about seven or eight miles, along the bank of the brook, we came in the evening to a Chinese village, at the foot of a high mountain, where we lodged in clean rooms, with warm fires of charcoal. There were no chimneys in the rooms;

rooms; but, instead of these, the charcoal was put into a portable grate of brass or iron; and allowed to burn clear in the open air; after which it was brought into the apartment. Though the desert is one continued plain, it lies much higher than the plains and villages of China; for, when we entered the defile, the ascent was very inconsiderable when compared with the descent on the other side.

Here we began to taste of the fine fruits of China; for soon after our arrival in the village, our conductor sent a present to the ambassador of some baskets of fruits, consisting of water-melons, musk-melons, sweet and bitter oranges, peaches, apples, walnuts, chestnuts, and several other sorts which I never saw before, together with a jar of Chinese arrack, provisions of several sorts, and some Chinese bread, called bobon, made of wheaten flour, and baked over a pot with the steam of boiling water. It is very light; and not disagreeable in taste; at least it seemed so to us, who had seen no bread for a month before.

Next day we halted to refresh ourselves after our long fatigue. I took this opportunity to walk up to the top of the mountain, in order to view the adjacent country, but could only see a continuation of the chain of mountains, rising one above another, and to the northward some glimpses of the long wall as it runs along them.

The 5th, we proceeded eastward down the south bank of the river, whose channel was covered with great stones. The road is cut out of the rock for a considerable length at those places where there is no natural passage between the rocks and the river, which must have been a work of great labour. This river cannot fail to be a complete torrent in time of great rains.

Having travelled about six or eight miles, we arrived at the famous wall of China. We entered at a great gate, which is shut every night, and always guarded by a thousand men, under the command of two officers of distinction, one a Chinese, and the other a Mantzur Tartar; for it is an established custom in China, and has prevailed ever since the conquest of the Tartars, that in all places of public trust there must be a Chinese and a Tartar invested with equal power. This rule is observed both in civil and military affairs. The Chinese pretend, that two in an office are a sort of spies upon one another's actions, and thereby many fraudulent practices are either prevented or detected.

CHAP. VIII.—*From the Wall of China to Peking; our Entry into that City.*

AS soon as we had entered the gate, these two officers, and many subalterns, came to compliment the ambassador on his safe arrival; and asked the favour of him to walk into the guard-room and drink a dish of tea. We accordingly dismounted, and went into a spacious hall on the south side of the gate. This apartment was very clean, having benches all around, and is kept on purpose for the reception of persons of distinction. We were entertained with a variety of fruits and confections, and several sorts of tea. After staying about half an hour, the ambassador took leave of the gentlemen, and we proceeded on our journey. We travelled about four miles farther, and came to a considerable town named Kalgan. At some distance from the place, we were met by the commandant, and the Mandarin Tulishin, who had paid us a visit at Selingsky. They accompanied the ambassador to his lodgings, which were in houses apart from the rest of the town; and provisions were sent us in great plenty.

From the wall to this place the country to the north begins to open, and contains some villages, corn-fields, and gardens.

The same evening, the ambassador and the gentlemen of the retinue were invited to sup at the commandant's house, and horses were sent to carry us thither. We alighted in the outer-court, where the commandant in person waited for us, and conducted us through a neat inner-court into a hall, in the middle of which stood a large brass chafing-dish, in shape of an urn, with a fire of charcoal in it. The floor was covered with mats, and the room quite set round with chairs, and little square japanned tables. The ambassador sat at a table by himself, and the rest of the company at separate tables, by two and two. We were first entertained with tea, and a dram of hot arrack; after which supper was brought, and placed on the tables, without either table-cloth, napkins, knives, or forks. Instead of forks were laid down to every person a couple of ivory pins, with which the Chinese take up their meat. The dishes were small, and placed upon the table in the most regular manner, the vacancies being filled with saucers, containing pickles and bitter herbs. The entertainment consisted of pork, mutton, fowls, and two roasted pigs. The carver sits upon the floor, and executes his office with great dexterity. He cuts the flesh into such small bits as may easily be taken up by the guests, without further trouble. The meat being cut up is given to the footmen, who supply the empty dishes on the tables. The whole is served in China-ware, and neither gold nor silver is to be seen. All the servants perform their duty with the utmost regularity, and without the least noise. I must confess, I was never better pleased with any entertainment.

The victuals being removed; the desert was placed on the tables in the same order, and consisted of a variety of fruits and confections. In the mean time a band of music was called in, which consisted of ten or twelve performers, on various but chiefly wind-instruments, so different from those of that class in Europe, that I shall not pretend to describe them. The music was accompanied with dancing, which was very entertaining. The dancers were nearly as numerous as the musicians. Their performances were only a kind of gesticulation, consisting of many ridiculous postures; for they seldom moved from the same place. The evening being pretty far spent, we took leave, and returned to our lodgings.

The 6th, a great fall of snow, and a cold frosty wind, obliged us to halt at this place.

Next day, the frost and snow still continued; notwithstanding, we set out, and passed over a stone-bridge near this place, paved, not with small stones, but with large, square, free stones, neatly joined. After travelling eastward about thirty English miles, we reached a large and populous city called Siangfu. We were met without the gate by some of the principal inhabitants, and conducted to our lodgings.

When we arrived, the governor was out a hunting with one of the Emperor's sons. As soon as he returned in the evening, he waited on the ambassador, and complimented him in a very polite manner, excusing himself for not waiting on him sooner. At the same time, he gave His Excellency a formal invitation to supper; for it is appointed by the court that foreign ambassadors should be magnificently entertained in all the towns through which they pass: but the ambassador, being somewhat indisposed, desired to be excused.

Our route this day was through a fine champaign country, well cultivated, but containing very few trees. We passed several small towns, and many villages, well built, and inclosed with walls. The roads were well made, and in good order, running always in straight lines where the ground will allow. I had heard a great deal of the order and oeconomy of these people, but found my information far short of what I daily saw in all their works and actions. The streets of every village run in straight lines.

Upon

Upon the road we met with many turrets, called post-houses, erected at certain distances from one another, with a flag-staff, on which is hoisted the imperial pendant. These places are guarded by a few soldiers, who run a-foot from one post to another with great speed, carrying letters or dispatches that concern the Emperor. The turrets are so contrived as to be in sight of one another; and, by signals, they can convey intelligence of any remarkable event. By this means the court is informed, in the speediest manner imaginable, of whatever disturbance may happen in the most remote provinces of the empire. These posts are also very useful by keeping the country free of highwaymen; for should a person escape at one house, on a signal being made, he would certainly be stopped at the next. The distance of one post-house from another is usually five Chinese li, or miles, each li consisting of five hundred bow lengths. I compute five of their miles to be about two and a half English.

The 8th, we halted at this place. As we could not be present at the entertainment to which we were invited last night by the governor, he had resolved that the delicacies prepared on that occasion should not be lost, and therefore sent into our court twelve tables, whereon were placed, by a number of people, all the victuals that were dressed the preceding night, with the desert and several sorts of tea. The whole was afterwards brought into the hall, and there placed in form upon the tables. When this was done, an officer of distinction came to desire the ambassador to taste of His Imperial Majesty's bounty. We accordingly sat down at the tables in great order. Every thing was very good, but mostly cold, having been carried through the streets to some distance. After we had removed from the table, the person who had the direction of the entertainment called to our servants, and ordered them to sit down at the tables and eat. This produced a very diverting scene; but, had it not been complied with, the governor would have thought himself highly affronted.

In the evening, the Emperor's third son went through the city, on his way towards the capital. He was carried upon men's shoulders in a palankin, a vehicle very easy for the traveller, and well known in European settlements in India. The Emperor's sons have no other names than those of first, second, third, &c. This prince had only a small retinue of a few horsemen.

Our new conductor, Tulishin, invited the ambassador and his retinue to pass the evening at his lodgings. His excellency excused himself, as he had not been at the governor's. All the gentlemen, however, accepted the invitation. The entertainment was elegant, and something like that I formerly described, accompanied with dancing and music and quail-fighting. It is surprising to see how these little birds fly at one another as soon as they are set upon the table, and fight, like game-cocks, to death. The Chinese are very fond of this diversion, and bet as high on their quails as the English do on cocks. They are also great lovers of cock-fighting; but it is reckoned among the vulgar sports. The quails are generally parted before they hurt one another too much, and reserved in cages till another occasion.

The 9th, having sent off the baggage in the morning, the ambassador returned the governor's visit. We only staid to drink tea; after which we immediately mounted, and pursued our journey to a small town called Juny, where we arrived in the evening. Near this place is a steep rock, standing on a plain, inaccessible on all sides, except to the west, where a narrow winding path is cut in the rock, which leads to a Pagan temple and nunnery built upon the top of it. These edifices make a pretty appearance from the plain; and, as the story goes, were built from the foundation in one night, by a lady, on the following occasion: This lady was very beautiful, virtuous, and rich, and had many powerful princes for her suitors. She told them, she intended to build a temple

and a monastery of certain dimensions, with her own hands, in one night, on the top of this rock; and whoever would undertake to build a stone-bridge over a river in the neighbourhood, in the same space of time, him she promised to accept for a husband. All the lovers having heard the difficult task imposed on them, returned to their respective dominions, except one stranger, who undertook to perform the hard condition. The lover and the lady began their labour at the same time, and the lady completed her part before the light appeared; but as soon as the sun was risen, she saw from the top of the rock, that her lover had not half finished his bridge, having raised only the pillars for the arches. Failing, therefore, in his part of the performance, he was also obliged to depart to his own country; and the lady passed the remainder of her days in her own monastery.

The river is about a quarter of a mile from the rock, and the pillars still remain about five or six feet above the water; they are six or eight in number, and good substantial work. This tale I relate as a specimen of many fabulous stories, which I heard every day, and the people firmly believe. In the monastery there are at present many monks and nuns.

The chain of mountains running to the north, which bound this plain to the west, are very high, rugged, and barren. Their breadth, from the desert to the plain habitable country of China, I compute not to exceed fifteen or twenty miles, and in many places it is much less. But their length, I am informed, is above one thousand English miles. They encompass all, or the greatest part, of the empire of China, to the north and west. These impregnable bulwarks, together with the almost impassable deserts, have, in my opinion, so long preserved this nation from being over-run by the western heroes. One would imagine, that a country, so fortified by nature, had little need of such a strong wall for its defence; for if all the passes of the mountains are as narrow and difficult as that where we entered, a small number of men might defend it against a mighty army.

Juny is but a small place; it suffered greatly by the earthquake that happened in the month of July the preceding year, above one half of it being thereby laid in ruins. Indeed, more than one half of the towns and villages through which we travelled this day, had suffered much on the same occasion, and vast numbers of people had been buried in the ruins. I must confess, it was a dismal scene to see every where such heaps of rubbish.

All the best houses being thrown down by the earthquake, we were lodged in the priest's apartments of a temple, which had escaped the general devastation. Our conductor treated the monks with very little ceremony, and desired them to seek other lodgings for themselves. These priests were not all superstitious, as appeared sufficiently from the little reverence they paid to their idols, and statues of reputed saints. They conducted us into the temple, and several apartments adjoining, where stood many images of saints, some of which were monstrous figures of stone and plaster. One of the priests gave us the history of some of them, which I thought too absurd to be inserted. We then returned into the temple, which was a small but neat building. In one end of it we saw an altar, rising by steps to the ceiling, on which were placed a number of small images, cast chiefly in brass, resembling men and women, birds and beasts. We were entertained in the temple with tea, till the priests had removed their beds. At the entrance is hung a large bell, attended by a priest, who tolls it on seeing passengers, in order to invite them to say their prayers; which having done, they generally leave a small gratuity to the temple.

In the night, we were a little alarmed with the shock of an earthquake, which awakened all our people, but did no damage.

Next day, our conductor notified to the ambassador, that he could proceed no farther till he received an answer to some dispatches he had sent to court. These news were not altogether agreeable, as we apprehended another shock of an earthquake. Nothing, however, of that kind happened during the two days we were obliged to remain at this place.

The 12th, we continued our journey to a little town, where we lodged. This, and most of the towns and villages through which we passed to-day, had suffered greatly by the earthquake; particularly one considerable walled town, where very few houses remained, and the walls were levelled with the ground.

About noon, next day, we came to a large, populous, and well built city, with broad streets, as straight as a line. Near this place runs a fine river, which appears navigable, having across it a noble stone bridge, of several arches, and paved with large square stones. In the evening, we arrived at a small town, after passing through a very pleasant and fruitful country.

On the 14th, we halted at this little town: but our baggage, and His Majesty's presents, advanced a stage farther. These, by order of the Mandarin, our conductor, were carried on men's shoulders, covered with pieces of yellow silk, as every thing is which hath any connection with the court. Whatever is distinguished by this badge is looked on as sacred; and he who has the care of any thing belonging to the Emperor, needs no other protection; such is the reverence paid him all over the empire. The yellow colour is chosen by the Emperor, because, among the Chinese, it is the emblem of the sun, to which he is compared.

The following day, our road, lying over some rocks, was very rugged. In some places it was cut, for a considerable length, above twenty feet deep, through the solid rock, which appears to have been a work of great labour and expence. But no people I ever saw take such pains to make their streets and highways easy to travellers as the Chinese. In some places of the rocks were cut out images of Chinese saints; but the workmanship very mean.

Near this place, we passed through six or eight strong femicular walls within one another, which have the endless wall for their common diameter, and take in a great compass. In all these walls there are large well built gates, guarded by a constant watch, both in times of peace and war. At one of them, the ambassador was saluted with three great guns, from a tower over the gateway. These walls seem to be of the same materials and architecture with the long wall, having square towers at the distance of a bow-shot from each other. While we stopped at one of the gates to refresh ourselves, I took the opportunity to walk into one of these towers, where I saw some hundreds of old iron cannon thrown together as useles. On examination, I found them to be composed of three or four pieces of hammered iron, joined and fastened together with hoops of the same metal. The Chinese have, however, now learned to cast as fine brass cannon as are any where to be found. From this tower I was led, by a broad stone stair, to the top of the wall, which is above twenty feet in breadth, and paved with large square stones, closely joined, and cemented with strong mortar. I walked along this flat till I came to a rock, where I found a high stair of above a thousand steps, the whole breadth of the wall, which led to a tower on the summit, from whence I could see like a stair, on the other side, forming a descent to a narrow passage between two rocks. I observed also, that the wall was neither so high nor broad where it was carried
over

over another rock to the south-west, as at the place where I stood. But time not allowing me to go farther, I returned by the same way to our company; and, after staying a few hours, we proceeded this afternoon to the town of Zulinguang, where we lodged.

The next day, after travelling about two hours, we came to the last semicircular wall. Here ended all the hills and mountains. Our road now lay through a fine champaign country, interspersed with many small towns and villages. In the evening, we reached a large neat city, called Zang-pin-jew. In the market-place stood a triumphal arch, whereon were hung a number of streamers, and silken pendants, of various colours. The streets were clean, straight, and broad; in some places covered with gravel, in others, paved with flat square stones.

As soon as we reached our lodgings, the governor of the place came to salute the ambassador, and invited him to an entertainment, prepared by order of His Majesty.

The invitation was accepted, and we immediately went to the governor's palace. The entertainment was very magnificent, somewhat of the same kind with that I formerly described, and accompanied with music and dancing. This place is situated in a fruitful plain, about thirty English miles northward of Peking.

The 17th, after travelling about a dozen of miles, we came to a small town called Shach. The weather being very fine and warm, the governor came to meet the ambassador, and desired him to refresh himself a little, by drinking tea. Here we halted about an hour, and then proceeded six or eight miles farther, to a small village, about four miles from the capital, where we lodged.

Next morning, two mandarins came from court, to congratulate the ambassador on his arrival, and brought some horses, on which he and his retinue were to make their entry. The furniture of the horses was very simple, and far inferior to the costly trappings of the Persians.

My lodgings in this village happened to be at a cook's house, which gave me an opportunity of observing the ingenuity of these people, even on trifling occasions. My landlord being in his shop, I paid him a visit, where I found six kettles, placed in a row on furnaces, having a separate opening under each of them for receiving the fuel, which consisted of a few small sticks and straw. On his pulling a thong, he blew a pair of bellows, which made all his kettles boil in a very short time. They are indeed very thin, and made of cast iron, being extremely smooth, both within and without. The scarcity of fuel near such a populous city, prompts people to contrive the easiest methods of dressing their victuals, and keeping themselves warm during the winter, which is severe for two months.

About ten of the clock, we mounted, and proceeded towards the city, in the following order:

- An officer, with his sword drawn,
- Three soldiers.
- One kettle-drummer.
- Twenty-four soldiers, three in rank.
- The steward.
- Twelve footmen.
- Two pages.
- Three interpreters.
- The ambassador, and a mandarin of distinction.
- Two secretaries.
- Six gentlemen, two and two.
- Servants and attendants.

The whole retinue was dressed in their best apparel. The soldiers in uniform, carrying their muskets like horsemen standing centry; drawn swords being refused by our conductor, the officer only had that privilege.

We travelled from the village along a fine road, through a cloud of dust, and multitudes of spectators; and, in two hours, entered the city at the great north gate; which opened into a spacious street, perfectly straight, as far as the eyesight could reach. We found it all sprinkled with water, which was very refreshing, after the dust we had passed through.

A guard of five hundred Chinese horsemen was appointed to clear the way; notwithstanding which, we found it very difficult to get through the crowd. One would have imagined all the people in Peking were assembled to see us; though I was informed that only a small part of the inhabitants of the city were present. I observed also great crowds of women unveiled; but they kept in the windows, doors, and in corners of the street. The soldiers did not behave with roughness to the people, as in some other places of the east, but treated them with great mildness and humanity. Indeed, the people of themselves made as much way as was possible for them, considering their numbers. After a march of two hours, from the gate where we entered, we at last came to our lodgings, in that part of the city called the Tartar's town, which is near the center of Peking, and not far from the Emperor's palace.

We lodged in what is called the Russia-house. It was allotted, by the present Emperor, for the accommodation of the caravans from Moscow, and is surrounded with a high wall of brick, which incloses three courts. The first from the street is appointed for the guard of Chinese soldiers. The second is a spacious square, on the sides whereof are apartments for servants. The third is divided from the second by a high brick wall, through which you enter by a great gate. Opposite to this gate is the great hall, which rises a few steps above the level of the court. The floor is neatly paved with white and black marble; and, on the same floor, to the right and left of the hall, are two small bed-chambers. This hall was occupied by the ambassador. In the same court are two large houses, divided into apartments, in which the retinue was lodged. All these structures are but of one story, with large windows of lattice-work, on which is pasted white paper. The ceilings are very slight and airy, consisting only of strong laths, with reeds laid across them, and done over the inside with paper. The roofs project considerably over the walls, and are covered with fine light glazed tiles, which, as far as I could learn, are of a quality to last ages. The bed-chambers only of the hall are neatly finished with lath and plaster.

The same evening, the master of the ceremonies came to compliment the ambassador. He, in the Emperor's name, inquired into the chief subject of his commission, and, having received a satisfactory answer, retired.

This gentleman, named Aloy, was by birth a Mongall Tartar, and a great favourite of the Emperor. He was a person of great politeness, and a good friend to the Christians, especially the missionaries, who received fresh marks of his kindness every day. In his youth, he conversed much with the Jesuits, who taught him geography, and some other branches of science; which contributed not a little to raise his character among the Chinese, and recommend him to the notice and favour of the Emperor.

Thus we happily arrived at the famous and long-wished-for city of Peking, the capital of this mighty empire, after a tedious journey of exactly sixteen months. It is indeed very long, yet may be performed in much less time. I am of opinion that travellers might go from St. Petersburg to Peking, and return, in the space of six months, which, were it necessary, I think I could easily demonstrate.

After the departure of the master of the ceremonies, the *aleggada*, or prime minister, sent an officer to salute the ambassador, and excuse himself for not paying him a visit immediately, as it was then late in the night, but promised to see him next day. At the same time, he sent a great variety of fruits and provisions, as a mark of respect, notwithstanding we were abundantly supplied with these things by those appointed for that purpose.

At ten of the clock at night, the officer on guard in the outer court locked our gate, and sealed it with the Emperor's seal, that no person might go out or come in during the night. The ambassador, not approving of this proceeding, as soon as the gate was opened in the morning, sent his secretary and interpreter to the prime minister, to complain of his being confined. The *aleggada* said he was altogether ignorant of what had happened, but expressly forbid any such behaviour for the future. In Persia, indeed, and some other nations of the east, it is the custom to restrain foreign ministers from conversing with the inhabitants, till they have had an audience of the prince.

CHAP. IX.—*Occurrences at Peking; Audience of the Ambassador, &c.*

THE 19th, the prime minister, accompanied with the master of the ceremonies, and five Jesuits, came to compliment the ambassador. As soon as they entered the gate, two of their attendants walked before them, at some distance, making a humming noise, the usual sign that some person of distinction is coming. Aloy desired the ambassador would give him a copy of his credentials; which was not easily complied with, till these ministers absolutely insisted on; alleging that the Emperor never received any letters from his best friends, among whom he reckoned His Czarish Majesty the chief, without knowing the contents. The Latin copy was at last produced, the original being in the Russian language; and the master of the ceremonies and the missionaries having translated it into Chinese, took their leave. But the *aleggada* remained for the space of three hours, talking on different subjects. This minister, it seems, was a great sportsman. He asked to see the ambassador's dogs, which were a few greyhounds, and some French buck-hounds. He was desired to receive, in a present, any of them which pleased him best; but he would accept only a couple of greyhounds.

In the mean time, the Emperor sent an officer to enquire after the ambassador's health; who brought along with him a table, carried by four men, and covered with yellow silk, on which was placed variety of fruits and confections, and, in the middle, a large piece of excellent mutton. The officer acquainted the ambassador that these provisions were brought from the Emperor's own table, and therefore hoped he would eat of them. This circumstance was accounted a singular mark of the Emperor's favour.

The day following, the ambassador had a visit from the president of the council for western affairs, called *Affchinoma*, accompanied by four missionaries, two of which were Messrs. *Paranim* and *Fridellii*. The conversation turned chiefly on the ceremonial of the ambassador's introduction to the Emperor, which was a matter not easily settled. The principal points, insisted on by the ambassador, were, that he might deliver his credentials into the Emperor's own hands, and be excused from bowing thrice three times on entering His Majesty's presence; to which custom all must submit who appear before the Emperor. The president, on the contrary, asserted, that the constant practice in China, for many ages past, was directly opposite to these demands; that their Emperors never received letters of credence with their own hands; that the custom

was

was for the ambassador to lay them on a table, at some distance from the throne, or the place where the Emperor may happen to sit; after which they were delivered to the Emperor by the officer appointed for that purpose.

At the same time, the president invited the ambassador to an entertainment, to be given at a palace in the city, where he said the Emperor would be present, and speak with him. His Excellency replied, he would accept of the invitation, provided he might on that occasion deliver the Czar his master's letter. He was told, this was neither a proper place nor time for that purpose; but that the Emperor intended to give him a public audience very soon, and receive his credentials in form.

The ambassador was apprehensive that the Emperor, having already seen a copy of his credentials, should he also see himself at the entertainment, his public audience might thereby be retarded; and therefore declined the invitation. It appeared, however, afterwards, that this suspicion was without foundation, and that the Emperor intended nothing more than to do honour to the ambassador.

The 21st, the aleggada paid a second visit. His servants brought tea ready made, some jars of arrack, with fruits and confections. From this day little material happened, except daily messages from court relating to the ceremonial, till the 27th, when this affair was at last adjusted, on the following terms: "That the ambassador should comply with the established customs of the court of China; and when the Emperor sent a minister to Russia, he should have instructions to conform himself, in every respect, to the ceremonies in use at that court." This affair gave the ministry at Peking much trouble; and, I must confess, the missionaries took great pains to soften matters on both sides.

On the 28th, the day appointed for the ambassador's public audience of the Emperor, horses were brought to our lodgings for the ambassador and his retinue; the Emperor being then at a country-house called Tzan-shu-yang, about six miles westward from Peking. We mounted at eight in the morning, and about ten arrived at court, where we alighted at the gate, which was guarded by a strong party of soldiers. The commanding officers conducted us into a large room, where we drank tea, and staid about half an hour, till the Emperor was ready to receive us. We then entered a spacious court, inclosed with high brick walls, and regularly planted with several rows of forest-trees, about eight inches diameter, which I took to be limes. The walks are spread with small gravel; and the great walk is terminated by the hall of audience, behind which are the Emperor's private apartments. On each side of the great walk are fine flower-pots and canals. As we advanced, we found all the ministers of state, and officers belonging to the court, seated upon fur-cushions, cross-legged, before the hall, in the open air; among these, places were appointed for the ambassador and his retinue; and in this situation we remained in a cold frosty morning, till the Emperor came into the hall. During this interval, there were only two or three servants in the hall, and not the least noise was heard from any quarter. The entry to the hall is by seven marble steps, the whole length of the building. The floor is finely paved with a neat checker-work of white and black marble. The edifice is quite open to the south; and the roof supported by a row of handsome wooden pillars, octangular and finely polished; before which is hung a large canopy, as a shelter from the heat of the sun, or inclemencies of the weather.

After we had waited about a quarter of an hour, the Emperor entered the hall at a back-door, and seated himself upon the throne; upon which all the company stood. The master of the ceremonies now desired the ambassador, who was at some distance from the rest, to walk into the hall, and conducted him by one hand, while he held his credentials in the other. Having ascended the steps, the letter was laid on a table placed

for that purpose, as had been previously agreed; but the Emperor beckoned to the ambassador, and directed him to approach; which he no sooner perceived, than he took up the credentials, and, attended by Aloy, walked up to the throne, and, kneeling, laid them before the Emperor, who touched them with his hand, and inquired after His Czarish Majesty's health. He then told the ambassador, that the love and friendship he entertained for His Majesty were such, that he had even dispensed with an established custom of the empire in receiving his letter.

During this part of the ceremony, which was not long, the retinue continued standing without the hall, and we imagined, the letter being delivered, all was over. But the master of the ceremonies brought back the ambassador, and then ordered all the company to kneel, and make obeisance nine times to the Emperor. At every third time we stood up and knelt again. Great pains were taken to avoid this piece of homage, but without success. The master of the ceremonies stood by, and delivered his orders in the Tartar language, by pronouncing the words *morgu* and *bofs*; the first meaning to bow, and the other to stand; two words which I cannot soon forget.

This piece of formality being ended, the master of the ceremonies conducted the ambassador and the six gentlemen of the retinue, with one interpreter, into the hall. Our clerks, inferior officers, and servants, remained still without, together with many courtiers and officers of distinction. We were seated on our own cushions, in a row upon the floor, to the right of the throne, about six yards distance; and, immediately behind us sat three missionaries, dressed in Chinese habits, who constantly attend the court. On this occasion they served by turns as interpreters.

Soon after we were admitted, the Emperor called the ambassador to him, took him by the hand, and talked very familiarly on various subjects. Among other things, he told him, that he was informed His Czarish Majesty exposed his person to many dangers, particularly by water, at which he was much surprised, but desired he would take the advice of an old man, and not hazard his life, by committing himself to the rage of the merciless waves and winds, where no valour could avail. We were near enough to hear this piece of friendly and wholesome advice.

This conversation being finished, the Emperor gave the ambassador, with his own hand, a gold cupful of warm tarassun, a sweet fermented liquor, made of various sorts of grain, as pure and strong as Canary wine, of a disagreeable smell, though not unpleasant to the taste. This cup was brought about to the gentlemen, and all of us drank the Emperor's health, who observed, that this liquor would warm us that cold morning. His Majesty also found many faults with our dress, as improper for a cold climate; and, I must confess, I thought him in the right.

On the left side of the throne sat five princes, sons to the Emperor, together with all the ministers and grandees of the court. The tarassun, however, was handed about to none but ourselves, and the Jesuits behind us. Eight or ten of the Emperor's grandsons now entered the hall. They were very handsome, and plainly dressed, having nothing to distinguish them, but the dragon with five claws, woven into their outer garments, and a yellow tunic of satin, bearing the same device, with little caps on their heads faced with sable. After them came the musicians carrying their instruments. By this time the hall was pretty full; and, what is surprising, there was not the least noise, hurry, or confusion. Every one perfectly knows his own business; and the thick paper soles of the Chinese boots prevent any noise from their walking on the floor. By these means every thing goes on with great regularity, but at the same time with wonderful quickness. In short, the characteristic of the court of Peking is order and decency, rather than grandeur and magnificence.

The

The Emperor sat cross-legged on his throne. He was dressed in a short loose coat of sable, having the fur outward, lined with lamb-skin, under which he wore a long tunic of yellow silk, interwoven with figures of golden dragons with five claws; which device no person is allowed to bear except the imperial family. On his head was a little round cap, faced with black fox-skin; on the top of which I observed a large beautiful pearl, in the shape of a pear, which, together with a tassel of red silk tied below the pearl, was all the ornament I saw about this mighty monarch. The throne also was very simple, being made of wood, but of neat workmanship. It is raised five easy steps from the floor, is open towards the company, but has a large japanned screen on each side, to defend it from the wind.

The master of the ceremonies, and a few officers of the household, were dressed in robes of state, of gold and silver stuffs, with monstrous dragons on their backs and breasts. Most of the ministers of state were dressed very plain, having nothing like ornaments about them; a few only had large rubies, sapphires, and emeralds. These precious stones are cut into the shape of pears, through which a hole is drilled, to fix them on the top of their bonnets. These holes diminish the value of the stones, one half at least, at an European market. I once saw, however, one of these rubies, with a hole drilled through it, which was bought at Pekin for a trifle, valued at ten thousand pounds sterling in Europe. But such bargains are rarely to be met with, this being a stone of the first class for bigness and purity. As for diamonds, the Chinese, it seems, do not much esteem them; for few diamonds are found in China, and these very rudely cut and shaped, and so indeed are all their coloured stones.

It was now about noon, at which time our entertainment began to be served up, of which I also give some account. There were first brought neat little tables covered with variety of fruits and confections, and placed before all the company. It seems to be the fashion of this country to bring the desert first, at least that was the case at all the entertainments where I was present. In this, as in many other things, the behaviour of the Chinese is quite contrary to that of the Europeans. Soon after the fruits, the victuals were served in the same manner, and placed on small tables before the guests. They consisted of fowls, mutton, and pork, all very good of their kinds; and the whole was either boiled or stewed with pickles, but nothing roasted. The Emperor sent several dishes from his own table to the ambassador, particularly some boiled pheasants, which were very agreeable.

The music played all the time of dinner. The chief instruments were flutes, harps, and lutes, all tuned to the Chinese taste. There was also some vocal music; an old Tartar, in particular, sung a warlike song, to which he beat time, by striking, with two ivory rods, upon a chime of little bells that hung before him. A young Tartar sung a call to war, dancing at the same time, and keeping time by drawing the head of an arrow across his shield. Then entered two little girls, who danced and sung while the instruments played. After them came tumblers, who performed various feats of activity in the court before the hall. These were succeeded by wrestlers, fencers, and other performers of the same species. The Emperor sent frequently to the ambassador, to ask how he liked the music, dancing, and other entertainments. He also enquired about several princes and states of Europe, with whose power by land and sea he was not unacquainted. But, above all, he wondered how the King of Sweden could hold out so long against so great a power as that of Russia. After this conversation, the Emperor informed the ambassador, that he would soon send for him again; but, as the night was cold, he would detain him no longer at present, and immediately stepped from his throne, and returned to his private apartments by the same passage he left them. We also

also mounted, and repaired to our lodgings in the city, so well satisfied with the gracious and friendly reception of the Emperor, that all our former hardships were almost forgot.

The 29th, the Mandarin Tulishin came to our lodgings with two clerks, and took a list of the presents sent by the Czar to the Emperor. These consisted of various rich furs, clocks, repeating watches set in diamonds, mirrors; and the battle of Poltava, nicely turned in ivory, done by His Czarish Majesty's own hands, and set in a curious frame. The ambassador at the same time, delivered to the Mandarin, as a present from himself to the Emperor, several toys of value, a fine managed horse, some greyhounds, and large buck-hounds.

Every thing was entered in a book very exactly, even the names and qualities of each particular dog. There was also tied about the neck of each dog, a yellow silk cord, drawn through a hole in a little bit of wood which hung from the dog's neck, as a mark of it belonging to the court. The Chinese, in general, are very fond of little harlequin dogs that play monkey tricks. A servant of ours had one of that kind, which he sold for an hundred ounces of silver.

The same day, all the fruits and confections of the entertainment given at the audience which remained, were sent to the ambassador's lodgings. They were carried in great state through the streets, covered with yellow silk; and an officer of the court walked before the procession.

Next day, the Emperor sent to our lodgings several large dishes of massive gold, containing a kind of delicate fish, called *mu*, already dressed, but in such a manner that I did not know to what to compare it. Also some bowls filled with excellent vermicelli, and a sort of pastry-puffs, baked over the steam of boiling water, exceeding in whiteness any thing of that kind I ever saw. All these things were sent from His Majesty's own table; an honour which he grants but seldom. It seems he was resolved we should have provisions in abundance; for, besides all these, we received our daily allowance, in which we were by no means stinted.

After dinner, the master of the ceremonies, accompanied with the captain of the eunuchs, and three Jesuits, came to visit the ambassador. This eunuch was a great favourite of the Emperor, on account of the knowledge he had acquired in mathematics and mechanics. He made the ambassador a present of a small enamelled gold watch, and a wind-gun, both of his own making. The Emperor himself is a great lover of the arts, so far, that whoever distinguishes himself in any useful branch of them, is sure to meet with proper encouragement. The eunuch also made a present to the ambassador of a steel to strike fire, and then desired to see the presents, which was granted. At taking leave, Aloy told the ambassador, that the Emperor intended to give him a Chinese dress, which was more convenient and warmer than the European.

December the first, Merin-Sanguin, a general officer, and brother to the first minister of state, came to visit the ambassador. Notwithstanding the high rank of this military gentleman, he had no sword about him; for at Peking, no person, not even officers and soldiers, except when on duty, wears a sword, or any other weapon in the city.

The day following, the ambassador had a second audience of the Emperor at the same palace. On this occasion, the Czar's presents were carried to court, by a number of people sent for that purpose. The Emperor viewed them all at a distance; after which they were delivered to an officer appointed by His Majesty to receive them. This audience was held in a private hall within the inner-court, where only the officers of the household, and the gentlemen of the retinue were present. We were entertained in the same manner as before. The Emperor conversed very familiarly with the ambaf-

fador on various subjects, and talked of peace and war in particular, in the style of a philosopher. In the evening, we returned to the city, in a cold north-wind, which blew the dust about in clouds. Scarcely had we arrived, when fruits and confections, according to custom, were sent to our lodgings.

This evening, one of the Emperor's grandsons came to visit the ambassador. He was a genteel youth, about fourteen years of age, and had not above half a dozen of attendants.

Next day, the weather continued cold and frosty. The sky was clear, and a strong wind at north-west, blowing the dust about. I observed that the north-west winds are the coldest in this place; as they come over the vast tracts of ice and snow in Siberia.

The 4th, there was a fall of snow, to the deepness of seven or eight inches, which was immediately thrown into heaps, and the streets clean swept. This day the missionaries sent a present to the ambassador, consisting of several sorts of venison and wild-fowl, and a greater variety of fine fruits and confections than I ever saw in any country, together with a couple of jars of wine made by themselves. Among the fruits there were some species which I had never before seen, particularly a sort of apple, about the size of a common orange, with a smooth skin, of a yellowish colour, very soft and sweet, or rather luscious; also a fruit about the bigness of a walnut, but quite round, resembling in taste a prune, but far more delicious: it contains a smooth hard stone, and the whole is covered with a thin brownish shell, so brittle, that it is easily broken between the finger and thumb. Some of these shells are rough, and others smooth. They serve to prevent the tender fruit from being devoured by birds, and from flying dust; and, what is something uncommon, the fruit does not adhere to the shell, but a small vacuity is left between them. It is not only pleasant to the taste, but is accounted very wholesome.

The 5th, the ambassador had a third audience of the Emperor, in the palace at Peking. As some affairs relating to the two empires were to be discussed, the secretary only, M. de Lange, accompanied the ambassador. After he was introduced, the Emperor told him, he had given orders to the tribunal for western affairs to hear the subject of his commission, and then retired to his own apartments, leaving his ministers to transact the business, which was soon finished on this occasion; and the ambassador returned to his lodgings.

The 6th, being St. Nicolas's day, a great festival in the Greek church, the ambassador went to the Russian chapel in Peking to hear divine service. This house stands within the city, under the east wall, and was built by the bounty of the present Emperor Kamhi, on the following occasion.

About the year 1683, there happened a difference betwixt the government of Siberia and the Chinese, about a small fort called Albazin, which the Russians had built upon the banks of the river Amoor. The Chinese alleged the fort was erected on their territories; and, jealous of the approach of such powerful neighbours, made several fruitless representations to the governor of Siberia to have it demolished. The Emperor, at last, impatient of longer delay, sent an army of above one hundred thousand men, to do by force what could not be accomplished by negotiation. They invested the place on all sides, and raised batteries against it. After a vigorous defence, the garrison, consisting of about three or four hundred Cossacks, was obliged to surrender for want of provisions. No terms could be obtained; and all the Russians were made prisoners of war. In consequence of which they were carried to Peking, where the Emperor generously assigned them houses apart from the rest of the inhabitants, permitted the free

exercise of their religion, and gave them a daily allowance equal with his own soldiers. By this mild treatment they were enabled to build the little chapel which they still possess. The descendant of these prisoners are pretty numerous, and useful to their countrymen, the Russians as interpreters. I formerly mentioned that these disputes were ended on the following terms; the prisoners on both sides were to remain unexchanged, and the fort of Albazin to be destroyed; since which time, the two empires have continued in good correspondence. The inhabitants of Siberia, indeed, regret much the loss of their fort, as it stood in a fine climate, gave them possession of a large extent of country northward from the Amoor; and, besides, opening a passage down that river to the Japanese Ocean. It was, however, the occasion of establishing the Greek church in China, which still continues to flourish; though its members are not very numerous. As one priest dies, another from Siberia succeeds him, who minds chiefly his own small flock, and thinks very little of making converts. This circumstance prevents their being obnoxious to the Roman missionaries, who can have no suspicion of their interfering with the interests of their church. These missionaries are constantly employed in making proselytes, and their endeavours have been attended with some success.

The 7th, we dined at the *alleggada's*, where we were magnificently entertained. There was no other company but ourselves, and we staid the whole day. This was the most elegant and complete entertainment of any I saw in China.

About ten o'clock in the morning, chairs were sent for the ambassador and gentlemen of the retinue, and horses for the servants, though the prime minister's house was very near our lodgings. The chairs were carried through two courts, and set down at the entry into a hall, where the *alleggada* waited to receive the ambassador. After entering the hall, we were seated on neat cane chairs, with japanned frames, inlaid with mother of pearl. The apartment itself was very simple, open to the south, and the roof supported on that side by a row of well-turned wooden pillars. It had no ceiling, but the rafters appeared finely polished, and perfectly clean. The floor was paved with a checker-work of white and black marble; and in the middle of it stood a large brass chafing-dish, in shape of an urn, full of charcoal. At the entry were placed two large China cisterns, filled with pure water, in which played some scores of small fishes, catching at crumbs of bread thrown into the water. These fishes are about the size of a minnow, but of a different shape, and beautifully varied with red, white, and yellow spots, and therefore called the gold and silver fish. I never saw any of them out of this country, though, I imagine, they might easily be brought to Europe, as they are by no means of the tender kind. I had about twenty of them standing in a window at my lodgings; in a morning, after a frosty night, I found all the water frozen, most of the fishes stiff, and seemingly dead; but, on putting them into cold fresh water, they all recovered, except two or three.

After we had drunk a dish of tea, a collation of broths and victuals were placed on the tables, intermixed with a variety of fruits and confections. Every person had a table apart, and all were served in the same manner. This repast, it seems, was only breakfast, though it might well have passed for dinner.

After this entertainment, the *alleggada* carried us first to see his dogs, of which he had great variety. I formerly observed that this gentleman was a great sportsman. He took greater pleasure in talking of hounds than politics; though, at the same time, he had the character of a very able minister and an honest man.

We were now conducted through all the different apartments of his house, excepting only those of the ladies, to which none have access but himself, and the eunuchs

who attend them. We saw a noble collection of many curiosities, both natural and artificial; particularly a large quantity of old porcelain or China ware, made in China and Japan, and at present to be found only in the cabinets of the curious. They consisted chiefly of a great number of jars of different sizes. He took much pleasure in telling when and where they were manufactured; and, as far as I can remember, many of them were above two thousand years old. He added, that, both in China and Japan, they had lost the art of making porcelain in that perfection they did in former times; and the fault, in his opinion, lay in the preparation of the materials. These curiosities were piled up on shelves to the very roof of the house, and in such order and symmetry as had a pretty effect.

From the house we went into a little garden, inclosed with a high brick-wall. In the middle of it stood a small basin, full of water, surrounded with several old crooked trees and shrubs; among which I saw that which produces the famous tea. The climate about Pekin being too cold for this shrub, there are only a few bushes of it to be found in the gardens of the curious. I shall not at present enlarge on this useful plant, which appeared like a currant-bush, as an opportunity will occur of giving a fuller account of it before I leave this place. There was a walk round the garden, which, together with that in the middle, was covered with small gravel. At each end of the middle walk was a piece of artificial rock-work, with water running under it, through holes so natural, they looked as if made by the current of the stream. The rocks were about seven feet high, and shaded with some old bended trees. This garden, and many others in China, display the taste of the inhabitants for imitating nature.

From the garden we were called to dinner, where we found a plentiful and elegant entertainment, set out in the finest order, far exceeding any thing of that kind we had seen before. We had no music nor dancing; and the whole was conducted with surprising decency and regularity. The entertainment lasted about two hours, after which we returned to our lodgings.

This day, our gates were opened to people of all characters, and merchants and others allowed to go in and out at pleasure. Though all communication was not prohibited before this time, it was, however, difficult, and not to be obtained without permission of the proper officer.

The 8th, we dined at the south convent, where the Italian missionaries generally reside. Here all the Jesuits in the place, to the number of ten or twelve, were assembled. We met with a friendly reception, and a most splendid entertainment.

This convent stands within the city, upon a piece of ground given to the fathers by the Emperor. He gave also ten thousand ounces of silver towards building and adorning the chapel, which is indeed very neat, and handsomely decorated with pictures of saints, and scripture-pieces, by the best hands. An account of this remarkable benefaction of the Emperor Kamhi is cut out, in the Chinese language, in letters of gold, and fixed above the great gate, which makes the place more respected. When we arrived, one of the priests was officiating in the chapel, where were assembled about one hundred Chinese converts. At dinner we had a few bottles of wine, made in the convent; but I cannot say it was good, though the grapes were fine, and of an agreeable taste.

After dinner, we were conducted to the Emperor's stables, where the elephants are kept. The keeper asked the ambassador to walk into his apartments till they were equipped; then we went into the court, and saw these huge animals richly caparisoned in gold and silver stuffs. Each had a rider on his back, who held in their hands small battle-axes, with a sharp pike at one end, to drive and guide them. We stood

stood about an hour admiring those sagacious animals; some of them very large, who, passing before us at equal distances, returned again behind the stables, and so on round and round, till there seemed to be no end of the procession. The plot, however, was at last discovered by the features and dress of the riders; and the chief keeper told us there were only sixty of them. The climate about Peking is too cold for them to breed; and all these were brought from warmer countries. The Emperor keeps them only for show, and makes no use of them, at least in these northern parts. Some of them were brought near to the place where we sat, and made obeisance to us, by kneeling and making a dreadful noise; others sucked up water from vessels and spouted it through their trunks among the mob, or wherever the rider directed. The sagacity of these animals is most surprising, and approaches so near to reason, that, in this respect, they surpass all the brute creation. After this show, we took leave of the Jesuits, who had accompanied us hither, and returned to our lodgings.

Next day, all the gentlemen dined at the palace of the Emperor's ninth son, in consequence of an invitation from his chief eunuch, who is a great friend to the Russian house. As the invitation was not from the prince, the ambassador would not accept of it. Our entertainment was very magnificent, and accompanied with music, dancing, and a kind of comedy, which lasted most part of the day. The comedians were of both sexes; if the women's parts were not performed by boys dressed like actresses. As the play was in the Chinese language, I could understand nothing of it, except from the gesture and action of the performers. It seemed to be a parcel of detached dissimilar interludes, without any principal end, or unity of design. I shall, therefore, only mention one scene, which appeared to me the most extraordinary. There entered on the stage seven warriors, all in armour, with different weapons in their hands, and terrible vizards on their faces. After they had taken a few turns about the stage, and surveyed each other's armour, they at last fell a quarrelling; and, in the encounter, one of the heroes was slain. Then an angel descended from the clouds, in a flash of lightning, with a monstrous sword in his hand, and soon parted the combatants, by driving them all off the stage; which done, he ascended in the same manner he came down, in a cloud of fire and smoke. This scene was succeeded by several comical farces, which to me seemed very diverting, though in a language I did not understand. The last character that appeared on the stage was an European gentleman, completely dressed, having all his clothes bedaubed with gold and silver lace. He pulled off his hat, and made a profound reverence to all that passed him. I shall leave it to any one to imagine, what an awkward figure a Chinese must make in this ridiculous habit. This scene was interrupted, and the performers dismissed, by the master of the feast, from a suspicion that his guests might take offence. The play being finished, we were entertained with jugglers, who exhibited a variety of legerdemain tricks with great dexterity.

The banquet was prolonged the whole day, excepting the time spent in these interludes. No sooner was one course carried off, than another was instantly placed upon the tables, and the whole concluded with deserts of fruits and sweetmeats. One would scarce have imagined, that luxury had made such progress among the sober and industrious Chinese. It must indeed be observed, that there is almost no drinking at their entertainments, as they use no liquor on these occasions but tea, and now and then a dram of hot arrack. The Chinese handle the two ivory or wooden pins, which they use instead of forks, with such dexterity, that they can even take up needles with them. In place of napkins they sometimes employ a few square pieces of paper.

CHAP. X.—*Continuation of Occurrences at Peking, &c.*

THE day following, the ambassador had a fourth audience of the Emperor, at the palace in the city. This interview was also private, and the ambassador was attended only by his secretary. The Emperor repeated the assurances of his friendship for His Czarish Majesty, talked strongly on the vanity and uncertainty of all human affairs, adding, that he was now an old man, and, by the course of nature, could not live long, and desired to die in peace with God and all mankind. At taking leave, each of them was presented with a complete Chinese suit of cloaths, made of strong silk, interwoven with dragons claws, and lined with sable.

The 12th, we dined at the French or western convent, where we again found all the missionaries. The chapel, and other edifices, are handsome, but not so grand as the Italian convent. Father Paranim is president of this convent; he is a man of parts and address, and in great favour with the Emperor. I was informed this entertainment was given at the expence of the court, and had some reason to believe it was so, as it far exceeded what might reasonably be expected from the Jesuits. The Emperor's band of music played all the time of dinner; after which we had jugglers and tumblers of great activity. Among the many feats and tricks performed by these people, I shall only mention two or three, which seemed most uncommon. The roof of the room where we sat was supported by wooden pillars. The juggler took a gemlet, with which he bored one of the pillars, and asked, whether we chose red or white wine? The question being answered, he pulled out the gemlet, and put a quill in the hole, through which run, as from a cask, the wine demanded. After the same manner, he extracted several sorts of liquors, all which I had the curiosity to taste, and found them good of their kinds.

Another of these expert youths took three long sharp-pointed knives, and throwing them up by turns, kept one always in each hand, and the third in the air. This he continued to perform for a considerable time, catching constantly the falling knife by the handle, without ever allowing it to touch the floor. The knives were exceeding sharp, so that had he missed laying hold of the handles, he must infallibly have lost some of his fingers.

The same person took a wooden ball, somewhat less than those commonly used in bowling-greens, with a hole through the middle of it, and a rod two feet long, about the size of a walking staff, pointed at the extremity, to fit the hole in the ball. He then tossed the ball above a yard high, and caught it again upon the point of the rod, not in the hole of the ball, but wherever it happened to meet the point; and, in this manner, he continued to throw up and catch the ball for a considerable time. He now placed the ball upon the point of the rod, taking no notice of the hole, and twirled it round like a top so quickly, that the motion could not be observed. This seemed extremely dexterous, for all the while he played with the ball in appearance; and, when the motion began to slacken, gave it a fresh twirl with his hand, as if the rod and ball had been fastened to each other.

This person also placed a large earthen dish, above eighteen inches diameter, upon the point of the same rod, and twirled it round in the same manner as he did the ball. During this swift motion, he did not always keep the point in the centre of the vessel; on the contrary, he often held it within three inches of the brim. I shall only mention one instance more.

There were placed erect, upon the pavement of the floor, two bamboos, which are a kind of cane. The length of them was about twenty-five feet; at the lower end, I

reckon

reckon them to be near five inches diameter, and at the top about the breadth of a crown-piece. They were straight, light, and smooth, and each supported by two men. Two boys then climbed up the poles, without the least assistance; and, having reached the top, stood upright, sometimes on one foot, and sometimes on the other, and then upon their heads. This being done, they laid one hand on the top of the pole, and stretched out their bodies almost at right angles to it. In this posture they continued for a considerable time, and even shifted hands. I observed that much depended on the men who held the poles; one of the two at each pole having it fixed to his girdle, and they kept a steady eye on the motions of the boys. There were about twenty or thirty of these performers, who all belong to the Emperor, and never display their art without his permission. I am fully persuaded that, in tricks and feats of dexterity, few nations can equal, and none excel, the Chinese.

After these diversions, we were conducted to the Emperor's glass-house, which His Imperial Majesty often visits with pleasure. It was erected by himself, and is the first manufactory of the kind that ever was in China. The person employed to superintend and carry on this design was Kilian Stumpff, a German father, lately deceased; a man in great favour with the Emperor, and well known in China for his ingenuity and literature. His Majesty is so fond of this glass-work that he sent several of the most curious of its productions in a present to His Czarist Majesty. It is surprising that the Chinese, who have been constantly employed for so many ages in the manufacture of China-ware, should never have stumbled upon that of glass. This shews evidently, that the degree of heat necessary in their ovens must not be very great, or their materials free from sand; for it is certain, they had no knowledge of glass of any kind till this house was erected. I was informed, that, not long ago, some Europeans brought to Canton a parcel of prisms, or triangular glasses, which the Chinese took for natural productions of rock crystal, and bought them at the rate of one hundred ounces of silver a-piece: But, from the quantity imported, they soon discovered their mistake.

On the evening of the 14th, an officer came from court, desiring the ambassador to wait on the Emperor at his palace of Tzangfuang, and bring his musicians along with him. These consisted of performers on violins, trumpets, and kettle-drums.

Next day, we arrived at the palace about ten of the clock, and had immediate admittance to the Emperor's private apartments, few being present but the officers of the household and Father Paranim. After a short conference, the music was ordered to play. There were in the room ten or twelve of the Emperor's grandsons, who seemed much entertained with the instruments. I asked an elderly gentleman who stood by me, how he liked the music? He said it was very good, but their own was better. No ladies were to be seen, though, I believe, several of them were behind a screen, at the other end of the room.

The music being over, the Emperor ordered one of the princes to conduct the ambassador into the gardens belonging to the palace; into which we entered along a draw-bridge, over a canal of pure water. They abounded with shaded walks, arbours, and fish-ponds, in the Chinese taste. The young princes entertained themselves by shooting with bows and arrows. Some of them displayed great dexterity, being accustomed from their infancy to this exercise, which is accounted both genteel and healthy; as the drawing of the bow extends and strengthens the muscles both of the breast and arms. One of the princes shewed us a bow and arrows used by the Emperor when young, by which it appeared that he had been a person of extraordinary bodily strength. After we had surveyed the gardens in every quarter, we took leave of the princes, and returned to the city.

This

This day, arrived in Pekin Signior Mezzobarba, ambassador from his Holiness the Pope to the Emperor. This gentleman was a cardinal, and patriarch of Alexandria. His retinue was composed of ecclesiastics of different orders, and a few servants, who were all lodged in the Italian convent. They came from Europe to Macao in a Portuguese ship, from thence to Canton, and then by land to this place.

The design of this embassy was to inquire into the disputes and misunderstanding that had lately arisen in this country between the Jesuits and Dominicans, relating to certain rites annually performed by the Chinese Christians, at the tombs of their deceased parents, or other relations. This custom seems to be the same with that of the parentalia anciently in use among the Greeks and Romans. It is universal in China, from the Emperor to the meanest peasant. It seems the Jesuits permitted their converts to visit the tombs of their relations; alleging, that, without such indulgence, no person would embrace Christianity, and that time would wean them from such superstitious ceremonies. The Dominicans, on the other hand, affirmed that it was next to idolatry, and declared it unlawful to allow any such custom, strictly prohibiting all conformity in their converts. These differences, in all probability, will not soon be determined. The Emperor himself tried to make the parties compromise matters; but, finding his endeavours ineffectual, he left them to agree or dispute according to their pleasure. He inclined, indeed, to favour the opinion of the Jesuits, which he thought most reasonable. At any rate, it must be acknowledged an instance of uncommon condescension, for an heathen Emperor to interest himself so much in the peace of a Christian church.

The 16th, Mr. De Lange and I paid a visit to the Fathers Fridely and Keaggler, at the Oriental or German convent. This place is large enough; but neither the chapel nor buildings are near so magnificent as those of the other two convents. It is called oriental, because situated in the eastern district of the city. Both these Fathers, and several other ecclesiastics of inferior rank in this convent, are Germans. One of the Fathers was a clock-maker; and, by such means, they frequently insinuate themselves into acquaintance with people of distinction, who protect them in times of danger. For, in China, they have still a great number of enemies, who would gladly see both them and their religion extirpated; but the favour of the present Emperor hath hitherto prevented or disappointed the design of such persons.

The 17th, I sent to inform the captain of the Chinese guard, that I intended to take a turn through the city, who immediately gave orders for a soldier to attend me. When we passed through the gate, the clerk marked our names in his book, and dashed them out at our return. I went into several shops, where were sold different kinds of merchandise; particularly those of the goldsmiths, whose business it is to exchange gold for silver, or silver for gold. In these shops are found vast quantities of those valuable metals, cast into bars of different sizes, and piled up one upon another; which are sold only by weight, as there is no current coin in this country; except one small round piece of brass, with a square hole in the middle, through which may be run a string, for the convenience of carrying them to market. This coin, called Jofs by the Chinese, is about the value of one tenth of a penny sterling, and is extremely useful among the common people. With one of them a man can buy a dish of hot tea, a pipe of tobacco, or a dram of brandy in the streets; and a beggar may dine for three of them. There are, indeed, few beggars to be seen in the city; but, notwithstanding the labour and industry of the inhabitants, they are so numerous, that it is hardly possible to prevent many from being reduced to the utmost necessity. There are cooks shops, where dogs and cats, and such other creatures are dressed for the entertainment of these people.

These coins have Kamhi, the name of the Emperor on one side, and the words Tun Pao, or the universal price, on the other.

When the Chinese have occasion to buy any thing above the value of sixpence, they cut off a piece of silver, and weigh it, which is done in a trice.

Although the want of current coin seems ill calculated for the dispatch of business, the Chinese find no inconvenience on that account. It is in so far preferable to money, that it loses little by wearing in the circulation, which coin does perhaps more than is generally imagined.

In most of the shops I found both men and women uncoiled. They were extremely complaisant, and gave me a dish of tea in every shop. These people expose their gold and silver, and other goods of value, with as much freedom and security, as the merchants do in London or Amsterdam.

The 19th, Lange and I went to the French convent, but not one of the ecclesiastics were at home, having all gone to attend Signor Mezzobarba at an audience of the Emperor, except an old gentleman, Monsieur Bouvett, who had formerly written a small treatise, entitled, *Le Portrait de l'Empereur de la Chine*, which he had printed in Europe.

The 20th, cold and windy.

The 21st, frost and snow, which softened the air, and laid the dust.

Next day, the ambassador, with Secretary Lange, went to the council appointed for western affairs, and had a conference on the subject of his embassy.

The winter here lasts only about two months, but is very sharp and piercing, while the wind is northerly, If the wind, indeed, is southerly, the air is mild and pleasant, and the sky clear. I mentioned above, that the Chinese have a method of keeping themselves warm during the cold, which I shall now describe as distinctly as I can.

In building a house, they make two stove-holes, one in each side-wall, about three feet from the gable-end. The holes are a foot square; one serves for receiving the fuel, and the other to let out the smoke, when the stove is finished. There is a partition of brick, which runs from one side of the house to the other, about five or six feet from the gable, and only eighteen inches high, which I shall call the front of the stove-bench. Between this and the gable are built several other thin partitions of brick, in a direction at right angles to the first, having a small opening at the extremity of each. For example, suppose the passage in the first partition to the right hand, and in the second to the left, and so on, alternately, to the last, which communicates with the hole, on the other side of the room, for letting out the smoke. These divisions being made, the whole is arched, or otherwise covered with brick; above which is laid a layer of clay, or plaster, to prevent the smoke from rising through the surface. It is plain that below this bench there will be a winding channel for the smoke, from one side of the room to the other. A few handfuls of brush-wood, straw, or any kind of fuel, will warm the bench, as much as is necessary, to work or sleep without feeling cold. It is generally covered with mats, felts, or other thick stuffs, according to the ability of the owner.

The 22d, Father Keaggler came to visit us. This gentleman had been long in China, and was well acquainted with the language, customs, and manners of the country. In talking of the extent of Peking, he said that Nankin is at least three times as large. At this rate, Nankin must be one of the largest cities in the world. He added, that it was somewhat diminished since the court had left that place to reside at Peking. Nankin is a place of the most extensive commerce, and contains the greatest manufactories, of all sorts of silk and cotton stuffs, of any city in the country, besides those of China-ware.

It is watered by a fine navigable river, on which are employed an incredible number of boats, in carrying merchandize and passengers.

The 23d, cold northerly wind, and strong frost.

The 24th, Christmas-eve; the ambassador heard divine service in the Russ church.

The 25th, the ambassador, and the whole retinue went to church.

The Emperor sent Father Fridelly, accompanied by several mandarins, with a present to His Czarish Majesty, of six large boxes of tiles, made of China-ware, fit for such stoves as are used in Russia for warming rooms. They were very pretty, blue and white, and, with due care, may last for ages.

January 1st, 1721, the Emperor's general of the artillery, together with Father Fridelly, and a gentleman called Stadlin, an old German, and a watch-maker, dined at the ambassador's. He was by birth a Tartar; and, by his conversation, it appeared he was by no means ignorant in his profession, particularly with respect to the various compositions of gunpowder used in artificial fire-works. I asked him, how long the Chinese had known the use of gun-powder? he replied about two thousand years, in fire-works, according to their records, but that its application to the purposes of war was only a late introduction. As the veracity and candour of this gentleman were well known, there was no room to question the truth of what he advanced on this subject.

The conversation then turned on printing. He said he could not then ascertain precisely the antiquity of this invention; but was absolutely certain it was much antienter than that of gun-powder. It is to be observed, that the Chinese print with stamps, in the manner that cards are made in Europe. Indeed, the connection between stamping and printing is so close and obvious, that it is surprising the ingenious Greeks and Romans, so famous for their medals, never discovered the art of printing.

On this occasion, Father Fridelly told me, that several of the missionaries, who had the good fortune to be in favour with the Emperor, had often solicited that Prince to become Christian, and allow himself to be baptised; but he always excused himself, by saying, he worshipped the same God with the Christians; and that such a change of religion might occasion some disturbance in the empire, which by all means he would endeavour to prevent. However this be, it is certain that, on Christmas day, he sent one of his chief eunuchs to the Italian convent, with orders that prayers should be offered for him; which was accordingly done, and the eunuch remained in church all the time of divine service.

Next day, the ambassador had another private audience of the Emperor, at the palace of Tzan-shuyang. The weather being very cold, the hall was warmed with several large chafing-dishes filled with charcoal. We staid above two hours; during which time His Majesty talked very familiarly, on various subjects, particularly history; wherein he discovered himself well acquainted with that of the Holy Scriptures, as well as of his own country. He said, that the chronology of the Chinese was far more antient than that of the Holy Scriptures; but observed, that it ended back in fabulous accounts, concerning which nothing certain could be determined.

As to Noah's flood, he affirmed, that, at or near the same time, there was a great deluge in China, which destroyed all the inhabitants of the plains, but that such as escaped to the mountains were saved.

He then discoursed of the invention of the loadstone, which he said was known in China above two thousand years ago; for, it appeared from their records, that a certain ambassador, from some distant island to the court of China, missing his course, in a storm, was cast on the Chinese coast, in the utmost distress. The then Emperor, whose name

name I have forgot, after entertaining him hospitably, sent him back to his own country; and, to prevent the like misfortunes in his voyage homeward, gave him a compass to direct his course.

The Emperor also confirmed most of the particulars mentioned above, concerning printing and gunpowder. It is from the Holy Scriptures, most part of which have been translated by the missionaries, that the learned men in China have acquired any knowledge of the western ancient history. And their own records, they say, contain accounts of transactions of much greater antiquity.

At taking leave, the Emperor told the ambassador, that he liked his conversation. He desired to be excused for sending for him in such cold weather, and smiling, said, he knew the Russians were not afraid of cold.

I cannot omit taking notice of the good nature and affability of this ancient monarch on all occasions. Though he was now in the eightieth year of his age, and sixtieth of his reign, he still retained a sound judgment, and senses entire; and to me seemed more sprightly than many of the princes his sons.

The third, Mr. Secretary Lange and I dined at the French convent, where we found Signor Mezzobarba. I never had an opportunity of seeing that gentleman at our lodgings, as nothing passed between him and our ambassador but messages of common civility and compliment.

The fourth, I rode from our lodgings, through the city, and went out at the north gate, at which we entered on our arrival at Pekin. I proceeded eastward to the end of the north wall, and then along the east wall to the south gate, at which I entered, and returned to our lodgings. This tour took me up about two hours and a half, at a pretty round trot; and, at the same rate, I reckon I could have rode quite round the city in less than five hours; whence a judgment may be formed of the circumference of the walls. The suburbs also are very extensive, especially to the east and south, and, being interspersed with many burying places, all inclosed with brick-walls, planted with cypress, and other ever-greens, contribute much to beautify the neighbourhood of this great city. The Chinese are extremely attentive to the fencing and ornamenting these groves or burying places; a natural consequence of their uncommon respect for their parents and relations while living, and of their extraordinary veneration for them when dead. Annually, on certain days, they resort to these groves, carrying provisions along with them, and celebrate a kind of feast, in commemoration of their deceased relations.

I shall give an example of the filial duty of the Chinese, in a story I have often heard affirmed for true.—A youth, finding his parents reduced to extreme poverty, and knowing of no means for their relief, went and sold himself as a slave, and, having received the price from his master, immediately brought it to his aged parents. When this was spent, the boy had no other resource than to run away from his master, and sell himself again to another; and this he practised for several times, with the same view, although he knew the severity of the law in such cases.

The 6th, while walking through the street, I observed an old beggar picking vermin from his tattered cloaths, and putting them into his mouth; a practice which, it seems, is very common among this class of people. When a Chinese and Tartar are angry at one another, the Tartar, in reproach, calls the Chinese louse-eater; and the latter, in return, calls the other fish-skin coat; because the Mantzur Tartars, who live near the river Amoor, subsist by fishing, and, in summer, wear coats made of the skins of fishes. But this habit is used only in summer, for in winter they wear furs.

The 7th, the Emperor sent us a present of various sorts of fine fruits, particularly some excellent oranges. On this occasion, Father Fridelly told me, that the tree was

still standing at Canton, from which the seed was taken, that the missionaries first sent to Portugal, where it has prospered so wonderfully; and, from the place whence it was brought, bears the name of the China-orange. I doubt not that with due care, some others of the rare fruits and plants in this country, even tea itself, might be propagated in Europe, or in some of the American colonies.

I cannot tell whether the coffee-tree is to be found in China; but I am certain that none of its seeds are prepared and drunk there, as among the Persians, Turks, and Europeans.

The 8th, the weather was much milder, the wind southerly, with a small mizzling rain, enough to lay the disagreeable dust.

Next day, Secretary Lange and I rode through the streets, to the eastern convent, to visit our friend Fridelly. As we passed, we observed a juggler diverting a crowd. On our coming near, he played several tricks with great dexterity. He took an handful of small pence, formerly mentioned, with holes in the middle of them, and laid them on a table. He then thrust them into his nostril, one by one, with his finger; and this he continued to perform, till the whole was exhausted. After this, he suspended an iron chain, of round links, about four feet long. He then took a mouse out of a box, and made it dance upon the table, quite loose. Then the mouse, at his order, went in at one link of the chain, and out at another, till it ascended to the top; from whence it came down again, the contrary way, without missing so much as one single ring.

The 12th, the Emperor came from Tzan-shu-yang, to his palace in the city.

The 13th, the master of the ceremonies came to invite the ambassador to court on the 15th, the first day of the new moon, and, according to the Chinese computation, the first day of the new year. This is one of their highest festivals; and, what added to the solemnity of the present, was its being the beginning of a new seculum or space of sixty years, observed by the Chinese; besides, the Emperor had reigned all the last seculum, and was going to enter on the second. On this occasion were to be assembled several Tartar princes, particularly the Kutuchtu, and the Tush-du-Chan, together with many persons of distinction from Korea, and all the dominions of China. This feast begins on the first day, and continues during the increase of the moon.

The 15th, we went early to court, and found most of the grandees assembled in the court-yard, sitting on their cushions, and a few of them in the great hall. We entered the court at the great gates, which are seldom opened, except on such extraordinary occasions. The Emperor soon came, and seated himself upon his throne, which was more magnificent than that at Tzan-shu-yang, but like it plain and unornamented. His Majesty was dressed in the same manner as at our first audience. We were placed within the hall on the right of the throne, and Signor Mezzobarba, with the missionaries, at no great distance from us. In the mean time, all the people of distinction, who came from distant places, made their nine bows to the ground without the hall; and, as there was not room in the hall to contain one half of the company, many of them remained in the court during the whole time of the audience. Our entertainment was almost the same as at our first audience; which, therefore, I shall not describe.

The Emperor was very cheerful; and sent for several of his old acquaintances to speak with him. The Tush-du-Chan, and some other Tartar princes, were placed on the left of the throne, with the Emperor's sons and grandsons. In a word, this assembly exceeded, in number and quality, any thing of the kind I ever saw. I was in hopes to have seen the Kutuchtu on this occasion; but was informed that the Emperor, who shows great respect to this venerable priest, detained him in his private apartments.

This palace occupies a large space of ground, encompassed with an high brick-wall. There are several streets for servants and officers of the household. Many of the houses are high, and covered with yellow varnished tiles, which appear like gold in the sun. Northward from the palace is a large canal, of an irregular figure, where the imperial family divert themselves by fishing. This canal is artificial; and the earth dug out of it has raised an high bank, from whence you have a full view of the city, and the country adjacent, to a considerable distance. This mount rises to a ridge, which is planted with trees, resembling the wild and irregular scenes of nature that frequently present themselves in this country. The canal and mount are of an equal length, which I compute to be about an English mile. This must have been a work of vast expence and labour; and, it must be confessed, contributes greatly to the beauty of the place.

The 16th, was spent in receiving visits of compliment from the ministers and officers of the court, on occasion of the new year.

Next day, the visits were returned by Mr. Secretary Lange and Glazunoff, in name of the ambassador.

The 18th, some of the retinue, accompanied with a Chinese friend, went to a great market, held in the suburbs, about a mile without the city to the south-west. Here we found a number of toys, and things of value, both new and second-hand, exposed to sale in the open street.

Near this place stood a magnificent temple, the doors of which being open, we walked into it, and saw, standing at the south-end, a monstrous image, about twenty-five feet high, carved and gilt, having twelve arms and hands, a frightful visage, and great goggling eyes. By the touch it seemed to be made of a kind of plaster. This image is called Fo, which signifies God in the Chinese language. Whilst we walked about in the temple, many people entered, who kneeled and bowed several times to the image; after which they retired without taking notice of us, or of any body else. In all the lesser temples I had formerly seen, I found a great number of images of inferior deities or reputed saints; but this was occupied by Fo only, without any rival.

From the temple we went to a public tea-house, where we saw many people drinking tea and smoking tobacco, from thence to a tavern, where we dined; and in the evening, returned to the city.

Next day, I was present at the representation of a kind of farce, in the public street, not far from our lodgings. There were about twenty strollers assembled on this occasion, who entertained the crowd with many legerdeman tricks, and unnatural gestures.—The stage was covered with silk-stuffs of various colours.

During the festival there are many such stage-plays performed in all the public streets. You also find often high crosses erected, on which are hoisted a number of pendants, and streamers of party-coloured silks, that make a pretty appearance. At this season all the shops are shut; almost no business is done; and the people go about, dressed in their best cloaths, as on holidays in Europe.

The 20th, the ambassador, and all the gentlemen of the retinue, were invited to dine at a public-house in the city, by a young Chinese gentleman.—And all of us accepted the invitation, except the ambassador. Our friend was so polite as to send chairs for his guests about ten of the clock; and, at eleven, we reached the house, which was the largest of that sort I ever saw, and could easily contain six or eight hundred people. The roof was supported by two rows of wooden pillars. This tavern consisted only of one apartment, great part of which was filled with long tables, having benches on each side for the accommodation of the company. During the time of
dinner,

dinner, we were entertained with music, and after it, by a company of players maintained by the house, who daily act plays on a stage erected at one side of the room. None but people of fashion come to this place.

When a person intends to treat his friends at one of these houses, he sends previous notice of his design, with a note of the company, and the sum to be laid out on each of them.—Agreeably to these orders, things are executed with the greatest punctuality. The expence on each of our company could not be less than three or four ounces of silver, as we staid the whole day, and had a splendid entertainment, consisting of many courses and deserts, prepared and served in the best fashion of the country. I cannot but observe on this occasion also, the order and dexterity with which the servants performed their parts in such a numerous assembly. I shall not pretend to give any account of the play, only that the company seemed highly pleased; and the performers consisted of both men and women, well dressed and of decent behaviour.

At several tables the people were employed in gaming; some playing at cards, others at dice and draughts. I saw no money among them, though I was informed some of the Chinese play very high. In the evening, we took leave of our hospitable friend, and returned to our lodgings.

The day following, Father Paranim sent us a present of a large sturgeon, and some other fresh fish, brought from the river Amoor. These can only be carried to such a distance in the coldest season, when they are preserved fresh, by being kept frozen among the snow. This method is practised with success in the northern countries; for, provided the fish is immediately exposed to the frost after being caught, it may be carried in snow for many miles, almost as fresh as when taken out of the water.

The 22d, I went along with our new Chinese friend, named Siafey, to see a manufactory of China-ware, standing on the bank of the river Yu, about twelve English miles eastward of the city. After arriving at the place, we passed through several shades and houses, where I saw a number of people at work. The ovens, in particular, seemed very curious. But my view was so cursory and superficial, that I could form no judgment of the materials, or manner of making these cleanly and beautiful vessels, which still remain unrivalled by the similar productions of any other nation. I enquired into the truth of the opinion which the Europeans entertain, "that the clay must lie a century to digest before it is fit for use;" and was told by a master-workman, that a few months preparation was sufficient. So far as I could observe, they made no secret at this place of what they were employed about. I was, however, told, that, to the south, the Chinese are more cautious, and carefully conceal their art from strangers. One thing I firmly believe, that, although the Europeans understood the art of making porcelain, the Chinese would undersell them at every market in the world. This valuable manufacture is carried on in most of the towns in China; and as it is sold but a little above the rate of common earthen-ware in Europe, the materials of which it is composed can neither be rare nor costly. This important branch of trade brings an immense treasure into the country, and affords employment to vast numbers of poor, who otherwise would be useless and burdensome to the public. Besides china, they also make a kind of delf, or earthen-ware, for the use of the lower class of people.

Next day, I happened to meet two gentlemen from the peninsula of Korea. Their physiognomies were nearly the same with those of the Chinese, but their dress different. What surprised me most was, that they were as ignorant of the spoken Chinese language as I was, and delivered themselves by an interpreter. When they have any thing material to communicate they put it in writing, which is easily understood by the Chinese. They write in the same manner as the Chinese, from the top of

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the page, in straight lines to the bottom, with a pencil, like those commonly used by painters.

Korea is a fine country, subject to China, situated betwixt the long wall and the river Amoor, and runs out into a point, towards the island of Japan and the eastern ocean. The country is very plentiful, and abounds with corn and cattle.

CHAP. XI.—*Occurrences at Peking continued; the Festival held at Court on the New Year, &c.*

THE 24th, the master of the ceremonies came to invite the ambassador to the festival of the new year, which is always when the moon is at the full, to be held at the imperial palace of Tzang-shu-yang on the 29th.

In the mean time, the cold continued very piercing, so that I saw horses, with loaded carriages, cross the ditches, without the walls of the city, upon the ice.

The 29th, chairs were sent from court to carry the ambassador, and gentlemen of the retinue: we arrived there in the evening, and lodged in a house near the palace. Near our lodgings was a pretty garden with a canal, on which was a small pleasure-boat. In the middle of the canal was raised an artificial mount, planted with some barren trees, in imitation of nature. We ascended by a winding path to the top of the mount, from whence we had a fine view of all the country around.

The 30th, being the first day of the festival, we went to court. We were met at the gate by the master of the ceremonies, who conducted us to the bottom of the stairs of the great hall, where we took our places in the open court-yard, among a numerous assembly of grandees, whom we found sitting cross-legged on their cushions. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, His Majesty appeared, and seated himself upon the throne; upon which all the company stood. The Chinese made their bows, as is usual on such occasions, but we were permitted to make our compliments in our own fashion. It seemed somewhat strange to a Briton, to see some thousands of people upon their knees, and bowing their heads to the ground, in most humble posture, to a mortal like themselves.

We were immediately brought into the hall; and the ambassador was conducted to the throne, in order to congratulate His Imperial Majesty on the anniversary of the new year. Our station on this occasion, as at the first audience, was to the right of the throne. All the princes, the Emperor's sons and grandsons, together with the Tushu-du-chan, and other persons of high distinction, were placed to the left, opposite to us. As the customs of the Chinese are, in many instances, quite contrary to those of the Europeans, so, I have been informed, that, among them, the left hand is the place of greatest honour. After we had drunk a dish of tea, the Emperor beckoned to the ambassador to come to him again, and enquired into the customs and ceremonies at the courts of Europe on festivals of this nature; adding, at the same time, "he had been informed, that, after drinking the King's health on such occasions, the Europeans broke the glasses. He approved (he said) of the drinking part; but he did not comprehend the meaning of breaking the glasses;" and laughed heartily at the joke.

The great hall was, by this time, almost full of company; and a number of people of distinction still remained in the area, who could not find room in the hall.

The entertainment now began to be served up. The victuals were carried about in great order, and placed before the company on large tables. All the dishes were

cold,

cold, except those set before His Majesty, who supplied us plentifully with hot provisions from the throne.

Dinner being ended, the sports were begun by a company of wrestlers, composed of Chinese and Tartars. Many of them were almost naked, having no cloaths but tight canvas drawers. They performed their parts in the area before the hall. When any of them was severely bruised by his antagonist, or much hurt by a fall, which frequently happened, the Emperor sent him a cordial, and ordered him to be properly taken care of. Sometimes also, when he perceived the combatants too eager and warm, a sign was given to part them. These instances of humanity were very amiable in the old monarch, and rendered the sight of such shocking spectacles more tolerable; for many of these wrestlers received such blows and falls, as were sufficient to have knocked the breath out of their bodies.

To the wrestling succeeded many other games and mock fights, in which the performers, armed, some with lances, others with battle-axes, quarter-staffs, flails, or cudgels, acted their parts with great dexterity.

Then appeared two troops of Tartars, clothed with coats of tiger skins, armed with bows and arrows, and mounted on hobby-horses. At first, they behaved as enemies; but, after some skirmishes with their arrows, the parties were reconciled, and began to dance to a dismal tune of vocal and instrumental music. The dance was interrupted by a person in a frightful mask, of a tall stature, dressed and mounted like the Tartars, who, they said, represented the devil. After making several unsuccessful attacks, on the united body of the Tartars, this formidable hero was at length killed by an arrow, and carried off in triumph. During the dance, each Tartar had a small basket in one hand, and an arrow in the other wherewith he scraped on the basket, keeping time to the music. This scraping sounded a little harsh to an Italian ear; for I could observe Signor Mezzobarba and his retinue smiling at the performance.

While the Tartars performed in the court, one of the Emperor's sons, a prince of about twenty years of age, danced alone in the hall, and attracted the eyes of the whole company. His motions were at first very slow, so that he seemed scarcely to move at all; but afterwards became more brisk and lively. The Emperor was cheerful, and seemed well pleased with the different performers, but particularly with an old Tartar, who played on a chime of little bells, with short ivory rods. The instruments of music were very various, and all tuned to the Chinese taste. The Emperor told the ambassador, that he knew well their music would not please an European ear, but that every nation liked their own best.

The dancing being over, there was hoisted up a large vessel, resembling a tub, between two posts erected in the area for that purpose. In the vessel were placed three boys, who performed many dexterous tricks, both in the vessel and on the posts, too tedious to mention. By this time the sun was set, and the company were soon after dismissed for the night.

Next day, the rejoicings were renewed. We did not, however, go to court before the evening, because the fireworks would not begin till the sun was set. On our arrival, we were conducted through a garden, westward from the palace, in the middle of which stood a large building, with covered galleries all around. Before the house was a canal, having over it a drawbridge. We took our places on the gravel-walk, just under the gallery, where the Emperor sat with his wives and family. Hard by us was the Kutchu in his tent, having one of his lamas standing at the door. This priest never once appeared out of his tent during the whole show. All the grandees and officers of state were seated on their cushions along the bank of the canal. The machinery for the fire-works

works was placed on the other side of the canal; and nobody was permitted to go thither, except the people who managed it.

About five of the clock a signal was given for beginning to play off the fire-works, by a rocket let fly from the gallery where the Emperor sat; and, in the space of a few minutes, many thousand lanterns were lighted. These lanterns were made of paper of different colours, red, blue, green, and yellow, and hung on posts about six feet high, scattered over all the garden; which exhibited a very pleasant prospect to the eye.

Another signal was then given, for playing off the rockets. They sprung upwards to a prodigious height, and fell down in figures of stars, displaying a great variety of beautiful colours. The rockets were accompanied with what I shall call crackers, for want of a proper name. Their explosion resembled the reports of many great guns, fired at certain intervals, and exhibited a view of many charming colours, and forms of fire. These, with a few fireworks of different kinds intermixed, continued for the space of three hours.

Opposite to the gallery where the Emperor sat was suspended a large round vessel, about twenty feet in diameter, between two posts about thirty feet high. A rocket sent from the gallery lighted a match, hanging from the vessel, which immediately caused the bottom of it to drop down with a loud noise. Then fell out a lattice, or grate-work, all on fire, and hung between the vessel and the ground, burning furiously, in various colours. This continued for ten minutes, and really exhibited a most curious sight. It seems this lattice-work was composed of materials that immediately kindled on being exposed to the air; for no person was seen near the machine.

The grate-work being extinguished, there appeared a lighted match, hanging from the middle of the vessel, and burning up to it. As soon as the fire reached the vessel, thirty fair paper-lanterns, of various colours, dropped from it, and hung, in a straight line, below one another, between it and the ground; which immediately caught fire of themselves, and formed a beautiful and well proportioned column of party coloured light. After this fell out about ten or twelve pillars of the same form, but of a lesser size; these also took fire as soon as they dropped. This scene continued till the number of one thousand lanterns fell from the vessel, which diminished every time, till the last was very small. I must confess this presented a delightful object to the spectators.

I could not help being surpris'd at the ingenuity of the artist, in crowding such a number of lanterns into so small and simple a machine as this seem'd to be; and, at the same time, with so much order, that all of them dropped and kindled of themselves, with equal regularity, as if he had let them fall from his hand; for not even one of them was extinguish'd by accident, or in the least entangled by another. This concluded the first day's entertainment.

The 31st, in the evening, we return'd to court, where was opened a new scene of fire-works, which continued, with great variety, till ten o'clock at night.

The 1st of February, we went again to court, where the fire-works were resum'd in many different well executed designs. What pleas'd me most, was a small mount, rais'd in the middle of the garden, from which sprung a stream of white and blue fire, in imitation of water. The top of the mount contain'd a cavity, in shape of a large urn, from which the fire rose to a prodigious height.

Opposite to the gallery, where the Emperor sat, were erected three large frames, about thirty feet high each. On one was a monstrous figure of a dragon; on the second, a man on horseback; and the third represent'd an elephant, with a human figure

figure on his back. All these were composed of a deep blue fire, and were interwoven with vines and grapes, hanging about on all sides, of white, red, and blue fire.

Besides these, there were exhibited, on this occasion, many other ingenious designs of fire-works, which far surpassed any thing of the kind I ever saw, though I have been present at performances of this nature exhibited at St. Petersburg by the artists in Europe. Besides the art displayed in the contrivance and figure, these works furnished, in particular, a wonderful variety of most beautiful colours, far exceeding my ability to describe. I must confess they far outdid my expectations, and even common fame, which seldom lessens things of this nature.

The following day, the Emperor gave the ambassador a private audience, and enquired how he liked the diversions and fire-works. On this occasion, the Emperor repeated what has been already observed concerning the antiquity of illuminations composed of gunpowder; and added, that, although fire-works had been known in China for more than two thousand years, he himself had made many improvements upon them, and brought them to their present perfection.

The 3d, we returned to the city, in a cold frosty day, and the wind at north-west. We found the rejoicings still going on at Pekin; for stages were erected, and plays represented, in all the principal streets through which we passed.

The affairs relating to the embassy being nearly finished, we began now to prepare for our journey to the westward, which was to take place as soon as the extremity of the cold was abated.

The 9th, three missionaries, Paranim, Demail, and Moran, came to pay their respects to the ambassador, and beg the favour of him, that Signor Nicolai, one of their society, might be permitted to accompany him in his journey to Europe, which was granted, provided it was agreeable to the Emperor. The reason of this request was supposed to be, that Signor Mezzobarba having returned to Rome without accomplishing the ends of his embassy, the Emperor, who favoured the cause of the Jesuits, had concerted with them to send Nicolai to the court of Rome, in order to represent the state of this affair before Mezzobarba could arrive.

Next day, the Emperor sent three officers with presents to His Czarish Majesty; the chief of which were, tapestry for two rooms, neatly wrought on a rich silk stuff; a set of small enamelled gold cups; some japanned cups, set with mother of pearl; three flower-pieces, curiously embroidered on taffety; two chests of rockets, prepared in the Chinese fashion; about twenty or thirty pieces of silk, in most of which was interwoven the dragon with five claws; a parcel of different sorts of curious fans for ladies; also, a box containing some rolls of white Chinese paper, the sheets of which were of a size much larger than common; besides several other toys, scarce worth mentioning. From these particulars it appears, that these two mighty monarchs were not very lavish in their presents to each other, preferring curiosities to things of real value.

The 11th, several officers came from court with presents to the ambassador, and every person of the retinue, corresponding to their different stations and characters; and, so minutely and exactly was this matter managed, that even the meanest of our servants was not neglected. The presents, consisting of a complete Chinese dress, some pieces of damasks, and other stuffs, were, indeed, of no great value. They were, however, carried along the streets, wrapped up in yellow silk, with the usual parade of things belonging to the court; a circumstance which is reckoned one of the greatest honours that can be conferred on a foreign minister.

Next day, the Emperor sent to ask the ambassador, whether he inclined to accompany him to a hunting-match, in a forest not far distant from Pekin; to which his Excellency readily agreed.

The 13th, I dined with one of my Chinese friends, called Fangfung. In going thither, I met in the street two men riding on asses, with their servants leading them by the bridle. I soon perceived they were Kawlees; which is the name given by the Chinese and Tartars, to the people of Korea, whom I have mentioned above.

The 14th, the weather was very fine and warm.

The 15th, we went to a fair in the suburbs, which is held the first day of every new moon; where we found many things exposed to sale, not commonly found in shops.

The 16th, the weather being favourable, I took a ride round the walls of the city; which I performed, at an easy trot, in the space of four hours: whereby the compass of Pekin may be nearly computed. The suburbs, especially to the east and south, are very extensive, and, in many places of them, the buildings are equal to those within the walls.

The 17th, being now on the point of our departure, in order to make the most of the short time we had to stay, I rode about twelve miles eastward from Pekin, accompanied with a Chinese friend, to the banks of the river, which I found crowded with a number of barks, of different sizes, which are constantly employed in carrying provisions, and other stores, to the city, from distant parts of the country. I saw many vessels sailing down the stream, towards the south-east. And I was informed, there are nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine vessels constantly employed on this river; but why confined to such an odd number, I could neither learn nor comprehend. During a month or six weeks, in winter, this river is frozen over; at which season, provisions are conveyed by land-carriage, or along the ice.

On this occasion also, I visited the China manufactory, in order to try whether I could learn any thing of that curious art. But, though the people were very complaisant, and shewed me every thing I desired them, I returned as ignorant as I went thither; and I am persuaded, that, before a person can get any knowledge of the affair, he must be bred a potter, and have time to inspect its whole progress; of which these people seem to make no secret.

The fields along the banks of the river are well cultivated, producing fine wheat, and other sorts of grain. I saw also great plantations of tobacco, which they call tharr, and which yields very considerable profits, as it is universally used in smoking, by persons of all ranks, of both sexes, in China; and, besides, great quantities are sent to the Mongalls, who prefer the Chinese manner of preparing it before every other. They make it into a gross powder, like saw-dust, which they keep in a small bag, and fill their little brass pipes out of it, without touching the tobacco with their fingers. The smoke is very mild; and has quite a different smell from ours. It is reported the Chinese have had the use of tobacco for many ages.

I observed, that, in cold weather, the Chinese chewed a kind of nut, about the bigness of a nutmeg, which they called beetle; it is of an astringent quality. They say, it both keeps them warm, and cleans their teeth.

Next day was spent in preparing for our journey.

On the 18th, all our gentlemen dined with my Chinese friend, named Siasiey, where we met with a friendly reception, and a sumptuous feast. After dinner, our hospitable landlord put about his cups very freely. At last, he took me by the hand, and desired I would let the ambassador return, and remain with him; and he would give me my choice

of which of his wives or daughters I liked best. I could not but return my friend hearty thanks for his obliging offer, which, however, I thought it not proper to accept.

Next day, I went to see the market where provisions were sold. It was a spacious oblong, spread with gravel, very neat and clean. The butchers had their shops in the shade, running quite round the place. I saw little beef, but a great deal of mutton. In the middle was a great store of poultry, wild-fowl, and venison; but what surpris'd me not a little, was to find about a dozen of dead badgers expos'd to sale. The Chinese, it seems, are very fond of these animals, which are accounted unclean in other parts of the world. All the Chinese merchants have the art of exposing their goods to sale, dress'd up in the most advantageous manner; and, even in purchasing any trifling thing, whatever the case be that holds it, it is half the cost, and often exceeds it in value.

The 21st, being the day appointed for hunting with the Emperor, at one of the clock in the morning, horses were brought to our lodgings, for the ambassador and those who attended him. We immediately mounted; and, after riding about six miles, to the south-west of the city, at break of day we reached the gates of the park called Chayza, where we were received by an officer, and conducted through the forest to a summer-house, about a mile from the gate, in which the Emperor had slept the preceding night. This was a small but neat building, having a double row of galleries, open to the forest on all sides, and an avenue leading to it from the gate, planted with several rows of trees. At some distance from the house we dismounted, and were met by the master of the ceremonies, who conducted us into a gallery. As soon as we entered, the good old Emperor, who had risen long before our arrival, sent one of his eunuchs to salute the ambassador, and ordered us tea and other victuals. On the south side of the house is a canal, filled with clear water, and several large fish-ponds, which make a great addition to the beauties of this charming place. At a convenient distance from the house, stood about a thousand tents, where the courtiers and grandees had lodged the night before. Breakfast being over, the Emperor, who was very fond of arms, sent to desire a sight of the ambassador's fowling-piece. He returned it, with several of his own to be shewn to us. They had all match-locks. The Chinese are possess'd with a notion, that flints, in their country, acquire a moisture which hinders their firing. But, as far as I could perceive, the air had little effect upon our flints.

A signal was then given that the Emperor was coming; upon which all the great men drew up in lines, from the bottom of the stairs to the road leading to the forest, all on foot, dress'd in their hunting habits, the same with those used by the officers and cavalry of the army, when in the field, and armed with bows and arrows. We had a proper place assign'd us, and made our bows to His Majesty, who returned a gracious smile, with signs to follow him. He was seated cross-legged in an open machine, carried by four men, with long poles rested on their shoulders. Before him lay a fowling-piece; a bow, and sheaf of arrows. This has been his hunting equipage for some years, since he left off riding; but, in his youth he went usually, every summer, several days journey without the long wall, and carried with him all the princes his sons, and many persons of distinction, to the number frequently of some thousands, in order to hunt in the woods and deserts; where he continued for the space of two or three months. Their provisions were restrict'd to bare necessaries, and often to what they caught in the woods of Tartary. This piece of policy he practis'd chiefly with a view to harden the officers of his army, and prevent their falling into idleness and effeminacy among the Chinese; and, at the same time, to set a good example of the austerities he recommended, by living on the same hard fare he prescrib'd to others.

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As soon as the Emperor had passed, the company mounted and followed him at some distance, till we came into the open forest, where all formed into a semicircle, in the centre of which was the Emperor, having on his left hand about eight or ten of his sons and grandsons, and the ambassador on his right, about fifty paces distant; close by him were the master of the chace, with some grey-hounds, and the grand falconer with his hawks. I could not but admire the beauty of these fine birds. Many of them were as white as doves, having one or two black feathers in their wings or tails. They are brought from Siberia, or places to the north of the river Amoor.

Our wings being extended, there were many hares started, which the company endeavoured to drive towards the Emperor, who killed many of them with arrows as they passed; those he missed, he made a sign to some of the princes to pursue, who also killed many of them with arrows; but no other person was permitted to draw a bow, or stir from the line. The same rules of hunting I formerly observed are practised by the Mongalls.

From the open field, we continued our route westward, to a place among thickets and tall reeds, where we sprung a number of pheasants, partridges, and quails. His Majesty then laid aside his bow and arrows, and carried a hawk on his hand, which he flew as occasion offered. The hawks generally raked in the pheasants while flying; but, if they took the reeds or bushes, they soon caught them.

After proceeding about two or three miles farther into the forest, we came to a tall wood, where we found several sorts of deer. The young men went in and beat the woods, whilst the rest of the company remained without. We saw much game pass us; but nobody drew a bow till the Emperor had killed a stag, which he did very dexterously, with a broad headed arrow: after which the princes had leave to kill several bucks, among which was one of that species that bears the musk, called *kaberda* in Siberia, of which I have formerly given a description. The Chinese musk is stronger, and therefore preferable to that from northern parts.

We had now been six hours on horseback, and, I reckon, had travelled about fifteen English miles, but no end of the forest yet appeared. We turned short from this wood southwards, till, coming to some marshes overgrown with tall reeds, we roused a great many wild boars; but, as it was not the season for killing them, they all escaped. The hunting these fierce animals is reckoned the most dangerous of all kinds of sport, except the chace of lions and tigers. Every one endeavoured to avoid them; and several of them run furiously through the thickest troops of horse. The Emperor was so cautious as to have a company of men, armed with lances, to guard his machine.

We continued the sport till about four o'clock, when we came to a high artificial mount, of a square figure, raised in the middle of a plain, on the top of which were pitched about ten or twelve tents, for the imperial family. This mount had several winding paths leading to the top, planted on each side with rows of trees, in imitation of nature. To the south was a large basin of water, with a boat upon it; from whence, I suppose, the earth has been taken that formed this mount. At some distance from the mount, tents were erected for the people of distinction, and officers of the court. About two hundred yards from it, we were lodged in some clean huts, covered with reeds. The Emperor, from his situation, had a view of all the tents, and a great way farther into the forest. The whole scene made a very pretty appearance.

As soon as we alighted, the master of the ceremonies was sent by the Emperor to ask the ambassador how he liked their manner of hunting. He made a suitable return, acknowledging, at the same time, the great honour done him on this occasion.

The Emperor then sent us great plenty of dressed provisions of all kinds; and the officer who brought them pointed out several dishes, which His Majesty sent from his own table, consisting of mutton, venison, pheasants, and other sorts of wild fowl.

After dinner, the Emperor sent two of his chief eunuchs to compliment the ambassador, and inform him, that he intended to entertain him with the baiting of three tigers, which had been kept some time, cooped up in a strong grate-work, for that purpose. The hill where the Emperor's tent stood was surrounded with several ranks of guards, armed with long spears. A guard also was placed before the ambassador's, and the rest of the tents, to secure the whole encampment from the fury of these fierce animals. The first was let out by a person mounted on a fleet horse, who opened the door of the coop by means of a rope tied to it. The tiger immediately left his cage, and seemed much pleased to find himself at liberty. The horseman rode off at full speed, while the tiger was rolling himself upon the grass. At last he rose, and growled, and walked about. The Emperor fired twice at him with bullets; but the distance being considerable, missed him, though the pieces were well pointed. Upon which His Majesty sent to the ambassador, to try his piece upon him; which being charged with a single ball, he walked towards the animal, accompanied by ten men, armed with spears, in case of accidents; till, being at a convenient distance, he took his aim, and killed him on the spot.

The second was let out in the same manner. The horseman, retiring a little, left the creature rolling upon the grass like the first. He then returned; and shot at him with a blunted arrow; which roused the animal to such a pitch, and made him pursue so closely, that the horseman narrowly escaped within the ranks, where the furious tiger, endeavouring to leap over the men's heads, was killed at the foot of the mount.

The third, as soon as he was set at liberty, run directly towards the Emperor's tent, and was in like manner killed with the spears. A man must be well mounted and armed who hunts this kind of animals in the woods; where they must be much stronger and swifter than these we saw, which had been confined for many months, and whose limbs, by want of exercise, were become stiff and unwieldly; but, notwithstanding this disadvantage, the courage and nimbleness even of these animals was very surprising. I have seen four sorts of them, the tiger, panther, leopard, and lynx, which are all very fierce; but the first is the largest and strongest.

The Emperor in his youth was very fond of hunting these creatures in the woods of Tartary; but now he confines himself within the limits of the forest, where there is game sufficient to gratify any sportsman.

The killing of the tigers finished the diversion of the day; after which we retired to our huts, where we were entertained with a plentiful supper sent us by the Emperor. After supper, an officer was sent from His Majesty to the ambassador, who brought the tiger's skin he had shot, telling him that, by the laws of hunting, he had a right to it.

Next morning, the sport was resumed, and varied little from that of the preceding day. About three o'clock, afternoon, we came to another summer-house in the middle of the forest, where the Emperor lodged the following night, while we lay in a small neat temple in the neighbourhood, and were entertained by His Majesty in the same manner as before.

The 23d, about eight of the clock in the morning, the master of the ceremonies waited on the ambassador, in order to conduct him into His Majesty's presence to receive his audience of leave. The Emperor received him in a most friendly manner in his bed-chamber. He repeated his assurances of the great friendship he entertained for

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His Czarish Majesty, and expressed great respect for the personal merit of the ambassador. After which the ambassador took leave, and we returned to our lodgings in the city.

I shall only observe further, that this forest is really a most delightful place, is well stored with a variety of game, and is of great extent, as will easily be conceived from the account I have given of our two days hunting. It is all inclosed with a high wall of brick. The value of this park, so near the capital, shows the magnificence of this powerful monarch.

The 24th, the ambassador was invited, by the president of the College of Mathematics, to see the observatory, which is situated immediately within the east wall, and commands an extensive prospect. The building is not magnificent, but is furnished with a fine armillary sphere, globes, telescopes, an orrery in good order, and other mathematical instruments of the best European workmanship. This college was erected by the present Emperor, who spares no cost to bring it to perfection; and the meanest of his subjects, who discover a genius for science, or any useful art, are sure to meet with due encouragement.

The Chinese are indebted to the present Emperor for what progress they have made in astronomy. He chiefly promoted this study by countenancing the Jesuits and other missionaries; for I have been informed that, before their arrival in this country, the inhabitants could scarcely calculate an eclipse. The Chinese, it is indeed pretended, understood astronomy previous to that period: but the knowledge of it was in a great measure lost during the many fatal revolutions of the empire.

From the observatory we ascended, by a broad rising passage, to the top of the city-wall, where we saw about fifteen horsemen riding their rounds, which we were told they performed day and night at stated times. The wall is built of brick, and is about twenty-five or thirty feet high, having embrasures and square towers at equal distances, and a wide deep ditch, which may be filled with water at pleasure. On the top of the wall there is a pleasant walk, broad enough for fifteen horsemen to ride abreast. I suppose the whole is, perhaps, not composed of solid bricks, but the middle filled up with earth and rubbish.

The 25th, we went to all the three convents, and took leave of our friends the missionaries.

The 26th, the ambassador went to the tribunal for foreign affairs, and received a letter from the Emperor to His Czarish Majesty. On this occasion, the president acquainted his excellency, that he must consider this letter as a singular mark of favour to his master, as their Emperors were not in use to write letters of compliment to any prince, or, indeed, to write letters of any kind, except those which contained their orders to their subjects; and that the Emperor dispensed with so material a custom, only to testify his respect for his Czarish Majesty.

The original of this letter was in the Chinese language, and a copy of it in the Mongolian. It was folded up in a long roll, according to the custom in China, and wrapped in a piece of yellow silk, which was tied to a man's arm, and carried in procession before the ambassador. All persons on horseback whom we met dismounted, and stood till we had passed them. Such veneration do these people pay to every thing belonging to the Emperor.

The same day, the ambassador had a visit from a young gentleman, a descendent of the famous Chinese philosopher Confucius, whose memory and works are greatly respected in China. From what I could learn of this eminent philosopher, he appears to have been a person of extraordinary parts, extensive knowledge, and exemplary

plary virtue. On account of such rare qualities, his family is still honoured and esteemed, even by the Emperor himself.

CHAP. XII.—*Some Account of the present Emperor of China, the Chinese Wall, &c.*

BEFORE we leave China, I shall make a few general remarks on the people and country, drawn from the best information I could procure; and shall begin with the long wall.

The long, or endless wall, as it is commonly called, encompasses all the north and west parts of China. It was built, about six hundred years ago, by one of the Emperors, to prevent the frequent incursions of the Mongalls, and other western Tartars, who made a practice of assembling numerous troops of horse, and invading the country in different places. The Chinese frontiers were too extensive to be guarded against such bold and numerous enemies, who after plundering and destroying a wealthy country, returned to their own, loaded with spoils.

The Chinese finding all precautions ineffectual to put a stop to the inroads of such barbarians, at last resolved to build this famous wall. It begins in the province of Leotong, at the bottom of the bay of Nankin, and proceeds across rivers, and over the tops of the highest mountains, without interruption, keeping nearly along the circular ridge of barren rocks that surround the country to the north and west; and, after running southwards about twelve hundred English miles, ends in impassable mountains and sandy deserts.

The foundation consists of large blocks of square stones laid in mortar; but the rest of the wall is built of brick. The whole is so strong and well built as to need almost no repair; and in such a dry climate may remain in this condition for many ages. Its height and breadth are not equal in every place; nor, indeed, is it necessary they should. When carried over steep rocks, where no horse can pass, it is about fifteen or twenty feet high, and broad in proportion; but when running through a valley, or crossing a river, there you see a strong wall, about thirty feet high, with square towers, at the distance of a bow-shot from one another, and embrasures at equal distances. The top of the wall is flat, and paved with broad free-stone; and where it rises over a rock, or any eminence, you ascend by a fine easy stone stair.

The bridges over rivers and torrents are exceedingly neat, being both well contrived and executed. They have two stories of arches, one above another, to afford sufficient passage for the waters on sudden rains and floods.

This wall was begun and completely finished in the space of five years; every sixth man in China being obliged to work himself, or find another in his stead. It is reported, that the labourers stood so close, for many miles distance, as to hand the materials from one to another. This I am the more inclined to believe, as the rugged rocks would prevent all use of carriages; nor could clay, for making bricks or cement of any kind, be found among them.

The building of this wall, however, was not the only burden the Chinese supported on this occasion. They were also obliged to keep a numerous army in the field to guard the passes of the mountains, and secure the labourers from being interrupted by their watchful enemies the Tartars, who all the while were not idle spectators.

I am of opinion, that no nation in the world was able for such an undertaking except the Chinese: for, though some other kingdom might have furnished a sufficient number of workmen for such an enterprize, none but the ingenious, sober, and parsimonious

monious Chinese, could have preserved order amidst such multitudes, or patiently submitted to the hardships attending such a labour. This surprising piece of work, if not the greatest, may justly be reckoned among the wonders of the world. And the Emperor, who planned and completed it, deserves fame, as much superior to his who built the famous Egyptian pyramids, as a performance of real use excels a work of vanity.

Besides the main wall, there are several semicircular walls, which have the long wall for their diameter, at the places least fortified by nature, and at the open passes of the mountains. These are strongly built, of the same materials and architecture with the long wall, and are of considerable extent, sometimes on one side of the main wall, and sometimes on the other. In these walls are strong gates, constantly defended by a numerous guard. They are intended to prevent a surprize, and stop sudden irruptions of the enemy. Even these lesser bulwarks seem works of great expence and labour, but nothing in comparison with the long wall.

After the Chinese had finished their wall, they had a respite for a considerable time from the invasions of their enemies, reaping the fruits of their labour in peace and quietness. However, about five hundred years ago, the western Tartars found means to get through the wall, and, with a powerful army of horse, entered the country, carrying terror along with them wherever they went. They at last became masters of the greatest part of China, and kept possession of it for many years, till the Chinese, exasperated by their tyranny, took advantage of their negligence, and drove them back with disgrace to their ancient habitations in the deserts. The Chinese now began to re-establish their former government, to rectify disorders, and repair desolations made by the Tartars. From this time they enjoyed long peace, till the fatal year one thousand six hundred and forty, when the Mantzur Tartars conquered the whole empire of China; which conquest they retain to this day, and, by their prudent management and mild government, seem in a fair way to keep it.

I shall briefly relate in what manner this strange revolution was brought about by so small a nation as the Mantzurs; a people whom the Chinese despised, and who bear no greater proportion to the Chinese than the inhabitants of Wales to the rest of Great Britain.

It happened, during a time of profound peace, that a certain prince of Mantzur, going to fetch his bride, from a place bordering on the province of Leotong, was, without provocation, attacked by a party of Chinese, and slain, with most of his attendants, against all laws of justice and good neighbourhood.

The Tartars, though highly exasperated, behaved with uncommon moderation on this occasion. Before proceeding to make reprisals, or taking any step whatever with that view, they sent ambassadors to the court of Peking, demanding satisfaction for the outrage committed upon one of their princes. Their complaints were neglected; and the matter, under various pretences, delayed, from time to time, till the Tartars, losing all patience, and positively insisting on an answer to their demands, were affronted, and contemptuously dismissed by the Chinese ministry, to whom the Emperor had referred them. This treatment highly enraged the whole race of the Tartars, who immediately vowed revenge; and having got an army together, entered the province of Leotong, which lies without the wall, wasting all with fire and sword.

Besides this war with the Tartars, several other circumstances concurred to bring about a revolution in the empire; for at the same time there happened a great insurrection in China, which at last became general. The rebels were commanded by one named Li, who, after having defeated the imperial army sent to oppose him, invested and took

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Pekin itself. And the Emperor, rather than fall into the hands of his furious subjects, first hanged his daughter, and then himself, on a tree in his own garden.

The Emperor's general, Usangue, still kept the field with the small remains of his troops, but altogether unable to resist the powerful army of the rebels. He therefore retired northwards; and all hopes of success being lost, came to a resolution of calling in the Tartars to his assistance. He promised them many rewards, and particularly the province of Leotong, if by their aid he succeeded in forcing the rebels to obedience. Kum-ti the Tartar chief, readily hearkened to the proposal, and the terms were soon settled between the parties.

In consequence of this agreement, the new allies joined armies, which were both commanded by the Tartar, and advanced towards the long wall: but before they reached the gate, Kum-ti, the Tartar prince, died, and left his son, Xungsti, a child of seven years of age, for his successor. This accident did not retard the progress of the expedition; for this child was left to the guardianship of his uncle, a man of great abilities and address, and perfectly qualified to conduct the important project then on foot.

Immediately after the death of the Kum-ti, the young prince was proclaimed King of the Mantzurs, and commander in chief of the combined army of Tartars and Chinese. In order to magnify the number of Tartars in the army, and consequently render themselves more formidable to the rebels, they luckily fell upon a stratagem, which was, to dress all the Chinese soldiers in Tartar habits: and, at entering the wall, the real Tartars in the army did not exceed eight thousand men, though indeed they were followed by strong reinforcements.

When they arrived at the wall, the Chinese, who kept a guard, seeing a child at the head of such an army, which they imagined to consist wholly of Tartars, were so surprised, that they immediately opened the gates, without the least resistance, crying out, long live the Emperor. This circumstance, added to the reports of so formidable an army of Tartars, increasing daily by reinforcements, struck such terror into the rebels, that many of them forsook their leader. The Tartars still advanced, and had daily skirmishes and several battles with the rebels, in which the latter were defeated. In the mean time, the guardian took care to leave garrisons in all the towns through which they passed, with strict orders to use the inhabitants with the greatest humanity. Such mild behaviour gained the affection of the nation in general. And thus he proceeded, from one province to another, till the whole empire submitted to his jurisdiction.

The war, which had lasted some years, being now at an end, and peace re-established, the Chinese thanked the Tartars for their good services, and desired they would return to their own country. But the Tartar Chief, on various pretences delayed his departure, till such time as he found his party sufficiently strong to fix his nephew, Xungsti, on the imperial throne of China.

Xungsti died a young man, and left his second son, Kamhi, to succeed him. On finding himself at the point of death, he called for his eldest son, and asked him, whether he would take upon him the government? but, being young and modest, he was unwilling to accept, and begged his father would excuse him on that account. Then Kamhi was called, and asked the same question. He was better instructed, and briskly answered, he was ready to obey his father's commands, and would take the weight of the government upon him. This answer so pleased the Emperor, that he named him his successor; and accordingly on the death of his father, he was proclaimed Emperor; and his behaviour has shown him altogether worthy of that honour. It is, it seems, agreeable

agreeable to the laws and customs of China, that the Emperor chuse, for his successor, which of his sons he pleases, without regard to primogeniture.

Although the Emperor's name is Kamhi, the western Tartars call him Boghdoychan, signifying chief governour; but the Chinese, in talking of him, say *Vanfsuy*, which signifies many times ten-thousand years, meaning, let the Emperor live so long. This is a high title in the Oriental phrase. His sons are called Van, signifying ten thousand years, and are distinguished by the names of Van the first, Van the second, &c. according to their age.

Kamhi, the present Emperor, has about twenty sons, and, it is said, he intends the fourteenth for his successor. He is a prince eminent for prudence and valour; and had, at this time, the command of an army against the Kalmucks.

Kamhi hath yet the remains of a graceful person. His countenance is open, his disposition generous, and he gives great application to business; qualities absolutely necessary to manage the great affairs with which he is intrusted. His reign has been long and prosperous, though sometimes disturbed by dangerous insurrections, and open rebellions; but his good fortune and prudent conduct, overcoming all difficulties, restored public tranquillity; and he has now, for a considerable time, enjoyed perfect peace and happiness. Although the government of China is absolute, it requires no small sagacity and skill to rule an empire of such extensive dominions, and containing so numerous subjects.

After Kamhi had settled his affairs at home, the first step he took was to gain the western or Mongall Tartars to his friendship. The Chinese had no enemies so formidable. The Emperor knew their valour, and had employed many of them in his army, who did him signal services on many occasions. To effect this, he began to form alliances with their princes and chiefs, by intermarriages between their families and his, where these could take place; others he allured by rich presents; so that they are at present little better than his subjects: and, by this master-piece of politics, he succeeded more effectually than if he had employed the whole force of China. The friendship of the western Tartars is of great importance to the Emperor; for they not only supply Pekin with provisions, the produce of their flocks, but, upon any emergency, can bring to his assistance fifty thousand horse on a short warning.

It may easily be imagined, that great armies and strict discipline are necessary to guard so extensive territories, and keep such a numerous people on their duty. The number of soldiers reported to be in the empire is prodigious, and almost incredible. I am well informed, that the single province and city of Pekin contain no less than one hundred and twenty thousand effective men, all well paid, clothed, and armed.

Notwithstanding the vast revenues which are necessary for the support of the government, the duties on inland trade must be very easy; for I was told by a merchant, that he could live in the capital, and trade in what branches of business he pleased, for paying only one ounce of silver annually to the Emperor. Such easy taxes show the great economy and moderation of Kamhi, whose reign is called the reign of great peace and rest; in Chinese *Tapping*.

The Tartars call China, Kitay, and the people Kitaytzi; but the Chinese call themselves Chum-quotigen, that is, the people of the middle region.

The empire of China is, in a manner, separated from all the rest of the world; situated in a fine and healthy climate, surrounded by the ocean to the east and south; by a chain of high rocks and barren mountains on the north and west, along which runs the famous wall as an additional defence. But what, in my opinion, is a greater security to the empire against invaders than any thing yet mentioned, is the barren

desert, stretching for several hundred miles westward, where none but Tartars can subsist, and which scarce any regular army can pass. The seas, to the south and the east, are indeed open, and China might be attacked on that side; but, I am persuaded, no prince will think it proper to disturb his own repose, and that of such a powerful people, inclined to peace with all their neighbours, and satisfied, as they seem, with their own dominions.

I know but of one nation who could attempt the conquest of China with any probability of success, and that is Russia; but the territories of that empire are so extensive in this quarter of the world, as to exceed even the bounds of ambition itself; and the Russians seem to entertain no desire of extending them farther.

What part of China I saw is mostly plain, interspersed with hills and rising grounds. The whole is pleasant and well cultivated, producing wheat and other grain, together with abundance of cattle and poultry.

Besides the necessaries, the Chinese have many of the superfluities of life, particularly fine fruits of various kinds, too tedious to mention. They have likewise mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron. They set a greater value on silver, in proportion to gold, than the Europeans do; so that gold is exported to good advantage.

In China are many navigable rivers and canals, cut to great distances, for the convenience of water-carriage. The merchants are immensely rich by their inland and foreign trade, which they carry on to great extent with the Russians and Tartars, besides the vast sums of money they receive annually from the Europeans in exchange for tea, China-ware, and other merchandize. The trade also to Japan, and the neighbouring islands, is very considerable. What is most remarkable in their payments is, that they receive only dollars, crown, and half-crown pieces; undervaluing smaller coins, of equal weight and standard, though they melt all down directly into bars of different sizes.

Tea is universally used, at all times, and by persons of all ranks. Both the green and bohea grow on the same tree, or rather shrub, called by the Chinese zay. The green tea is called tzin-tzay, and the bohea ouy-tzay. When the leaves are gathered at the proper season, they are put into large kettles, and dried over a gentle fire, which makes them crumple up, and prevents their crumbling to dust, which they would infallibly do, without this precaution.

What is designed for bohea is mixed, in drying, with the juice of a certain plant, which gives it the colour and flavour, and qualifies that sharpness, which, in constant drinking, is hurtful to some tender constitutions. The cultivating, gathering, dressing, and packing, of this useful plant, must employ a great number of hands, and particularly of old and young people, who would be unfit for hard labour.

The high rates at which tea is sold in Europe are a little surprising, considering the prices in China. For, at Peking, the price of the best tea, either green or bohea, is half an ounce of silver the Chinese pound, which is equal to what it would be at two shillings a pound in England. And, allowing the freight and duties to be high, yet the profits seem somewhat extravagant. I shall only add, on this subject, that the tea commonly sold at Peking is preferable in quality to what is imported to Europe from Canton; and that the Chinese drink it without sugar, although sugar is a produce of the country, and consequently very cheap.

Several of the Chinese manufactures are brought to great perfection, especially that of weaving silk, damasks, and other stuffs, which are partly worn by the natives, and partly exported. Silks are the common dress of the better sort of people, of both sexes, and coarse cotton cloth that of the lower class. They use almost no woollen

cloths, because, they say, in their climate, they gather too much dust. They have great abundance of raw silk. They make no muslins, nor fine chints; neither are these much used.

The Chinese, it is well known, are excellent performers in several mechanic arts, particularly as potters, dyers, japanners, joiners, and paper-makers. In the article of paper-making, they excel even the Europeans.

Their workmanship in metals is but clumsy; except only founding, at which they are very expert. The arts of statuary, sculpture, and painting, have made but small progress among them. They have excellent water-colours of all sorts, but none in oil. The chief study of their painters seems to be landscape painting; and I have seen some of their performances in this way very natural.

They have many quarries of fine marble, of different colours; but not so much as a single statue is to be seen in the Emperor's garden.

The making of clocks and watches was lately introduced, under the protection of the present Emperor; who, at his leisure hours, amuses himself with whatever is curious, either in art or nature.

The Chinese are a civilized and hospitable people, complaisant to strangers, and to one another; very regular in their manners and behaviour, and respectful to their superiors; but, above all, their regard for their parents, and decent treatment of their women of all ranks, ought to be imitated, and deserve great praise. These good qualities are a natural consequence of the sobriety and uniformity of life to which they have been long accustomed.

The general regularity and decency of manners among the Chinese, is obvious to all who see and observe them with the least attention. And, as they are singular in many things, beyond most other nations, they are so likewise, in this point of polity, which I cannot omit taking notice of in my transient remarks.

It may easily be imagined, that, in so populous a city, there must be many idle persons of both sexes; though, I believe, fewer than in most other cities of the world, even in those of much less extent than that of Peking. In order to prevent all disorderly practices, as much as possible, the government have thought fit to permit, or connive at, certain places in the suburbs, for the reception and entertainment of prostitutes, who are maintained by the landlords of the houses in which they dwell, but not allowed to straggle abroad. I have been informed, that these ladies of pleasure have all separate apartments, with the price of each lady, describing, at the same time, her beauties and qualities, written over the door of her apartment, in fair legible characters; which price is paid directly by the gallant; by which means, these affairs are conducted without noise in the houses, or disturbances in the neighbourhood. Noisy brawls are very seldom, hardly ever, known at Peking. Those who are found offending in this way undergo very severe penalties. It is likewise to be observed, that these houses are calculated for the meaner sort of people only; so that any person who hath the least regard to his credit or reputation, carefully avoids being seen in them.

I must, however, take notice of one shocking and unnatural practice, which appears more extraordinary in a country so well regulated and governed as China; I mean that of exposing so many new-born infants in the streets. This, indeed, is only done by the poor, who have more wives than they can maintain. To prevent the death of these children, there are public hospitals appointed for their reception, and people sent out through the streets, every morning, to pick up, and carry thither, such children as they find exposed. The missionaries also send out people to take up such as have been neglected, who are carried to a private hospital, maintained at their charge, and educated

in the Christian religion. And of such persons do the greatest part of the Chinese Christians consist.

I shall now make a few remarks upon the ladies, who have many good qualities besides their beauty. They are very cleanly and modest in their dress. Their eyes are black, and so little, that, when they laugh, you can scarce see them. Their hair is black as jet, and neatly tied up in a knot, on the crown of the head, adorned with artificial flowers of their own making, which are very becoming. The better sort, who are seldom exposed to the air, have good complexions. Those who are inclined to the olive, take care to add a touch of white and red paint, which they apply very nicely.

The ladies of distinction are seldom permitted to stir abroad, except to visit their nearest relations; and, on these occasions, they are always carried in close chairs, and attended by their servants. The women of all ranks stay pretty much at home. The smallness of their feet, which renders them unable to walk to any considerable distance, makes their confinement less disagreeable. As soon as a girl comes into the world, they bind her tender feet with tight bandages, which are renewed as occasion requires, to prevent their growing. This custom prevails universally, the Tartar ladies residing in China only excepted, who appear to have no inclination to conform to this fashion.

This fashion was introduced into China by a great princess, who lived some ages ago. She was a lady of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and has obtained the reputation of a faint; but, it is reported, her feet resembled those of birds; on which account she kept them always carefully wrapped up, and concealed even from the Emperor her husband. The ladies of the court followed her example, which, of course, soon became general. The Chinese women never pare their nails, but suffer them to grow to the full length. This proves no impediment in embroidery, and other needle-work, in which they are constantly employed. These they finish with extraordinary neatness, as fully appears from some specimens of them brought to Europe.

The Chinese deserve great praise for their patience in finishing completely every thing they undertake. And, what is still a greater recommendation, their labours are not the effect of whim or caprice, but calculated to serve some useful purpose. The public works about the city of Peking are instances of these observations. The streets, in particular, are the finest in the world. They are spacious, neat, and straight. The canals which supply the city with water have, at proper distances, commodious stone-bridges over them; and these canals are not only built with freestone on the side, but the bottoms of them paved with broad cut stones, in the neatest manner imaginable. There are but few springs of soft water in Peking. And the water, in general, though a little brackish, is by no means unwholesome.

The Chinese are generally of a middle size, and slender make, but very active. They are honest, and observe the strictest honour and justice in their dealings. It must, however, be acknowledged, that not a few of them are much addicted to knavery, and well-skilled in the arts of cheating. They have, indeed, found many Europeans as great proficient in that art as themselves. And, if you once cheat them, they are sure to retaliate on the first opportunity.

As to the religion of the Chinese, I cannot pretend to give a distinct account of it. According to the best information I could procure, they are divided into several sects, among which that of the Theists is the most rational and respectable. They worship one God, whom they call Tien, the Heaven, or the highest Lord, and pay no religious homage to the images of their countrymen. This sect has subsisted for many ages longer than Christianity, and is still most in vogue; being embraced by the Emperor himself, and most of the grandees, and men of learning. The common people are generally idolaters.

idolâters. The few Jews and Mahometans residing here are supposed to have entered China about six or seven hundred years ago, in company with the western Tartars. There is a very inconsiderable sect, called Cross-worshippers. They worship the holy cross; but have lost all other marks of Christianity; which makes it probable the gospel was preached in this country before the arrival of the missionaries, but by whom is uncertain. The Christians at present are computed to amount to one hundred thousand, of both sexes. I have been told, the Chinese have also some Atheists among them.

I had several opportunities of talking with their physicians. They generally both prepare and administer their own prescriptions, and are very little acquainted with the medicinal system practised in Europe. As they have but few chemical preparations, their chief study is the virtues of plants, which they apply on all occasions, and often with success. They feel the patient's pulse for four or five minutes, and very seldom let blood, even in high fevers. They compare a fever to a boiling pot, and choose rather to take the fire from it than diminish the quantity of liquor it contains, which would only make it boil the faster. Bathing and cupping are much practised; and they even apply fire, in some cases, particularly for pains in the joints, and gouty disorders. On these occasions, they apply a lighted match, composed of the downy substance that grows on mugwort, to the part affected; which making a scar, either entirely removes, or considerably mitigates the pain.

I cannot but take notice, on this occasion, of a famous plant, called Gingfing, which grows in the province of Leotong. The root of this plant is so much esteemed for its physical virtues, that it is gathered by people appointed by the Emperor for this purpose only, and is valued at the rate of about twenty-five pounds sterling the pound weight. It is so rare, that the Emperor sent two pounds of it only in a present to His Czarish Majesty. There are two sorts of it; one looks as if candied, the other like small parsley roots, and has something of the same taste. They slice down or pound it; and, after infusion and slight boiling, they give it to the patient. I could never learn from their physicians what specific qualities this plant possessed, only that it was of universal use. I have heard many stories of strange cures performed by it; that persons seemingly dead have, by its means, been restored to health. I believe, indeed, it may be a good restorative plant; but, if it really has any extraordinary virtues, I could never discover them, though I have made many experiments on it at different times. I should imagine this rare plant might be cultivated, with success, in the country, where it grows naturally; and it appears improbable the Chinese would neglect such a sovereign remedy.

The great men in China follow the example of the western Asiatics, in keeping eunuchs to attend them, who are their counsellors, and chief confidants, on all occasions. Their business is to take care of the women; and, being in a manner detached from the world, they are much respected. Castrating is a trade in China; and so skilful and dexterous are the performers, that few die under their hands. I knew a man who, being reduced to low circumstances, sold himself to be made an eunuch after he was thirty years of age.

The language of the Chinese is composed chiefly of monosyllables, and seems to me easily acquired; at least, as much of it as is sufficient for conversation. The difficulty of learning their letters, or rather marks for words, cannot be so great as is commonly represented; for you scarcely meet a common hawker who cannot read and write what belongs to his calling. It requires, indeed, much labour, and considerable abilities, to acquire the character of a learned man in China.

I have

I have mentioned above a few only of their manufactures. I cannot omit taking notice of their paper, which is made both of silk and cotton, and is remarkably clean and smooth. They had been in possession of this art for many ages before they had any intercourse with the Europeans, as appears from their records. Their sheets are made larger than any I ever saw in Europe; and, though they generally write with hair pencils, I have seen Chinese paper that bore our pens and ink very well.

Their ink, called *toish*, is well known to our painters and designers. I was told the chief ingredient in it is the burnt bones of animals. They have several sorts of it; but the best is very cheap, and is made up in pastes of various figures, stamped with characters or letters. It is generally put up in little flat boxes, sometimes double the value of the ink they contain.

I shall here insert a specimen of Chinese numbers, and a few capital words, with those of several other Asiatic nations.

Chinese Numbers.

1	Iga.	16	Shileoga.
2	Langa.	17	Shiziga.
3	Sanga.	18	Shispaga.
4	Siga.	19	Shizuga.
5	Uga.	20	Shielga.
6	Leoga.	30	Shinhiga.
7	Tziga.	40	Tzeziga.
8	Paga.	50	Ushiga.
9	Tziuga.	60	Leofhiga.
10	Shiga.	70	Tzifhiga.
11	Shiyga.	80	Pashiga.
12	Shierga.	90	Tziolhiga.
13	Shifenga.	100	Ibay.
14	Shifga.	1000	Itzen.
15	Shiuga.	10,000	Van.

A Specimen of English and Chinese Words.

God, <i>Foy.</i>	Wind, <i>Fung.</i>
The heavens, <i>Tien.</i>	Rain, <i>Eu.</i>
The earth, <i>Tyc.</i>	Good, <i>Cho.</i>
The sun, <i>Shilo.</i>	Bad, <i>Pu.</i>
The moon, <i>Jualang.</i>	A good friend, <i>Cho-pung-yu.</i>
The stars, <i>Tzifing.</i>	Farewell, <i>Mansay lea.</i>
The devil, <i>Kuy.</i>	Fire, <i>Choa.</i>
Water, <i>Shuy.</i>	Bread, <i>Bobon.</i>

The Mantzur's Numbers.

1	Emu.	6	Nynguin.
2	Dio.	7	Naadan.
3	Ilan.	8	laachun.
4	Tunin.	9	Unc.
5	Suinja.	10	Ioan, &c.

The

The Mongall's Numbers, and some of their Words.

1	Neggea.	16	Arba-zurga.
2	Choir.	17	Arba-dolo.
3	Gurba.	18	Arba-nauma.
4	Dirbu.	19	Arba-juffu.
5	Tabu.	20	Choiry.
6	Zurga.	30	Gutlhy.
7	Dolo.	40	Dutlhy.
8	Nauma.	50	Taby.
9	Juffu.	60	Dira.
10	Arba.	70	Dala.
11	Arba-neggea.	80	Naya.
12	Arba-Choir.	90	Irea.
13	Arba-gurba.	100	Dzo.
14	Arba-dirbu.	1000	Ming.
15	Arba-tabu.	10,000	Tumea.

God, <i>Burchan.</i>	The moon, <i>Shara.</i>
The heavens, <i>Tengery.</i>	The stars, <i>Odu.</i>
The earth, <i>Gadzar.</i>	The clouds, <i>Ulea.</i>
The sun, <i>Narra.</i>	

The Tangu's Numbers.

1	Dgi.	6	Duk.
2	Neé.	7	Dunn.
3	Sum.	8	Dja.
4	Che.	9	Gu.
5	Gno.	10	Dju-tamba, &c.

Numbers of Indoſtan.

1	Eck.	6	Tzo.
2	Duy.	7	Tateé.
3	Tin.	8	Aatfa.
4	Tzar.	9	Nouy.
5	Penge.	10	Dafs, &c.

The people of Indoſtan have little or no correſpondence with China, being ſeparated from it by impaſſable mountains, and barren deſerts. They call China by the name of Kitat, and the Emperor Amola-Chan.

The Indians call Ruſſia Olt.

The firſt great Lama, or high Prieſt near the borders of India, is called Beyngin-Bogdu; and hath his reſidence at a place called Digerda.

The ſecond is the Delay-Lama, reſiding at Lahaffar. The Indians call him Tamtzy-Kenna. From Digerda to Lahaffar is a month's journey on foot.

The third is the Kutuchtu, called by the Indians Tarranat, who reſides at the Uрга, not far from Selinginky.

The preſent Great Mogul is called Sheyhalim-Patiſha. The Indian married prieſts are the Brachmans; their monks are called Atheiſts, and their military men Reſput.

The Indian and Tangut numbers, together with these few notes, I had from the Faquir at Selingsky; who told me, that the greatest penance that could be imposed on any of their order, was a pilgrimage to visit these three high priests. Though I have hinted something concerning them during my stay at Selingsky, yet, as I shall have no opportunity in future to learn any thing more about these great men, I think it will not be unacceptable that I have inserted the foregoing short notes.

I had, from my early youth, a strong inclination to visit the eastern parts of the world; and Providence afforded me an opportunity, far beyond my expectations, of gratifying my curiosity in the most ample manner. For never, perhaps, were those countries in a more flourishing condition than under the famous Emperors Kamhi and Peter the First; and, perhaps, such another conjuncture of circumstances may not happen for several ages. I have now finished my account of the observations I made during my residence in China; and, had we returned by the same route we went eastward, I should here conclude my Journal; but, as our route was different in many places, particularly in our passage by water from Selingsky to Tobolsky, I shall proceed to make my remarks on such places and things only as I have hitherto had no opportunity of mentioning.

CHAP. XIII.—*Our Departure from Pekin; Occurrences, &c. during our Journey back towards Mosco.*

MARCH 2d, we sent off our heavy baggage early in the morning; and about noon, left the fine city of Pekin, accompanied by several Chinese gentlemen, who were to return with Mr. de Lange, whom His Czarish Majesty had appointed to remain as his agent at the court of Pekin. In the evening, we reached a large town, called Sang-ping-ju, where we lodged.

The 4th, Mr. de Lange and our friends returned to the city, and we continued our journey. I have already mentioned most of the remarkable towns through which we passed; and, as little happened on the road worth notice, I shall only observe, that we were entertained by the governors in the same hospitable manner as before.

The 9th, we arrived at Kalgan, the last town of any note, and about three miles distant from the long wall. We staid here two days, in order to provide bread, rice, and other provisions, for our journey over the Hungry Desert.

Next day, the governor waited on the ambassador, and invited him to see some Chinese troops perform their exercise. We accordingly walked into an adjacent field, where we found about four thousand infantry drawn up in six lines. All their guns had match-locks. The field officers were on horseback, armed with bows and arrows; but the subalterns on foot, having spears, longer or shorter, according to their rank. All the troops kept a profound silence, till the commanding officer ordered the signal to be given for beginning the exercise, which was done by firing a small gun, mounted on the back of a camel. Upon this signal, they advanced, retreated, and performed their evolutions, according to the discipline of the country, in a very regular manner. After finishing this exercise, the whole corps at last divided itself into companies of fifty men each, and kneeling, as close to one another as possible, continued in this posture for some minutes; they then rose, and running to their former stations, quickly formed themselves, without the least confusion. From what I observed of their motions, I am of opinion they might easily be taught any exercise whatever.

The 12th, we arrived at the gates of the main wall, which we found open. Here the commander, and several officers of the guard, met us, and invited the ambassador to

to walk into the guard-room, and drink a dish of tea. After this repast, we proceeded a few miles farther; but as it was too late to get over the mountains that night, we took up our quarters at a village where we had lodged in going to Peking.

Next morning early we left the village, and travelled along the banks of a torrent, which runs through a narrow valley between the mountains. For conveniency of the road, we crossed this rivulet several times. The weather was very fine and warm; and the face of this country extremely pleasant. On the sides of the rocks, we saw scattered many neat cottages, surrounded with little gardens, and crooked trees, which the Chinese have naturally designed on some of their japanned and China-ware. After travelling about a dozen of English miles, we ascended the rocks by a winding-path, formed by art; and, as soon as we reached the summit, we entered on the plain; for there is little or no descent into the desert from the opening between the rocks. I observed, that all the rivers which spring from the mountains on the north and west of China, run towards the south and south-east; and those that rise westward of the desert, direct their courses through Siberia, to the north and north-west; which makes it evident, that the rocks and deserts are higher than any places in China or Siberia. We now felt a very sensible change in the air. In the morning, we left a warm climate; but here we found the desert all covered with snow. We travelled about five miles farther, and then pitched our tents on the banks of a small rivulet.

The ambassador, considering that to travel along with the heavy baggage would render the journey, at this season, tedious and disagreeable, resolved to leave it under a proper guard, and proceed by the shortest and speediest way, to Selinginsky. Lomy, our former conductor, being appointed in the same station, was consulted on this occasion, and agreed to make one of our company; while the Chinese guard, commanded by another officer, took care of the baggage. Our party consisted of the ambassador, Mr. Krestitz, myself, and four servants. We packed up beds, and a few necessaries, and set out directly.

We rode very hard all the 14th; and, in the evening, took up our lodgings in a Mongolian tent, along with the family. The outside of the tent was hung round with several pieces of horse-flesh, on which our landlord and his wife supped, and invited us to share their repast; but as we had provisions of our own, we desired to be excused. The disagreeable smell of this supper made us resolve to sleep in the fields for the future till we came to Selinginsky; for although the nights were somewhat cold and frosty, the weather was dry and pleasant.

Next day, having got fresh horses, we proceeded on our journey. Nothing of moment occurred till the third of April, when we arrived, before noon, on the banks of the river Tola. It was now nineteen days since we left our baggage, during which time we rode very hard, changing horses generally three or four times a-day; and this was the first running water we had seen. I cannot help taking notice of the pleasure that appeared in every face at the sight of this stream; and I need not mention how cheerfully we regaled ourselves on this occasion. For my own part, I thought the most delicious wines of Spahan and Thiras not worthy to be compared to this simple element, so little prized by those who enjoy it in plenty. Our bread was all spent some days before; however, we had still some mutton, with which we had been supplied, from time to time, during our journey. All this time, we observed no road; but kept mostly about one, or sometimes two days journey to the northward of our former route. The greatest danger attending this way of travelling, arose from the arrows which the Mongalls had set in strong bent bows, covered with sand, for killing antelopes. One of our horses happened to tread on one of these bows; the arrow imme-

diately flew out, and fortunately hit the stirrup iron, otherwise the horse or rider would have been killed upon the spot. We had, indeed, guides to conduct us from place to place; but they were unacquainted with any snares laid beyond their own bounds.

This day, about noon, some Mongalls unluckily set fire to the long grafs before us, which, by means of a strong wind, soon spread to a great distance. We immediately retired to the top of a neighbouring hill, (for now the grounds begin to rise, and the soil is much better near the river,) and, setting fire to the grafs around us, travelled near a mile in a dismal cloud of smoke. Some of our people, who were behind us, and unprovided with flints, were put to hard shifts, having their hair and cloaths all singed. We forded the Tola in pretty deep water, and continued our journey through pleasant valleys, between gently rising hills, some of whose tops were adorned with woods, which looked as if planted by art.

Nothing worth mentioning occurred till the morning of the 6th of April, when we reached the river Iro, but found the ford so frozen that we could not ride it. As our provisions were now nearly all spent, and we were quite tired of lying in the open air, we wanted to pass the river at any rate. After long search for a ford, we at last found a place clear of ice, but excessively deep. We immediately stripped off our clothes, mounted our horses, and swam across the river, which was at this place about forty yards broad. After getting all safe to the other side, we lighted a great fire of sticks to dry and warm ourselves, and then set forward to the rivulet Saratzyn, the boundary between the Russian and Chinese territories, which we reached in the evening. From the Tola to this place we had seen no inhabitants, but here we found a few Mongalls, subjects of Russia, who hospitably entertained us with such fare as the place afforded.

The 7th, we set out early; and at noon came to a zimovey (a single house built for the accommodation of travellers) inhabited by a Russian, who entertained us with good bread and other homely fare. After a short stay, we mounted, and at night came to another of these houses, belonging to Mr. Stepanikoff, the commissary of the caravan, where we were well provided with necessary accommodations.

Next day, we arrived in good health at the town of Selinginsky; and all of us had good reason to return our most grateful thanks to the Almighty Disposer of all events, who conducted us safe through so many dangers, without the least accident befalling any of our company.

The 12th, the ambassador having made the conductor an handsome present, and thanked him for his trouble and obliging behaviour, that gentleman took leave, and returned to China.

Next day, we set out on horseback for Irkutsky. We lodged every night in villages till the 16th, when we arrived at the Possolsky monastery, situated on the south shore of the Baykall Sea, as formerly observed. The superior received and entertained us with great hospitality, and furnished us horses and sledges for passing the sea upon the ice, which we found perfectly firm, though the people on the south shore were plowing and sowing their oats.

April 7th, having taken leave of the monks, we placed ourselves in the sledges, and drove along a path-way upon the ice. We found several large gaps in the ice, which run for many miles across the sea, and are generally from two to five or six feet wide. These we passed on long boards, which we were obliged to carry along with us for that purpose. They are made, I conjecture, by the air, which being pent up under the ice, bursts out through these apertures. I observed also a number of small round holes, which are made by the seals, who come thither for breath, and to bask themselves in the sun. These circumstances render travelling on the ice extremely dangerous, except

in day light and clear weather. Towards evening, the ambassador and myself, being provided with light sledges, put on at a great rate, in order to get in with the shore before night. This we happily accomplished, and arrived at a fisherman's house near the mouth of the Angara; where we found a warm room, and a boar's head, hot from the oven for supper. But, a little before sun-set, a thick fog arose to the westward, accompanied with terrible thick drifts of snow, which soon covered the road upon the ice, and filled every gap and hole. Our poor people, who had not yet reached the land, were caught in the storm, forced to stop short, and lie on the ice all night, with their horses and carriages. We had, indeed, dispatched the fishermen to conduct them to the shore; but the snow continuing to fall very thick, they returned without being able to find them. This disappointment created in us some uneasiness; but there was no remedy. We were obliged to wait patiently till the morning, when they arrived in a very distressed condition, half dead with cold and wet. However, by proper accommodation, and some warm liquor, they soon recovered. Next day, we sent back the sledges to the monastery; and after our people had refreshed themselves with a little sleep, about noon we mounted, and proceeded about four miles, to the small chapel of St. Nicolas. We had now passed all the cataracts, and there was no ice to be seen in the river; we immediately, therefore, got boats and rowed down the stream. In the evening, we put ashore at a small village, where we lodged, and were plentifully provided with variety of excellent fresh fish for supper.

The 19th, in the morning, we went again on board, and, about two in the afternoon, landed at Irkutsky, and dined with our old friend, Mr. Rakitin, the commandant, who met us on the river, about two hours before we landed. Some days after our arrival, Mr. Ismayloff was seized with a fever, which went off in a few days without any bad consequences. We waited here for our baggage, which did not arrive till the second of July. During this time, little remarkable happened. We diverted ourselves with hunting and fishing; and, though we lived much at our ease, the time grew tedious, and we wanted much to be gone.

About the 10th of May, the ice began to break up in the Baykall, and continued floating down the river, for some days, in great shoals. The weather was very hot before the ice came down; but, when this happened, an alteration was sensibly felt; for the air about the sides of the river became extremely chilly. A small part only of the ice, about the mouth of the Angara, floats down that river; the rest, being scattered along the shore by the winds, is melted down as the season advances. This is accounted the most unhealthy season of the year; as people, notwithstanding all possible precautions, are very apt to catch cold. I have already made some remarks on Irkutsky, and the country adjacent; I shall therefore only add, that, in summer, which is very hot, the country is much pestered with swarms of muskitoes and large gnats, which are so troublesome, that those who have occasion to go into the fields are obliged to wear nets of horse hair, to defend their faces from the attacks of those insects.

July 2d, the barks arrived safe from Selinginsky, with our people and baggage. They told us many dismal stories of the hardships they had suffered in passing the deserts; but, on comparing notes, the difference was not great between their misfortunes and our own.

After our people had rested a few days, and necessaries were procured for the voyage, on the 5th they shoved off, and rowed down the Angara. The ambassador, myself, and two servants, staid behind, in order to proceed in a small shallop, which had a little cabin in the stern, and was rowed with ten oars. The commandant caused it to be built
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for our use; and as it failed quickly, and was rowed by our own men, we could pursue the voyage at pleasure, without being confined to attend upon the heavy barks.

The 7th, we went on board, accompanied by the commandant and several other gentlemen, and fell down the river to a monastery in the neighbourhood, where we were invited to dine with the superior, who made us a grand entertainment of excellent fish, and furnished us besides with store of provisions for our voyage. In the evening, we took leave of the abbot and the rest of our friends; and being assisted by a rapid current, went down the river at a great rate. At night we put ashore, and took up our quarters in a village.

As little of importance occurred during the progress of our voyage, I need not be particular in describing it. The banks of the river on both sides are pleasant and fruitful, and beautifully diversified with tall woods, villages, and corn-fields; and we found every where great abundance of fish. But what renders this fine country extremely disagreeable, is the swarms of muskitoes with which every part of it is infested. The gnats about Ilimsky, in particular, are of a much larger size, and are reckoned more venomous than any in Siberia; but have this good quality, that they never enter houses as the muskitoes do. The Tonguses, when they are angry with any person, with that an Ilimsky gnat may sting him. This may appear but a slight punishment, but it marks the character of these simple people.

The 9th, we failed the whole day, with a fair wind and strong current, and in the evening overtook our barks. Next day, we came to a great cataract, called Padun from the steepness of the fall. This fall we passed safely, as there was water enough upon the rocks for our vessels. The next cataract we met with, which from its great length is called Dolgoy, was reckoned more dangerous; for, besides the length and deepness of the passage, it was extremely crooked, winding from one side to another by turns, among rocks and great stones. In passing these cataracts, the pilot sits upon the bow of the vessel, and makes signs with his cap to the people at the helm which way to steer: for the waters, dashing against the rocks and great stones, make such an hideous noise, that not a single articulate sound can be heard. The oars, besides, must be plied very hard, in order to prevent the vessel from running to either side; for, if once she touches the rocks, all the goods must infallibly be lost, and perhaps the men's lives; of which disasters there are many examples.

The 11th, we passed another cataract, called Shamanskiy, which is reckoned the most dangerous of them all, the channel being very narrow and crooked. Some of our company chose to walk along the banks, rather than run the risk of passing by water: but they repented of their resolution; for they were obliged to scramble over rocks, and through thickets, where they saw many vipers and other venomous creatures. We stopped at the bottom of the fall to take them on board and refresh our rowers. As the ambassador staid on board, I remained along with him.

Besides these three great cataracts, there are many lesser ones, called by the country people Shivers; but, as the passing them is attended with little danger, I make no mention of them.

It is surprising that loaded vessels should pass these falls against the stream. They are commonly warped up by means of strong anchors and cables, and on the goodness of the tackle all depends; for should it chance to give way, all is lost. This is a laborious piece of work, though not very costly in these parts; and the navigation of this river is attended with no other inconvenience, except that of striking against stumps of trees hid under the water.

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The 14th, we left Angara, and entered the Tongusky, a mighty stream, formed by the Angara and another small river called Elin. The Tongusky points to the northward of the west, and is well stored with excellent fish.

We went ashore this day at a little village called Seeza, situated on a high bank of the Tongusky: Here we were met by our old acquaintance General Kanifer, who came from Elimsky to see Mr. Ismayloff. I took notice before of having seen this gentleman in our journey eastward. We dispatched our barks, and staid with him two days. After which, we proceeded down the river, and he returned to Elimsky by water, attended only by his own servants; for, though he was a prisoner, he had liberty to go where he pleased, as an escape was impracticable in such remote parts.

The 17th, we set sail with an easterly wind and a strong current, which carried us along with great velocity. We passed many villages, and some Tongusian huts, upon the banks, to which we made several visits. We found the men generally employed in fishing in their little canoes, and the women in looking after their children and reindeer, which, at this season, lie near the huts, because the gnats will not suffer them to stay in the woods. In order to banish these troublesome vermin, they light fires all around the place of their abode; and the insects, unable to endure the smoke, immediately fly off. For the same reason, no person stirs abroad without carrying in his hand a small earthen pot filled with smoking coals. The canoes skim upon the water very swiftly, but the least touch of an unskilful hand oversets them. The Tonguse places himself on his knees, in the middle of his boat, keeping it as even balanced as possible; and, with a little paddle only, ventures to cross the greatest rivers. I have seen them haul to the side a sturgeon of great weight. When a Tonguse wants to go from one river to another, across a neck of land, he takes his boat upon his back, and carries it whither he pleases.

The 19th, we were overtaken with such a heavy shower of rain, in the middle of the river, that, before we could reach the bank, our boat was half full, notwithstanding all hands were employed in rowing, or scooping out the water. However, after much labour and difficulty, we at last got to land, wet to the skin; and, what was much worse, all our bedding thoroughly drenched in water. After we had hauled up our boat and fastened it to a tree, we went into a thick wood, and kindled a great fire to warm and dry ourselves; but, the rain being abated, a violent storm of wind arose from north-west, so that we were forced to remain all night in this dismal place, at a great distance from any village. In this condition we lay, round a great fire, till next morning.

The 20th, early in the morning, we left the woods, went on board our boat, and proceeded down the river. About noon, we reached a village, on the right hand, where we halted some hours to refresh ourselves and dry our clothes. In the evening, we pushed off again, and came to another village, where we lodged. On this river are great numbers of water-fowl, of different kinds, which come hither to hatch their young in summer, and fly off, to the south, at the approach of winter. I observed also a large fowl of a grayish colour, about the size of a kite; after it has hovered for some time upon the wing, if it spies a fish in the water, it stoops suddenly, strikes its prey, and even dives below water to catch it; after which it flies to the bank and eats it.

There are also wild goats upon the rocks along the shore. They are very large animals with long and thick horns. Their shaggy coat is brownish, having a black ridge down the back. They have long beards, like common goats, but are twice as large; it is surprising to see them leap from one rock to another. They go in pairs about this season; but towards winter retire in herds to the south. On the hills and in the woods are all sorts of game and wild beasts natural to the climate.

The 21st, we overtook our barks and kept in company with them till night, when we arrived at a village where we lodged. In this river are many islands, some of which are very large, and others are surrounded with high rocky shores. Most of them are covered with tall birch and pine-trees, fit for masts to the largest ships and form a beautiful prospect. We had no need to go ashore in order to seek sport, as we found plenty of wild-ducks and other water-fowl wherever we came. As to fresh fish, we had more of them in every village than we could consume.

The two following days we continued our voyage, without meeting with any thing worth mentioning, and, on the morning of the 24th, arrived at the conflux of the rivers Yenisey and Tongusky, where the latter loses its name, and both joined retain the name of Yenisey. The Yenisey falls into the Tongusky from the south, and its course is then turned northward by the current of the other, which, in my opinion, is the larger of the two. It is observed that the Yenisey does not afford such plenty of fish, nor so good of their kinds, as the other rivers of this country. These two rivers joined form a mighty stream, among the greatest in the world. I think it larger than the Volga at Astrachan. It continues its course to the north-west, daily augmented by other considerable rivers, till it falls into the Icy Sea.

In the evening, we arrived at the town of Yeniseysky, where we were met by our friend Mr. Becklimishoff, the commandant, who conducted us first to our lodgings, and then to his own house to supper. Our barks also arriving in the evening, the whole company met again at this place, not a little happy at having safely passed the water-falls, and escaped the dangers to which we had already been exposed, though we were still above a thousand leagues from the end of our journey.

As we had no time to lose, our baggage was landed next day, and the barks discharged. The packing the baggage for land-carriage took up two days; after which it was transported to a place called Makofsky, on the river Keat, where it was again put on board other barks, which lay ready for that purpose. The road lies to the westward, mostly through thick and dark woods; in dry weather it is tolerably good; but in heavy autumnal rains scarce passable. We staid at Yeniseysky, through the persuasion of our hospitable landlord, the commandant, till we heard all was ready at Makofsky.

Having formerly mentioned the pleasant situation of Yeniseysky, and the fertility of the soil about it, I shall only add that the harvest at this place was already far advanced, the barley being all reaped and the people at work in cutting their oats. This seems very early in a climate so far to the north, and must proceed from the heat of the summer and the soil being fertilized by the nitrous particles of the snow which lies so long upon the ground.

August 2d, we left Yeniseysky on horseback, accompanied by the commandant, who staid with us all night, at a village about ten miles from town. Next morning, we took leave of our friend, and proceeded to Makofsky, where we arrived in the evening, and found the barks ready waiting for us.

The 4th, early in the morning, we went on board, and pushing off from the shore, rowed down the river Keat. The water being shallow, we made but little way the first day; but, as we advanced, it increased daily by rivers and brooks from both sides. Before we left Makofsky, we laid in provisions for three weeks, in which time we computed we would enter the Oby; for during this long navigation, there is not a single house nor village to be seen, except one religious house, possessed by three or four monks, resembling more an hermitage than a monastery.

The Keat is really a most dismal river. It is not above the flight of an arrow broad, and so overshadowed with tall trees, that you can scarce see the sun. The banks are a perfect wilderness, and so entangled with bushes, that no creature can pass along them but wild beasts; with which these woods greatly abound. Near the edge of the river, we found great quantities of black currants upon the bushes, the largest and best I ever saw. I was told the bears feed much on this fruit.

The river Keat takes its rise from a lake at a small distance from the Yenisey; and, were a canal cut between them, which might easily be done, there would be a passage by water from Verchaturia to the borders of China. But His Czarish Majesty was at this time employed in works of the same nature, of much greater importance to his country.

The Keat runs in a crooked channel, pointing, in general, to the west. The bottom is oozy, and sometimes sandy. The barks, at first, run often a-ground on the sand-banks, and the people were obliged to get into the water, and heave them off, by main force, with levers and setting poles; besides these little inconveniencies, we were molested with gnats and muskitoes, in this confined place, more than we had formerly been in any part of our journey. They were not, indeed, so numerous as they had been in the heat of summer; for the nights began to be cold, and the wind northerly. However, no wind could reach us in this close place; and I even wished myself in the desert again, where I might breathe the fresh air. In short, the appearance of this place put me in mind of the descriptions given by the Poets of the river Styx.

During our tedious voyage down the dark Keat, our only diversion and exercise was shooting wild-ducks. One day, Mr. Ismayloff and myself went down the river, in a small canoe, rowed by two soldiers, at some distance before the barks. We met with a large flock of ducks, which swam up a narrow creek, in order to avoid us. We failed a little way after them; and, in the mean time, our barks passed us, and continued before us till night, still imagining they had not overtaken us. This day's sport cost us dear; for, our rowers being quite fatigued, we were obliged to relieve them, and row in our turns, till at last we came up with the barks, both hungry and tired. To make some amends, we had a good dish of wild-ducks for supper.

The 20th, we met with two Osteacks in their canoes, who had come from the river Oby, to catch fish, and kill ducks, and had their fishing tackle and bows and arrows along with them. We were glad to see any human creature. We called them on board, and they willingly staid with us till we entered the Oby, and supplied us with plenty of fish and wild-fowl. These were the first of the tribe of the Osteacks I had seen. I shall give some account of them when I describe our voyage down that river, on the banks of which they have their habitations.

I formerly mentioned the great abundance of black currants growing on the banks of the Keat. We found them an excellent and wholesome fruit; many of our people eat great quantities of them without the least bad effect.

After a tedious voyage, with little variety, we arrived on the 28th at a village called Ketskoy, a few miles distant from the Oby. After procuring, at this place, what necessaries we wanted, and refreshing ourselves a few hours, we continued our voyage, making what way we possibly could, for fear of being frozen up, near some desert place on the Oby, before we came to Tobolsky, where we intended to land. We had no rain all the time we were upon the Keat; which was a lucky circumstance, as our oars were upon deck. Had our barks only drawn about eighteen inches water, as was intended, we should not have been above fourteen days on this river, and thereby saved much

time and labour; but, coming from China, every person in the retinue had a little, which overloaded the vessels, and retarded their progress. The next day, we entered the famous river Oby, which, from its breadth and depth of water, appears at least equal to the Volga or Yenisey, and could carry ships of considerable burden.

The 30th, we reached the first town upon the Oby, called Narim, situated on the north bank, about a gun-shot from the river, and a few miles from the mouth of the Keat. It commands a fine prospect, up and down the river, and of the woods to the south. Near the town are a few corn-fields, and garden-grounds, abounding with greens and roots. This place has a small fortress, governed by a commandant. The inhabitants are generally dealers in fur, which they buy from the Osteacks; and either carry them themselves to the borders of China, where they are exchanged for the commodities of that nation, or dispose of them to merchants going thither.

The 31st, we dined with the commandant, and spent the rest of the day in laying in a stock of provisions. We found, at this place, plenty of fine fish, particularly sterlet, sturgeon, and mucksoon, and many more too tedious to mention. The last is peculiar to the Oby and Irtysh.

Here I met with Mr. Borlutt, a native of Flanders, who had been a Major in the Swedish service, and sent to this place a prisoner of war. He was a very ingenious gentleman, and had a particular turn for mechanics. The commandant treated him more like a friend than a prisoner; which, indeed, was the case of most of those unfortunate gentlemen whom the fate of war had sent to this country. His Czarish Majesty, well considering their circumstances, sent them to a plentiful country, where they could live at their ease, till peace was restored.

September 1st, having provided ourselves with necessaries, and got new rowers, our former ones returning to Yeniseysky, from whence they came. In the evening we went again on board, and, putting off in fine calm weather, rowed down the Oby at a great rate; our course being much favoured by the rapidity of the current. We passed several villages, and a little monastery called Troytza. The banks to the north are pretty high, but to the south flat; by which means, on the melting of the snow in the springs they are overflowed to a great extent. The river runs towards the northwest, with little variation. We continued our voyage night and day, except in great darkness, or a gale of contrary wind, when we were obliged to lie by in some creek.

The Osteacks I mentioned above differ from all the other tribes of natives in Siberia, both in complexion and language. Many of them are fair, resembling the people of Finland; and they have many Finnish words in their language. Their manner of life is nearly the same with that of the Tonguse, who border with them to the eastward. In summer, they live in the woods, in huts covered with birchen bark. In winter they dig pits, across which they lay stakes, above them spread earth to keep them warm. They have a fire in the middle, and a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. During this season, they live chiefly on fish, dried and smoked, wild fowl, or what else they catch in hunting. Many of them are stout fellows, fit for any service. Two of them, with their bows and arrows, a short spear, and a little dog, will attack the greatest bear. They are dexterous archers and fishermen. We had always a number of them in canoes round our barks, who supplied us with plenty of fish and wild-fowl, of various sorts, at an easy rate. Give them a little tobacco, and a dram of brandy, and they ask no more, not knowing the use of money.

The Osteacks, though a savage people in their manner of life, are far from being barbarous; for a single Russian will travel about all their abodes, in order to purchase

furs, without fear of any violence. They are also remarkable for their honesty; and the small tribute of furs which they pay annually to His Czarish Majesty, they bring punctually to the place appointed.

In summer, they wear nothing but coats and short drawers, made of fish-skins, dressed after their fashion; but in winter, are clothed with skins of deer, and other wild beasts.

They have no cattle except rein-deer, which supply their children with milk; and are, besides, of great service to them on many accounts.

As to their religion, they are ignorant heathens, like the rest of the natives of Siberia. They have many both male and female shamans, who are in great esteem among them. These shamans have many small images, or rather blocks of wood, rudely cut with a knife or hatchet, representing a human figure, dressed up in rags of various colours, by which they pretend to foretell future events, such as the good or bad luck of those that go a-hunting. But these are no better than others of the same species, already mentioned, who impose on the ignorance or credulity of their neighbours.

From what I have now and formerly said concerning these poor savage tribes, it will appear that they are involved in the most profound ignorance. Their manners are so rude, and minds uncultivated, that many of them seem stupid, and altogether unmindful of any thing beyond their present employment. I have, however, met with men of reflection among them, who agreed with the rest of mankind in acknowledging one great Almighty Creator of this world, and of every thing else.

The Archbishop of Tobolsky has of late baptized many of the Osteacks, and other natives, in a tour he made through Siberia with that view; and it is to be hoped his successors will follow his laudable example.

CHAP. XIV.—*Our arrival at the Town of Surgute; our Journey from thence to Mosco; some Account of the Creature called Mammon, &c.*

AFTER a voyage of ten days from the town of Narim, during which little remarkable happened, we arrived on the 11th of September, at another town, called Surgute, situated on the north bank of the Oby, and defended by a small fort. The inhabitants, like the people of Narim, are mostly traders in furs. The adjacent country, on both sides of the river, is overgrown with dark and tall woods, where there is no cultivated ground, except a few gardens. Bread is got at a small charge, by water-carriage, from Tobolsky, and other places on the river Irtysh.

In the banks of the Oby, about this place, are found great quantities of that kind of ivory called in this country mammon's horn. Some of it also is found on the banks of the Volga. Mammon's horn resembles, in shape and size, the teeth of a large elephant. The vulgar really imagine mammon to be a creature living in marshes, and under ground, and entertain many strange notions concerning it. The Tartars tell many fables of its having been seen alive. But to me it appears that this horn is the tooth of a large elephant. When, indeed, or how these teeth came so far to the northward, where no elephants can at present subsist during the winter season, is what I am unable to determine. They are commonly found in the banks of rivers which have been washed by floods. The commandant of this place had his entry ornamented with several very large ones, and made me a present of one of them.

I have been told by the Tartars in the Baraba, that they have seen this creature called Mammon, at the dawn of day, near lakes and rivers; but that, on discovering

them, the mammon immediately tumbles into the water, and never appears in the daytime. They say it is about the size of a large elephant, with a monstrous large head and horns, with which he makes his way in marshy places, and under ground, where he conceals himself till night. I only mention these things as the reports of a superstitious and ignorant people.

I have observed, in most of the towns we passed, between Tobolsky and Yeneseysky, many of these mammons horns, so called by the natives; some of them very entire and fresh, like the best ivory, in every circumstance, excepting only the colour, which was of a yellowish hue; others of them mouldered away at the ends, and, when fawn asunder, prettily clouded. The people make snuff-boxes, combs, and divers sorts of turnery ware of them.

They are found in the banks of all the great rivers in Siberia, westward of Iencoufsky, when the floods have washed down the banks, by the melting of the snow in the spring. I have seen of them weighing above one hundred pounds English. (I brought a large tooth, or mammon's horn, with me to England, and presented it to my worthy friend Sir Hans Sloane, who gave it a place in his celebrated museum; and was of opinion also that it was the tooth of an elephant. This tooth was found in the river Oby, at a place called Surgute.)

The 12th, after we had been supplied with a fresh stock of provisions, and fresh rowers, we proceeded towards the next stage, called Samarofsky-Yamm, near the conflux of the Oby and Irtysh. The wind being contrary, we made but slow progress. The near approach of winter, which usually begins about the first of October, made us hasten forward as fast as possible.

Next day, the wind being easterly, we hoisted our sails, and run along at a great rate; and the 14th, arrived at a small village on the north shore. The south bank still continued low and flat. At this village we saw great quantities of wild geese, picked, and smoked, and hung in shades, for winter provisions. We had some of them dressed; but I cannot much praise them for agreeable food. The people of this place catch vast numbers of them in day-nets, more on account of the down and feathers than of their flesh, which is but of small value. We let our barks proceed, and detained a boat to follow them, as soon as we had seen the method of catching the wild geese. The sportsman conducted us into a spacious open plain, encompassed with wood and water. Here he had his large nets, with wide meshes spread, and a small hut, made of green branches, to conceal himself. Upon the grass were scattered about a score of geese-skins stuffed, some of them standing, others sitting, in natural postures. As soon as he sees a flock flying over his head, he calls, with a bit of birchen bark in his mouth, exactly like the wild geese. On hearing the call, they take a turn round, and then alight among the stuffed skins; which being perceived by the sportsman, he immediately draws a string, and claps the nets over the whole flock, or as many of them as are within their reach. The geese always alight and rise with their heads to the windward; to prevent therefore, such as escape the day-net from flying off, he has a deep long net, placed on tall slender poles, to windward, which entangles great numbers in their rising. I am persuaded this method might easily be practised, in other parts of the world, to greater advantage; though, I believe, there are no where such quantities of water-fowl, especially geese of different kinds, as in these northern climates; where, free from annoyance, they bring forth their young among woods and lakes, and, at the approach of winter, fly off to the Caspian Sea, and other southern regions.

There is here one species of geese, called kazarky, of a size less than the common wild goose, having beautiful scarlet spots about the head, and some feathers of the same colour

colour in its wings. Of this sort I saw great flocks about the Caspian Sea in winter. Besides these, there are numbers of swans, and all sorts of water-fowl, natural to the climate.

The woods are stored with game, and various sorts of wild-fowl, particularly the coc-limoge, the heath-cock, and several others too tedious to mention.—The manner in which the coc-limoge is caught by the Osteacks is somewhat curious.

They make a paling, about four or five feet high, running from any wood, along a sandy bank, to the edge of a river, having the stakes set so close that the fowls cannot pass between them. In this paling they leave openings, at certain distances, large enough to afford a passage for these birds; and, rather than take the wing, the cock will seek a passage from one end of the hedge to the other. In these openings are set springs, on bent branches, which, as soon as touched, fly up, and catch the fowl, either by the neck or feet. The Osteacks brought us these and other wild-fowl in great plenty.

The 15th, in fine weather, we continued our voyage, using our sails or oars, by turns, as circumstances obliged us. Little material happened till the 19th, in the evening, when we left the Oby, and entered the river Irtysh; and, night coming on, we put ashore, where we staid till the next morning. On entering the Irtysh, we had a strong current against our course, which had been down the stream, in all the different rivers, from Selinginsky to this place.

Before I proceed farther, I shall take a view of the famous Oby. It is one of the largest rivers in the world, and runs as long a course as any in Siberia, or perhaps in any other quarter of the globe. It rises in the desert, several hundred miles southward of the Baraba; and is daily augmented, by many streams of different names, till it reaches a place called Belogarsky, where it takes the name of Oby, at the conflux of two large rivers, the Alley and the Tzaritt. These rivers joined, form the Oby. The Oby is called *both* in the Russian language. But I am of opinion this river had that name long before Siberia was known to the Russians, as the natives still give it that name.

In going eastward, we passed the Oby upon the ice, at a place called Tzausky Ostrogue, where it made no great appearance, in comparison of what it does after receiving the rivers Tom, Tzulim, Keat, Irtysh, and many others, when, indeed, it may be reckoned in the number of the largest rivers in the world. It points generally to the north, with various windings, till it meets the Keat, when it turns to the north-west; and runs in that direction many miles, till, meeting with the Irtysh, it turns short, in a rapid current, towards the pole, swallowing up many rivers and brooks in its course, and at last, it discharges itself into the Northern Ocean, at a great bay called Obkaya-Guba, or the Lips of the Oby.

Few rivers in the world contain greater plenty and variety of fish than the Oby. The banks to the south produce woods in abundance, interspersed with corn-fields, and good pasturage. I have been informed, that in these parts are rich mines of copper and iron, and even silver.

At the conflux of the Oby and Irtysh are several large islands, and farther north, several villages; but only one town of any note, called Bergofa, situated on the left hand.

I may here observe, that geographers generally agree, that a line drawn from the place where the river Tanais, now called Don, discharges itself into the sea of Azof, or the Black Sea, to the mouth of the Oby, is the proper boundary betwixt Europe and Asia.

The 20th, early in the morning, we shoved off from the shore, and made the best of our way up the Irtysh. In the evening, we reached Samariofsky-Yamm, where we lodged this night.

Next day, having taken on board fresh labourers, and the wind being northerly, and very cold, we put off in haste, hoisted sail, and went along at a great rate. The wind continuing from this point, was a certain sign that winter was at no great distance, and that we might soon expect to be met by shoals of floating ice.

The 22d, the north wind still continued very strong, to our great joy: for, although there are many villages on the Irtysh, we dreaded the being frozen up near some desert place.

Next day, there fell a little snow, which softened the coldness of the air; but, at the same time, the wind unfortunately chopped about to the westward, and retarded our progress.

The 24th, we continued our voyage; and, next day, the wind again becoming northerly, we used our sails all that day and night. We proceeded without any thing material happening, till the 29th, when we reached Demianky, a town standing on the eastern bank.

Next day, we set out immediately, after taking in fresh rowers. The fields were now covered with snow, and the frost so strong, that the ice began to float in the river, and we expected every day to be frozen up.

These signs of approaching winter influenced Mr. Ismayloff to leave the barks, to follow as should be possible for them, while himself made the best of his way to Tobolsky, in a small boat. Accordingly, carrying me along with him, we immediately set out towards that place.

October the first, we continued rowing along near the banks, and took in fresh rowers as occasion offered. The river was full of great shoals of ice, the frost strong, and much snow. In the evening, we arrived, cold and wet, at a small village, where we lodged in a warm room, about fifty verst from Tobolsky.

Next day, the river was so covered with ice that we could proceed no farther in our boats; but luckily, in the night, there fell snow enough for sledges. We soon got horses, and such open sledges as the place afforded, and, in the evening, arrived safe at the city of Tobolsky. We went immediately to the palace of Prince Alexie Michaylovitz Cherkasky, the governor, who was an intimate friend of the ambassador. This prince was much esteemed for his capacity, as well as his great probity and honour. We supped with him, and then retired to our lodgings; but could not avoid commiserating the fate of our fellow travellers, labouring with the ice, and afraid of being frozen up every minute.

The 3d, we sent some soldiers to meet the barks, and assist them in coming up the river. And on the 5th, they arrived safe at Tobolsky, where they were next day discharged.

We were obliged to stay here for the falling of the snow, in order to proceed on sledges, the common method of travelling in winter. At this place we thought ourselves at home, having good lodgings, good company, and plenty of provisions, so that we waited patiently for the setting in of winter; besides, we had now a frequented road, lying through a well inhabited country, all the way to Mosco.

During our stay at Tobolsky, I was informed, that a large troop of gypsies had been lately at that place, to the number of sixty and upwards, consisting of men, women, and children. The Russians call these vagabonds tzigany. Their sorry baggage was carried on horses and asses. The arrival of so many strangers being reported to Mr.

Petroff

Petroff Solovy, the vice governor, he sent for some of the chief of the gang, and demanded whither they were going? They answered him to China; upon which he told them, he could not permit them to proceed any farther eastward, as they had no passport, and ordered them to return to the place whence they came. It seems these people had roamed, in small parties, during the summer season, cross the vast countries between Poland and this place, subsisting themselves on what they could find, and on selling trinkets, and telling fortunes to the country people. But Tobolsky, being the place of rendezvous, was the end of their long journey eastward; and they, with no small regret, were obliged to turn their faces to the west again.

Before I leave this new world, as it may be called, of Siberia, I think it well deserves a few general remarks, besides the particulars mentioned in my journal.

This vast extent of eastern continent is bounded by Russia to the west, by Great Tartary to the south, on the east and north by the respective oceans; its circumference is not easy to ascertain. Foreigners commonly are terrified at the very name of Siberia or Sibir, as it is sometimes called; but, from what I have said concerning it, I presume it will be granted, that it is by no means so bad as is generally imagined. On the contrary, the country is really excellent, and abounds with all things necessary for the use of man and beast. There is no want of any thing, but people to cultivate a fruitful soil, well watered by many of the noblest rivers in the world, and these stored with variety of such fine fishes, as are seldom found in other countries. As to fine woods, furnished with all sorts of game and wild-fowl, no country can exceed it.

Siberia is generally plain, sometimes varied with rising grounds, but contains no high mountains, and few hills, except towards the borders of China, where you find many pleasant hills and fruitful valleys.

Considering the extent of this country, and the many advantages it possesses, I cannot help being of opinion, that it is sufficient to contain all the nations in Europe, where they might enjoy a more comfortable life than many of them do at present. For my part, I think, that, had a person his liberty and a few friends, there are few places where he could spend life more agreeably than in some parts of Siberia.

Towards the north, indeed, the winter is long, and extremely cold. There are also many dreary wastes, and deep woods, terminated only by great rivers, or the ocean; but these I would leave to the present inhabitants, the honest Osteacks and Tonguses, and others like them, where, free from ambition and avarice, they spend their lives in peace and tranquillity. I am even persuaded, that these poor people would not change their situation and manner of life, for the finest climate, and all the riches of the east; for I have often heard them say, that God, who had placed them in this country, knew what was best for them, and they were satisfied with their lot.

During our stay at Tobolsky, a messenger arrived from court, with the glad tidings of peace being concluded between His Czarish Majesty and the crown of Sweden, after a destructive war, which had raged above twenty years. This was very agreeable news to every body, particularly to the officers who had remained so long in captivity. The peace was proclaimed with firing of guns, and other rejoicings usual on such occasions.

November 18th, all the roads being now firm, and fit for sledges, we left Tobolsky in a strong frost. As we returned by the same road we went to the eastward, which I have already described, I shall not repeat the particulars, but only name the towns through which we passed, viz. Tumeen, Epantshin, Verchaturia, and Solikamsky. The weather being excessively cold, we remained two days at this place. From thence we came to Kay-gorod, then to Klinoff; from which, instead of going towards Casan, we proceeded straight through the woods towards the town of Nihna-Novogorod, situated

at

at the conflux of the Volga and Ocka. This road is nearest, but very rough and narrow in many places, the country being overgrown with large tall woods, of different kinds, according to the nature of the soil. The principal inhabitants are the Tzeremish, who afford but indifferent accommodation for travellers; however, the people are very courteous and hospitable. Among them are scattered a few Rufs villages, and a very few Rufs towns of small note; for which reason, I shall only mention the names of such as lay in our road from Klinoff to Kufina-Damiansko, (which last place is situated on the east bank of the river Volga), viz. Bisritsky, a large village; Orloff, a small town; Yuriéfsky, a village; Kotelnitzy, a small town; a village called Tzorno-Rétzky; a large village called Voskrensky; Yaranfsky, a small town; Tzarevo-Sanchurfsky, another small town; Shumetreya, a village. Besides these, and some others, we passed through many villages, inhabited by Tzeremishian and Tzoowashian Tartars, to mention which would be too tedious. These people, having destroyed the woods about their villages, live much at their ease, have plenty of corn and cattle, and great numbers of bee-hives, whereby they furnish the markets with great quantities of honey and bees-wax. They also furnished us with changes of horses whenever we had occasion for them; but their tackling of harness, &c. is so bad, that much time was lost in accommodating them to our heavy carriages, so that we thought ourselves happy when we met with Russian villages, which are far better provided in that respect, and more accustomed to travelling than those poor people, who never go far from their own home.

After a tedious journey, we came out of the woods to the Volga, and travelled along upon the ice, which, in some places, was not very firm. In the evening, we reached Nishna-Novogorod, where we staid some days to refresh ourselves, and kept our Christmas with the commandant.

We proceeded again on the 28th, and, little material happening, arrived safe at the capital city of Mosco, on the 5th day of January 1722, where we found His Czarish Majesty, and all the court, who had lately arrived from St. Petersburg, and preparations were making for grand fire-works, triumphal arches, and other marks of joy, on account of the peace: with which I shall conclude my journal.

I think it will not be unacceptable to the reader, if I subjoin a list of the places and distances between St. Petersburg and Pekin.—They are as follow:—

It is to be noted, that the distances between St. Petersburg and Tobolsky, in Siberia, are all measured versts, each verst being 500 Rufs fathoms, each fathom consisting of seven feet English measure; so that a Russian verst measures exactly 1166 $\frac{2}{3}$ yards.

	Versts.		Versts.
From St. Petersburg		To Bronitza	35
To Yeshore	35	Zaitzoff	30
Choffinsky-Yan	23	Kristitkom	31
Lubany	26	Yazhetbeefach	39
Chudova	32	Zemnigorkom	23
Spaikoy Poliste	25	Edrovo	22
Podberezwa	23	Kotelofsky	35
Novogorod	22	Vishny-Volotshoke	36
	8		Vidroputko

	Versts.		Versts.
To Vidropusko	33	To Slebodsky	28
Torshoke	36	Selo-Prokofiefsky	30
Medna	23	Selo-Solovetzkoy	33
Tweer	28	Trotitska-monastery	22
Gorodna	31	Kruto-Gorskoy	25
Zavidovo	27	Katharinisky-monastery	25
Klinn	27	Tikofsky	35
Peshka	30	Leonsky	25
Tshorny Graz	24	Kay-Gorod	35
City of Mosco	28	Reka-Volva	34
Novo-Derevenoy	27	Korish Retitska Berefofsky	25
Bunkovo	26	Selo-Yfinofsky	30
Kyrzatsky	29	Zezefsky	15
Lipnach	28	Selo-Kofninsky	36
Undola	17	Logginoff	32
Volodimer	22	Selo-Syrinsky	28
Selo-Darthevo	26	Nikonoff	25
Murom	30	Town of Solikamsky	30
Selo-Monachovo	25	Martinkoy	25
Selo-Pagofsky	29	Yanvey	35
Selo-Bogoroditzky	39	Moltzanoff	35
Nishna-Novogorod	28	From Moltzanoff to Verkutaria	
Zyminka	25	are five stages, making	181
Selo-Tatintza	31	thence to Saldinskay Pogostia	27
Belozerika	35	To Maggnevoy	46
Fokina	29	Fominoy	28
Selo-Sumkach	34	Babichinoy	53
Kofma-Damiansko	20	Turinsky	53
Bolshoy-Rutky	10	Slattkoy	50
Kunea	50	Selo-Roshdefvinsky	50
Shumetrey	30	Tumeen	51
Zarevo-Santzursky	30	Sofnovoy	46
Potavinoy-Vrague	47	Pokorfska-Slaboda	31
Yarantkey	29	Itskinkoy	35
Selo-Volkrefensky	34	Backfarino	34
horna-Retxka	47	Sheftakovo	26
Kotelnizy	46	Dechterevo	39
Yuriofsky	20	City of Tobolsky	43
Orloff	26		
Selo-Bifritz	21		
Klinoff	30		3119
From St. Petersburg to Mosco			734
From Mosco to Kufma-Damiansko			564
From Kufma-Damiansko to Zarevo-Santzursky			120
From Zarevo-Santzursky to Sollikamsky			813
From Sollikamsky to Tobolsky			888

It will be observed, that, in our journey outwards to China, we went by Cazan, which must make the distance we travelled between St. Petersburg and Tobolsky, more than the above (which is the shortest road) by at least 200 versts.

The route continued from Tobolsky eastward, down the river Irtysh, and up the rivers Oby and Keat by water.

From Tobolsky	Versts.
To Samariofsky-Yamm	570
the town of Surgute	262
the town of Narim	590
the town of Makofsky up the river Keat	1480
by land to Yenifeyky	92
to Elimsky, along the river Tongusky	627
to Irkusky	450
crosses the Baykall lake to Selinginsky	394
to Saratzine, the boundary between Ruffia and China	104
to the river Tola	467
the wall of China, crosses the Hungry Stepp, or Defert,	1212
the city of Pekin	200
	<hr/>
From Tobolsky to Pekin	6448
From St. Petersburg to Tobolsky	3119
	<hr/>
	9567

N. B. The versts between Tobolsky and Pekin are computed, which generally exceed the measured verst.

It will be noted, that the route above recited is that by which we returned from China.

JOURNAL OF THE RESIDENCE OF MR. DE LANOE, AGENT OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, PETER THE FIRST, AT THE COURT OF PEKIN, DURING THE YEARS 1721 AND 1722. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

TRANSLATION OF THE EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THE READER.

THIS Journal is very curious, and an authentic piece, and certainly merits the attention of the public, as well for its use, as the novelty of the subject it treats of.

As the world is not so sufficiently informed of what passes in those distant countries, as to form a tolerable judgment of what the court of Russia may have to do with that of China, I am now about to give a succinct relation thereof to the reader, that it may serve him as a introduction to the work.

It is now well known that the frontiers of Siberia are contiguous to those of China; for this reason, it is natural to think that the court of Russia should have more frequent correspondence with that of China than any other court of Europe. Nevertheless, this correspondence between the two courts is of no ancient date, as it did not commence but since the Mongall Tartars made themselves masters of China, about the year 1040; for it was about that time that the Russians, after being possessed of Siberia from the latter end of the sixteenth century, began to spread themselves over that vast country, not having met the least resistance from the ancient inhabitants of those parts; till, at last, they came to establish themselves about the lake Baykall, and the river Amoor, thereby becoming near neighbours to the Mongall Tartars; by intercourse with them, the Russians soon came to understand that their nation had possessed themselves of China; and that it was the Prince who was actually their Chan, who filled at that time the throne of China.

The court of Russia was not ignorant of the extreme opulence of the empire of China; and apprised that the distance from Siberia could not be great, resolved to try if they could not derive some advantages from that discovery, by establishing a regular commerce between Siberia and China; promising themselves no less than to draw into Russia, from that empire, a great part of its riches. For this purpose, the court of Russia sent, successively, several ambassadors or envoys to China; who succeeded so well, that the Chinese at length consented to the entry of the caravans into their dominions from Siberia, on conditions very advantageous to Russia.

During these transactions, the Russians daily gained ground on the frontiers of the Mongall Tartars; and even made no scruple, when they thought fit, of establishing themselves on their territories, with a design to approach on one side, along the river Amoor, towards the Oriental Sea; and on the other side, along the river Selinga, towards the frontiers of China.

In the mean time, the new government of China was not long of comprehending, that all these new settlements which the Russians made upon the frontiers of the Mongalls, would in time render their power too formidable to the subjects of China; and might come at last to be very dangerous to the repose of China itself, in case any misunderstandings

understandings between the two nations should arise. On these considerations, they resolved to oppose settlement to settlement, and to build some towns and villages on the frontiers of the Mongall Tartars, at some distance from the last settlements of the Russians; in order thereby to prevent their penetrating farther into the country, to the prejudice of the Tartar subjects of China.

In consequence of this resolution, the Chinese built, about the year 1670, the towns of Mergcen and Naun, and the borough of Xixigan, with several other boroughs and villages thereabouts; which they peopled with colonies of Mongalls, subjects of China.

Thence arose disputes between the two empires, on the subject of their frontiers. And in place of the negotiations being confined to affairs of commerce, and mutual protestations of amity and friendship, on one side and the other, the grand object of all their aims came now to be the accommodation of the affair of the frontiers, and the regulation of limits between the two empires. But, in as much as one would preserve to themselves the right of doing as they thought fit, and the other would, at all hazards, keep them from doing what they thought dangerous, there arose a great coolness between them; which came to blows in the years 1684 and 1685. It is true, that they laboured incessantly, both on the one side and the other, for a re-establishment of good harmony between the two nations; to this end there were held two different congresses, at the town of Nerchinsky, between the plenipotentiaries of Russia and those of China. But those gentlemen met with so many difficulties, in reconciling their different sentiments and interests, that they were obliged to separate without success. At last, F. Gerbillon, a Jesuit, returned again to the town of Nerchinsky, in quality of plenipotentiary of the court of China; and there, in 1689, signed a treaty of peace and perpetual alliance, between the two empires, which was afterwards ratified, in the usual forms, by both the courts.

That treaty was not very advantageous to the Russians, because it set bounds to their establishments on these frontiers, which was a very disagreeable article. And as they believed the Chinese would not regard it very strictly, provided they did not advance further on the side of the Selinga, and the towns they had lately built to the southward of the frontiers, the Russians again began to make new settlements along the river Amoor; and, at last, to build along the south bank of that river, thirty leagues beyond their limits, a town they called Albazin; in hopes that the Chinese could not be without Siberian furs, and would rather choose to wink at these enterprises than enter into a new war. But they were quite mistaken in their calculation; for the Mongalls furnished such quantities of furs to China, from the time they had orders from the Chan to spread themselves along the banks of the Amoor, that the Chinese began to perceive that they could be sufficiently supplied with furs, without those from Siberia. And in these sentiments they spoke freely their thoughts of these new enterprises of the Russians.

In the mean time, the Russians gave them good words and fair promises, but continued to carry on their point, flattering themselves that they might find some favourable opportunity of pacifying them. Nevertheless, the Chinese growing doubtful of the Russians complying with their demands, which they thought well founded, at length they had recourse to force; and in the year 1715, made the Mongalls, subjects to China, take arms, and laid siege to the town of Albazin, the place which was the principal ground of their complaints. The siege continued three years; and as the late Peter the Great was occupied in his grand designs to the westward, he would not continue the quarrel with China. Thus, they let the town fall into the hands of the Mongalls, and agreed to a new provisional treaty with the court of Peking. But as other

differences on the frontiers still subsisted, the court of Russia sent again, in 1719, an envoy extraordinary to Peking, to regulate entirely what remained to be adjusted between the two empires; and seeing that, by means of these differences, the commerce of the caravans was much lessened, the true object of his negotiation was to re-establish that commerce; and, to that end, to try to induce the court of China to consent to the residence of an agent from Russia, at the court of Peking, who might take care to watch over the affairs of the caravan, and so preserve a good understanding between the two empires. The envoy of Russia, having happily executed the last part of his commission, left, at his departure from Peking, Mr. de Lange, as agent of Russia at the court of Peking, who was the author of the following Journal.

The public is obliged for this tract to a foreign minister, who resided many years at the court of Russia, and who permitted it to be communicated to the public. But, to make the reading of it more agreeable and more useful to the world, it was thought fit to add some little remarks in the places which required elucidation, that nothing might be wanting to the reader on so interesting a subject.

JOURNAL OF MR. DE LANGE, &c.

March 1721.

MR. DE ISMAYLOFF, ambassador and envoy extraordinary of His Czariſh Ma-
 jeſty, having fixed his departure from Peking to be on the 2d of March, after having
 finiſhed his negotiations at the court of China in the beſt manner he poſſibly could *, I
 took the reſolution of accompanying him to the wall of China; but the gentlemen of
 the miniſtry thought proper to reſuſe me a paſſport; pretending that, as I was ordered
 by His Czariſh Maſteſty to reſide at the court of the Chan †, it was neceſſary that I ſhould
 have permiſſion of the Bogdoi-Chan himſelf, not only for going as far as the grand wall,
 but alſo for every time that I would go to ſtay a night without the walls of Peking: to
 the intent that the court might always be aſſured that no ill accident ſhould happen to
 me, being a foreigner ‡. And, as the Bogdoi-Chan had already quitted his reſidence
 of Peking, to take the diverſion of hunting, it was not without a deal of trouble that I
 obtained a permiſſion to accompany Mr. de Iſmayloff as far as Czampinſa, which is a town
 ſixty ly § diſtant from Peking, from whence I returned, being eſcorted by a clerk of the
 council for the affairs of the Mongalls, and ſome ſoldiers; and thus came back to Peking
 on the 6th.

* Mr. de Iſmayloff, a gentleman of great merit, and a captain in the regiment of the Preobraſhinsky guards, was ſent, in the year 1719, by the late Emperor Peter the Great, to China, with the character of ambassador and envoy extraordinary, to renew the treaties between Ruſſia and China, and to endeavour to bring the court of Peking to agree to a regulated free commerce with Ruſſia.

† All the Tartars give to their reigning princes the title of Chan; and as the houſe which at preſent ſits the throne of China is come from that branch of Pagan Tartars known to us by the name of Oriental Mongalls, the Emperors of China conform themſelves to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of their nation, preſerving, to this time, the title of Chan. Vide Hiſt. Genealog. des Tartares.

‡ Mr. de Iſmayloff, at his departure from Peking, left, by virtue of his inſtructions, Mr. de Lange, in quality of agent of Ruſſia, to treat of, and to bring to a concluſion, a regulation of commerce, and an eſtabliſhment of an eaſy correſpondence between the two empires; and, although the Chineſe miniſtry oppoſed moſt ſtrenuouſly the reſidence of the ſaid agent at their court, on pretence that it was contrary to the fundamental conſtitutions of the empire; yet the ſaid ambassador knew ſo well how to take his meaſures, that the Bogdoi-Chan gave his conſent to it, notwithstanding all the intrigues of the miniſtry to the contrary.

§ One ly of China is exactly 360 geometrical paces.

The 7th, early in the morning, I saw enter the court-yard of my house a man who had the appearance of a poor beggar; he brought with him some poor starved fowls, and salted cabbage, together with some pots of tarassun, which is a fermented liquor, made of grain, and what the Chinese drink instead of wine, making it warm before they drink it. This man, having set it all down in my court-yard, was returning, when I ordered him to be called back, to inform me of the meaning of his so doing. Upon which he told me, "That it was part of the provisions he had bought for me, by order of the college who have the charge of the Emperor's magazines of provisions; but that, not being able to bring all at once, he was going to fetch the rest." Whereupon, being informed by him what his occupation was, I understood, "That he had made a contract with the said college to furnish me, every nine days, with a certain quantity of provisions for my house. Upon which I ordered him to take every thing away that he said he had bought for me, and bring no more to my house, till I should receive previous information, from the council for foreign affairs, how much I was daily to receive by order of the Bogdoi-Chan, and through whose hands I was to receive them.

Whereupon I sent to let the Mandarins (who were appointed to propose to the council what might regard me) know what had occurred with this man, who came, in the above manner, to bring me provisions on the part of the Bogdoi-Chan; and also that I should always most respectfully receive whatever the Bogdoi-Chan, from his friendship for his Czarish Majesty, should order for my subsistence, in case it was sent me in a proper manner; at the same time, desiring them to acquaint me with the particulars of what the court had ordered for my subsistence. Whereupon those gentlemen sent me the following answer: "That I should receive the same allowance which I had received before, during the residence of the envoy extraordinary at this court; and that they had already made an agreement to deliver my allowance regularly." I represented to them thereupon, "That I never had any separate allowance during the residence of his Excellency the envoy at Peking, having had the honour of eating always at the same table with him; that, for this reason, I could now receive nothing, until I should know precisely wherein it was to consist; and that, after I should know what the allowance was to be, I should desire them to pay me the amount of the same in money, which they were to pay to the purveyor." These gentlemen were not wanting in letting me know, "That I ought not so nicely to examine what the Bogdoi-Chan, without any obligation, had ordered to be given me out of his mere grace." But I assured them, in strong terms, in my turn, "That I absolutely would receive nothing on these terms; for I was very doubtful whether the Bogdoi-Chan was informed, that such a person was trusted with the disposition of what allowance he was pleased to order for me." This resolution much discomposed the gentlemen Mandarins, who had reckoned on supplying their own tables with my provisions; but, seeing how difficult it was to obtain their ends on this occasion, they at last delivered to me the following specification, and said it was what the Bogdoi-Chan had ordered for my allowance, viz. per day,

1 fish.	2 oz. of butter.
1 sheep.	2 oz. of lamp oil.
1 pot of tarassun.	$\frac{1}{2}$ gin salted cabbage.
1 fowl.	2 small measures of rice.
1 bowl of milk.	15 gin of wood.
2 oz. of tea.	

To my interpreter per day,

1 oz. of tea.	2 oz. of lamp-oil.
$\frac{1}{2}$ gin of flour.	2 small measures of rice.
2 oz. of butter.	8 gin of wood.

And every nine days a sheep.

To every one of my domestics per day,

1 $\frac{1}{2}$ gin of beef.	1 measure of rice.
1 oz. of salt.	5 gin of wood.

To a dragoon who was left behind by the envoy at Peking, upon account of some tapestries they were working for His Czarish Majesty,

1 measure of rice.	2 oz. of butter.
1 oz. of tea.	2 oz. of lamp-oil.
$\frac{1}{2}$ gin of flour.	5 gin of wood.

And every nine days a sheep.

By *laen* you are to understand ounces, and by *gin* pounds.

Upon delivering this specification, the Mandarins acquainted me, "That, as they were obliged to buy the fish, the fowls, the sheep, and the milk, for my provisions, with ready money, I might receive the value of those things in money; but, in regard to the other articles, I must content myself to receive them in kind from the Chan's magazines *."

Upon which I assured them, "I should make no objection, provided they did it in a decent manner, and not by unknown people, who marched off as soon as they had thrown it down in my court-yard, as they had once done." At the same time I demanded of them, "Whether I could still have the Chan's horses, to make use of them when I should have occasion, as I had during the residence of the envoy extraordinary." They answered me thereupon, "That I might certainly have the Chan's horses always; but then, as the stables of the Chan were at a considerable distance, it was necessary for me always to acquaint them of my intentions, the day before I intended to ride out; upon such notice, they would take care that the horses should always be ready at my quarters very early in the morning †." To avoid this inconvenience, and to avoid the being obliged to let them know every day where I would go, I took the resolution to buy six horses, and to keep them at my own expence, though forage was very dear at Peking. The guard that had been placed upon the envoy's quarters, during the time of his stay at Peking, under the command of a brigadier, remained still on the same footing after his departure, as did the two Mandarins of the thirty-seventh order ‡, together

* The Emperor of China receives the greatest part of the tribute of his subjects in the country in provisions and manufactures of the growth of the several provinces, which are afterwards distributed in kind to all persons in the service of this monarchy, and reckoned to them as part of their salary; so that all the gold and silver that comes into the treasury of the Chan, arises from the tribute of the cities, the duties inwards and outwards, the tolls of passengers, the mines of gold and silver, and fines or confiscations; all which together amount every year to immense sums.

† At Peking they always make visits in town on horseback. But the princes of the blood, and the grand Mandarins, are generally carried in litters on these occasions, attended with a numerous train of domestics.

‡ Every man appointed to any public charge or dignity in China, from the highest to the lowest, is called by the name of Mandarin; whence it comes that there are many orders, which are all distinguished, one

together with a clerk, to receive from me whatever I should have to propose, whether by word of mouth or by writing, and to make their report to the council of foreign affairs; and this appeared to me a very good omen.

The 9th, the brigadier of the guard of my quarters let me know, that the Bogdoi-Chan would return from hunting the next day, and that if I was desirous to go to meet him, he would give orders that the Mandarins should be ready to escort me with a guard of horse for the security of my person.

The 10th, I mounted on horseback very early to go to meet the Chan. When His Majesty saw me, he called me to him, and asked, "If I did not repine to be alone in a foreign empire, so far from Europe?" He further asked, "If I was well, and if I was contented?" Upon which, having with a profound reverence thanked His Majesty for my gracious reception, I assured him, "That I found myself perfectly well, and I could not but be well content with having the honour of residing at the court of so grand a monarch." After which His Majesty, having dismissed me, was carried in his litter to Peking, followed by a very numerous court*.

The 11th, 12th, and 13th, I notified to the Mandarins, solicitors in my affairs, "That, having several things to get made for the Emperor, my master, I should have great occasion for the money which divers merchants of Peking were owing to the Commissary Gufainikoff, who had been lately at Peking with the caravan of Siberia †; and I craved their assistance to facilitate the recovery of those sums, seeing the debtors had engaged themselves, before the envoy extraordinary, to pay me the same immediately after his departure." The Mandarins explained themselves very favourably thereupon; but our debtors, having got notice of it, retired into the country, which obliged me to leave this affair to another opportunity.

The 15th, the Bogdoi-Chan went to Czchan-zchumienne, which is a house of pleasure belonging to His Majesty, twelve ly westward of Peking, where he frequently makes his residence. But having observed, in his passing, that the triumphal arches, and other like ornaments, which are raised on his birth-day, on both sides of the grand road, paved with square flat stones, that reaches from Peking to Czchan-zchumienne, were not of the usual magnificence, all the ministry were disgraced for many weeks. Upon which the ministers, having instantly ordered the demolition of all that had been built, caused to be built up anew, from the palace of the Emperor at Peking quite to Czchan-zchumienne, a great number of triumphal arches, and of most magnificent columns, of an exquisite taste, all embellished with gildings, and festoons of all sorts of rich silks, of most lively figures and colours. At the same time, in several places, they

one from another, by difference of habits, characters, and figures, which are embroidered or sewed on their habits; inasmuch that, upon seeing a Mandarin, it may be immediately known of what order he is; because every Mandarin is forbid to appear in public without the habit of his order, under pain of the most rigorous penalties.

* The Emperor of China might be then in his sixty-ninth lunar year; but he was still very well disposed in body and mind, and was looked upon as a monarch of superior penetration and genius. The Fathers Jesuits, missionaries in China, had great influence with him; and he usually consulted them on all affairs of importance. He mounted the throne anno 1662, aged eight years, and died in September 1722.

† The prince, his third son, who already commanded the armies of the empire, succeeded to the empire; for the deceased Emperor had confined his two eldest sons in a close prison, some years before his death, upon some alledged attempts to rebel, true or false, and declared them excluded from succeeding to the empire. Nevertheless their brother set them at liberty, immediately upon his accession to the empire, and heaped favours on them, to make them forget the loss of their right which he possessed.

‡ They give the title of Commissary to those who have the direction of the caravans, which come from Siberia to Peking to trade.

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erected theatres of great beauty, where the most able comedians exerted their talents, in representing the most difficult and curious parts of their professions, accompanied with the grandest concerts of music, both vocal and instrumental, diversified with the amusements of dancing and feats of uncommon agility. All these entertainments being prepared, the ministers went in a body to the Imperial palace, supplicated the monarch on their knees, with their faces prostrate to the ground, that he would be pleased to admit them to his good graces, and that he would be pleased to send some, in whom he could confide, to examine their new structures*. But the Bogdoi-Chan ordered them to be told, "That he would see nothing of what they had done, and that he would never celebrate his birth-day at Pekin more, for that he was as much Emperor of China at Czchan-zchumienne, as he should be though sitting on the Imperial throne at Pekin †."

The 17th, I desired the Mandarins, solicitors for my affairs, to come to me upon business that regarded the council. Upon which they sent me word, that, one of them being ill, the other dared not to meddle in matters that regarded the council, without the participation of his comrade. This obliged me to wait the recovery of the sick Mandarin, and till I could see them both together.

The 18th, 19th, and 20th, I was willing to avail myself of the opportunity the sickness of one of my Mandarins gave me, to make some visits to merchants of my acquaintance, and to the Father Jesuits, hoping thereby to induce them to return my visits, and give me opportunity of knowing something of the commerce of this empire. But I found that they all received my visit with very forced civilities, and great reserve, particularly the merchants, who endeavoured to appear much occupied about other important affairs; so that, seeing it very difficult to bring them into my views, in the present conjuncture, I thought it best to postpone these sorts of visits to a more proper time. But they, not doubting that such a reception would occasion my making many reflections, let me know by a third hand, "That my visits should be always most agreeable to them, and that they wished, with all their hearts, to divert me every day better than the custom of their country permitted them; and likewise, on occasion, to come and see me, were it not for fear of the soldiers, who followed me every where, which prevented them.—For, in case they should not place the soldiers in the same chamber with themselves and me, and entertain them with every thing to their liking, they were capable of accusing them of having a clandestine commerce, of great importance, with me, or other suspicious negotiations, which would not fail of costing them considerable sums of money, and possibly might prove their entire ruin ‡." It is true, the Father Jesuits could

* The honours which they pay to the Emperors of China approach even to adoration; all those who have audience of him, being obliged to prostrate themselves three times before him, from which none are exempted, not even ambassadors, or other foreign ministers; Mr. de Simayloff, notwithstanding his quality, being obliged to go through that ceremony, as well as all others.

† The deceased Emperor of China held the great lords of China very cheap; for he very well knew, that, in their hearts, they bore the Tartar yoke very impatiently. Nevertheless, since the very severe executions he ordered in the beginning of his reign, he seldom punished with death the great Chinese Mandarins who fell into disgrace, contenting himself with condemning them to pay exorbitant pecuniary fines; which incapacitated them from doing any thing against his authority, whatever desire they might have to do.

‡ The princes of the house of the Tartars, who at present reign in China, have learned, at the expence of their predecessors, that they ought not to depend too much on the fidelity of the Chinese; for this reason, all the military of the empire is, in a manner, composed of Mongall Tartars, who, on that account, enjoy considerable privileges, which makes them very insolent and almost insupportable to the Chinese. And as the number of these Tartars were not deemed sufficient to curb the Chinese, considering the vast

could not alledge such fears of the soldiers of my guard as the merchants; their belonging to the court put them on quite another footing than the ordinary rank of people were upon; but they pretended that, as they were foreigners, they were obliged to act with great caution, in order to prevent suspicion*. This did not surprize me at all, in regard to a nation, the genius of which I had already had a tolerable knowledge of. The affairs I had to manage were of a very difficult nature, and in all countries the entering properly into such ought to be the principal care; but I, nevertheless, flattered myself, that this unpromising aspect, at my entering on my functions, would take a more favourable turn, as soon as the Bogdoi-Chan should receive the credentials I had from the Emperor my master.

The 22d, my Mandarins came together to see me, and to know what I had to propose to the council; upon which I requested them,

“ 1. To put the Allegamba, or president of the council for foreign affairs in mind, in my name, that they had let my credential, from the Emperor my master, remain in my hands beyond the usual time; and that I waited, through his hands, the order of the Bogdoi-Chan, to appoint when he would please to receive them.

“ 2. To acquaint the president, that I had resolved to hire a house for myself, near the quarters of the Russians, against the arrival of the caravan, to the end that the said quarters might be repaired, which, from age were gone to ruin, and might be entirely beat down by the approaching rainy season; that, unless this reparation be made, the commissary would not know where to lodge on his arrival at Pekin, except he would run the risk of having the merchandizes damaged.

“ 3. To demand for me a passport, with the necessary escort, for some baggage, left at Pekin, during the time of the ambassade, which I wanted to send out of hand to Selinginsky †.” The said baggage was some raw silk which I had bought on account of Mr. Nicolai Christizy, with cash and effects that he had left in my hands ‡.

The answer which I received immediately after from those gentlemen, contained in substance, “ That the Emperor himself having allotted that house for my quarters, no person would readily insinuate to him that I was not satisfied with it; and that, without a special licence from him, no person in all Pekin, were it even the Imperial Prince himself, would dare to let me a lodging, seeing it would thereby look as if the Bogdoi-Chan had not an inhabitable house for a foreigner.” To which I replied, “ That I made no doubt of so great a monarch's having houses enough for lodging as many

extent of the empire, the late Bogdoi-Chan found it necessary, in order to augment their number, to make a law, whereby all the Tartar Mongalls, men or women, who should marry with Chinese, were obliged to bring up their children according to the customs of the Mongalls, and to teach them the Mongalls language; and that, by means of this precaution, all those children should be deemed naturalized Mongalls, and enjoy the privilege of native Mongalls.

* This was but an excuse of the Jesuits, to prevent the visits of Mr. de Lange, whose residing at Pekin could not be very agreeable to them, as it was to act in the affairs of a monarch who had turned all the Jesuits out of his empire, and would suffer no other Roman Catholic missionaries, but the Capuchins, to reside in his dominions.

† Selinginsky is the last fortress belonging to Russia, towards the north-west of China. This town is in the country of the Mongalls, upon the east side of the river Selinga, thirty days journey from Pekin, in lat. 51. 30. The climate of Selinginsky is very mild, and the country about it is very pleasant. The Mongall Tartars did not accustom themselves to the cultivation of ground; yet every thing that is sown or planted there, thrives exceedingly.

‡ Through all Russia they use hardly any other silk but that of China, which is undoubtedly the best in the world; it being certain, that two pounds of Chinese silk will go as far in manufacturing as three pounds of either Persian or Italian silk.

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foreigners as he pleased ; but, that I was well persuaded, when the Bogdoi-Chan should be informed of the condition that house was in, he would not oblige me to inhabit it longer. Besides, that it was acting contrary to the common right, allowed by all the world, to restrain a person, in a public character, from hiring a lodging, with his own money, which might be commodious for him, without a previous application to the Emperor himself." They answered me thereupon, " That the usages in Europe were not practised by them ; and, as all the countries in the world had their particular customs, China had hers, which would not be altered on any consideration whatever." They also told me plainly " That they could not write to the council on this subject ; for that they knew of a certainty, that no person durst make the proposition to the Emperor."

Upon which having told them, " That, as the case was so, I must submit to remain there, till the impossibility of abiding longer may force me to have recourse to other measures." They of themselves proposed to me, " That the Chan might be petitioned to allot me other quarters, without alledging that my present quarters were in so miserable a condition." But, seeing I did not pretend to go out, but because it was in such a ruinous state, they persisted in saying, it was impossible for them to make the proposal to His Majesty on that footing.

The 23d, the aforesaid Mandarins came again to acquaint me, " That the president would consult the other members of the council upon my credential letters, and would put the Emperor in remembrance, when occasion should offer. But, concerning the sending away the baggage, I must have patience till after the Emperor's birth-day ; seeing the preparations for its celebration so fully employed every body, that nothing else was attended to, though of ever so great consequence."

April.

The 1st of this month, the Aloy, or master of the ceremonies of the Chan, invited me, by order of the Bogdoi-Chan, to come to Czchan-Zchumienne. Upon which I went there instantly. I was no sooner arrived, but I sent to notify the same to the said Aloy, and forthwith went to his apartment. I understood from him, that the Bogdoi-Chan had an intention to have admitted me that day to an audience, but other affairs had unexpectedly intervened ; he had ordered him to deliver to me a piece of the tapestry which they were at work upon for the Czar, in order that I might send it to Russia by an express, and acquaint the Czar, that what pieces remained to be made should be ready in three months *. I laid hold of this opportunity of the passports and convoy necessary for the piece of tapestry, to request of this gentlemen, " That he would be so good as to manage it so, as that, when His Majesty should give order for the passport and convoy for the piece of tapestry, I should at the same time be furnished with passports for the baggage above-mentioned which I had to forward ; and that he would please to be at the trouble of informing himself, when His Majesty would be pleased to receive my letters of credence from the Czar with which I was charged." Whereupon the Aloy desired me to remain at his lodgings, whilst he went to make the proposal to the Emperor ; and at his return, he acquainted me, " That His Majesty would, out of hand, give orders to the council, that they should furnish me with the passports and convoy necessary, as well for the tapestry as the baggage I wanted to send ; but that it could not be till after the birth-day." That, as to the letters of credence, he did not find it

* The tapestry of China is generally made of satin, embroidered with large figures of gold and silk, the colours very bright, but the designs not correct; they are not adjusted to furnishing of rooms, unless bespoke on purpose, or composed of many different pieces.

proper to mention it to the Emperor, it appearing to him that His Majesty frequently thought of me, and would not forget my letters of credence*, and gave me, in some measure, an assurance that the Chan would not long defer the receiving it. And then he made his excuses that he could not longer wait on me, being obliged instantly to return to the court.

The 2d, according to custom, the birth-day of His Majesty should have been celebrated, with the utmost magnificence, at Czchan-Zchumiennee; but, inasmuch as His Majesty was still displeas'd with his ministers, he only received the ordinary compliments on that occasion, without any other ceremony; after which every body retired to their own houses. I had, among others, the honour of paying my compliments to His Majesty on that occasion. That which appeared to me most worthy of observation at that time, was 3000 old men, the youngest of which was above 60 years old, which, by express orders of the Emperor, had been brought to Peking from all the provinces of the empire. They were all dress'd in yellow, which is the colour of the imperial liveries, and march'd in parade to Czchan-Zchumiennee, where they ranged themselves in the court of the castle, and had the honour of making their compliments to the Emperor; after which His Majesty distributed to every one, without distinction, four laen of silver, and sent them home.

The same day, the parson of the church of St. Nicolas, at Peking †, presented me with a memorial of some debts which he had owing him, by divers persons of that city, on account of the deceas'd Archimandrite, praying my assistance in the affair.

The 3d, having received from the council the necessary passport for the courier I was to dispatch with the piece of tapestry, I dispatch'd him, the same day, under the escort of a Chinese courier.

The 8th, some unknown people having enter'd my house, told me, by my interpreter, "That they had bought for me a certain number of sheep; but if I would not receive them in kind, they were ready to pay me half a laen of silver for every sheep." I return'd them in the same manner I did the former, letting them know, "That some person of the college, which had the direction of the Emperor's magazines of provisions, must come to me to show me those who were to bring me provisions." They attempt'd still, on several occasions, to bring in wood and other provisions in the same way to my house, without my being able to know who they were, or who sent them.

The 11th, I received the passport for the baggage of Mr. Nicolai Christizy, which I

* The late Emperor of China, notwithstanding his great age, had so extraordinary a memory, till a little time before his death, that a Flemish Jesuit, who is yet at Peking, recounted to one in the retiree of Mr. de Hmayloff, that, above 20 years ago, this Monarch having shown him a wood-pecker, ask'd him if there were such birds in their country; and having answer'd yes, he ask'd its name in Flemish. That, some time after the arrival of Mr. de Hmayloff, the Emperor, having cast his eye on such a bird, ask'd him then also, if such birds were in their country; and now answer'd, no, the Emperor ask'd him why he did not tell him the truth; and if he did not remember, that, at such a time, he told him there were such birds in their country; upon which the father Jesuit declared, that he had been so long out of his own country, that he really did not know whether there was or not. The Emperor was very merry upon the Jesuit's having forgot his mother-tongue; and told him the bird's name in Flemish.

† These of the Greek religion have but one church at Peking, but the Roman Catholics have three churches very magnificently built, where there resort, on Sundays and holidays, a number of people of all conditions, the Roman Catholic religion being tolerat'd there; but it is remarkable, that the men do not uncover their heads during divine service, because it is a mark of infamy among them to have their head uncovered; no women appear there, having a separate apartment in the churches. The late Emperor favour'd the worship of the Roman church to such a degree, that he order'd that all the sons of Mandarins, who made their studies under the direction of the Jesuits, should be oblig'd to go, all Sundays and holidays, to their churches, which gave great uneasiness to the Chinese Bonzes.

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dispatched two days after from Peking, under the escort of a Chinese courier. The president of the council letting me know, at the same time, "That I ought not to send many of those expeditions, as long as the new treaty of commerce between the two empires was unratified in the accustomed forms; seeing it was not understood that they consented to a continual passage by small caravans, which I myself sufficiently knew the reasons for, having assisted at all the conferences held on that subject."

The 13th, I learned that the Bogdoi-Chan was about to set out instantly for Iegchow, which is a town newly built, with a magnificent castle, without the great wall, 440 ly, or two days by post, eastward of Peking, where he usually passes the fine season of the summer in hunting, and other country diversions.

The 14th, I mounted on horseback to go to the president of the council; being arrived at the gate, the guard made me wait till they had acquainted him of my being there; immediately after which, he sent one of his servants to inform himself, "Whether I came purely on a visit, or had occasion to speak to him about business; and that in case I came about business, that I should communicate the same to his servant, that he might inform his master of the subject of it." I made my compliments to the president by the messenger, and told him, "That I came to pay a visit to his master; but as to the business I came about, that concerned the master, not the servant." After which, the same servant returning, told me, "That I would be welcome to his master*." Whereupon, entering into the court-yard, the president came out of his apartment to receive me, and having taken me by the hand, after some reciprocal compliments, he led me into an open saloon, where we sat down together, and were served with tea and milk, according to the Chinese manner. After some time, I desired that he would put the Bogdoi-Chan in remembrance that I had letters to present to him from the Czar, my master, and that I should be very glad to know if he would be pleased to receive them before his departure. He answered me thereupon as the master of ceremonies had done before, "That His Majesty was well informed of it, and would know himself when he would have time to receive them, without being put in mind of it; and that, if we should put His Majesty in remembrance of it, that would look as if he or I wanted to prescribe the time of doing it to His Majesty." I sought, by all ways possible, to engage him one way or other in this affair, but all in vain; and I was obliged to hold this for an answer; after which he added, "That, if His Majesty had resolved not to receive my letter of credence, he would not have consented to my residing at his court in quality of agent; and that Mr. De Simayloff having sufficiently explained the reasons of my stay in Peking, these letters could contain nothing very pressing." Upon which I replied to him, "That, in Europe, the monarchs were not accustomed, when the Czar wrote letters to them, to let such a length of time pass without receiving them; nor take it amiss, from their ministers, if they put them in mind of such important affairs; that I never expected such an answer in China; but yet, as it was what I could not remedy, I must bear it patiently, till such time as His Majesty was disposed to receive them."

The 16th, I mounted again on horseback to go to see the *alegada*, or first minister, in hopes of getting a resolution more favourable to my affair than I got from the president of the council. Being arrived at his house, I was indeed admitted to come into his court-yard; but as I had no desire to go into the rooms of his servants, I was obliged to re-

* In China, when they go to see a Mandarin, of what order soever, upon business regarding his office, the Mandarin is obliged to put on the habit peculiar to his order; upon failure whereof, he is punished in large fines.

main in the court till they notified to him my being there. He, like the other, sent a servant to me, to inform himself of the reason of my coming. To whom I signified, that I wanted the honour of seeing him, and of acquainting him with an affair which I did not think proper to explain to a servant. The same servant returned very soon to me, saying, "My master thanks you, Sir, for the trouble you have given yourself; he is very well; but it is not convenient for him to see you."

The 17th, I was again in his neighbourhood; and having sent my interpreter to him, to ask permission to see him for a moment, he sent me word, that it was impossible, because he was that instant going to His Majesty, and that he did not know when he should have time to speak with me. Whereupon, seeing this was an affair that could not be forced, I resolved to let it lie dormant for some time.

The 19th, I went to see a German Father Jesuit, who being an old acquaintance, and a friend of mine from my first journey to China, made no scruple of telling me, that many of the principal Mandarins of China much disapproved of the *Chien's* consenting to my remaining at Pekin*. But that, as there was no person in all the empire that was bold enough to dare contradict the will of the Emperor, unless they would expose themselves to very great danger, it was very probable they would, by degrees, accustom themselves to my being there†. He said to me also, that he had frequently sent his servant to me with his compliments, but that the guard at my door had as often turned him back, as a person who had no business at my house. Nevertheless, he did not think they would have been so untractable, if he would have given them a piece of money. He most strongly exhorted to take no notice of what he told me; for he would by no means appear in this affair. It was sufficient that I was informed by him, in order to take my measures thereupon when occasion offered.

There are at Pekin a great number of small merchants, or rather pedlars, who, as soon as they hear of any foreigners being arrived from Russia, or other parts, bring to their quarters all sorts of merchandize, which they get partly from the brokers, and partly from other houses, of different sorts of people, who may have any goods which they would be willing to dispose of; and it is often better to deal with these pedlars, for all sorts of curiosities, and for made silks, than with the shop-keepers; for which reason, I bid some of these people bring to my house, from time to time, what they should light upon most curious in its kind, whether in rich silks, or jewels, or other goods of value, to the end that I might acquire a competent knowledge of all the sorts of merchandize to be got in this city. Upon which they represented to me, that I might well believe that they sought nothing more than to gain a little money, it being their trade; and of consequence, they would not fail of doing as I desired them, if my house was occupied by different persons; because what goods were not liked by one might find a buyer in another, and so they might probably always sell something; but as I alone occupied the house, and had such a numerous guard at the gate, they did not know how

* The Chinese regard their ancient laws and customs as sacred and inviolable; and it is not to be wondered at that they with great reluctance suffer the residence of a Russian agent at Pekin; as it is directly contrary to the fundamental constitutions of the empire, which absolutely forbid the Chinese to go out of the empire, and the admission of foreigners to an abode in it.

† The frequent executions which the late Emperor of China was obliged to cause to be made, in the early part of his reign, in order to keep the Chinese quiet, occasioned such a dread in all the Chinese, that the greatest Lords of the empire could not approach his person without fear and trembling. Nevertheless, this Monarch was far from being a tyrant in reality, for he was a true lover of justice, and spared the blood of his subjects as much as possible. He had forbid, under the most severe penalties, the putting of a criminal to death, for what crime soever, unless he should confirm and sign the sentence of death with his own hand.

to do it; because, before they were permitted to enter my house, they were obliged to agree with the soldiers of the guard, how much they were to pay them on their going out; and, whether they sold any thing or not, they were equally obliged to pay the money they agreed to for the permission or entry.

The 20th, I sent to demand of the Mandarins, who had the care of my affairs, "If it was with their knowledge that the soldiers of the guard that were at my gate did not permit any person to enter my house without their giving them money?" They, in answer, let me know, "That they knew nothing of the matter; but they would not fail to make inquiry; and, if they found out the soldiers who through ignorance had done such a thing, they would put things in better order for the future." And I found that they had spoke to the officers of the guard, who told them, "They had strict orders to guard this house, and take particular care that the common people, who are generally very insolent, should not find means of coming into the court-yard to steal any thing; and, as they were to be answerable, they were obliged to use the precautions necessary to this effect." They came to report this to me, as an unanswerable argument. But I assured them, that, whenever the guard admitted people to enter my house during the day-time, I would not make them answerable for any robbery that might happen at my house, for that I had a sufficient number of my own servants to drive out of my court-yard any persons who should dare to come there without having business.

It must be observed on this occasion, that the Chinese have the custom of explaining themselves but once on one proposal; and, having once given an answer upon a matter, whatsoever it be, they always hold themselves upon this answer, as an infallible argument; so that, if you turn an affair into twenty different lights, to convince them by one means or other of their error, or to make them alter their sentiments, it is all lost trouble, they firmly holding by their first word. And it is a general rule with the Chinese, high and low, in all they have to do with foreigners; inasmuch that every time a proposal is made to them, which their interest or vanity may incline them not to approve, it may be certainly depended upon, that, after infinite disputes, you will be obliged to receive the first words, which they pronounced in the beginning for an answer, be it agreeable or disagreeable.

The 21st, I spoke with the brigadier of my guard about this affair, who is a person generally esteemed by all the people of merit in the empire; some years past he had filled the greatest posts of the state, but was disgraced and made brigadier, on account of the bad conduct of his brother. I can truly say, this is the most worthy man I have known in China, full of honour, reason, and probity; and the Fathers Jesuits agreed with me, that there was not his equal in all this great empire. He disapproved very much the conduct of the officers and soldiers of my guard; but he represented to me, at the same time, "That, having precise orders from the Emperor, that all sorts of the lower people should be prevented from entering or leaving my house at their pleasure, to the end that no insult might be offered me, he could not avoid giving the same orders to the officers of my guard; but, to prevent the abuse of his orders for time to come, he would come regularly twice a-week to my quarters, to have an eye on their behaviour." Which gave me opportunities of making a particular friendship with him; but neither mine, nor all the threats which the brigadier gave to the officers and soldiers on this head, nor the rigorous treatment he made them feel on several occasions, could get the better of the insatiable avarice of these military people, who look upon it as their right to exact contributions of those who trade with foreigners. In short, it would have become insupportable to me, to be at the mercy of the chicanes that this pretended guard of horse studied to vex me with every day, if I had not had the hope that my creden-

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dential letters would be very soon received; and that I should then be able to do my affairs with more satisfaction.

The 23d, my interpreter having met one of our debtors, he put him in mind of the promises he had made to Mr. de Sinayloff, and assured him, that, if he deferred satisfying me, he should be arrested, seeing this affair would not allow of more prolongation. Upon which, he promised to come to me, in two or three days, with his comrades, and to endeavour to the utmost of his power, not to come empty handed.

The 26th, two of these debtors came to my house with a Chinese merchant, who was their security; they told me, that one of their partners, named Dzhundzhan, who was indebted to us in 1400 laen of fine silver, died the year before. But, as I was apprised that three of them were firmly bound in such case, one for the other, which they could not themselves gain say, this sum must be brought to the account of the survivors. Of these two debtors which came to my house, the one named Dzehiborche was still in arrear 700 laen, according to what my interpreter said, but he acknowledged no more than 650 laen; the other, called Dzehib-langa, was to deliver 340 thun of kitaika * on the arrival of the next caravan at Pekin, and this by virtue of an obligation which he had given to the commissary Gufainicoff, payable to him, or order. I told them, "That, though I had not in my hands the obligation he had given to Mr. Gufainicoff, that need not hinder their paying the debt to me, if not all at once, at least by little and little, according as their abilities would enable them, seeing this money was to come into the treasury of His Czarish Majesty, and that, as soon as they paid the whole, I would give them an obligation of indemnity, which would make their obligations to Gufainicoff of no value †." Upon which they replied, "That they could not object to this expedient, and that, conformable to their promises to the envoy extraordinary, to give me entire satisfaction thereupon, they would not fail to do it, so as I should receive part of their debts before the end of the month." These promises continued, from day to day, without any part of them being fulfilled; and as I knew, by my own experience, that there are no where worse paymasters than in China, unless they can be compelled by force, I was obliged to fall on other methods.

May 1st, I delivered to my Mandarins two memorials on the subject of those debts, and the debts of the parson of St. Nicholas, desiring they would present them to the council, and communicate to me the answer which they should receive on them. The same day my Mandarins put into my hands eighty-two laen and twenty-six fun of fine silver; saying, "That His Majesty had ordered this sum to be paid me for the value of the sheep, fish, fowls, and milk, for two months past; and, for the time to come, every nine days, a clerk from the Imperial treasury would bring me twelve laen, and thirty-seven fun, in payment for the said provisions; and that the other allowances, which I was to receive in kind, should be likewise sent me by a clerk of the magazines from whence they were taken." So that all I should receive for my monthly allowance, in money and provisions, would amount, according to the current prices, to forty-eight laen; but they allowed no forage for my horses, which is a considerable article at Pekin,

* A sort of glazed cotton, kaledered and smoothed, which they make in China, of all sorts of colours, whereof they sell great quantities through all the northern Asia.

† The commerce between Russia and China is at present a monopoly belonging to the treasury of Siberia, no other subjects of Russia being to concern themselves in it, on pain of death, unless employed on account of the crown, though it is often evaded, by connivance of the Weywodes on the frontier places. By virtue of the last treaty, they can send no more than one caravan a year from Siberia to Pekin, which doth not consist of more than two hundred persons, instead of one thousand and more, which they amounted to heretofore, and which were subsisted at the charge of the Chan of China, whilst they were on the territories of China; but now they are to subsist upon their own charges.

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where forage is extremely dear. After which, during the rest of this day, the weather was very bad, a great deal of rain with mighty gusts of wind; the old house where I lodged could no longer stand the bad weather; all the wall of one side of my chamber fell, about midnight, into the court-yard, which made me very apprehensive for what remained. I was obliged to retire into an adjoining chamber, to avoid, in some measure, the danger to which I found myself exposed. As this chamber, though a sorry place, was very low, I found myself in less danger; besides it was not quite so old and infirm as the other.

The next day, the 2d of this month, I advertised my Mandarins of what had happened, praying them to cause immediate reparation to be made, if not of the whole house, of that apartment where I lodged at least. Whereupon they sent to assure me it should be done without loss of time.

But on the 4th, they changed their note, and let me know, that they could do nothing in it before the departure of the Emperor, seeing the college which had the care of the buildings were so much employed about the court, that they could give no attention to other affairs for the present. Whereupon I offered to repair it by people I would hire on my own expences. But they wanted to impose upon me in the price. And the Mandarins protested to me, that it was an affair that might be their utter ruin, if the Emperor should come to know that they had consented to my repairing with my money a house that belonged to him; but they assured me they should set to work upon it very soon.

The 8th, the Bogdoi-Chan departed for Jegcholl; and, having the honour to attend him, on this occasion, to fifteen ly from Peking, His Majesty asked me, "If I expected the caravan soon?" I answered thereupon, "That I had not received any advices from the commissary, but nevertheless I computed that the caravan might be at Peking in two months from that time." Whereupon he asked me, "If I would not come and pass the time with the court at Jegcholl?" I received such a gracious invitation with all due submission, promising to come to pay my devoirs to His Majesty at Jegcholl as soon as possible. But, on my returning to Peking, the governor of the city let me know, "That I could not follow the Emperor before His Majesty had sent the necessary orders to him and the council, to give me post-horses, and the escort of Mandarins, which I should have occasion for in this journey." In the mean time, I made several agreements with divers persons, for different sorts of japanned ware, which His Czarish Majesty wanted to have, which I could not get at the usual price, because those who supplied me with them were obliged to give a great part of what they gained on them every day to the soldiers of my guard, for the liberty of entering my house.

The 10th, my Mandarins being come to see me, one of them took leave of me; being, as he told me, named by the court to go, in quality of envoy, to the Delay-Lama †; and the other gave me positive assurances that, early the next morning, the workmen should begin to repair my quarters, and that they had already provided the materials necessary for that purpose. In regard to my two memorials, concerning the

* The late Emperor of China was extremely affable and gracious towards Europeans, more especially to those who excelled in any science. He was taller than usual for people of his country, and was known, either by his complexion or feature, to be of Tartar extraction; it was only to be observed, that his cheek-bones, under his eyes, were a little rising and prominent like the Mongalls.

† The Delay-Lama is the sovereign pontiff of the Kabnucks, Mongalls, and many other idolatrous nations north of the Indies. He is adored as a god by all these people, and by them believed to be immortal. He lives in a convent near the city of Potala, in the kingdom of Taugute, upon a high mountain south of the deserts of Xame, towards the frontiers of China. Vide Hist. Genealog. des Tartares.

debts above mentioned, he gave me for answer, "That the president would not receive them, not finding it proper to meddle with such trifling things, as he had beforehand told Mr. de Ifmayloff himself, that the council would absolutely not embarrass themselves with any affair of debts; that nevertheless he had ordered his mandarin to press the debtors to discharge their debts, in case they were in a condition of paying such sums."

The 20th, my mandarin coming, stopped at my gate, and, having learned that my apartment remained still in the same condition, he sent one of his servants to make his excuses to me, for not coming to see me; and that the great heat approaching at noon would, he feared, incommode him. But I desired him to be told, for my whole answer, "That I did not understand such a compliment, and that I wished with all my heart, that, in time to come, he would dispense with coming to my house at all." Upon this answer, he thought fit to come himself to me, and to complain much of the negligence of the college which had the care of the buildings, in not adverting to the repair of my house, notwithstanding he had wrote to them several times on the subject, in the most pressing terms. I demanded of him, "What he thought the Czar, my master, would think of such usage as he shewed me? and if he was not afraid that, in time, he might be made responsible for such treatment?" But he, laughing told me, "That there passed may other things with them, and of more importance than this was, without daring to carry complaints to the Chan; and he did not doubt but that it was the same at our court." Nevertheless, the brigadier of my guard, on being informed of the affair, went to the mandarins of that college, and threatened them with his going himself to acquaint the Emperor, that, by their negligence, they contributed to the diminution of his glory in foreign countries, if they did not, without further delay, cause my house to be repaired the very next day.

The 25th, at length there came workmen to put my apartment into an habitable state. The same day one of our debtors, named Dzchin-Sanga, brought me 50 thun of kitaika; but I saw no appearance of getting any thing from the others, they being very poor and indigent; and I perceived that the proceedings of our mandarin with them, tended more to get some little presents from them to himself, from time to time, than seriously to press them to the discharge of our debt.

In the months of June, July, and a part of August, there passed nothing material regarding me, either at the court or with the ministry; all those of any distinction being going to partake of country diversions. Wherefore, I shall fill this vacation by a faithful report of the observations which I could make, during my stay at this court, as well myself as by some of my friends, of the present state of trade in the city of Peking; but I must, at the same time, acknowledge to the reader, that there is much wanting to make the observations such as they ought to be, and might have been, if I had not been frightened, and if they had let me enjoy the means of informing myself thoroughly of things.

The people of Korea, who are tributary to China, come twice a year to Peking*, viz. in the months of March and August, to the number of forty or fifty persons, as

* Korea is a peninsula, eastward of the grand wall of China; it is contiguous on the west to the province of Leotang of China, and on the north to the eastern Mougalls. The Koreans are, from time immemorial, tributaries of China, who treat them very hardly, not permitting them any commerce with strangers. Nevertheless, they do not fail to come clandestinely with their goods, by the sea of Japan, to the river Amoor, and thence by the Naunds to the city Naun, to traffic with the Mougalls, and indirectly with the Russians.

well to pay their tribute to the Emperor as to carry on their trade; which consists principally of the following merchandises:

A sort of large paper, made of raw silk something like the large paper for wrapping up things in Europe. They make use of this paper in China for windows in place of glass.

Paper, with gold or silver figures, for hanging their chambers.

All sorts of large fans, of different fashions.

Mats very neat and fine, which they use in summer in place of mattresses.

Cut tobacco, very small, for smoking, much esteemed in China, and preferred to that of their own growth.

Striped cotton stuffs.

A sort of furs, which the Russes call chorky, and which they call colouk in Siberia; it is in great abundance in Korea; they sell a great deal of it in Pekin.

A sort of dry fish, which they get from a certain large shell-fish in the sea of Japan.

It is with these commodities that they trade; and although they may, in a manner, be considered as the same nation with the Chinese, and in some degree their subjects, yet they do not enjoy the least liberty during their abode at Pekin; all communication and conversation with foreigners being absolutely forbidden them, and much restricted with the Chinese themselves; inasmuch, that the Chinese are not less suspicious of them than of any other nation whatsoever. As they cannot make by their trade any thing to a considerable amount, they generally bring with them to Pekin large sums in silver, in Spanish pieces of eight, and in Dutch dollars, which are looked upon in China as inferior to the fine silver of China, which they call the Chan's silver, by 5, 6, or 7 per cent. which shews, that the inhabitants of Korea have some trade with the islands of Japan, or, at least, with the islands lying between Japan and Korea; although it is absolutely forbid the inhabitants of that country to have the least communication or commerce with other nations, or to admit foreign ships into their ports; having, for that end, a mandarin always residing in Korea, to have an eye on the proceedings of that nation. With this money they buy at Pekin,

The finest raw silk.

A sort of damask, called by the Russes goly, and by the Chinese couly-toanza, that is, damask of Korea; because, at first, the Koreans alone bought that sort of damask.

A sort of stuff mixed with silk, fit for linings, called by the Chinese fanfa.

Tea and china-ware.

All sorts of dishes of white copper, for household use.

Cotton.

They likewise buy the tails of fables, to border their caps, and the collars of their robes.

It is likely that they trade into other parts with the silk and damask, which they carry from Pekin, seeing they take away much greater quantities than the consumption of their own country can require.

When there is no Russian caravan, nor any of that nation at Pekin, they quarter those of Korea in the habitation appointed for the Russes; but when there are Russes in this city, they give the Koreans other quarters; for this reason the Chinese call this house Ccuty Coanne, or magazine of the Koreans, when it is occupied by the Koreans; and Urussa Coanne, or magazine of the Russes, when occupied by people of that nation.

When the Koreans, whether deputies from that country or merchants, arrive at Pekin, there are two mandarins forthwith named to go to their lodgings to observe who

goes in to them, or comes out from them; and to examine the cause of their coming, and how they became acquainted with the Koreans: they likewise place guards all around their quarters, to prevent any person from having private access to them. When any of this nation go abroad, upon any affair, the guard follows them every where, with large whips, to prevent any person from joining them in the street; and they dare not go to see any person without permission of the guard. As the inhabitants of Korea are not used to ride on horseback, and are afraid to mount a horse, for fear of accidents, they give them a guard of infantry, who have no other arms, when they are in garrison, than their whips. Besides all these steps, full of suspicion, they fix, at their quarters, an edict of the court, signifying, that all persons whatsoever are forbid to enter their house without the knowledge of the mandarin, deputed for that purpose, who, after examining them as to what they have to do there, takes notice of their names, and sends a soldier into the house with them to observe what passes. It is a very profitable commission for those mandarins who are deputed to guard the Koreans; for they always farm the privilege of trading with them to that company of Chinese merchants who offer the most money for it, which sometimes amounts to a considerable sum; and it is by no means permitted to any other merchants, besides the members of this company, to trade, for that time, with the Koreans.

The Chinese have not, in a manner, any trade with the Indies*, excepting of some small dealings they may have on the frontiers of the neighbouring states: but it was impossible for me to get to the knowledge of what those trades consisted in; for, among a thousand people of the inhabitants of Peking, it is rare to find one person who hath the least knowledge of any thing that passes without its gates. It is true that the Chinese do carry on trade, sometimes at Bengal, to the Philippine islands, to Batavia, and even to Goa; but that is not brought about but by stealth, by the connivance of the mandarin governors of the sea-ports, obtained by means of a round sum of money, without the knowledge of the court; besides it is absolutely forbid, to every subject of the empire, to go into foreign parts, upon what occasion soever, without a permission, or an order, from the Emperor or the government †.

The Bucharians come also to Peking, but without observing any stated times ‡. They bring large round cornelians, of a very good colour, which they barter with the Chinese

* China is separated from the country of the Great Mogul by sandy deserts, impassable for merchants; and the other provinces of India by mountains, which are very difficult to pass, and in a manner hinders all commerce between these two empires.

† The greatest part of the Chinese, who are dispersed in several places of the East Indies, for the sake of commerce, are the posterity of those who left China when the Mongall Tartars made themselves masters of that empire; and they have no other than clandestine communication with their Chinese countrymen. They are easily known by their long hair, which is natural to them; instead of which the Chinese, subjects to the Tartars, are obliged, under pain of death, to cut their hair short like the Kalmucks and Mongalls, who have all their heads shaven, except a tuft of hair on the top of their head, which they preserve of the natural length of their hair.

‡ There are two Bucharias, the Great and the Little. The Great Bucharia is situated between Persia and the country of the Grand Mogul, about the 40th degree of latitude. This is the country of the Usbeck Tartars, who are Mahometans. The Little Bucharia is situated to the east of the Great, and extends to the frontiers of China, on the side of the desert Xame, and kingdom of Tibet, which is there confined to the south; this last is subject to the Koutaytha, Grand Chan of the Kalmucks. The Bucharians are a particular nation, which have no connection either with the Mahometan or Pagan Tartars, nor with any other people of those parts. They do not know themselves whence they draw their origin. Nevertheless, they make profession of the Mahometan religion. They occupy the towns of the two Bucharias, and only employ themselves about their commerce. Those of the Great Bucharia carry on their trade in the dominions of the Great Mogul in Persia, and in Siberia, and are tributary to the Chan of the Usbecks. Those

nese against damasks, kitaika, tea, tobacco, china ware, and silver. They string these on small silken lines, in the manner of beads; and they are worn by mandarins of the first orders, when they appear at court, or in the colleges, in their habits of ceremony, wearing one row of them about their necks, which hangs down on their bellies. They bring also musk, rough diamonds, and many other sorts of precious stones, but, as I was informed, of no great value, because it is rare to find, among the Chinese, any who will risk the laying out a considerable sum for a fine stone. The Chinese polish these stones, after their own fashion, in order to make them proper for ornamenting the heads of the fair sex.

I had no opportunity of being acquainted with any of this nation, not being allowed liberty sufficient for that end; and, on their part, they dared not run the risk of coming to my house, for fear of the guard at my gate; so that I cannot give an exact account concerning them.

They also bring to Peking gold dust*, which the Chinese buy commonly at the price of five, six, to seven laen of silver per laen of gold-dust, because it is unrefined; they assure me that it is very fine when purified, and is then equal to the gold of the Chan.

These Tartars dwell in the provinces of Chamill and Turfan †, under the protection of the Emperor of China, in consideration of a moderate tribute, which they pay him annually. In return, they buy at Peking,

Hides of Russia to make boots.

Fox-skins, red and brown.

Squirrel-skins, white and gray.

Beaver-skins.

Sables, and other furs.

Kitaika.

Cotton, like the woollens of Europe, of which they use part themselves, and sell part to the Kalmucks ‡, their neighbours. They also take,

Tea,

Tobacco,

And

Those of the Little Bucharia trade into China, into the kingdoms of Tibet and Tangut, and with the Kalmucks and Mongalls their neighbours; these last pay tribute to the Kontaytha. The Bucharians have many customs and ceremonies, much like those of the Jews; nor is their dialect, physiognomy, and size much unlike them; which may give occasion to many reflections.

* The gold which the Bucharians bring to China comes from the high mountains which separate the dominions of the Great Mogul from the Grand Tartary. All these mountains abound in rich mines of gold, but none of them are wrought; nevertheless, they make considerable gains annually, by the great quantities of gold-dust which the mighty torrents, formed by the rains in the spring, along with the snow melting, bring down with them into the neighbouring valleys: for the inhabitants of these mountains, together with the Kalmucks, who encamp with their cattle in the adjacent plains, come afterwards to gather these grains of gold, in the pits which the torrents have made in their passage, and barter them, with the Bucharians, against all sorts of small things for which they may have occasion in their way of life.

† The provinces of Chamill and Turfan are situated to the west of the Desert of Xame, towards the 40th degree of latitude. They make a part of the Little Bucharia, and have been subject hitherto to the Kontaytha, Grand Chan of the Kalmucks; but a few years since the Chinese, joined by the Mongalls, have possessed themselves of it, after having driven out the Kalmucks.

‡ The Kalmucks occupy a great part of the Northern Asia; they are divided into three principal branches, under one sovereign Chan, whom they call the Kontaytha; they have no fixed habitation, but always live in tents. Though the Kalmucks are indisputably the bravest of the Tartars, they are, nevertheless, desirous of living peaceably, contenting themselves with the subsistence which their cattle can afford them, and do no harm to any, unless they are hurt by them; but when once irritated, they become irreconcilable enemies. Their religion is that of the Delay-Lama.

And of the smallest China-ware ; of all which in pretty large quantities. Besides the goods I have above specified, I know of no others which they bring to Peking.

The most valuable furniture of lacered ware, viz. cabinets, chairs, tables, baskets, and other things of that sort, as also the richest porcelain-ware, come from Japan*. For, when the Emperor sends any person to Japan, in public character, most of the princes and great men of the court, seldom fail to engage him to bring them some of those things at his return. Sometimes they find means to bring these things into China clandestinely ; but that is very seldom. This is the reason that the commodities of Japan are not always to be had at Peking, unless a man would pay an exorbitant price ; nevertheless, they are found there sometimes reasonable enough ; because seldom a year passes that the Emperor doth not amerce some or other of the great lords in very considerable fines, which obliges them to raise all the money they can on their moveables and immoveables ; and whoever hath money lying by him, doth, on these occasions, lay it out to great advantage, and buy the most curious and valuable things for little money †.

After the lacered ware of Japan, that of the province of Fokien is looked upon as the best ; but none of it comes to Peking, because the great lords of China oppress the merchants to a great degree, and take their goods from them, upon many frivolous pretences, without leaving them the least hopes of ever obtaining any payment. For this reason, all merchants, and others of any lucrative trade, at Peking, have fallen into the custom of putting themselves under the protection of some one or other of the princes of the blood, or other great lords, or ministers of the court ; and by this means, with the assistance of a round sum of money, paid annually to their protectors, they are able to get clear of the extortions of the mandarins, and sometimes of those of the common soldiers : for without such a powerful protection, a merchant must be an undone man at Peking, where every one thinks that they have an undoubted right to form pretensions upon a man that lives by trade. And if any of them are so imprudent as to attempt obtaining satisfaction, by the way of justice, they fall from bad to worse ; for the mandarins of justice, after having drained from them all they can, seldom fail of ordering the goods taken from them unjustly, to be brought to the college ; but he must be a cunning fellow, indeed, who shall be able ever to get them from thence.

They have at Peking a people dexterous enough at lacering, but their works fall short of those of Japan and Fokien, which may be attributed to the difference of climate ; and it is for this reason that the lacered work made at Peking is always much cheaper than the other. Nevertheless, the lacered work made at Peking infinitely exceeds any work of that kind made in Europe.

The ships which arrive every year at Canton from England, France, Holland, Denmark, and other parts, generally bring the following sorts of merchandize.

Silver of different coins.

All sorts of fine cloth.

Camblets.

* All merchandize of Japan is contraband in China, which is the reason they cannot be brought into Russia, with the caravans from China, at least without very great risk. The small quantity of Japan goods, which are clandestinely brought into China, being kept very private, and paid for at very dear rates by the Chinese themselves.

† It seems to be a favourite maxim, adopted in all the eastern courts, to wink at the vile practices, and rapacious impositions, of the ministers ; and when they have well plucked and drained the substance of the people, the prince then squeezes them dry for his own use.

Woollen

Woollen stuffs.

Fine Holland linen.

Standing clocks and watches.

Looking-glasses of all sizes.

Mathematical instruments.

Etchings from England.

Pencils.

European paper of all sorts.

Different sorts of millinery wares.

Some sorts of European liquors, especially wine.

A good part of those merchandises are distributed in presents among the mandarins of the government of that city; of the rest, the European merchants generally make a very considerable profit. They employ the silver these bring in purchasing divers sorts of goods, by virtue of an agreement made before hand: they carry away with them from thence;

Raw silk.

Damasks wrought according to draughts furnished to them.

Wrought silks.

Lacquered ware.

Tea, green and bohea.

Badians, a seed having a taste much like aniseed.

Canes, and China-ware, made according to models given them.

They also sometimes bring away gold, but very seldom, because they generally get it cheaper in the Indies. They also find at Canton pretty valuable stones, except diamonds, but not in any great quantities.

They make the best silk broades of China, that are brought to Europe, in the provinces of Quantung and Fokien.

The silver which they bring from Europe to Canton is received at the same rate as that brought from Korea to Peking; and they have the advantage of buying their goods at Canton from 30 to 40 per cent. cheaper than they could do at Peking.

The last year, there arrived at Canton a French commissary, belonging to the new India Company established in Paris*, who obtained leave of the court to reside there for time to come; but when he wanted to dispatch the ship laden with merchandise, he met with so many obstacles at the custom-house, and from the government, doubtless to draw more money from him, notwithstanding he had already made sufficient presents, that at length, despairing to see an end of these impositions, he gave orders to the captain to weigh anchor and depart, in spite of those people; which was done as he desired. But he was obliged, to avoid being very ill treated on this occasion, to take the Chinese habit, and to retire to a convent of Dominicans, at the distance of two ly from Canton †, where he kept himself incognito, till such time as the French Jesuits at Peking had found means, by the force of presents, to obtain liberty for him to appear openly, with two or three domestics, and remain there till the court should otherwise direct; on the condition that he and his servants should wear the Chinese habit. Nevertheless, I was afterwards informed, that the mandarins of the government of Canton let no opportunity escape them of chagreening him, inasmuch, that he found

* The Mississippi Company.

† There are many Roman Catholic convents in China, which, in the time of the late Emperor of China, had much the same immunities as the convents in Europe enjoyed. No person durst enter but with the consent of the religious of the convent, unless by express order of the Emperor of China.

himself obliged to re-embark the first opportunity that offered itself. They also had the last year at Canton a frigate from Ostend, bearing the Emperor of Germany's colours.

For the rest, they carry to China from Europe, and bring back from China, a very great variety of toys, and different sorts of curiosities, upon which they make a very considerable profit; but these are so numerous that it is not possible to furnish a complete specification of them.

In regard to our commerce with China, it is at present in a very languishing condition; and nothing in the world would bring more prejudice to our caravans than the commerce which is carried on at Urga*; for from this place there is brought monthly, and even weekly, to Peking, not only the same sorts of goods which our caravans bring, but of a better quality than those brought by our caravans, and in so great quantities, that the merchandizes which the merchants of Peking, who go continually between Peking and Urga, to trade with our people, and the goods which the lamas of the Mongalls † bring from their parts, amount every year to four or five times as much value as the caravans that come to Peking in the name of His Czarish Majesty. And I have been informed, by those who have been employed by the great men of Peking to buy their provision of furs at Urga, that there they can buy finer, and more valuable black fox-skins, than they have ever seen in our caravan. I must add besides, that these great quantities of our merchandizes brought from Urga to Peking, do considerably lower the prices. The merchants of Peking and the lamas of the Mongalls, who bring them to Peking, are always capable of affording them four or five per cent. lower than the commissary of the caravan can, of which the reader will be easily convinced, if he gives attention to what I am about to lay before him.

The Russ merchants, and all other people that come and go continually between Selingsky and Urga, buy their goods where they find it most convenient; instead of which, the commissary is obliged to receive those he brings with the caravan, out of His Majesty's treasury, from sworn appraisers of the treasury, who often set so high price on them, that they find it difficult to sell them at half the price valued at to them. Another advantage which those who go to trade to Urga enjoy, is that they make the journey thither in ten or twelve days; and beginning their traffick immediately on their arrival, they are ready to return in two or three days after; in place of which, the commissary, after having been at considerable expence, can with difficulty enough get to Peking in three months; and when he gets there, they keep him shut up six or seven weeks, according to the maxims practised by the Chinese hitherto; in consequence whereof, the abundance of merchandize of Russia arrived at Peking obliges them still to spend several months in getting quit of theirs: and as by the last treaty, they are obliged to maintain themselves, and all those belonging to the caravan, at their own proper expence, all these circumstances cannot fail of occasioning a very material difference in the balance of their trade. For, before they began to trade at Urga, a caravan, how large soever, was all sold off in three months, at the prices set by the commissary himself. Moreover, all the Chinese who traded at that time with us became rich; instead

* The camp of the Chau of the western Mongalls, who are tributaries of China, is called Urga. This prince encamps on the right of the river Selinga, about 500 versts south of Selingsky, towards the frontiers of China; and though he doth not always encamp in the same place, yet he seldom quits this country without indispensable necessity. By virtue of the last convention of the frontiers, the Russians of Selingsky might freely come to Urga to barter Russia hides, and the coarse woollen cloth of Siberia against cattle; but as, under this pretext, they brought great quantities of valuable furs, which they sold against the merchandises of China, this clandestine commerce much injured the trade of the caravans of Siberia.

† The priests of the western Mongalls, and the Kalnucks, are called lamas;—there are different orders.

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of which, all those who have traded with us since that time have traded to their own loss, and may be deemed at present quite ruined. The expences of a journey to Urga are very trifling; for they can buy at Selinginsky as much provision for ten roubles as will serve ten persons for a month; in place of which, ten roubles will hardly serve them a week at Pekin. Besides, those who go into China to trade are obliged to buy forage for their horses, &c.; in place of which, those who go to Urga to trade, put their horses to graze, without costing them a farthing. The Chinese merchants, on their side, who come to Urga, are likewise at much less expence than the commissary; because they buy at Pekin, and the towns through which they pass, tea, tobacco, rice, and other grains, ordinary damasks, kitaika, and other like merchandise, at a very low price; which they barter on the road with the Mongalls, against horses, sheep, and, in a word, all sorts of cattle; insomuch that, as the private merchants make both their journey, out and home also, with infinite less expence than the commissary of a caravan, it cannot be otherwise, than that they can buy and sell their merchandise on much better terms than a commissary can, who is obliged to remain, with a number of attendants, in a city where living is so dear as at Pekin, a longer time than would serve a merchant at Selinginsky for making four or five journeys to Urga. In fine, when the caravan returns to Russia, they find, after such great expences, that the quantity of Chinese goods brought to Russia by private traders, is so very large, that they must sell theirs at a very moderate price. All these circumstances well considered, it is easy to comprehend that upon closing the accounts of the caravan, the profits cannot, at this time, be much more than the disbursements. But to return to our journal.

August.

The 14th, I received a letter from Commissary Istopnikoff, dated from the river Tola*, 29th of July; by which he desired me to prevail on the council for the affairs of the Mongalls† to send him an assignment for 2000 laen of silver upon the custom-house of Kalchanna‡; offering to return the same (for which he had pressing occasion, for the necessities of the caravan,) as soon as he should commence his trade at Pekin; and he added, that the same favour had been formerly granted to Commissary Oskolkoff.

The 15th, I went to the council, and having spoken of this affair with the askinamma, or vice-president, he promised to consult the registers of the council upon it, and to write directly about it to the president at Jegcholl, and that he would communicate his answer to me.

The 17th, having sent my interpreter to the council to know if they had come to any resolution on this affair, he brought back the following answer.—“That they had indeed found in the registers, that the council had formerly advanced money to the commissary; but that the trade was an object of so little consequence with them, that they did not think it merited the council's being incommoded with proposals of that sort.”

* Tola is a river in the country of the Mongalls, which comes from the east, and enters the river Orchon about 250 versts south-east of Selinginsky. By virtue of the new regulation, the caravans of Siberia, who go to Pekin, ought to enter on the territories belonging to China upon their passing this river.

† The council for the affairs of the Mongalls at Pekin is a college, who have the care of every thing regarding the nation of the Mongalls, as well those who are the hereditary subjects of the Emperor of China, as also those who are only under the protection of this empire. This college, at the same time, enters indirectly into the cognizance of all the affairs which regard the powers who border on China, from the north-east to the west, whence it comes that they are the court who have most to do of any in China.

‡ Kalchanna is the first Chinese city, within the great wall, that you come to, in the road from Selinginsky to Pekin. It is here the duties, inwards and outwards, are paid by the Russians, as also for great part of the country of the Mongalls.

The 18th, a mandarin came to me from the council, and notified to me, that His Majesty, calling to remembrance my being at Peking, had given orders to the council, that I should be escorted to Jegcholl by a mandarin, and some of the military.—Whereupon I answered him, that I would be ready the next day, with my interpreter and two domestics, if they would take care to provide the relays which I should want for the journey.

The 19th, all being ready for the journey, I left Peking very early in the morning.

The 21st, I arrived at Jegcholl, and repaired forthwith to the court; and having found the chamberlain of the Chan, who is generally an eunuch*; I prayed him, according to the custom of the country, to inform himself, on my behalf, of the health of the Bogdoi-Chan, and to inform His Majesty of my being there; upon which His Majesty did me the favour of sending me a salver covered with all sorts of new fruits, which were followed by another charged with divers sorts of meat from his kitchen; he ordered me to be told, at the same time, that he sent me those for my refreshment, and that I would do well to keep my chamber the rest of the day, to recover my fatigue from the journey. The same evening, some of the Father Jesuits being come to see me, told me that the alegada had resolved to propose to the Emperor to make the caravan encamp in the desert, near Kalchama, till the court should return to Peking; supposing that so many of the court, and the greatest part of the people of distinction, being in the country, there would be nothing to do for the caravan at Peking; and that they believed that he would not fail of requiring from me an order to the commissary, for that purpose. It was easy to see, that what determined the minister to take this resolution, was nothing else but his apprehensions that the presents he expected to have from the commissary, if he should be at Peking at the time of his arrival, might, if he was absent, fall into other hands. But, as this was a design that might be attended with very bad consequences, and might have been the cause of the loss of men, as well as the horses belonging to the caravan, by being exposed to the extremity of cold and famine in the deserts, I became obliged to use all my efforts to render this intention of the minister abortive.

The 22d, being to go in the morning to court, the Emperor sent the master of ceremonies to require of me passports for some mandarins which were to pass the frontiers of Russia; but as I could well penetrate the grounds of their errand, I thought it my duty to refuse the passports demanded. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all my excuses which I could muster up, to exempt me from giving them, the master of the ceremonies came to declare to me, in the clearest terms, the next day, which was

The 23d, “That the Emperor was, at one time, resolved to send those people away, whether I would give them passports or not; but that I ought to consider, that in such case, I might expect an absolute denial to every thing which I might have to propose.” Which convinced me, that it was absolutely necessary for me, on this occasion, to conform to His Majesty’s pleasure, if I would retain the least hopes of succeeding in my desire of opposing the designs of the minister. For this reason,

On the 24th, when the master of the ceremonies came again to speak with me on this affair, I put into his hands a letter, addressed to the officers commandants on our frontiers, in the form he desired to have it; to which I joined the condition, that our caravan should not be hindered from coming to Peking directly; and that our commis-

* All those who serve in the chamber of the Emperor of China are eunuchs, and are either Chinese or Mongalls; the Chinese nation being not less jealous of the sex than other eastern people; but the Mongalls, and generally all the Tartars, are not very liable to this malady.

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fary should, on his arrival at Pekin, immediately be at liberty to begin his commerce, without being shut up for a certain time, as had at some times been practised. The master of the ceremonies promised to speak to His Majesty about it; who had not only the goodness to give his consent immediately, but he, at the same time, gave strict orders to the president of the council, that he should take special care that no person whatsoever should go about in any manner to interrupt the commissary in his business.

The 25th, a Portuguese Father Jesuit, called Father Maurano, came to me, and told me, "That there was a person of quality, who by him, made me an offer of 10,000 laen of silver, till the arrival of the caravan, which I might employ in what manner I thought proper; and that this Lord was very much scandalized at the disobliging answer I had received from the council of the direction of the affairs of the Mongalls, in regard to the 2000 laen of silver which I had required of them for the necessities of the caravan."—Upon which, pressing him to let me know who this Lord might be, he told me, "That he was indeed forbid to let me know who this person was; but that he would nevertheless, in confidence, own to me that it was the ninth prince, son of the Chan, who made me this offer *."—Thereupon I did not omit testifying to him how I was touched with the generosity of a prince to whom I had never the honour of paying my devoirs: adding, "I should never forget the good will which His Highness was pleased to show me on this occasion: and that I should all the days of my life retain the same sentiments as if I had received his generous offers."—But the Father Jesuit having remonstrated, "That the prince might possibly think himself offended if I should refuse his offer altogether;" I was obliged to accept of 1000 laen of silver †.

The 26th, I paid a visit to the Father Jesuits of the French nation ‡, where I found the president of the council, who let me know, by the mouth of these fathers, "That he was come from receiving the Emperor's orders, which were so favourable to our commerce, that there is no instance of the like liberty having ever been granted before in China."—I answered him, through the help of those fathers, "That I had no reason to doubt of the punctual execution of His Majesty's orders, since he had the goodness to charge the governor-general of Pekin with them; whose indefatigable zeal for maintaining a good understanding between the Bogdoi-Chan and the Czar my master, was sufficiently known to me."—Whereupon he caused me to be told, "That he was not a man capable of receiving presents from foreigners, for doing them a service, as many others did in such cases; and that a step of that kind would entirely prevent him from ever having the liberty of speaking to His Majesty again in favour of any

* The late Emperor of China had seventeen princes born of his several wives and concubines. There were three present at the first audience of Mr. de Ismayloff, who were all very well proportioned, having fine complexions, and black eyes, well formed, without the least appearance of the deformities of the Mongall nation.

† There is an appearance as if this was a snare laid for Mr. de Lange, to render him suspected by the Emperor of China, who, in the design which he had then formed of leaving the succession to his third son, could not fail of taking umbrage at the least false step which the agent of Russia might happen to take on this occasion, which might induce this Monarch to consent to his being sent away, which was probably the whole aim of this intrigue.

‡ The Jesuits had great ascendancy on the late Emperor of China; and as the present Emperor hath been under their hands, it ought not to be doubted but he is likewise well affected to them, whatever may be reported to the contrary. At the first audience of Mr. de Ismayloff, the Emperor being seated on the throne, had on his left, as the place of honour, at three paces distance, a little advanced into the hall, three of the princes his sons; and on his right, a little more advanced, the Jesuits belonging to the court; at five paces behind them, a little more advanced, were placed seven Mongall princes of the Imperial house; and then, on the two sides of the hall, the ministers and grand mandarins of the court, all sitting cross-legged, according to the manner of the Tartars. By a remarkable distinction it may, in some degree, be comprehended how much these good fathers were in favour with the Emperor.

person whatsoever, should it come to His Majesty's ear; but that, nevertheless, he believed he might reserve to himself the privilege, when he should come to our house to buy any thing, of being treated more favourably than others in the price."—Upon which I assured him, "That we should always know to treat him with proper distinction in such a case."

The same day, I desired the master of the ceremonies to make my most humble acknowledgments to His Majesty, for the gracious reception which he had been pleased to honour me with, during my stay at Jegcholl, and to pray his permission for my returning to Peking; because I apprehended the caravan would soon arrive there. He came, some hours after, and informed me that His Majesty intended, the last day of this month, to go upon a party of hunting in the desert, some leagues from Jegcholl, and that I might lay hold of that opportunity of taking leave of His Majesty, and of returning to Peking. He added, that His Majesty had likewise ordered the governor of Peking to go thither, and deliver to me the tapestries he had caused to be made for the Czar.

During the rest of my stay at Jegcholl, my table was furnished daily, the same as the first day of my arrival, from His Majesty's kitchen. And they showed me all the buildings and gardens of this charming place, which is certainly worthy to be the delight of so grand a Monarch, and is infinitely superior, in beauty and magnificence, to the palace at Peking or Czchanzchumniene.

The 31st, I had the honour of attending His Majesty when he parted from Jegcholl; and, on this occasion, he had the goodness to ask me, "If I enjoyed my health?" After having answered with all the respect due to so gracious an inquiry, he said to me further, "That he thought he observed some alteration in my countenance, and that I ought to take care of my health."—After which he gave me permission to return to Peking, after having, by the master of the ceremonies, let me know, that if the caravan had not been so high, I should have had the honour of accompanying him to the party of hunting*.

The 3d of September, I was returned from my Jegcholl journey, being three days on the road.

The 7th, I sent my interpreter to Kalchanna, to the commissary, with 1500 taen of silver.

The 10th, I acquainted my mandarin, that, as the caravan was at hand, it was most necessary that the house should be repaired, that I might not continue under apprehensions of the merchandize being damaged, for want of sufficient cover during the rainy autumnal season. But he continually refused me the liberty of getting it repaired of myself, under the promise that he would take care to get it repaired before the arrival of the caravan. But seeing one day pass after another, and nothing done, I went, on the 15th, to the president, to pray him to give orders for repairing the house, at the least, not to oppose my doing it at my own expence—But his answer was, he would instantly hire the workmen, and it should be repaired in one day. And these promises were daily repeated, as well by my mandarin as by the president, till, at length, the commissary arrived with the caravan at Peking on the 29th. As it rained very hard during the whole day, the commissary found, at his arrival, that there was no place where he, or any of his people,

* Hunting is the favourite employment of the Tartar pagans. And one may gather the inclination of the Tartars from the pleasure and assiduity with which the late Emperor of China followed the chase; nevertheless, he mixed much of the politician with his favourite passion; for going every year a-hunting, escorted by a body of the army, consisting of fifty or sixty thousand men, completely armed, and generally travelling 100 leagues in this manner, this Monarch thereby inured his courtiers and his troops to the use of arms, and to fatigues, and prevented their falling into the soft and indolent manner of living peculiar to the Chinese.

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could be covered from the rain; and he was obliged to let all the baggage of the caravan remain in the court-yard, without being able to secure one single parcel. As soon as the caravan was entered into my court-yard, they reinforced the guard at the gate, and posted centinels all around the house, to secure us, as they said, against thieves; but, in reality, to prevent our commissary's having any opportunities of trading with any person whatsoever, till such time as they should receive the merchandises, which they might pretend to have occasion for His Majesty and the court. Besides which, they ordered two mandarins, with a clerk, to remain in our house, to take good care that no merchandise was sold on credit, and to note down exactly the names of all that should come into, or go out of our house; what goods, and how much they bought, and at what price.

In the beginning of October, I sent again to the council, on the subject of the repair of our house. Upon which they let me know, the 6th, by a clerk, that the president had sent a courier to His Majesty, to be informed if His Majesty would be pleased to have our house repaired by the treasury, or if it was our business to repair it; the Emperor, by virtue of the last convention between the two empires, not being obliged to furnish any thing to our people. Whereupon I patiently waited till the 12th.

The workmen came at length to make the reparation so often promised; but it was done so negligently, that when they made an end, there was little alteration for the better. The commissary employed the rest of this month to unpack the goods, that he might put every thing in order against the time he should be permitted to begin to trade. In the meanwhile, we were visited very assiduously by four mandarins, who pretended to be deputed from the court to receive the merchandises for His Majesty, demanding from the commissary, an exact specification of all the goods brought by the caravan, that they might choose what was necessary for the service of the court. They were answered, "That they need not expect that the commissary would give them a specification of all he had in the caravan; but that, if they had any orders of the court for us, they ought to produce letters of credit, addressed to me or the commissary; or at least, to let us see a specification of the goods wanted, signed by the master of the wardrobe of the Emperor, whereupon they should know if such goods were in the caravan or not." But these gentlemen would not quit their demand so, alledging, "That they must go according to the customs observed in times past, when the commissary of every caravan had been obliged to give such a specification to those deputed by the court to receive the goods from him; that they did not intend to be served at this time as they had been with former commissaries, when the court got goods of but indifferent quality, after the best goods had been disposed to private persons; that, to this end, they should be careful to examine all that the commissary had brought, and that they would take what they wanted, for the court, out of the best they could find, particularly fables, at three taen per pair, as usual." The commissary, seeing these people pretend to insist on his giving them goods at such an under price, craved from me the protection of the Czar, our common master, alledging that he had fables which cost him twenty or thirty roubles the pair; and that it was easy to comprehend what market he should make with the rest of his goods, if he should be obliged to sell the fables at such a losing price. Upon which I made the deputies understand, "That the merchandises of the caravan did not belong to the commissary nor to me, and in case they did, it was not to be supposed that we should credit them at all, at least without their bringing a specification in form, signed by the person who hath the superintendance of these affairs at court. But that did not signify, they had only to bring their money, and when the commissary had shown them the goods, he would see if he could agree with

with them." These gentlemen seemed to take offence at this answer. Nevertheless, they engaged at last to bring such a specification; but they deferred it from one day to another. In the mean time, they made use of all their cunning to prevail on us to deliver them, at an under price, all the goods they thought fit to take.

The 1st of November, having sent my interpreter to the council, to desire them to admit the commissary to the liberty of trading, they let me know, in answer, "That it was impossible to do it before the deputies of the court had received the goods they had to receive for His Majesty."

The 4th, I spoke of this affair, not only with my mandarin, but also with the Kientu, or mandarins appointed to our house, to the end that they should dispose those people to give us their specification, in order to end this affair. The same day I went to meet His Majesty, who was returning from the hunting, and met him on the 5th at eighty ly from Peking, at the hot-baths of Tangzchang. His Majesty told me, "That he had received news from Europe, that His Czarist Majesty had made peace with Sweden, by the mediation of the Roman Emperor." After which he asked me, "How long the caravan had been arrived?" Upon which I answered, "That they were, indeed, since the 29th of September, at Peking; but the commissary had not yet got permission to trade." Upon which His Majesty, dismissing me, went to the bath.

I must, on this occasion, acquaint the reader with the custom of this empire, in such circumstances as this of the deputies above mentioned. All the mandarins that are charged with any commission of the court, be it to subjects or foreigners, are named and dispatched by the ministry. When such commission is finished, these people are obliged to make presents, not only to the ministers, but also to the princes of the blood, to the end that they may not give them too much trouble, and that they may keep something to themselves. They have no cause to fear that the people, with whom they have to do on these missions, will find access to the ministers, or that ever a serious inquiry will be made into their conduct; which is so true, that no person will readily undertake to make complaints of their tricks, because there is no reparation to be expected. No person can carry his complaints directly to the Emperor, but they must absolutely be made by the ministers, or those who hold the first office of the palace, or the chamber of His Majesty; and these gentlemen are so closely linked to the interests of the other great lords of the empire, that whatever party the fullerer may address himself to, he will certainly remain the dupe of the affair.

The same day, the deputies endeavoured again to get some goods from us, while the specification might be made out; but their design did not take effect.

The 9th, I spoke again to the mandarins of the council concerning our caravan; but I could get no other answer, but that this affair regarded the deputies of the court only.

The 14th, when I would have gone out myself to the council, the guard, at our gate, stopped me, under pretext that the four mandarins, deputies from the court, had ordered, that no person should be suffered to go out till the goods, which they ought to have for the court, were first delivered. Though I passed in spite of the guard, I was nevertheless obliged to return without doing any thing, as the president was not in the city.

The 15th, I sent my interpreter to the council to receive the resolution of the president, upon what I had represented the day before; and as he found him not there, but was told he was at home, he went thither to speak with him, and brought me the answer following: "That the president would take care that this affair should be ended out of hand; that, to this end, it was nevertheless necessary, that the commissary should

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put a reasonable price upon his goods." He desired further my interpreter to tell me, that, at this season, he was rarely at home, because he was obliged to be all day long at Czchanzchumniene attending His Majesty; that, when I should have any affair to propose to him, I should communicate the same, by my interpreter, to the mandarins of the council, who would not fail making him the necessary report immediately.

The 16th, the deputy mandarins having made up, according to their own fancy, a specification of merchandises to be received by them for the provision of His Majesty and the court, they came to present it to us, in order, by means of this imposition, to get a large parcel of goods from us.

But the 17th, this specification being translated into the Rus language, we found that the quantity of merchandise which they demanded was much too large to be agreed to. For which reason, it was asked of them, "From whom this specification was sent to us; and who made it out?" Upon which, after many turns and tergiversations, employed to no purpose, they were at length forced to acknowledge that it was of their own forming; it being their opinion, that such a quantity would be wanting for the use of the court. But in making this avowal, they did not fail to make the commissary apprehend, "That he need not flatter himself with a liberty of trading with any person, before they should receive all that was contained in the specification."

The 18th, the *alegada* being come to our house to buy some goods, I besought him to remember the promises which His Majesty had been so good to make to Mr. de Ifmayloff on the subject of freedom of commerce, seeing that by the course which affairs took at present, it looked as if they were entirely forgot. But he gave me for an answer to all, "That it was an affair that did not in the least regard him, and that I had none but the council to address myself to*."

The 22d, I sent my interpreter to the council with a memorial on the subject of this affair; but the mandarins he found there refused to receive it, under the pretext, that they must have before hand the orders of the president thereupon, and know from him whether they should receive it or not.

The same day the four deputies, being come to see us, gave us to understand, "That the usual time of keeping the commissary at home being nigh finished, they were come to commence a trade with him, and to know how much he demanded for each sort of merchandise, to the end that, after they had finished their bargain with him, they might then declare our house free for every body to enter." Whereupon I demanded of them, "Who could have authorised them to shut up, in the manner usual with slaves, for any time, the subjects of so potent a Monarch as was the Czar my master?" But these gentlemen, not finding it proper to answer so ticklish a question, contented themselves with saying, "That it would be well for the commissary to resolve to give them the merchandise they required, and that at a reasonable price, unless he would, out of wantonness, involve himself in expences which would much exceed the profit he thought to make by his obstinacy; and that, in the situation he was, being obliged to feed his people at his own expence, he acted directly contrary to his own interests, not to close affairs with them." Thereupon I desired to know, "If they had orders to

* In China all is done by the disposition of different colleges, to whose cognizance the affairs may belong: it not being permitted to address the court directly upon any affair whatever. In the time of the last Chinese Emperor, these colleges were so absolute, that, on many occasions, the Emperor himself dared not meddle with their decrees; but since the Tartar princes have been in possession of the throne of China, they are not much regarded; witness the exercise of all sorts of foreign religions publicly authorised, and the allowance of a Russian agent at Pekin, agreed to by the sole good pleasure of the Emperor, in opposition to the remonstrances of his ministers, and to the constitution of the government of China.

prefs us, in so violent a manner, to deliver them the merchandises." Upon which they answered, "No; and that they were come to deal with the commissary, but that he must let them have the best goods at such prices as the court always paid." The commissary, to make his last effort, offered them merchandises, of the same quality as those which the court had received at other times, without advancing the price; but that did not close the affair. They went away, being, they would consult together, to see if it was feasible for them to augment the prices of the goods above that which the court had always given.

Soon after they came from the council to inquire for my interpreter, to communicate to him the answer of the president concerning my memorial. Upon which I sent him directly with the said memorial, no way doubting, but after what the president had himself told him, it would be received at once. But on his return, he acquainted me, that the president had ordered a mandarin to let me know the answer, which I wrote, word for word, from the mouth of my interpreter. "I applied to the allegamba on the subject of the memorial of the agent, and he not only forbid us to receive the said memorial, but also charged me to tell the agent that which he had formerly told Mr. de Imayloff, viz. that commerce is looked upon by us with contempt, and as a very trifling object; that the agent himself was not ignorant that we had long refused to admit the present caravan, and most certainly should never have consented to its admittance into China, if His Majesty had not suffered himself to be persuaded to it, at the reiterated instances of Mr. de Imayloff." That the Allegamba had, at the same time, added these words: "These merchants come here to enrich themselves, not our people, which is easy to be seen, because they pretend themselves to fix the price of their own goods, that they may sell them the dearer. For these reasons, go tell the agent, that we shall not only refuse to receive the said memorial, but that, in future, he need not give himself the trouble of proposing any thing to us that may be relative to commerce, because we will not embarrass ourselves hereafter with the merchants of Russia." Whereupon our confinement continued much the same as before; inasmuch, that it was only permitted to the domestics of the first minister, of the president, and a clerk of the wardrobe, to enter our house, which they did very frequently, and in all appearance to spy what passed in our quarters, in hopes that we should be obliged, at length, to submit our trade to their discretion.

The 25th, I understood that the brigadier, who, till that time, had the charge of the guard at our house, was restored to the good graces of the Emperor; and that His Majesty had made him Grand Marshall of the court, with the command in chief of the army which this monarch keeps in the country of the Mongalls*. Whereupon I repaired immediately to his house, to pay my compliments; and having found an opportunity, at the same time, of acquainting him with what had passed regarding the four mandarins deputed from the court; he gave me his word that he would go to court that day, to inform himself circumstantially of that affair; and that afterwards, he

* The Mongalls are Tartar Pagans, who dwell to the north of China. They are divided into two branches, of which the first is that of the Eastern, or of the Northern Mongalls, or the Nicuchu, who inhabit towards the coast of the sea of Japan, between the river Amoor and the Grand Wall; these are the natural subjects of the Tartar house which at present fills the throne of China; and are the very people, who, in the last century, made themselves masters of China. They are brought up in extreme gross idolatry; and have in a manner no religion. They, for the greatest part, dwell in towns and villages, and apply themselves to agriculture. The second branch is that of the Western Mongalls, otherwise called Calchies. These last are only under the protection of China, without being entirely subjects, having their own proper Chan. They live in tents, and subsist by their cattle, without cultivating their lands. Their religion is the worship of the Delay-Lama.

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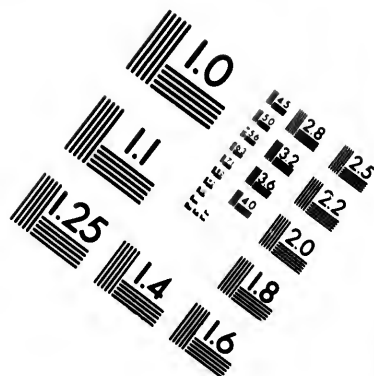
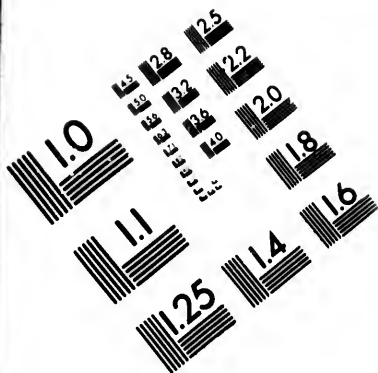
would order them to receive what might be absolutely necessary for His Majesty and the court without further delay. He, at the same time, seemed to be extremely surprised at the conduct of his brother the allegamba on this occasion.

The 27th, the first minister being come to our house, told me, "That he understood the interdiction on our house was not taken off, and desired me to acquaint him with the cause of it." Upon which I made answer, "That I had for a long time, endeavoured to find it out, but I could find no person who would seem to know it. Nevertheless it must, in time, be cleared up, seeing it was a notorious injustice to keep a caravan shut up so long, that came upon the faith of treaties solemnly ratified." He replied thereupon, "That the court, for a long time, resolved to admit no caravans, because all the merchants, who had traded with the Russes, were reduced to the lowest ebb, by the very great quantity of Russ goods which were at present in China; that it was on the very strong instances which Mr. de Ismayloff had made, as well to the court as to the council, offering, for this purpose, that the commissary and his people should subsist, for the future, at their own expence; that, in the year 1711, the court had admitted the present caravan; that the commissary, so far from having any regard to these circumstances, refused now to take the usual prices, that he had demanded him for the merchandize which the court had occasion for, and insisted upon a very high price for them; that he wished I would bring the commissary to reason in this affair, and let him know the result." Upon which I told him, "That I had no business to do with putting a new price on goods which the commissary had in commission; that it did not depend on me, as it was the commissary who was to account for the goods with which he was entrusted, who would not permit any other besides himself, who sold them, to set a price; that, as to what regarded the admission of the caravan, it was stipulated long before Mr. de Ismayloff's arrival at Pekin, and there could not the least alteration be made in it, without shaking the foundations of the treaties concluded between the two empires; and supposing any alteration was to be made, it could not be done but by mutual consent, and after deputies appointed for this purpose by the two empires, should have examined this affair to the bottom, and made a new plan of convention." This answer seemed to nettle the minister, who broke up the conversation, and ordered the commissary to show him some goods.

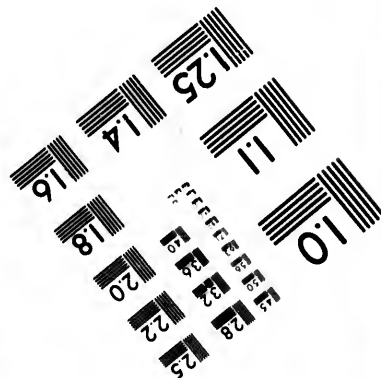
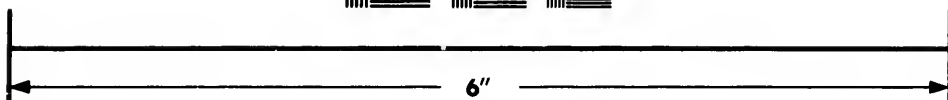
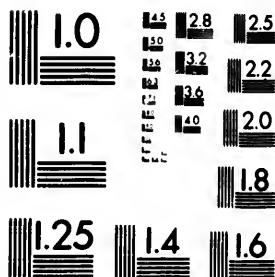
December, the four mandarins deputed from the court, finding, at length, that we rather chose to have our confinement continue, than to submit to their unreasonable pretensions; and that, on the other hand, the Grand Marshall of the court interested himself strongly in our favour, and would absolutely have an end of this affair, the interdiction on our house was at last taken off.

And the 2d of this month, the council made publication, that it was permitted to all persons to come and trade with us; but they used one piece of chicanery, which hurt us much, and really kept off all the merchants; for when they perceived the merchants began to resort to our house, they made known to them, "That no person should carry out the least thing, of what they bought at our house, without showing it first to the four mandarins-deputies, to the end that they might take what they found proper for the use of the court." This notification took away from the merchants all desire of trading with us, seeing they were assured of being great sufferers if they were obliged to pass through the hands of these greedy mandarins; which made me acquainted, more than any thing else, with the misery of the profession of a merchant in China, who are obliged to depend on the discretion of mandarins and soldiers, who have none. But the Poyamba or Grand Marshall of the court, having been informed of it, had the goodness to remedy this new grievance, ordering the mandarins not to take any thing





**IMAGE EVALUATION
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for the use of the court, from any other person than from the commissary. For this purpose he sent at the same time, his steward with them, to the commissary, to tell him, "That he came with them, by order of his master, to see how much, and what sorts of merchandises these gentlemen would take, to the end that they might make him an exact report." Whereupon they were shown the goods; but they acted so much upon the reserve, in presence of this man, that they took in all but a very middling parcel of goods. Nevertheless, this did not prevent their repairing every day to our house, to take from the Chinese merchants what goods they thought proper. And the more to counteract our trade, the ministry had represented to the Emperor, that there had been brought, during many years, from year to year, into His Majesty's magazines of fur, a much greater quantity of fables than were necessary for the consumption of the court; and that, as this quantity augmented annually, it was better that His Majesty should order some of them to be sold, than to let them lie and spoil.

The 12th, 13th, and 14th, many Chinese merchants, and other persons from the great houses, and ordinary people of Peking, having come to our house, ventured to buy some squirrel skins, and other goods of small value, in order to discover the true designs of the mandarins who kept themselves at our house; they did not oppose them until they had fixed their bargains; but when the bargains were concluded, they signified to them that they were not to carry out any of the things they had bought, till they should choose the best of what they had for the court.

The 15th, as they were apprised at the court and council that we had begun to trade, they published that they would sell, at reasonable prices, 20,000 fables, out of the fur magazines of the Emperor; whereupon all those who had begun to trade with us went to supply themselves there; some for fear of the chicanery of the mandarins, others in hopes of buying cheaper there than with us. In short, they sold, by what I could afterwards learn, the best fables at two one-half laen, middling at one one-half laen to one, and the least at 90 fun; but these were not Siberia fables, but those of the Tonguses*, under the dominions of China, taken about the border of the river Amoor†, of which they furnish annually a quantity to the magazines of His Majesty. The country whence these fables are brought is called Solloni.

The 16th, I was informed that, notwithstanding the court had consented to a free commerce between the two nations, free of all duties, the mandarins belonging to our house had given the strictest orders to our guard, not to let any the least thing of any kind be brought into our house, without producing a billet from them; and such a billet cost them 30 zschoffes, which makes about four fun. But those who would have free ingress and egress to our house to trade, were obliged, once for all, to make a fixed agreement with them, either for a certain limited time, or for the whole time we might stay at Peking; upon which they received a billet, which entitled them to come into, and go out of our house, as often as they pleased. All those who refused to pay in this manner for the freedom of entry into our house, were sent back, as people who came to our house to borrow, or perhaps steal on occasion.

* The Tonguses are a Pagan people of the north of Asia, who are very probably the descendants of the Tartars. They occupy a great proportion of the eastern parts of Siberia; and some branches of this people extend themselves even to the southern banks of the river Amoor. The last party of the Tonguses is subject to China; all the other Tonguses are subjects of Russia. Vide *Histoire Genealog. des Tartars*.

† The river Amoor is one of the largest rivers in Asia. It takes its rise in the country of the Mongalls, near the river Selinga, and running from thence eastward, it makes the frontier of these parts between Eastern Siberia and the Oriental Mongalls; and after a course of more than 300 German leagues, it discharges itself into the sea of Japan, in lat. 44 degrees north.

The 17th, my mandarin being come to see me, I told him, "That I was very glad to learn that the court had also begun to enter into trade, which they had before looked upon as so contemptible a thing with them, that they always reproached us with the little importance of it; that, since His Majesty had given such authentic marks of the esteem he had for commerce, I hoped that, in time to come, they would speak of it with more circumspection." Whereupon he replied, "That it was not with a view of interest that the Emperor had ordered the fables to be sold that I spoke of, but that the sale was made purely because, having so great a quantity of them in his magazines, he thought it better to order them to be sold, than that they should lie there till rotten. I thereupon told him, "That if, at the court of His Czarish Majesty, and in his empire, they could make use of all the furs which the country furnished, they would probably see very few of them in China." After which, I demanded of him, "If it was with the knowledge of the Emperor that the mandarins placed at our gate, sold to the people, who had business with us, permits of passage in and out, and absolutely denied entrance to our house to those who would not pay for those permits?" I would likewise be informed by him, "What was the meaning that the four mandarins, deputies of the court, were continually in our house?" His answer to which was, "That the Emperor knew nothing of it, nor did any person dare to tell him of it; the Alegada having given them leave to sell such permits, as a small casual profit; that, as to the mandarin deputies, they were ignorant of the consequence of what they did." Whereupon I told him at the conclusion, "That I did not comprehend why the ministers were so averse to us in every thing, even to the refusing to see us, or receive our memorials; that I wished, with all my heart, that they should not carry it so far, as to oblige me to carry my complaints to the person of the Bogdoi-Chan direct; and further, that I asked nothing but what was conformable to treaties, and that, if the treaties were to subsist in their full force between the two empires, there was an absolute necessity to hear what I had to say, and to give such resolutions as they should think proper, upon the memorials which I should, from time to time, present them on the occasion."

The latter end of this month, His Majesty made a tour to Caifa, which is a palace, with a fine park, some lys to the south of Pekin, where he passed some weeks; which was the occasion that nothing remarkable passed, during this time, between the ministers and me.

The 15th of January 1722, the guard at our gate refused entrance to some carts of hay which my people had bought, because the peasants had not billets of passage, and they would not give any thing to the soldiers; and notwithstanding I sent to advertise the mandarins, and officers who commanded the guard at our gate, of this insolence of the guard, they, notwithstanding, drove away the peasants with their hay. I complained of it to my mandarin, but to little purpose.

The 16th, after having received the news of the perpetual peace concluded between His Czarish Majesty and the Ottoman Porte, I caused *Te Deum* to be sung in the church of St. Nicolas, and celebrated the rest of the day in festivity.

The 2d of February, and according to custom, I offered some presents to His Majesty on the new year, which is a ceremony that must be observed by every person vested with any public character, unless he would expose himself to a general censure. His Majesty received my little presents very graciously, and presented me, in return, with some of all the sorts of game he had taken at the hunting the last autumn*, and of a

* The Mongalls, and other Pagan Tartars, have a particular method for drying all sorts of flesh, by the air and the sun, which entirely prevents their perishing; by which means they keep wild-fowl from one year to another.

good number of sheep; and it is in this manner that His Majesty is accustomed to regale annually, at the close of the year, those people of his court that he would distinguish.

The 4th, which is the last day of the Chinese year, the court ended the year with a feast, which was very short, because His Majesty was but just recovered from a fit of illness which he had laboured under. On this occasion, I had the honour of sitting over against His Majesty, at some distance from the throne; and this place is a little below the seat of the princes of the blood, but above that of the mandarins of the first class. The feast being finished, and His Majesty retired, the master of ceremonies came to tell me, that I might be dispensed with coming the next day, being new year's day, to court, to pay my compliments to His Majesty, seeing it was the custom of the princes of the blood, and mandarins of the empire, to be all ranged in the court of the castle that day, every one according to his rank, where, as I was a foreigner, I could have no rank.

The 14th, the first minister gave me and the commissary a dinner. On which occasion there passed nothing remarkable, unless that he asked me, "If I was not to return with the caravan?" Which made me think they had already settled this affair at court, I answered him thereupon, "That it did not depend on my pleasure to leave the court, where the Czar, my master, had sent me to reside, till he should recal me."

The 18th and 19th, His Majesty caused the celebration of the feast of Lanthorns, which had been annually celebrated, at the court of China, for above 2000 years. This feast was solemnized at Czchanzchumienne with great magnificence. During the grand entertainment, which was that day at court, they represented all sorts of plays, and other diverting shows; and at night, they exhibited grand fire-works; which, joined to so many illuminations, and to the prodigious quantity of lanthorns, adorned with figures, and diversified with all sorts of colours, caused a surprising agreeable view, during the darkness of the night*. They placed me, on this occasion, the same as they did the last time at Pekin, at the distance of some paces from the Emperor's throne.

The 20th, being returned to Pekin, some of the principal of the Korea merchants came to see me; but when they would have entered my apartment, some of the soldiers who accompanied them opposed it; and they narrowly escaped the lash of the soldiers' whips, who had lifted them against those merchants. Upon which I presently ordered them to be kept, by our people, in the court before my house, to wait till the merchants should go out of my house. And I, at the same time, gave order to understand, that they, for the future, would do wisely not to make use of the whips at my house. After which, the merchants indeed entered into my apartment, but dared not make any stay there, for fear of being insulted by the soldiers that escorted them †. The civility with which I received them, and to which they had not been used with the Chinese,

* The Chinese are accustomed to be at a very great expence at this festival, in fire-works and in lanthorns, having lanthorns that will cost them 10,000 laen, and upwards. The fire of their rockets is also remarkably beautiful. The variety and liveness of their colours surpasses the European performances so much, that we are obliged to own they excel us in these performances.

† The Chinese being accustomed to treat the inhabitants of Korea with great roughness, and having prohibited them all correspondence with foreign nations, it is not to be expected that they should relax their hard treatment of them for the sake of a minister of the court of Russia; which is, as it were, the only power who could support the inhabitants of Korea, if they should ever be desirous of throwing off the Chinese yoke; seeing that, by the river Amoor, the Russians could fall down into the ports of Korea, without a possibility of the Chinese hindering them. And it is not impossible but this conduct of Mr. de Lange might have been one cause of the court of China's sudden resolution of ordering him to leave the country.

made them have a desire of being more acquainted with me. For they came again on the 22d, before my house, but the guard at the gate refused them entrance.

During the month of March, we continued our trade, as much as the mandarins and soldiers of our guard would permit. There passed nothing else remarkable, unless that the commissary having sent a clerk of the caravan towards the deserts to see in what condition the horses were, which were left there in their way to Peking; he reported to us, that they were all in very bad plight; and that, if we did not out of hand send money, that they might be put into stables, there was danger of the greatest part of them dying.

The 6th of April, I sent my interpreter, at the desire of the commissary, to the mandarins which were placed at our house on account of the caravan, and let them know, that the commissary being obliged to send one of his people with money towards the desert, in order that the people who had the charge of the horses of the caravan should be enabled to put them into stables, he would, for the greater security, have occasion for some soldiers, or some others, to escort this man; and I prayed their care of this affair. Whereupon they returned me answer, that they would make their report to the council; for without their orders, they could do nothing in it.

The 7th, two mandarins, accompanied by a clerk, came to bring me an answer from the president on this affair; and it being wrote on a sheet of paper, they read the same to me in the following terms:—"The Allegamba having been informed yesterday that you wanted to send a messenger again towards the deserts, could not but imagine that it was for some other business than that of horses, that your people made such frequent journeys between the deserts and Peking; this gives him reason to think that, by the help of the Mongalls, you carry on a secret intelligence between this city and Selinginkky, which may give birth to complaints and threats between the two empires; for he is not ignorant that the Mongalls are a people capable of engaging in such affairs, and that the Russes do not grudge money on such occasions." I asked them thereupon, "Whether this answer was from the Allegamba, or whether it was their own composition?" Upon which they assured me, that they wrote it, word for word, the same that the Allegamba gave them; and that it was for the same reason he would not consent to the sending the person, as desired.

After this explanation, I thought necessary, for my greater security, to desire them to acquaint the Allegamba on my behalf, "That the precaution he took was not right to take, unless with prisoners, or unless he had any intercepted letter to produce, by which he would convict me of having sought to embroil the two empires; that bearing, as I did, a public character, I might write as often as I pleased, without having any occasion either for the escort or the consent of the president; and the same, if I had a courier to dispatch for my private affairs, as he could not prevent it without an open violence." I sent forthwith my interpreter to the council, with the mandarins, to know the determination of this minister. But he sent me word, that he had no desire to employ the horses and the people of the army of the Emperor his master in our service, on journeys which must cause them to be at expences for which they were not furnished by their ordinary pay. Upon which I made him the proposal of being ourselves at the expence of the people for the escort which he should grant us, and that we would also mount them on our own horses, that they might have no occasion for the Emperor's; or if that was still more satisfactory, I would only demand a passport, and would run the risk of sending one of our own people without an escort. But he continued firm in his denial, and would not allow of one or other of the expedients, contenting himself with letting me know, once for all, "That he would do nothing in it."

it." I learnt, at the same time, from my interpreter, that they had reasoned among themselves, on this occasion, in much the following manner: "These foreigners come here with their commerce, to encumber us every moment with a thousand petty affairs, pretending that they ought to be favoured, on all occasions, no more nor less than if they laid an obligation on us; and yet we are still to receive the first answer from them no the subject of our affairs."

The 16th, I understood that, some weeks ago, the Tush-du-Chan of the Mongalls*, who encamped at Urga, had brought complaints to the court of the ill conduct of the Rufs merchants who came to Urga; and that he had, at the same time, advertised the ministry, that there never had been so great a concourse of Rufs and Chinese merchants at his residence, as in this year; that, thereupon, His Majesty had taken a resolution to send a mandarin, with orders to the Chan to chase out all the merchants, as well Ruffes as Chinese, from Urga, without letting it appear that it was done by order of His Majesty, but that it should appear as the proper act of the Tush-du-Chan, as master of his own country.

The same day, a courier, who was lately arrived from Selinginsky, with dispatches from the mandarin who resided there, told my interpreter, that the intendant of Selinginsky had tendered several packets of letters that came from Russia to this mandarin, in order to be forwarded to the council of the affairs of the Mongalls at Pekin; but he refused to receive them, because the intendant could not acquaint him with their contents.

The 4th of May, two mandarins of the council, accompanied with three clerks and two officers out of our guard, being come to my apartment at eleven o'clock at night, informed me, that the Allegamba, being returned from court, wanted to speak with me on an affair of consequence; and, because he was employed during the day-time, from morning till night, he prayed me to give myself the trouble of coming to him, though it was late at night. I was a-bed when the message came to me; however, I made no difficulty of rising, to comply with this minister's desire; the more, as the mandarin assured me that the business he wanted to speak with me about was a very pressing affair. When I came to his house, I was received with remarkable civility; and the Allegamba being come in person to meet me, even to the court, he led me to his apartment, and desired me to sit down by him. He then began to make excuses, that, in so long a time, he had not been able to see me at his own house, or in other places; but that he supposed I was not ignorant that he was obliged to be every day, from morning till night, with His Majesty at Czhan-zchumniene. Upon which I replied, that his excuse was unanswerable, and that I commiserated his being obliged to pass his time in so fatiguing a manner. After many other reciprocal compliments of this nature, he demanded of me, "If it was long since I had any news from Selinginsky?" I answered, "That it was some time since I had any." In the end, the affair which he was about discovered itself, by little and little, when he asked me, "If I remembered that when I would lately dispatch a messenger, by Kalchanna, towards the desert, he told me

* This is the name of the present Chan of the western Mongalls. This Chan was heretofore sovereign; but, since the eastern Mongalls have possessed themselves of China, he put himself under the protection of that empire, in order to be the better able to make head against the Kalmucks, with whom they are in a manner at continual war. He is a very powerful prince. His dominions, on the western side, reach to the banks of the great river Yenisey, and even from thence, on the other side of this river, towards the sources of the Ob; and, on the other side, towards the east, they reach to the great wall. The Chan of the western Mongalls hath a great many petty Chans of this nation for his vassals, and can bring one hundred thousand men, or more, into the field, all cavalry; but his soldiers fall far short of the Kalmuck soldiery.

that he could not consent to it, because he apprehended that, by such means, secret correspondence might be carried on, which might bring on some misunderstanding between the two empires." I told him thereupon, "That I did remember that, and the rest of the unexpected answer he then gave me; but, not having ever been able to guess whence such suspicion could arise, he would infinitely oblige me, if he would please to speak a little more intelligibly on this affair." Whereupon he replied, "We apprehend you have intelligence of our deserters, which you do not think fit to communicate to us*." Thereupon I remonstrated, "That, if he would please to consider the vast distance between St. Petersburg and Pekin, he would himself judge whether it was possible for the courier dispatched on this affair to be returned already, unless he could fly; that, as to the rest, he himself knew that affairs of such consequence were not the business of a day, and required other things to adjust them than secret correspondence." He shook his head at this answer, because there was then a report current at Pekin, that orders were arrived at Selinginsky, from the Czar, not to restore the deserters before spoken of. Some moments afterwards he asked me, "If I would communicate to him the news when I should receive my letters?" Upon which I assured him, "That I should conceal nothing from him, whether it regarded him in particular, or regarded the court; seeing such affairs could not be communicated to me but by express orders of the Czar my master; which, whatever desire I might have, I dared not keep secret." This minister, not thinking he had yet sufficient reason to be satisfied, demanded anew of me, "If when I should receive private letters, I would let him have a copy?" I answered thereupon, "That it was certainly the first time, since the world began, such a proposal was made; but that I could not believe that he spoke in earnest on this occasion, although it was a little too late for raillery." This answer being not altogether such as he hoped for; he changed, for some time, the discourse, by saying, "That he had an intention of telling His Majesty, that the caravan was almost ready to depart, and of receiving, at the same time, his orders with regard to my person." Whereupon I desired him, "To put His Majesty in mind of the affair, on the subject of which I had so often made instances to him." At length he began to talk to me of my stay at Pekin, saying, "That the term which was agreed with Mr. de Ismayloff, for my stay at this court, wanted little of being expired." And he made me fully to comprehend that I ought to prepare to return with the caravan. Upon which we disputed together long enough; and I told him on this occasion, "That, if he would please to remember that I assisted on all the conferences that were held on this subject; that I had read, and had in my custody, all the correspondence of Mr. de Ismayloff, with the council, about his negotiations; and that I was at all the audiences which His Majesty had granted to that minister, he could not doubt but that what was transacted by Mr. de Ismayloff, from his arrival till his departure, was as well known to me as to himself." I further alledged to him, on this subject, the resolution of the month of February 1721, which he himself sent to Mr. de Ismayloff; wherein it was said, "That

* The Tonguses, as well as the Mongalls, and other people of Tartar extraction, who inhabit on the confines of Russia and China, are accustomed to desert very often, by hundreds of families, from the lands of one empire to those of the other, according as their caprice or interest prompts them, which is often the subject of altercations between the two empires. In order to remedy these inconveniences, it was agreed, in the last treaty, that, for the future, such deserters should not be received by either power, but should honestly be returned to the place from whence they came. From this article, the Chinese pretend a right to reproach the Russes with not acting candidly in deferring so long the restitution of seven hundred families of their subjects, which went over to the Russian territories since the conclusion of this treaty; and the Russes, on their side, also reclaim a good number of families, and insist on its being equitable to come to a liquidation of their reciprocal pretensions.

His Majesty had given his consent to the residence of an agent at his court, without any mention regarding the time, directly or indirectly." But this lord, notwithstanding he had nothing to answer to what I advanced, held himself strictly to his first decision, that my stay had been agreed to only till the return of the present caravan. And this altercation did not cease till I gave him, for a final answer, "That the Czar, my master, not having ordered me to enter this empire in spite of the court, or to continue to reside in it contrary to the good pleasure of the Bogdoi-Chan, I was obliged to conform myself, on this occasion, to all that His Majesty should think fit to determine in regard to me." After which he shewed me a small letter, with an address in the Rufs language, saying it came from Nuniti Tursoff, interpreter at Selinginsky, and that the Kutuchtu * had sent it to Pekin, that it might be delivered to me. He added, "That he knew very well, that, since the departure of Mr. de Ismayloff, I had received a good number of letters, the contents of which I had communicated to nobody; but, as to this letter, I must determine to open it in his presence, and let him take a copy of it, if I wished to have it; for, if he could not prevail so far upon me, I should not read it neither, as he would take care to return it whence it came." He gave orders for this purpose to two translators, who were then present, to set themselves by me, and to read the letter at the same time I did. As I had not yet opened the letter, I asked him, "What occasioned a curiosity so unallowable? and if he did not know that this procedure was directly contrary to the rights of nations?" His answer was, "That he was well enough apprised, that what he did on this occasion was a little irregular; but this letter happening to fall into his hands, he expected that I would not make much difficulty of communicating the contents to him; and that I might determine on the alternative he had proposed." Thereupon I delivered him the letter, sealed as it was, and desired him to reflect seriously on the consequence such an unwarrantable curiosity might produce; and, in the mean time, I should see to what lengths he would carry his authority over my letters. After which, I left him, and retired to my quarters.

The 5th, two mandarins came to me, on his part, to see, "If I would not resolve to comply with his will in regard to the said letter?" I charged them to tell him, on my part, "That I always found myself ready to do him all imaginable service which he could in honour expect; but what he desired on this occasion was so unreasonable, that I could not but consider it as an affront which he had an intention wantonly to give me, and that he might depend on being obliged, at a proper time, to give me satisfaction."

The 6th, the two translators above mentioned were commanded to Czchan-zehumienne, by order of this minister, which made me think they had proceeded as far as to open my letter; but I was soon convinced of the contrary; for,

The 7th, a mandarin, accompanied by a clerk, came to bring me the said letter, which had not the least mark of having been opened. He, at the same time, made me a compliment from the Allegamba, saying, "That he desired I would conceive no ill opinion of him, upon what had passed between us on the subject of this letter; inasmuch as he assured me there was nothing serious on his side in this adventure; and that he only took the liberty of having a little pleasantry with me; not altogether without flattering himself, that I might not be averse to comply with his desire on this occasion. But

* The Kutuchtu is an high-priest belonging to the Mongalls and the northern Kalmucks. He was formerly no more than a sub-delegate of the Delay Lama, in these parts; but he hath, by degrees, found means to withdraw from the obedience of his master, and to deify himself at the expence of the Delay-Lama.

now, being convinced that I was firmly resolved against this sort of complaisance, to any person whatsoever, he would no longer delay sending me the letter in question; and at the same time, to assure me of his friendship." After having received the letter, I let him know in answer, "That I had myself, in the beginning, looked on this affair as a jest; but finding he pushed it too far, I had been obliged to regard it in another light; seeing I had never looked on the talking in such a manner to be jesting. Nevertheless, that, after the positive assurances that the allegamba gave me, there was nothing serious on his part of this affair, I ought to consider it in the same light; desiring him, in time to come, to make use of other persons, not of me, for his diversion."

After which, having opened the letter, I found indeed that it was from the said Tursoff, dated Urga, 20th of April, 1722. And as the mandarin and clerk, who brought the letter, were still in my chamber, when I began to read it, I made my interpreter translate it to them by word of mouth, in the Mongall language, to the end that they might communicate the contents to the allegamba, and know of him if he would grant me a conference on the subject of this affair, or would rather receive from me a memorial thereupon.

The 8th, the same mandarin came to my house, and upon my desiring to know if he had acquitted himself of the commission I gave him the day before, to the allegamba, he answered in the affirmative, and that he was ordered to bring me his answer, which was, "That the Bogdoi-Chan would hear nothing for the future talked of any commerce of the Russes, in his empire, until all the disturbances on the frontiers were entirely adjusted; and as, for this reason, there might continue a long space of time before any caravan might come again to Peking, the Bogdoi-Chan found it proper that the agent should return with the present caravan; and when the commerce between the two empires should come to be renewed, he should likewise be permitted to return to Peking." Whereupon I made answer to the allegamba, "That the orders I received from the Czar were, as he himself well knew, to remain at Peking till he should recal me; but as I was in no condition to oppose the orders of the Bogdoi-Chan, I was obliged to have patience, and resolved to do what I had no power to avoid doing; nevertheless, that this was no answer to what I desired to know from him, and that I waited for it with impatience, as I did for a clear explanation upon this precipitate manner of breaking off all commerce and correspondence between the two empires, without waiting for a resolution upon the affairs of the frontiers, and without any declaration of war, or other previous mark of hostility on either side." But the mandarin declined to charge himself with such a message, he not thinking it proper for him to repeat such terms as it was couched in to the allegamba, saying I must either seek an opportunity to tell him myself, or demand a conference for that purpose, by my interpreter.

The same day, in the afternoon, I sent my interpreter to the council, to acquaint the allegamba, by means of the mandarins he might find there, that I had, the same day, received the orders of the Bogdoi-Chan for my return to Russia; but I had received no answer on his part, upon the affair which was the subject I wanted to confer with him upon; for which reason, if he could not spare time to speak with me himself, he would at least let me know whether he would receive a memorial on that subject from me or not.

The 9th, another mandarin came to me, and acquainted me, that the allegamba had been informed of the subject, concerning which I had sent my interpreter to the council the day before; and as he had not a moment to spare to confer personally with me,

he had sent the same mandarin to me, to whom I might explain myself on what I had to say to him, as the allegamba had given orders to make him a faithful report of every thing which I should charge him with. Upon which I told him, that I wished he would inform the allegamba that I prayed him to give me, under his hand, a precise answer to the points following, viz.

" I. If the Bogdoi-Chan was disposed, before my departure, to receive and to answer the credentials which I was charged with from His Czarish Majesty ?

" II. If any suitable satisfaction was to be expected for the injuries done to His Czarish Majesty's subjects by the Tush-du-Chan, or at least by his orders ?

" III. What was the reason that they would not grant a free passage to the letters addressed to the council and to me, which remained on the frontiers ?

" IV. In case the Bogdoi-Chan should persist in the resolution of sending me home, what I should say to the Czar, my master, regarding the perpetual peace between the two empires ?

" V. Supposing that, contrary to expectation, my departure might be deferred, I desired to know, if, in conformity to the treaties of peace, the Bogdoi-Chan would grant me post-horses for my journey, or whether I must find them myself ?"

The 10th, there came to me a mandarin, from the allegamba, to inform me, " That there was no likelihood that the Bogdoi-Chan would alter his resolution with regard to my departure ; that no person had the boldness to speak again to His Majesty, after he had once explained himself so positively on this affair. But that the allegamba, in his turn, wished to be informed why I demanded so precisely to know the motives of my being sent away ; and why I insisted so strenuously to have a clear explanation of the Bogdoi-Chan towards the Czar ; that he did not know whether I durst make such demands, in case the Bogdoi-Chan should be pleased to speak personally to me, without my being afraid that he would make complaints of it to the Czar my master." Upon which I returned him as follows, viz. " That it was absolutely necessary for me to be fully informed of what I desired to know ; that, without this being cleared up, I could not well resolve to depart, seeing it appeared evidently, that since the departure of Mr. de Ismayloff, the court had intirely changed its disposition regarding the preservation of the good understanding between the two empires ; that the allegamba himself could not be ignorant how many of His Czarish Majesty's subjects had, immediately after the conclusion of the last treaty of peace, deserted, and come to settle on the lands in the dominions of the Bogdoi-Chan, without the Czar's having shown any resentment to this time, notwithstanding the same was directly contrary to the sense of the treaty ; that the Czar on this occasion, far from forbidding the subjects of China entrance into his dominions, had always permitted them, without interruption, to enjoy, in his dominions, an entire liberty, as well in regard to trade as all other affairs which could concern them, not even excepting some of those very deserters, who having affairs to transact at some places in the Czar's dominions, had been no less welcome than the others, subjects of the Bogdoi-Chan ; but now, that 700 of the subjects of China had passed the frontiers, and would establish themselves on the lands belonging to Russia, that would forthwith forbid all commerce, not receive any more letters, and in fine, at one stroke, break off all communication between the two empires ; and that without even waiting the answer of the governor general of Siberia to the letter wrote to him on the subject ; which was the only certain means of knowing whether His Czarish Majesty intended to retain these people, or to make them return. That, to conclude, I prayed the Allegamba to consider, if it was not much more easy to accommodate this

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affair by treating it with more mildness, than to push it with an haughtiness not to be borne with*." ..

Whereupon the mandarin told me, he could not positively undertake for his daring to say all this to the Allegamba; but that if a proper occasion offered, he would not fail of doing it faithfully. He told me further, on the part of that minister, that the mandarins, who had been sent last year by command of the Bogdoi-Chan, to pass the frontiers of Russia, were returned, they not being permitted to proceed on their journey, before the governor-general of Siberia was made acquainted with it; that the Allegamba might expect to wait long enough for an answer, as well upon this affair as upon all other affairs which regarded the interest of the two empires, so long as they did not allow of a free passage to the letters written concerning them to the court. I received no answer then.

In the mean time, I had made a demand some time ago of the council, for a free passage for the caravan by the old road of Kerlinde, (which the former caravans had been used to take), to save them the inconveniencies attending the route by the deserts, where the people and the cattle had much to endure for want of water; and for this purpose, I sent my interpreter, with a clerk of the caravan, on the 14th, to the council, to know if the Bogdoi-Chan had given his consent or not. But they told him for answer, "That they expected to have been freed from their importuning the council about their beggarly commerce, after they had been told so often, that the council would not embarrass themselves any more about affairs that were only beneficial to the Russes, and that of course they had only to return by the way they came."

The same day, I sent to the house of the first minister, to know if I could have the honour of seeing him. But he excused himself, saying, that being far advanced in years, he wanted to be at ease.

Nevertheless, I did not refrain going myself next day, which was the 15th, to his house; and the guard at the gate suffered me to pass without interruption. I entered directly into the court-yard, and acquainted him with my being there, by one of his servants, desiring he would afford me a quarter of an hour's audience: but he sent me word, "That he was not at leisure to see me, and that, as the affairs about which I would speak to him very probably only regarded the council of foreign affairs, he desired I would address myself to them." I thereupon let him know, by the same domestic, "That I was come to speak to him, as the first minister of the Bogdoi-Chan; and if I not had a very pressing occasion of applying to him, he might be sure I would have been very averse to have come to give him trouble; but that as it concerned us equally, both him and myself, that I should have the honour of seeing him, therefore I was determined not to leave his house without speaking to him." Upon this so precise a declaration, the same domestic returned, a few moments after, and showed me into a grand saloon, well enough furnished after the Chinese manner, where the master of the household of this minister came to present me tea and milk, till his master should come. After I had waited about a quarter of an hour in this apartment, the allegada at length came, and desired my excuse, with a number of compliments after the Chinese manner, that he was not always able to see me when I might require it, because his great age,

* It is certain, that the judgment of the late Emperor, either from jealousy, or the artifices of some secret enemies, was so altered, with regard to the Russia trade, a little before his death, that there was no other way of adjusting it but the having recourse to arms; which was fully resolved on, on the part of Russia, when the news of the death of this Monarch arrived there, which suspended the execution of this design, till they should see clearly into the designs of his successor. But the death of Peter the Great, entirely broke these measures; so that the affairs between Russia and China are still, at this time, on the same terms they were on the departure of Mr de Lauge from Peking; and since the last caravan that left Peking with him, no caravan hath been sent from Siberia to Peking.

and multiplicity of affairs with which he was charged, did not permit him. Whereupon, we being both seated, I told him, "That if the affairs which I had to represent to him, regarded only my own person, I should not have ventured to incommode him; but as they regarded our common matters, and the preservation of a good understanding between the two empires; or, to say all in two words, peace or war between the two nations, I thought it my duty to seek before my departure, by every way possible, an opportunity of explaining myself thereupon with him; that he knew that the free passage of the caravans of Siberia was made, in some degree, an essential point in all the treaties between the two empires; that he knew, moreover, that Mr. de Ismayloff had declared, more than once, that His Czarish Majesty could never allow that they should any more cavil on that article; that he further knew, that the free trade of the subjects of Russia, at Urga, was positively stipulated by the late treaty, in which they could not make the least alteration, without a manifest violation of the said treaty; that he knew, in fine, that it was with the agreement of the Bogdoi-Chan, and by virtue of a resolution of the council, in writing, that I remained at Peking, after the departure of Mr. de Ismayloff, in quality of agent, empowered by the Court of Russia, till such time as His Czarish Majesty should be pleased to recal me. Notwithstanding which, not regarding such solemn engagements, they had, in regard to this last caravan, treated us so ill, that, if they had been at open war with Russia, they could not have done worse; that they had kept shut up, during many months, the commissary of the caravan, with all his people, just as if they had been slaves; that there was no kind of insult to which they did not expose those who had a desire to come and trade with our people. And yet more, they had caused the Russ subjects to be shamefully driven out of Urga, who had come to trade there on the faith of public treaties. And as to what regards myself, they had made me suffer more affronts, on all occasions that offered, than can be imagined; in the end, not yet satisfied with all those steps, the president of the council had made it be declared to me positively, that there should not absolutely, for the future, any caravan be admitted before the affair of the frontiers should be regulated to the satisfaction of the Bogdoi-Chan; and at the same time, caused it to be signified to me, that I must prepare to depart with the caravan, because His Majesty would not suffer me to remain any longer at his court, in the uncertainty that affairs stood in between the two empires. That, if this order regarded me only as a private person, there would be nothing in it which did not depend entirely on the pleasure of the Bogdoi-Chan; but having been once admitted by him to reside at his court, in quality of agent of His Czarish Majesty, it was a maxim, practised by all civilized nations in the world, not to send away, in a manner so indecent, a person vested with a public character, unless entirely to break off all good understanding with his master. That, if they desired very ardently, as they asserted on all occasions, the restitution of the deserters in question, and an amicable convention in regard to the frontiers, he would permit me to tell him, that it appeared to me they took quite the wrong way to obtain them; and that the sending me away, so far from facilitating those affairs, was most certainly the greatest obstacle they could think of. That I thought it my duty to remonstrate in the foregoing matters at this time that they might be remedied; because, after my departure, I did not well see how it would be possible to get out of this embarrassment by amicable means." The minister thereupon answered me, "That being already so long a time since the Russes had given them the expectation of regulating the affairs of the frontiers, conform to the treaties concluded between the two empires, without their taking the least thought of bringing things to a close, His Majesty had come to a resolution not to admit any caravan before he should be fully satisfied, on the part of Russia, of their adherence to treaties; and as thereby my residence at his court became quite unnecessary, His Majesty saw nothing that should

oblige

oblige him to keep me longer in his empire. That in regard to what passed at Urga, the Tush-du-Chan had good reasons for removing our people from his residence, who had committed great insolences, noways conform to treaties. That as to what regarded the ill usage which I pretended the caravan had suffered, he did not well know of what I spoke; but as to their being kept shut up a longer time than ordinary, it was our own fault, who would have made innovations in the trade of the caravans. In fine, in one word, that His Majesty was tired of receiving the law, in his own country, from foreigners, of whom his subjects reaped no profit; and that if the court of Russia delayed longer doing him justice, he should be obliged to do it himself, by such ways as he should find most convenient." Upon which I replied, "That I was much surprised to find the Bogdoi-Chan in a disposition so little favourable towards His Czarish Majesty, after he had the goodnels to testify himself, on more than one occasion, to Mr. de Isinayloff, that he desired nothing more than always to live in a good understanding with the Czar, my master; and that I could not conceive what caused his change of sentiments so suddenly, with regard to His Czarish Majesty. That if the court of China had restitutions to demand from us, we had the like to expect from them; and that, in any shape, there was no reason that could in justice oblige us to restore their deserters, so long as they retained ours. That if the indulgence of the Czar, my master, in the affair of Albazin*, had raised rash hopes in any persons, who are ill informed of the forces of Russia, and of the Monarch who reigns over them, I was persuaded, that a Monarch so enlightened, as was the Bogdoi-Chan, would not suffer himself to be blinded by such delusive appearances; and that he knew full well how to distinguish an indulgence, arising from magnanimity and esteem for a prince, his friend and ally, from a forced compliance, grounded on weakness and indolence. That as I had, in my instructions, orders to apply my utmost endeavours for the preservation of the good understanding between the two empires, I thought I might tell him, that I was exceedingly surprised at the proceedings of the Chinese ministry on this occasion; that he could not be ignorant that it depended only on His Czarish Majesty to finish the war with Sweden, in the most honourable manner; and that perhaps this peace was actually made at the time I was speaking to him; after which, I saw nothing that could prevent the Czar, my master, from turning his arms to this side, in case they exercised his patience too much. That I gave him my word, that all the great difficulties which perhaps might be imagined in China to attend such an enterprise, would vanish immediately, if ever His Czarish Majesty should resolve on transporting himself to the frontiers; for he was a prince that did not suffer himself to be hindered by difficulties; and that they might then have sufficient cause to repent their having despised the friendship of a Monarch who was not accustomed to receive offences with impunity, and who was inferior to no Monarch in the world, neither in grandeur nor power." This was not at all to the allegada's taste; therefore, after some silence, he demanded of me, "If I was authorised to talk to him in the manner I did? and if I was not apprehensive of being disfavoured by the court of Russia, in case they should make complaint upon the menaces I used to them?" I thereupon replied to him, "That, in the state to which I saw affairs were brought, I thought it necessary not to disguise any thing to him, to the end that the Bogdoi-Chan, faithfully informed by him, of all he had to consider for and against this affair, might thereby determine with himself thereupon, in a manner

* Albazin was a little town of about 500 or 600 houses, which the Russes had built in a very fertile country, upon the south side of the River Amoor, near the mouth of the river Albazin. But at the end of the year 1715, the Eastern Mongalls, supported by the Chinese, besieged it, and having carried it after a siege of two years, raised it to the ground.

suitable to his great wisdom and justice. That nevertheless, it was wrong to take what I had said on this occasion for menaces, seeing they were only mere reflections, which I was desirous he should make on the unhappy consequences which the disdainful conduct they showed, in regard to us, might in time produce; and that I was so little apprehensive of being disavowed by the Court of Russia, that I was ready to give him in writing every word I had said to him, and that it would be the greatest service he could render me to speak out of hand concerning it to the Bogdoi-Chan, the more as I was well assured, that if they would give the least attention to the irregular manner in which they had acted in this affair, with a friendly and allied power, they would not fail of comprehending that my intentions were sincere, and only had for its aim the preservation of the harmony between the two empires." The answer of the minister to this was, "That it being His Majesty's custom never to make any resolution, without first well weighing all circumstances, he never changed his measures for any reason whatsoever; and after what he had declared positively, in regard to the caravan and my person, he had no inclination to propose to him a change of sentiment in this regard. That we had nothing to do but to make a beginning in complying with our engagements, after which they would see what they had to do as to the rest." Upon which I concluded, by telling him, "That the case being so, I saw plainly, that it was in vain, on our side, to use more endeavours for preserving the good understanding between the two empires, as long as they would contribute nothing towards it on their side; that, therefore, the game must go on, seeing the dice was thrown already. That, however, I had at least the satisfaction of having done my duty in advertising him, as first minister of the Bogdoi-Chan, of the unhappy consequences which would ensue from all this; and that was the sole reason which made me think it absolutely necessary for me to give him the trouble of this visit." After which I rose up and took leave of him. On parting, he re-conducted me to the entrance of the saloon, where he staid till I was mounted on horseback.

The same day I was likewise to take leave of the poyamba, or great marshal of the court; and after having returned him thanks, which were truly due to him, for all the goodness which he had shewed to me ever since I had the honour of being known to him, I profited myself of the present opportunity to represent succinctly to him the same things which I had represented to the allegada. He thereupon assured me, "That he was sorry to see that the success of my negotiations did not answer my wishes. That it was true that the Bogdoi-Chan was very much piqued that he saw there was no end made to the affair of the deserters; and that he had certain advice that our court had no desire to satisfy him on this article, and that we only sought to protract time: that it was on these considerations that he had been prevailed on by the ministry to order my return. That for his part, he was astonished to see that our court could hesitate a moment to sacrifice some hundreds of families, who were in the utmost poverty, to the solid advantages which we might promise ourselves from the friendship which the Bogdoi-Chan had conceived for the person of the Czar my master; and he made no manner of doubt, but that, if the Czar had been well informed of the justice of the pretensions of the court of China, and the little importance of that affair, he would instantly have given orders for restoring the families reclaimed." I would have had him consider the distance of the places, and that it was in a manner impossible that an answer could have arrived from St. Petersburg on this affair, since the departure of Mr. de Ismayloff. But he stopped my mouth by telling me, "That he could not say precisely what the distance was, but he knew very well that, on other occasions, our couriers had made the journey in much less time. That he advised me to do my best in this affair when I should

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arrive on the frontiers, and that he could assure me, that when the Bogdoi-Chan was made easy on this point, he would explain himself very reasonably on all the rest of what we should wish to have done; that however, as to myself, I had cause to be well satisfied with the sentiments the court entertained of me, and that His Majesty had himself declared, that, in case affairs should come to be accommodated, he would not be sorry to see me return to Peking."

The 16th, I went to pay my court to the Bogdoi-Chan, upon his departure from Peking to pass the summer at Jegcholl, but had not the honour of speaking to him at this time; His Majesty letting me know by the master of the ceremonies, "That he recommended the same thing to me which he had charged Mr. de Ismayloff with, to tell His Czarish Majesty." That for the rest, he wished me a good journey; and expected that I would not fail to write from the frontiers, in case I should there be informed of any news from Europe."

A little before I received the message from His Majesty, I had an interview with the alle-gamba, who, after an infinite deal of caressing and flattery, begged of me to labour, as much as possible, to forward the returning their deserters; at the same time adding, "That the Bogdoi-Chan had great reliance on me in regard to this affair; in expectation that, according to all appearances, I would not be backward to return soon to China, either on the subject in question, or on the subject of commerce." I assured him thereupon, "That His Czarish Majesty, having subjects in abundance, had at no time the least temptation to keep the vassals of neighbouring powers unjustly." And I promised, at the same time, to write to him, if, at my arrival on the frontiers, I should learn that any resolution was taken on this affair. Afterwards I demanded of him, "For what reason they refused conveyance of the letters which were on the frontiers? At the same time, I led him to imagine some appearance that those letters bore something relating to their affair." Whereupon he answered me, "That if it was possible to believe it to be so, he would not make the least difficulty of instantly ordering the letters to be brought hither; but that, if they contained orders for the rendering back their deserters, they would not have failed to communicate the same to the mandarin, who kept himself at Selinginsky purely on that affair."

At length, not seeing any appearance of being able to prolong my stay at Peking till the recall of His Czarish Majesty, I pressed the commissary to neglect nothing that might facilitate his departure as soon as possible; and thereupon he dispatched beforehand,

On the 25th, a part of his baggage for Krasnagora, which is a place, a day's journey without the great wall, appointed for the rendezvous of all the caravans. On this occasion they did not give a guard of Chinese soldiers to the caravan as had been formerly practised; but they had ordered all the towns where they should stop to give them guards; besides which, there was a *bonska* or courier, of the council of the affairs of the Mongalls, ordered to attend the baggage, who was not to leave them without a new order.

* When Mr. de Ismayloff had his audience of leave of the late Emperor of China, this Monarch declared expressly that he would permit Mr. de Lange to remain at Peking in quality of agent of the court of Russia, expecting that Mr. de Ismayloff would on his return, prevail with His Czarish Majesty to send back the deserted families in question; but in case that should not be effected instantly, he would not only send away the said agent, but would receive no more caravans, till he should be entirely satisfied on this article. But Mr. de Ismayloff, on his arrival at Moscow, found the court so busily employed about the expedition to Persia, that he found no opportunity of getting a final resolution on this affair.

June

June 6th, a mandarin, namad Tulufhin, let me know that, having received orders from the Bogdoi-Chan to accompany me to Selinginsky, and to furnish provisions and post-horses on the road, he would be glad to be informed when I thought I should be ready to depart, that he might take his measures accordingly, and dispatch, in good time, the couriers necessary for the deserts, to make the requisite dispositions for my passage.

The 8th, the commissary went to the council, to demand a guard for the caravan; but they granted none; acquainting him, at the same time, that the Mandarin Tulufhin was also charged with the care of the caravan; and that as he would be obliged frequently to leave the route of the caravan, for providing victuals and horses which I should have occasion for on my journey, he was to have with him a clerk and two couriers under his command, who were not to leave the caravan before they should safely arrive at Selinginsky.

The same day, thirty-six carriages were dispatched, laden with merchandize, for the place of rendezvous, without any other escort than some of our own people, and a courier of the council.

The 16th, the allegamba invited me to come to him at the palace of the Bogdoi-Chan; and, when I arrived, he presented me with two pieces of damask on the part of the Chan; telling me, "That His Majesty having received presents from me on the entrance of the new year, he was pleased, in his turn, to make me a present of these two pieces of damask." I received this present with all due respect; assuring this minister that I should eternally cherish the remembrance of all the gracious favours which the Bogdoi-Chan had deigned to honour me with during my residence in his empire; and that, in whatever place I should be in time to come, I would never fail of making it a subject of particular glory to me.

July 4th, the allegamba sent a mandarin to me, to shew me a letter, which he had very lately received from the mandarin who resided at Selinginsky, in which he made heavy complaints of the chicaneries that he was forced to bear with, during his residence in that place, as well as from the officers of His Czarish Majesty, as the other inhabitants of that city; adding, "That every body demanded of him perpetually the reason why he tarried there so long, and if he did not intend soon to return home? That thereupon having demanded of them, if they had come to any resolution on the affair which was the cause of his being there, they had answered him, that they had no other orders but to conduct him back, with all civility, when he should think proper to return." He related, besides, in this letter, "That the allowance they gave him, for the subsistence of himself and retinue, was so very scanty, that, if he had not had of his own money wherewithal to supply himself, he should have been reduced to great extremities. They had, besides, pressed him very hard on the subject of the letters, for the council and for me, that were arrived on the frontiers; and they would, by force, know of him the reason why he refused to receive the letters, and to forward them to Pekin; but that he had always answered them, that his sole errand to Selinginsky being on the affair of the deserters, he could not charge himself either with letters or any other affair whatsoever." After the mandarin had explained to me the contents of this letter, he told me that the allegamba demanded to know of me, "Whether it was possible that all this could be done by order of His Czarish Majesty?" I let him know, in answer, "That, if he had formed ideas of the person of the Czar my master, by those passages, he would do well entirely to efface them; for that, as His Czarish Majesty was more magnanimous than to treat, in the manner there laid down, even prisoners

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of war in his dominions, he would certainly not begin so bad a practice with the subjects of an empire in amity with him, who came into his country." I added, that, notwithstanding I had reason to complain of things of more consequence than this mandarin, I was never so far from approving the want of complaisance used towards him, that, if the Allegamba thought fit to give me a copy of that letter, I was ready to take charge of it, and to make it my business that the Czar my master should be acquainted with it. But, with regard to the orders which this mandarin hinted he was charged with, not to receive any letters, though even for the council itself, before he should receive the deserters in question, I could not help observing that such a procedure bespoke much coolness on their side.

The 8th, the Allegamba sent to me, in the evening, a mandarin, who told me, after making me a compliment from him, that he would be the next day at the council; and that, if I had time to come there likewise, he would explain the reasons which determined the court to resolve on my return; and that he would give me the same in writing. Upon which I told him, I should come there with great pleasure, that I might be informed of them.

The 9th, having notice that the Allegamba was already arrived at the council, I forthwith mounted on horseback to go there also. He came in person to receive me at the door, and desired me to place myself at a little table with him. After which he gave me to understand, "That it were to be wished that my residence at that court might continue longer, as the Bogdoi-Chan himself, and all the ministry in general, were so well satisfied with the conduct I had observed during my residence, that they had nothing to say against my person; that they had remarked, with much satisfaction, that, by the good order I had kept, the present caravan had begun and finished its commerce, without producing the least dispute between the merchants of the two nations *." He had also formerly been too usual to see the servants and people of the caravan do numberless insolencies in the streets, and commit all sorts of excesses, but that, for this time, they could not without surprise observe that nothing of this sort had appeared; but that every thing passed with all desirable decency †."

After I had paid this compliment by another, I told him, "That it was with intention of maintaining the like good order that His Czarish Majesty sent me to China; and that it would be owing to themselves, if things, for the future, should not be carried on in the same order, and if any other petty incidents did not come to an accommodation with the like ease." After which, I prayed him to let me know the true source of the disorders which happened at Urga, between the subjects of the Czar, my master, and the Mongalls; and "wherefore they obliged the Russian merchants to leave that place before they had finished their trade." He answered me thereupon, "That it was done

* The Chinese usually bought, from the caravan, goods on credit, for which, at the time when due, they could not pay; which occasioned very frequent disputes between the two nations. To remedy this, the court of Peking had been accustomed to put into the hands of the commissary, at his departure, all those who could not pay what they were indebted to the caravan, in order that he might compel them to pay as they best could. In which cases, the commissaries had frequently committed great abuses, and treated the poor Chinese, whom they had in their custody, in the most barbarous manner; which very much disgusted the people of Peking, and rendered them very averse to trading with the Russian caravans.

† The excesses committed by those of the caravan had been but too frequent till this time; and the commissaries, in place of redressing those disorders, had been very often themselves the authors of them, without giving themselves the trouble of making the least satisfaction for them to the Chinese, notwithstanding the great complaints to the Russian ministers thereupon on many occasions. In all appearance, what contributed principally to the good order observed by the Russian servants of this caravan, was their not getting brandy at free cost, as they did when the Chinese furnished the subsistence for the caravan.

by orders of the Tush-du-Chan and his council, as supreme judges in their country." Upon which I demanded of him, "Whether the Tush-du-Chan was a sovereign prince of the Mongalls, or a subject of the Emperor of China?" He replied, "That in truth, the Chan was a vassal of the Bogdoi-Chan's; but that did not hinder his being master in his own country*." I then prayed him to tell me, "Whether the Tush-du-Chan was obliged to conform himself to the engagement stipulated by treaty between the two empires, to the end, that I might know if we ought to address the court at Pekin, on the subject of satisfaction we had to demand on that affair? Or were to take it of the Tush-du-Chan? As it was not to be expected that affair would be let pass without an exact inquiry. That, for my part, I thought the best means of terminating that affair amicably, was, that they should order the mandarin, who was to accompany me on the journey, to go with me to Urga, in our way to Selinginsky; to the end, that after having full information of this affair, I might be able to send a circumstantial account of it to our ministry." But he answered me thereupon in these terms; "With us no judge, who hath given a just sentence, can be made responsible for his judgment, was he no more than a mere clerk. Your people who were at Urga have affronted the lamas, as well by words as deeds; and they have, moreover, attempted to carry off some Mongall families from those quarters. It is for this reason that the Tush-du-Chan was in the right to remove them from his territories." I answered him thereupon, "That this judge ought most certainly to render account of his judgment, because he had judged people who were no manner of way under his jurisdiction. But he would have acted with justice if, after having sent the culpable to Selinginsky, he had prosecuted for satisfaction at that place. Whereas, now that he hath punished the innocent equally with the guilty, and hath infringed the treaty of peace in so essential an article, his judgment cannot be regarded but as a manifest act of violence." The Allegamba, finding me insist so strenuously for an inquiry into this affair, smiling, told me, "Mr. Agent, you do well to make so much work about this affair; but I do not know how to explain myself more precisely upon it at present; all that I can say to you is, that all of it will be easily accommodated when we shall receive a satisfactory answer upon the affair of our deserters." After which, he presented me with a writing, which he said had been drawn up by order of the Bogdoi-Chan, to serve for my information regarding the reasons of my being sent away. Upon which, we again entered into dispute together; but as these gentlemen, on these occasions, hold themselves strictly tied down to a single word, whether essential to the affair they are upon or not, it was impossible for me to draw from him any other answer than that they had not designed to grant my remaining at Pekin longer than the time of the present caravan; and that, when the affair of the frontiers should be accommodated, they would not be wanting to give a definitive resolution, as well upon this article as upon the other propositions which Mr. de Ismayloff had made to the court. He afterwards presented to me a letter, saying it was written by order of the Bogdoi-Chan, to Prince Cherkasky, Governor-general of Siberia †;

* Though the Chan of the western Mongalls is tributary to the Chinese, they have nevertheless a great regard for him at the court of China; the more as he is a very powerful prince; and that, in case of a revolt in China, it is from him that the present Imperial House is to expect the greatest assistance; his subjects being beyond comparison much better soldiers than the Mongall Chinese; insomuch, that if they should be disobliged, and should join themselves to the Kalmucks, or to the Russians, nothing could prevent his entrance into China when he pleased, and probably bring about another revolution.

† The Prince Cherkasky, Governor-general of Siberia, was recalled by the court of Russia, in the year 1772, upon his own solicitations; and they afterwards sent thither a person in quality of Vice-governor, who remains there still.

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but I having refused to receive the said letter, it displeased him a little, and made him say, "That it was hardly civil in me to refuse a letter, which the Emperor his master had ordered to be written, and to be put into my hands." I answered thereupon, "That I would not chuse to do what I did on this occasion, if the letters which the said Prince Cherkasky, in quality of Governor-general of Siberia, had written to the council, were not likewise written by order of the Czar my master. That he could give this letter to the mandarin, who was to accompany me to Selinginsky, with orders to receive the letters for the court which were lying there; and that being done, I should not then make the least difficulty to receive the said letter." He declared to me afterwards, that it was the pleasure of the Bogdoi-Chan that I should take Jegcholl in my way; to have my audience of leave of His Majesty. And again resumng the article of the letter from the court for the Prince Cherkasky, he told me, "That what I had done on this occasion was not altogether so right; seeing it was not allowed to any person, when in China, to oppose themselves to the will of the Emperor." Upon which I answered him, "That I was persuaded His Majesty would put a different construction on this affair, from what he did." But that I wished in my turn to know from him, "Upon what he grounded his suspicions, when he refused us, the last spring, the passage to the deserts for some of our people, whom we would have sent with money to provide subsistence for our horses; and that under the pretext, that by such expeditions secret correspondence might be carried on, which might produce misunderstandings between the two empires." Thereupon he said, "That in reality he had no such suspicions; but that he would willingly prevent the disorders which might have happened on the journey of these people; seeing, that if they had been robbed, or assassinated on the road, we would not have failed to demand satisfaction from the court." Thereupon I put him in mind, "That he was now brought to explain himself; that it was not to hinder secret correspondence that he refused us passage, and that he might very well have spared himself that useless precaution, as to what regarded us, which had caused an expence of some thousands of laen, for not being able to put our horses into stables, to which purpose the money we wanted to send to the deserts was appropriated; and had occasioned the death of a great many horses; and even those that survived were in such a miserable condition, that they were by no means capable of serving in the waggons; which obliged our commissary to transport the greatest part of his baggage to Selinginsky by carriages hired at Pekin, which could not be done but at a very considerable charge." This answer made him a little thoughtful; but at length he replied to me, "That he did not say so; but, be it so or not, we must now part good friends; to which end he prayed me to have no ill-will towards him upon account of the liberty he had taken to trifle and to jest with me on the subject of the letter from Tursoff; that he could assure me he had no ill intention on that occasion; and hoped that I would be satisfied with this explanation, and not think otherwise of that affair in time to come, than as a piece of innocent raillery." To which I answered him, "That as to what regarded myself in particular, he might depend that I should absolutely think no more of it; but, for the rest, I could not do in it according to my own pleasure." Whereupon he asked me, if, at my return to Russia, I should be obliged to give a relation in writing to our ministry, of every thing that passed during my residence in China, in regard to my negociations; and having answered him yes; he said to me, that in this case, I would do well not to insert a number of trifling things which could answer no good end, but might embroil matters more; for that it was much better that a good understanding between the two empires should continue,

than that differences between them should be widened. I replied thereupon, that, not having been sent to the court of Peking as an instrument for creating misunderstandings, I would make it my business in my relation, not to touch upon any things but such as were necessary for our court to be informed of. After which we both rose up, and having mutually embraced, we took leave of each other, reciprocally wishing to meet soon again.

The 12th, the commissary having left Peking, with all the rest of the caravan, I likewise departed for Jegcholl, where I arrived on the 15th; and having forthwith made known my arrival to the Chamberlain of the Chan, he let me know he would instantly inform His Majesty; and, till he should receive his orders for appointing the day of my audience, the intendant of His Majesty's kitchen would take care that my table should be furnished with every thing I might have occasion for.

The 17th, I had my audience of leave of the Bogdoi-Chan, with the ceremonies usual at this court.

The 18th, I left Jegcholl, and met the caravan the 24th; which being still within the Great Wall, I passed it the 26th, with the caravan, which I left on the 28th, near Krasna-gora in the deserts. And, on the 26th of August 1722, I arrived at Selinginsky, after having resided near seventeen months at the court of China.

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A SUCCINCT RELATION OF MY JOURNEY TO DERBENT IN PERSIA, WITH THE ARMY OF RUSSIA, COMMANDED BY HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY PETER THE FIRST, IN THE YEAR 1722.

UPON my return with the embassy from Peking, as hath been formerly mentioned, I found His Imperial Majesty, all the court, the general officers, and the nobility and gentry, from all the empire, assembled at Mosco; and great preparations making at that city, for the celebration of the festivals, appointed to be solemnized there, on account of the peace, concluded at Aland in 1721, between Russia and Sweden, after a war which had lasted more than twenty years.

These festivals were accompanied with masquerades, grand fireworks, balls, assemblies, &c. the detail of which, though it would swell this work to too large a bulk, yet I think it will not be unacceptable to the reader, briefly to relate one part of it, I mean the magnificent shows exhibited on this occasion; which I am induced to by the consideration, which at that time struck me, of Peter the Great his having always in view, even in his amusements and times of diversion, all possible means of influencing his people to a liking of whatever tended to promote the good of his empire.

The Russians, in general, had a strong aversion to shipping and maritime affairs. In order to apprise them of the great advantages arising from a marine force, in his triumphant entry into Mosco, he represented to his people that the peace, the rejoicings for which were now celebrating, was obtained by means of his naval strength.

The triumphant entry was made from a village, about seven miles from Mosco, called Sefwedfsky.

The first of the cavalcade was a galley, finely carved and gilt, in which the rowers plied their oars as on the water. The galley was commanded by the High Admiral of Russia. Then came a frigate, of sixteen small brass guns, with three masts, completely rigged, manned with twelve or fourteen youths, habited like Dutch skippers, in black velvet, who trimmed the sails, and performed all the manœuvres as of a ship at sea. Then came most richly decorated barges, wherein sat the Empress and the ladies of the court. There were also pilot-boats, heaving the lead, and above thirty other vessels, pinnaces, wherries, &c. each filled with masqueraders in the dresses of different nations. It was in the month of February, at which time all the ground was covered with snow, and all the rivers frozen. All these machines were placed on sledges, and were drawn by horses through all the principal streets of Mosco. The ship required above forty horses to draw it. In order to its passing under the gates, the top-masts were struck, and, when passed, set up again; besides which, the gate-way was dug as low as was necessary for admitting it to pass.

These festivals being ended, His Imperial Majesty prepared to undertake an expedition into Persia, at the earnest request of Shach Hussein, the Sophy of Persia, in order to assist that prince against the Affghans, his rebellious subjects, who, under the conduct, first, of Myrvais, afterwards, of Myr Mahmut, had not only seized upon the city and strong fortress Chandahar, but also had possessed themselves of several provinces on the frontiers towards India, making frequent incursions towards the capital of Ispahan. As I had formerly been at the court of Persia, I was engaged by my friend Dr. Blumentrost, His Majesty's chief physician, to accompany him in that expedition.

Accordingly, about the beginning of May 1722, all things necessary being in readiness, the troops embarked at Mosco, on board of half galleys, built for that purpose, and fell
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down the river to Kolumna; near which town the Mosco river falls into the Oka; about ninety versts from the city of Mosco. Kolumna was the place of rendezvous, and where the troops waited till the arrival of His Imperial Majesty and the Empress his consort, who accompanied him in this expedition.

May 13th, their Majesties, and all those of the court who were appointed to attend them in this expedition, set out from Mosco by land, and arrived the next day at Kolumna.

The 15th, His Majesty employed himself in reviewing the troops, in inspecting the condition of the fleet, and in giving the necessary orders. The fleet consisted of about three hundred sail of vessels, of all sorts, on board of which were about fifteen thousand regular troops, including half the guards.

The 16th, in the evening, His Majesty and the Empress, attended by a few ladies, went on board a magnificent galley, of forty oars, with all proper accommodations, built on purpose for the voyage.

The 17th, at break of day, the signal was given, by firing three great guns from His Majesty's galley, for the fleet to get under sail. The galley led the way, and all the rest of the fleet followed in a line. His Majesty's galley carried the standard of Russia, the other vessels their ensigns displayed, with drums beating, and music playing, which altogether made an appearance, perhaps not to be equalled in any other country. In about an hour's time, we came into the river Oka, where the vessels had more room to spread.

Having, in my former journey to Persia, mentioned the several places from hence to Astracan, I need not repeat them here.

I have formerly noted, that, at this season of the year, the rivers of these parts may, in some measure, be compared to the Nile; for, from the melting of the snow, they overflow all the flat grounds adjacent to a very great distance.

The 21st, some of our people going ashore, to take leave of their friends, did not return on board till late in the evening, which caused our being at some distance behind the fleet; upon which we used our best efforts to regain our station: but, in the night, our pilot falling asleep, the bark drove out of the channel of the river into a wood. I, being in the cabin, heard a great noise upon deck, not unusual on such occasions: at last I perceived the vessel to strike against something, when, coming upon deck, I was not a little surprised to see the people climbing up trees; for the bark was jammed in between two birch-trees of very large size. All our endeavours could neither move her backwards nor forwards, until we got people from a neighbouring village, by whose assistance we got her warped off with little damage; which being repaired, we proceeded again on our voyage.

The 25th, we came up with the fleet at the town Nishna-Novogorod, where their Majesties and all the court were most sumptuously entertained at the house of Baron Strogonoff. We staid here some days to take in provisions and other necessaries.

The 30th, being His Majesty's birth-day, the same was solemnized, in the usual manner, by firing guns, &c.

The 31st, His Majesty sailed in his galley for Cazan, escorted by some of the small galleys, leaving the rest of the fleet under the command of the Lord High Admiral Apraxin.

June 5th, we left Nishna-Novogorod, and, in fine calm weather, proceeded down the Volga.

The 8th, we arrived at the city of Cazan; the Emperor had left that place the preceding day.

The 9th, we again proceeded on our voyage.

The 20th, we arrived at the town of Saratoff. Nothing very material occurred by the way, in which we were sometimes detained by strong gales of southerly winds, and by calms, during which we were incommoded by infinite numbers of muskito-flies.

At this place we came up with the Emperor, who had appointed an interview with the Ayuka-Chan, King of the Kalmucks. The Chan, for that purpose, had his tents pitched on the east banks of the Volga, not far from the river.

Next day, His Majesty invited the Ayuka-Chan and his Queen to dinner on board the galley; which, for the accommodation of the royal guests in getting on board, was brought as near the shore as possible, and a gallery made from the shore to the galley, for them to walk on.

The Ayuka-Chan came on horseback, attended by two of the Princes his sons, and escorted by a troop of about fifty of his officers and great men, all exceedingly well mounted. About twenty yards from the shore, the King alighted from his horse, and was received by a privy-counsellor and an officer of the guards. When the Emperor saw him advancing, he went on shore, saluted him, and taking him by the hand, conducted him on board the galley, where he introduced him to the Empress, who was seated on the quarter-deck, under a very rich awning.

Soon after the Ayuka-Chan was got on board the galley, the Queen arrived on the shore, in a covered wheel-machine, attended by one of the Princesses, her daughter, and two ladies, who were also escorted by a troop of horsemen. When she was alighted, the Emperor went on shore to receive her, and, conducting her on board, introduced her to the Empress.

The Ayuka-Chan is an old man about seventy years of age, yet is hearty and cheerful. He is a prince of great wisdom, and prudent conduct; is much respected by all his neighbours for his sincerity and plain dealing. And I recollect that, when I was at Pekin, the Emperor of China made very honourable mention of him. By his long experience, he is very well acquainted with the state of affairs in the east.

The Queen was about fifty years old, of a decent and cheerful deportment. The ladies, her attendants, were young. The Princesses, in particular, hath a fine complexion; her hair a jet black, which was disposed in tresses round her shoulders; and she was, in the eyes of the Kalmucks, a complete beauty. They were all richly dressed in long robes of Persian brocade, with little round caps, on the upper part of their heads, bordered with sable-fur, according to the fashion of the country.

The Emperor intimated to the Ayuka-Chan, that he would be desirous of ten thousand of his troops to accompany him into Persia. The King of the Kalmucks replied, that ten thousand were at the Emperor's service, but that he thought one half of that number would be more than sufficient to answer all his purposes; and immediately gave orders for five thousand to march directly, and join the Emperor at Terky.

Both the Emperor and Empress were highly pleased with their guests, and, in the evening, dismissed them with suitable presents. The Empress gave the Queen a gold repeating-watch, set with diamonds, which seemed very much to take her fancy, besides some pieces of brocade, and other silks of value.

It is well worth remarking, that this treaty between two mighty monarchs was begun, carried on, and concluded, in less space of time than is usually employed, by the plenipotentiaries of our western European monarchs, in taking a dinner.

The 22d, we left Saratoff, and sailed down the river Volga with a fair wind.

The 23d, in the evening, we came to the town of Kamoshiuka, where we remained till the next morning.

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The 28th, we came to the town of Zaritzina; and the 30th, to another town called Tzorno-yarr.

July 4th, we arrived at the city of Astrachan. Little remarkable occurred during the voyage. We were sometimes detained by contrary winds; and for the most part of the way, were much incommoded by muskitoes, which plagued us much in the day-time, and interrupted our rest during the night.

The 5th, the weather being excessive hot, the Emperor quitted his house in the city, and went to lodge in one of the adjacent vineyards.

The 6th, the dragoons, whom we found encamped on the west bank of the Volga, to the number of five thousand, were ordered to march directly to Terky, there to wait the Emperor's arrival.

The 8th, the Lord High Admiral Apraxin arrived with the fleet and troops on board. The next day the troops encamped on one of the islands in the neighbourhood.

During our stay at Astrachan, nothing of moment occurred.

The 16th, all the necessary preparations being completed, the troops re-embarked, and lay on board that night.

The 17th, the Emperor, Empress, and all the court, went on board; and the wind being fair, sailed down the river; drums beating, and music playing. The fleet was in several divisions, under their respective chiefs; and being joined by a number of large transports, and other vessels, made a very grand appearance, such as had never been seen before in this part of the world, nor frequently in any other.

The 18th, the wind being contrary, we made but slow progress. In the evening it fell calm; all the shoals being covered with high reeds, contributed to increase the innumerable quantity of muskitoes, with which we were intolerably pestered.

The 19th, we got out of the river Volga into the Caspian Sea. The wind being contrary, the heavy transports were warped out as far as possible, to get out of the reach of those troublesome insects. At night we came to an anchor, in eight feet water, near a flat island called Tulney-Lapata.

The 20th, we continued warping out the whole day. At night, we came to an anchor, near the four sandy hillocks called Tzateerey-Buggory.

The 21st, at break of day, the Admiral made signal for sailing; the fleet got under sail, and put out to sea, with a fair wind.

The Emperor, accompanied with the half-gallies, on board which were the troops, steered to the west, close under the shore. But I being on board one of the large ships, we kept the sea, and steered a direct course for Terky. It is to be observed, that the Emperor and the gallies took their course to avoid being surpris'd with a gale of wind at sea, which might have been attended with bad consequences.

The 22d, we came into salt water, four fathoms deep, out of sight of land, and also of the gallies.

The 23d, we had calms, and easy breezes at north-west.

The 24th, in the evening, we came to an anchor in the road of Terky.

The 25th, the Emperor, and all the gallies arrived safe.

The 26th, the Emperor went ashore; and having visited the town and fortifications, returned on board in the evening.

The town of Terky is a frontier strongly situated by nature, being encompassed by a deep marshy ground, having only one entrance to it, on the land-side, which is well defended by batteries. It takes its name from a small rivulet running by it, called Terk. It is governed by a commandant, and hath a garrison of about one thousand

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men, of regular troops and cossacks, and is at all times well stored with ammunition and provisions. This place is of singular use for keeping the Tzercassian mountaineers in order, who are well known to be an unruly and restless people. I shall hereafter have occasion to speak more of this nation. The same day, the Emperor sent an officer to the Aldiggery, commonly called Shaffkall, to notify his arrival in these parts. The Shaffkall is a prince of considerable authority among the mountaineers, and a friend to the Russians.

The 27th, the fleet weighed anchor, and sailed, south by east, to the bay of Agrachan, so called from a river of that name. In the evening, we anchored in the bay, as near the shore as we judged convenient.

The 28th, the Imperial standard was set up on the shore; all the troops landed and encamped. The same day, a cossack arrived in the camp with dispatches from General Veteranie, who commanded a body of dragoons, giving an account that, in his march, he was attacked by a strong party of mountaineers, near the town called Andrea; that, after a smart dispute, in which several of each side had been killed, and some wounded, he at last dispersed them, and took possession of the town. These people having previously sent all their families and effects to some distance in the mountains, it seems this rash attempt of these mountaineers was premeditated; for the General demanded nothing but a free passage through the country, and engaged to leave them unmolested. The place itself is of no defence, though they had barricaded the streets and avenues leading to it. The poor people felt to their cost the effects of attacking regular troops, of which they had never seen any before. However, this was a certain proof of the boldness of these people. Several of them were brought prisoners to the camp; they were strong able-bodied men, fit for any service.

The Emperor, before he left Astrachan, had sent manifestos to all the petty princes and chiefs of Daggestan, declaring, that he did not come to invade or make war against them; that he only desired a free passage through their territories, and would pay ready money for what provisions, or other necessaries, they might furnish, and that to the full value; to which some of them agreed, others of them did not. Such is often the case with free independent states, as are those of the Daggestan.

The 29th and 30th were spent in landing the provisions, artillery, &c.; after which the whole army and baggage were transported, on boats and rafts, to the east bank of the river Agrachan. This proved a work of labour, there being no woods at hand to make a bridge, nor water enough, at the mouth of the river, to admit our half-gallies, which were designed for the bridge.

The army being transported over, and encamped on the other side of the river, the Emperor made a plan, and ordered a small fortress to be raised; he named it Agrachan, from the river on which it was built. This place was intended to keep such stores as we could not conveniently carry along with us, and as a place of retreat, in case of unforeseen accidents.

August 2d, the chief named Aldiggery came to pay his respects to the Emperor, who gave him a gracious reception, as he did to several other chiefs, of less note, who came in a friendly manner. The Aldiggery was accompanied by a small troop of his principal officers; most of them were handsome young fellows, very well mounted. After this chief had staid some hours, and settled matters relating to the march, he took his leave.

In the mean time, the soldiers were employed in raising the works of the fortress; and ten thousand cossacks arrived from the river Don, all horsemen, under command of Krasnotzokin and other chiefs; and also the five thousand Kalmucks, sent by the Ayuka-

Chan, according to agreement, as formerly mentioned. They were all well mounted, and had many spare horses, which were of great use. They all encamped in the plain towards the mountains.

The troops being now all assembled, we only waited for the carriages which the Aldiggery had engaged to furnish for the artillery and baggage.

During this interval, our great leader, the Emperor, was not idle, but daily on horse-back, reviewing the army, which was now increased to more than thirty thousand combatants, including the Cossacks and Kalmucks; a number sufficient to have conquered all Persia, had it been intended. Besides the army which were then assembled, the Aldiggery made a tender to the Emperor of a considerable body of his troops, which the Emperor declined the acceptance of.

At length, about three hundred waggons arrived at the camp, drawn by two oxen each; but their harnessing not being such as we were used to, we were not a little embarrassed in setting them a-going.

About the middle of August, the army was put in motion, and marched, in several columns, from Agrachan; leaving there a force sufficient to complete the works, and garrison the place. In the evening, we encamped at a brook of brackish and muddy water. This day our road lay about equal distance between the sea and the Tzercassian mountains, commonly called Daggeftan.

Next morning we decamped, marched along the valley towards the mountains, and at night, came to another brook of bad water, where was a little wood of oaks, and plenty of grass, among which I observed great quantities of a certain herb, called Roman wormwood, which the hungry horses devoured very greedily. Next day, we found about five hundred of our horses dead in the wood and adjacent fields. In our present circumstances this was no small disaster. The cause was ascribed to their eating the wormwood, which, perhaps, might be the case. We avoided, for the future, as much as possible, the encamping where large quantities of this plant grew.

Yet the dead horses, having been in good case, were not entirely lost, as our Kalmucks feasted on them for several days. It is to be observed, that these people prefer horse-flesh to beef; and in all their expeditions, their baggage is very compendious, carrying no other provisions than such a number of spare horses as they think they may want. I was often diverted in seeing these hardy people, round a fire, broiling and eating their horse-steaks, without either bread or salt.

The loss of so many horses detained us some hours later than usual; but, as both the water and grass were bad, we decamped, and at night, came to a spacious plain opposite to the town of Tarku, where the Aldiggery resides. Here we found fresh water and good pasturage.

This place is pleasantly situated in a hollow between two high hills, rising, like an amphitheatre, to within a small distance of the top; having a full view of the Caspian Sea. The Prince's house is the uppermost, and overlooks the whole town. It consists of several apartments, with a spacious hall, after the Persian manner, having a terrace and small garden adjoining.

Next morning, the Aldiggery came and waited on their Majesties, and invited them to dinner, which was accepted of.

Towards noon, the Princess, spouse to the Aldiggery, came and paid her respects to the Emperor, and gave Her Majesty a formal invitation. This lady came in the equipage of the country—that is, in a covered waggon, drawn by a yoke of oxen, with a few footmen to attend her, and escorted by a small party of horse. The lady, though something advanced in years, had still the remains of an handsome person. She had

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along with her, in the waggon, a young lady, her daughter, who was so pretty that she would have been deemed a beauty in any part of Europe. When they entered the Empress's tent, Her Majesty stood up to receive them; they then took off their veils, and behaved with great decency. They were richly dressed after the Persian fashion. After they had drunk a dith of coffee, they took leave, and returned to the town.

Soon after their departure, the Emperor and Empress went to the town to dine. The Emperor went on horseback, the Empress in her coach, attended by some of the court ladies, and escorted by a battalion of the guards. The street was so narrow, and near the palace so steep, that the coach and six horses could not proceed quite to the palace, which, when Her Majesty perceived, she alighted from the coach, and walked the rest of the way on foot. The Emperor was much pleased with the romantic situation of the place. In the evening they returned to the camp.

August 22d, the army marched from Shaffkal. The day being exceeding hot, no water to be found on the road, together with a continued cloud of dust, to that degree that we could scarcely know one another, made this day's march very disagreeable and fatiguing to all, more especially to the heavy armed troops and the cattle. Notwithstanding these inconveniences, the Emperor kept on horseback the whole day, and took his share of whatever happened. At night, we came to some wells of fresh water, where the army encamped; but there was hardly water enough for the people to drink, which obliged us to send the horses and cattle to a brook at some distance, and a strong party of Cossacks to guard them, lest the enemy should attempt to carry them off.

The next day, we halted at the wells. The Emperor having received intelligence, that a certain chieftain of the mountaineers, named Usiney, was assembling some troops in order to harass us in our march, which lay through some hollow grounds; accordingly, towards noon, we perceived a number of horse and foot, on the tops of the neighbouring hills, about three English miles distance from the camp; after they had reconnoitred our disposition for some time, about one half of them, composed of horse and foot, came down into the plain, with intent to drive off some of our cattle, which brought on a skirmish between our irregular troops and the mountaineers, wherein several were wounded, and some were killed on each side. Our people took many of their foot, and of such as had been dismounted, prisoners. During the action, our infantry kept close in the camp. The Emperor rode out to the field; he ordered the dragoons to march, and support the irregulars: on their advancing, the enemy soon dispersed themselves, and fled to the hills, where a considerable number had remained firm on the heights. The carrying off some cattle is supposed to have been their principal aim, as it would not have been less than downright madness in them to have expected to have gained any advantage by attacking such an army of veteran troops, well provided and well conducted.

In the meantime, our dragoons and irregulars were in pursuit of the enemy, on the other side of the first ridge of hills, and quite out of sight. The Emperor, being apprehensive of an ambush, and of a large body of mountaineers being lodged on the other side of the hills, about three o'clock, afternoon, ordered the army to decamp, and march towards the mountains, which was performed in six columns. The Emperor had hourly intelligence of the proceedings of the dragoons and irregulars, who at length entirely dispersed the enemy, and had taken possession of the town where the Prince Usiney resided. However, it being then too late to return to our former camp, the army encamped that night on a plain between the hills on the banks of a small

rivulet, where we had but indifferent quarters, as there was no more time than to set up the Emperor's tent, and a few others.

The next day, the army decamped, and marched back to our former camp at the wells, leaving the dragoons and irregulars to manage the rest of the business, who made the Daggestans, particularly the Uffiney and his people, pay dear for their rash attempt of endeavouring to interrupt the march of an army so far superior to any force they could muster. We staid here two days, waiting for the return of our dragoons and irregulars.

The 27th, the troops being all re-assembled, the Emperor decamped, and marched again to the south-eastward, towards Derbent, through a dry parched plain. At night, we came to a brook, near the foot of the hills, where we encamped, not having seen any enemy that day.

The 28th, we marched again, and passing a defile, or hollow way, with some difficulty and delay to the carriages, at night we came to wells of brackish water, where we set up our tents, at no great distance from the hills, the sea being about a mile from us to the left hand.

The 29th, being within a short march of the city of Derbent, the Emperor halted to give the troops time to put themselves in order for an entry into the town, as it is the frontier belonging to the Shach of Persia.

Near our camp, there are several pits flowing with that bituminous liquid called naphtha. The naphtha here is of a blackish colour, very inflammable; it is used by the Persians to burn in their lamps, and not easily extinguished by rain. But, as I have formerly spoken of this kind of petroleum, I do not enlarge on that subject here.

The 30th, the army set forwards, the Emperor being on horseback at the head of his troops, which made a fine appearance. At the distance of about three English miles from Derbent, the governor of that place, attended by his officers of distinction, and the magistrates of the town, came in a body to wait on the Emperor, and to present him with the golden keys of the town and of the citadel, which they did on a cushion covered with very rich Persian brocade; the governor and all his attendants kneeling during this short ceremony. The Emperor received these gentlemen very graciously, and gave them signal marks of his favour. They accompanied him to the city, where, being arrived, the army halted some time; during which, guards were placed at the gates, and a garrison in the citadel, under the command of Colonel Yunger, with a supply of cannon and ammunition, both which were wanting in the place.

The foregoing being completed, the Emperor at the head of his army, marched through the city, and encamped among the vineyards, about an English mile to the south-eastward of the town, and about half a mile from the sea-shore.

Soon after which the Emperor, accompanied by all the general officers, returned again to the city, and examined the condition of the fortifications. On this occasion, the Persian governor made His Majesty an offer of his house, and quarters for as many of the troops as the place could accommodate; but to avoid putting the inhabitants to any inconveniency, or perhaps for other reasons, the Emperor declined accepting the offer of lodging in the city, and at night, returned to his camp.

In this situation, we continued some days, and were making the needful preparations for advancing farther into the country, as soon as the transports with provisions, stores, &c. from Altrachan, which were daily expected, should arrive.

They did arrive in safety; but a most unfortunate accident happened; the night following, after their arrival, a violent storm of wind, from the north-east, drove the

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greatest part of them ashore, where they were wrecked and dashed to pieces; but, by good providence, not many lives were lost.

This misfortune disconcerted His Majesty's measures, and put a stop to the further progress of his arms for the present, having nothing before him but a country exhausted of all necessaries; and the season of the year being too far spent to wait a fresh supply from Astrachan, the Emperor determined to leave things in the same state they then were in, and to return again to Astrachan, by the same way we came, leaving a garrison at Derbent sufficient to secure the advantages he had gained.

Before I leave Derbent, I shall endeavour to give a short description of the place. It is said to have been first built and fortified, according to the style of the fortifications of that age, by Alexander the Great; though it is not easy to ascertain that tradition, or the era of its first construction; yet, by variety of circumstances, it appears to be very ancient.

The present citadel, walls, and gates, seem to be of European architecture, and no mean performance.

The citadel stands on the highest grounds of the city towards the land-side. The walls of the city are built of large blocks of square stone; they reach into the sea, beyond which many huge rocks are tumbled into the sea, to prevent any approach, or passage on that side. The haven is now so choaked up with sand, that there is hardly entry for a small boat.

Derbent may be called the key to the Persian empire on this side, and serves to keep the mountaineers, and other neighbours on that side in awe. The situation is very pleasant, rising gradually from the sea to the top of the hill, commanding a very extensive prospect, especially towards the south-east. About thirty miles due south stands one of the highest mountains in Persia, called Shach-Dagh, which is always covered with snow. To the eastward of the town are many large vineyards, producing plenty of grapes, of which they make a considerable quantity of both white and red wine, of strength sufficient to preserve it round the year, and longer if required. The people of substance there keep their wine in jars, buried under ground, by which method it will keep good for years.

They have also fruitful plains in the neighbourhood, and at some distance, is a large forest of walnut trees, oaks, &c. As this place is a frontier of great importance, the Sophy of Persia always appoints a person of distinction for its governor.

His Majesty having placed a sufficient garrison in Derbent, which he left there under the command of Colonel Yunger, upon September the 18th, the whole army marched back through the town, keeping the same route by which we came. Little of moment occurred on our march, though we were almost daily alarmed by small parties of the Daggestans, who frequently made their appearance on the tops of the hills, but fled always at the approach of our cossacks. As we had seen no rain since our landing on this coast, our people suffered not a little from the great heats, continual clouds of dust, and want of water.

On the 29th of September, after a most fatiguing march, their Majesties and all the army arrived in safety at the fort of Agrachan, and found the fleet in the bay where we left them.

October the 1st, we began to ship off the baggage, and what artillery, &c. was not wanted at the fort of Agrachan; in which place the Emperor left a sufficient garrison.

I shall now endeavour to give the reader a short view of the country commonly called Tzercaffia, or Daggestan, by the inhabitants of country, from *dagh*, which signifies a mountain in their language. The country so called is situated between the

Euxine, or Black Sea, and the Caspian Sea: these two seas confine it from N. W. to S. E. Southward it reaches to the province of Gurgistan, commonly called Georgia. It stretches northward into a part of the Stepp, or desert, which lies between Aloff and Astrachan.

The country is divided into several free independent principalities, as Kaberdia, Shaffkall, Uffimey, and many others, under their respective chieftains, who are at first elected by the people; and though that office is sometimes known to continue in the family of the person elected for several generations, yet it hath frequently happened, that, either through mal-administration, or in consequence of wars among those different states, a chieftain with his family have been deposed or banished, and another appointed in his place. It hath also been known, that the Sophy of Persia hath placed and displaced some of those princes among the Daggestans who lie the most contiguous to Persia. Both the Sophy and the Ottoman Porte lay claim to the sovereignty of Daggestan; but of late years, these people, trusting to their own valour and the natural strength of the country, pay little regard to either of these mighty monarchs, who sometimes threaten them; at other times court their friendship.

The whole extent of the country is hilly, with some mountains of great height; yet, I am informed, they have fruitful vallies, producing corn, vines, and fruits, natural to the climate. Besides a breed of excellent saddle-horses, they have great store of cattle, particularly of sheep, which produce the finest wool I have seen in any part. Whether the famous golden fleece was the produce of these parts or not, I shall leave others to determine.

The men are, for the most part, well made and stout; many of them are employed in the service of the Sophy, and frequently raised to high stations. The Etmadowlett, or prime minister, Aly-Begg, was a native of this country. As to their women, they are esteemed to be the most beautiful of any in Asia, as well for features and complexion as also for fine shape; on which account many of these poor girls are purchased at high rates, or stolen away, for the use of the seraglios at Ispahan, Constantinople, and other eastern courts.

The religion of the Daggestans is generally Mahometan; some following the sect of Osman, others that of Haly. Some of those people are Christians of the Eastern or Greek Church. Their language, for the most part, is Turkish, or rather a dialect of the Arabic, though many of them speak also the Persian language.

One article I cannot omit concerning their laws of hospitality, which is, if their greatest enemy comes under their roof for protection, the landlord, of what condition soever, is obliged to keep him safe from all manner of harm or violence, during his abode with him, and even to conduct him safely through his territories to a place of security. With which I conclude what I have to say of the Daggestans.

On the 5th of October, His Majesty and the Empress went on board their galley, the fleet being ready, and all the troops embarked.

Before I quit Agrachan, I am desirous of bringing the reader, in some measure, acquainted with the character of the magnanimous commander of this expedition, during which I had daily frequent opportunities of seeing that great man Peter the First; and during the whole time, was in company, and conversed with those people who had attended his person for very many years; several of whom possessed, in some degree, his favour, and were well regarded by him. Therefore, I hope, what I am about to offer, concerning this great monarch, will not be unacceptable to the candid reader, whose taking in good part what I shall say, I have some right to expect; for I shall say nothing of fact, but what is true, nor any thing of opinion, but what is sincere.

Several

Several foreign writers have misrepresented and traduced the real character of Peter the Great, by relating mean stories, picked up at ale-houses, and circulated among the lowest class of people, most of them without the least ground of truth, whereby many people of good understanding have been misled, and, even to this present time, look on him to have been a vicious man, and a cruel tyrant, than which nothing can be more the reverse of his true character.

Though he might have had some failings, yet it is well known, to many living at the time of my writing this, which is above thirty-seven years after his demise, that his prudence, justice, and humanity, much overbalanced his failings, which principally, if not solely, arose from his inclination to the fair sex.

I shall here take the liberty to insert a passage or two, which, though trifling, yet as so great a personage is the subject, will not, I trust, be altogether unacceptable or unentertaining to the reader, as they are instances of his assiduity.

About the middle of October 1714, I arrived at Cronstadt in an English ship. The Czar having notice of the ship's arrival, came on board the next morning, from St. Peterburg; being attended only by Dr. Areskine, who was his chief physician at that time, and on that occasion served him as interpreter. After His Majesty had inquired news about the Swedish fleet, &c. he eat a piece of bread and cheese, and drank a glass of ale; then went on shore to visit the works carrying on at Cronstadt; and returned, the same evening, in his boat, to St. Peterburg, distance about twenty English miles.

The first winter after my arrival at St. Peterburg, I lodged at Mr. Noy's, an English ship-builder in the Czar's service. One morning, before day-light, my servant came and told me that the Czar was at the door. I got up, and saw him walking up and down the yard, the weather being severely cold and frosty, without any one to attend him. Mr. Noy soon came, and took him into the parlour, where His Majesty gave him some particular directions about a ship then on the stocks; which having done, he left him.

His Majesty's person was graceful, tall, and well made; clean, and very plain in his apparel. He generally wore an English drab-colour cloth frock, never appearing in a dress suit of clothes, unless on great festivals, and remarkable holidays; on which occasions, he was sometimes dressed in laced clothes, of which sort he was not owner of above three or four suits. When he was dressed, he wore the order of St. Andrew; at other times, he had no badge or mark of any order on his person. His equipage was simple, without attendants. In summer, a four-oared wherry was always attending, to carry him over the river, if he should want to cross it, which he frequently did. When he went about the town by land, he always made use of an open two-wheeled chaise, attended by two soldiers or grooms, who rode before, and a page, who sometimes stood behind the chaise, and often sat in it with His Majesty, and drove him. In winter, he made use of a sledge, drawn by one horse, with the same attendants. He found these to be the most expeditious ways of conveyance, and used no other. He was abroad every day in the year, unless confined at home by illness, which rarely happened; so that seldom a day passed but he was seen in almost every part of the city.

I have more than once seen him stop in the streets to receive petitions from persons who thought themselves wronged by sentences passed in courts of judicature. On taking the petition, the person was told to come next day to the senate; where the affair was immediately examined and determined, if the nature of it would admit of its being done in so short a time. It will naturally follow, that such free access to his person was not only productive of great relief to many poor widows and orphans, but also
a strong

a strong check upon judges; and tended very much to prevent any sort of influence prevailing on them to pronounce unjust sentences, for which they were so likely to be called to account.

His Majesty might truly be called a man of business, for he could dispatch more affairs in a morning, than a houseful of senators could do in a month. He rose almost every morning, in the winter time, before four o'clock; was often in his cabinet by three o'clock; where two private secretaries, and certain clerks, paid constant attendance. He often went so early to the senate, as to occasion the senators being raised out of their beds to attend him there. When assembled, after hearing causes between subject and subject, or public affairs, regarding the interior of the empire, read by the secretary, and the opinion of the senate recited thereupon, he would write upon the process, or upon the affair, under deliberation, with his own hand, in a very laconic style, "Let it be according to the decree of the senate;" and sometimes would add some particular alterations, such as he thought fit to mention, and underwrote, *Peter*.

His Majesty knew so little of relaxation of mind when awake, that he never allowed his time of rest to be broken in upon, unless in case of fire. When any accident of that kind happened, in any part of the town, there was a standing order to awake him on its first appearance; and His Majesty was frequently the first at the fire, where he always remained, giving the necessary orders, till all further danger was over. This example of paternal regard of the Czar for his subjects, was of course followed by all the great officers, and those of the first quality; which was frequently the means of saving many thousands of his subjects from utter ruin, whose houses and goods, without such singular assistance, must have shared the fate of their ruined neighbours.

In acts of religion he appeared devout, but not superstitious. I have seen him at his public devotions at church many times. I have been present, when His Majesty, not liking the clerk's manner of reading the psalms, hath taken the book from the clerk, and hath read them himself; which he did very distinctly, and with proper emphasis. His Majesty was allowed, by the best judges of the Sclavonian and Russian languages, to be as great a master of them as any of the most learned of his subjects, whether churchmen or laics. He wrote a very good hand, very expeditiously, yet the characters distinct enough. Of this I myself am some judge, having seen many of his letters, all written with his own hand, to Mr. Henry Stiles, and others. As to his style, some of his secretaries, and other competent judges of the language, affirmed, that they had never known any man who wrote more correctly, or could comprize the sense and meaning of what he wrote in so few words as His Majesty.

The following I had from a certain Rus gentleman, of very good family, and who was a general officer of unexceptionable character in the army, who had attended His Majesty, from his very youth, in all his expeditions. This officer being an old friend of mine, I went to pay him a visit one evening, long after the death of Peter the Great, when he told me, that such and such old officers, naming them, had dined with him that day, and that the principal subject of their conversation turned on the actions of their old father, (as he termed him by way of eminence,) Peter the Great. He told me further, that, though His Majesty seemed to be severe, on certain occasions, yet no one of them all could produce or recollect one single instance of his having punished an honest man, or that he caused any person to suffer any punishment who had not well deserved it.

He hath been represented as making too frequent use of spirituous liquors to excess, which is an unmerited asperson; for he had an aversion to all sots, and to those too much given to drink. It is true, he had his times of diversion, when he would be merry himself,

himself, and liked to see others so; this may have been necessary and proper, for the unbending his mind from affairs of great weight; but such amusements occurred generally during holidays, and festival times, and was, with him, at no time of long continuance. It has been imputed to him, and not without some appearance of reason, that he had political views in encouraging drinking at these times of merriment; for, on these occasions, he mixed with the company, and conversing with them on the footing of a companion, had better opportunities, at such times, of discovering the real sentiments of those about him, than when they were quite cool.

Those who, by their offices about the person of Peter the Great, might be supposed to be the best acquainted with his disposition, always disfavoured his drinking to excess, and insisted on his being a sober Prince. I can aver that, during the campaign of the expedition to Derbent in Persia, he was not once guilty of the least excess, but rather lived abstemiously. In this point, I could not be mistaken, as the tent of Dr. Blumenroft, His Majesty's chief physician, with whom I lodged, was always the nearest tent to that of His Majesty.

I shall give one instance, in proof of what I have advanced concerning the temperance of this great man, viz. In our third day's march, on our return from Derbent, we were kept in continual alarm by considerable bodies of mountaineers, both of horse and foot, whom we saw hovering on the tops of the adjacent hills, though they dared not to come down to the plain, to attack any part of our army, yet it was necessary to be watchful of them; which, in some measure impeded our march. The evening of that day, we had a hollow way to pass, which took up much time, and obliged the greatest part of the army to remain there all night; so that none reached the camp, except the guards, and some light horse, who attended their Majesties. On my arrival there, about midnight, I found only His Majesty's tent set up, and another small one for Mr. Felton, the Czar's principal cook, and master of his kitchen. I went into Felton's tent, and found him all alone, with a large sauce-pan of warm grout before him, made of buck-wheat with butter, which he told me was the remains of their Majesties supper, who eat of nothing else that evening, and who were just gone to bed.

During the whole march, His Majesty, for the most part, rode an English pad, about fourteen hands high, for which he had a particular liking, as it was very tractable and easy to mount. His picture is drawn by Caravac on this horse. He did not wear boots, as he very often walked on foot. In the heat of the day, when the army halted, he used to get into the Empress's coach, and sleep for half an hour. His dress, during the march, was a white night-cap, with a plain flapped hat over it, and a short dimity waistcoat. When at any time he received messengers from the chieftains of the mountaineers, he put on his regimentals, as an officer of the guards, being lieutenant-colonel of the Preobrashtenky regiment.

During the whole course of his life, His Majesty avoided all sorts of ceremony, except on public occasions. His manner of living in his house was more like that of a private gentleman than of so great a monarch. I was once at court on a holiday, when the Emperor came home from church to dinner, with a large attendance of his ministers, general officers, and other great men. His table was laid with about fifteen covers. As soon as dinner was served up, he and the Empress took their places, and His Majesty, addressing himself to the company, said, "Gentlemen, please to take your places as far as the table will hold, the rest will go home and dine with their wives."

On such occasions, the princesses, his children, dined in another room, to whom he sent such dishes, from his own table, as he thought proper for their dinner.

This great monarch took all the pains, and used all the means possible, in order to be intimately acquainted with every thing proper for a man who ruled a mighty empire to know. He entered into the detail of every branch of the arts useful to mankind; into that of all the manufactures which regarded the construction of ships, and fitting them for the sea; into that of the making of arms, artillery, &c. If he had a ruling passion for any one part of these acquirements, it must have been for ship-building; into which he entered himself very early, in the quality of a common workman, with his hatchet, and proceeded regularly through all the degrees, to the rank of master-builder, which he attained but a few years before his death. After he got that length in the art, he made the draughts, formed the mouldings, and directed the buildings of several men of war, of the second and third rates, himself; and he duly demanded, and received his salary as a master-builder. The day of launching the ships, which he himself built, he celebrated as a holiday, and put on laced clothes; but, before he went to work, to strike away the staunchions, blocks, &c. he always put off his fine coat.

He was very frugal in what regarded his personal expences, and those of his household. Notwithstanding his frugality in what related to himself, he spared no cost in whatever concerned the public, in the structure of his men of war, in the artillery, fortifications, arsenals, canals, &c. all which bore marks of very great magnificence. Nor was he sparing in his buildings, and the decorations of his gardens with statues, grottos, fountains, &c. of which the buildings of the summer-palace, and the gardens at St. Petersburg, at Peterhoff, Strealna, Czarfsky Sealo, and many others are sufficient proofs. I shall not detain the reader longer on the subject of this very great man's character, or way of living, than to acquaint him, that, as His Majesty was very early up in the morning, he went abroad generally without breakfast; came home to dinner about eleven of the clock; after dinner, went to sleep for about an hour; after which, if business did not intervene, he sometimes diverted himself at his turning loom; then went to visit those he had a regard for, as well foreigners as Russians, with whom he would be very sociable, and easy in conversation. He sometimes supped very them; which, generally in his latter days, was on hare or wild-fowl, roasted with dry, drank small beer, and sometimes a few glasses of wine; and generally was in bed before ten of the clock at night. He neither played at cards, dice, or any game of chance.

The reader will please to take along with him the following observations, viz. that this monarch was, at no time, even during masquerades, feasts, assemblies, and all other diversions or amusements, by day or night, without the attendance of some or other of his ministers, and of those who possessed his confidence; by which means business, and such affairs as were of the greatest consequence, went on regularly; and some of them even concerted during those times of relaxation.

I now return to the 5th of October 1722; at which time, the Emperor and Empress being embarked on board their galley, and the whole fleet being ready, and the wind fair, we weighed anchor and got under sail, from the bay of Astrachan, for Astrachan, at which place we arrived on the 14th of the same month, little material happening in the passage, only some rough gales of contrary wind.

Having finished what I had to do at Astrachan, I joined company with Simon Gregoritz Narishkin, one of His Majesty's general-adjutants, and Commodore Cofslar, who always commanded the ship in which His Majesty hoisted his flag, when he went to sea; and with these two gentlemen returned to Mosco.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, we set out from Astrachan in a small shallop, and came by water to the town of Zaritzina. The winter approaching, we got such carriages as the place afforded, and continued our journey, along the lines, to the river Don; these lines are drawn from the Volga to the Don, being a deep ditch, about thirty feet broad, pallisaded on the top, with high wooden towers at certain distances, in sight of each other, well guarded. They effectually answer the end proposed by His Majesty, in erecting them, and making the ditch, which was for the preventing of incursions from the Cuban Tartars.

The 25th of November we arrived in Mosco; at which place His Majesty and the Empress arrived about the middle of December 1722.

The following are the post-stages and distances between Mosco and Astrachan.

From Mosco to the	Versts.	To the	Versts.
Village of Ostrofsach	- 25	Town of Pravotorskoy Yurtu	20
Ulianinia Sealo	- 38	Kalinoffskoy Kustiky	24
Town of Kolumna	- 32	Zatoffsky-Yurtu	21
Zarayfsky	- 39	Kulmishkom-Yurtu	24
Prudach Sealo	- 37	Uft-Chaperfkoy Koluditz	21
Pod Offinka	- 35	Rofsleeve	12
Bogoyavlensko	35	Uft-Medvedefsky	13
Gorlovy	- 25	Kletzkoy-Tzaganock	18
Skopina	- 30	Klementfsky Stantzzy	23
Reafky	- 40	Novo Gregorioffsky	20
Village of Blagoy	- 37	Siropensky Stantzzy	23
Oloviach	- 35	Retzky-Sokary	30
Town of Kozloff	- 32	Gratfefsky Stantzzy	12
Retzky Yaroslafky	25	Zaritina	28
Lyflich-Gorach Sealo	22	Reka-Actuba	26
Tamboff	22	Tzareofa-Puda	31
Kufminoy-Gatty Sealo	21	Urotzifha-Tzareva	30
Retzky-Tziny	27	Tayunley	26
Panoffskich Kustack	24	Kulava	30
Retzky-Savally	20	Afhlagatay	30
Retzky-Shinkoffy	20	Sakuley	30
Retzky-Tagaiky	26	Okoreba	25
Retzky-Tavolfhanky	20	Befstzara	26
Chaperfkoy Krepost	22	Kravalava	30
Michailofsky Gorodky	27	Achfarava	27
Yuripinsky Stanu	17	Reka-Bolshoy Bereketa	20
Tepinsky-Yurtu	20	Astrachan	39

The distance from Mosco to Astrachan, the post-road, by land . . . 1412

AN ACCOUNT OF MY JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG TO CONSTANTINOPLE,
AND THENCE BACK TO ST. PETERSBURG, IN PART OF THE YEARS 1737 AND
1738, UNDERTAKEN AT THE INSTANCES OF COUNT OSTERMAN, CHANCELLOR
OF RUSSIA, AND OF MR. RONDEAU, MINISTER FROM GREAT BRITAIN AT THE
COURT OF ST. PETERSBURG.

A WAR having broken out in 1734 between Russia and Turkey, which had been carried on with great success on the part of Russia, by their taking from the Turks the strongly fortified cities of Asof, Otzakoff, together with the Perecop, and other places of the frontiers of great importance, the Emperor of Germany, through various connections, came, some time after its commencement, to be engaged in it.

In the autumn of 1737, a congress was appointed to be held at Nemiroff, a town on the frontiers of Poland, in order to accommodate and determine all differences between the belligerent powers, by the mediation of the ministers of Great Britain, France, and the States of Holland, then residing at the Ottoman Porte, who were Sir Everard Fawkner, the Marquis de Ville-Neuve, and Mr. Kalkune. But before these ministers could reach Nemiroff, the plenipotentiaries of the powers at war differed so widely in their respective demands, that the congress broke up without effect.

The court of Russia determining to send a person to Constantinople, with new proposals of accommodation; and, as no subjects of Russia or Germany are admitted into the dominions of the Grand Signor, while he is at war with those powers, I was prevailed upon to undertake the journey, at the earnest desires of Count Osterman, the chancellor of Russia, and of Mr. Rondeau, at that time His Britannic Majesty's minister at the Court of St. Petersburg.

On the 6th of December 1737, I set out from St. Petersburg, with only one servant, who understood the Turkish language. Having, in a former journey, taken notice of the places on the road between St. Petersburg and Mosco, I wave the repeating them.

The 9th, I arrived at the city of Mosco, which had greatly suffered the preceding summer by a dreadful conflagration. As I purpose at the end of my journey, to give an account of the stages and distances, I shall here only mention the time, and chief places through which I pass.

The 11th, I left Mosco, early in the morning, and proceeded to the south-west towards Kioff.

The 12th, in the night, I came to Kalugua, a large and populous town, situated on the banks of the river Oeka, inhabited by several substantial merchants, very considerable dealers in hemp, pot-ash, wax, &c.

The 15th, I got to Siefky, another town, which is reckoned to be at about equal distance from Mosco and from Kioff, and is the last town in Great Russia, bordering on the Russian Ukraïn. At night I reached Glukova, the first town in the Ukraïn, a large and populous place, where, having changed horses, I proceeded thence the same night to another town called Korolevitz.

The 16th, I passed through Batturin, a large rambling town, formerly the residence of the Hetmann Mazeppa; it stands on rising hills upon the river Semm. The country adjacent is very pleasant, and exceeding fruitful, being mostly plain, interspersed with woods of oak and other timber. The place is almost encompassed with cherry and other fruit trees. What is remarkable, and demonstrative of the great fertility of the

soil

soil is, that they have about sixty water-mills for grinding corn, all built within the distance of two English miles.

At night, I got to Neshin, another considerable town. At this place, for want of snow on the ground, I was obliged to leave my convenient sledge, and ride all the rest of the way on horseback. This detained me much longer on the road than I should have been if I could have proceeded in my sledge.

The 18th, I passed the Borysthenes, in a boat, and in the evening arrived at Kioff, situated on the west bank of the Borysthenes, now called Dnieper. This famous river takes its rise on the borders of Poland, near the city of Smolensko, and, after a long course pointing to the south, discharges itself into the Black Sea, near Otzakoff.

The city of Kioff stands on a high hill, and overlooks the river, and a spacious plain to the eastward, as far as your eye can reach. To the westward the country is hilly; and many of the hills are covered with woods. There are several vineyards about the town, which produce good grapes for the table.

This place is adorned with many magnificent churches, and is famous for being the repository of saints, and holy men of the Greek church, whose shrines are visited by devout persons from distant places. Besides, they have an university at Kioff, of considerable repute in these parts.

I cannot but observe here, that this part of the country, commonly called the Ukrain, (though it is sometimes called Little Russia,) doth, for fertility of soil, and rich pasturage, exceed most parts of Europe, producing vast quantities of various sorts of grain, the crops of which are always very great, as well as of hemp and flax, of the most excellent quality, and that with little labour; for they plow the ground with one horse only, and but with one man, who holds the plow, and drives the horse at the same time.

The Ukrain produces good horses for the saddle, and large sized black cattle, in very great numbers, more than sufficient for their own use, and for supplying their neighbours with as good beef as the world affords. The woods are well stored with game of divers sorts, as are the rivers and ponds with fish. Asparagus, which in other parts requires cultivation, grows naturally in such plenty in the Ukrain, as to be termed a weed. The people are very civil and hospitable among themselves, and also to all strangers, living very clean and neat in their houses. I now resume my journey.

At Kioff I met with my worthy friends General Romanzoff, and the privy councillor Mr. Neptuof, who gave me all the assistance and dispatch I could desire. They ordered a lieutenant and a troop of cossacks to escort me through Poland, to the confines of Moldavia.

On the 20th, I set out from Kioff, and at night, came to the frontier town, called Vassilkoff, which stands on the declivity of a hill, and is the last town belonging to Russia in that part. The place is but small, though well fortified, and provided with a strong garrison, &c.

The 21st, early in the morning, I left Vassilkoff, accompanied by my trusty cossacks; and after riding about an hour, I came to the borders of Poland, where is an out-post, and a strong guard of Russian soldiers. This place is called the Zastave, very necessary in time of war. The territory of Poland is divided here from that of Russia by a deep ditch drawn across the middle of a spacious plain.

From the Zastave I continued my journey, in a strong frost, which made the road very rough, and keeping to the southward along the same plain, I saw neither house nor tree till I came to Belozerkoff, the first town appertaining to Poland in this part. The gates being shut before my arrival, it was some time before I could be admitted. However, at length, the gates were opened; I took up my quarters at a public-house belonging

belonging to a Jew. The same evening I waited on Mr. Becherfky, the governor, and desired he would give me a passport. He treated me with great civility, and ordered the passport to be ready against the next morning.

The 22d, by the excess of the governor's hospitality, I was detained till the evening, waiting for his Excellency's passport, which was absolutely necessary, and proved of great use to me on the road.

The town of Belozerkoff, so called from a white church there, is a pretty large place, and is fortified. It stands in a pleasant plain. The inhabitants are, for the most part, Poles, mixed with not a few Jews, who keep public-houses, and are generally farmers of the revenues all over Poland. There is scarce a village without some Jews, who keep inns for lodging and entertaining passengers.

In the evening, I took my leave of the kind governor, who, after treating me with great politeness, gave me a guide to the next village, called Shamaryafka, about two Polish miles distant from Belozerkoff, where I lodged that night.

The 23d, early in the morning, I left this village, in a strong frost, without any snow, and, after passing a few straggling villages, at night I came to Goloquast, where I took up my lodgings at a Jew's house. It is to be observed, that the country is mostly plain, with some rising grounds, interspersed with woods of oak, ash, and elm, and other sorts of timber, but chiefly of oak; is very pleasant and fruitful, but thinly inhabited; which must proceed from their being exposed to the incursions of the Tartars and Haydamacks, who at times make cruel inroads into these parts.

The Haydamacks were, the foregoing winter, at this place, with a body of five or six hundred horse, where they committed many disorders; after which, and after having tortured all the Jews they could light upon, to oblige them to discover their money, they marched off with their booty, before the Polish troops could be assembled to oppose them.

I was well informed, by people who knew something of these lawless banditti, who are called Haydamacks by the Poles, and Zapourofky cossacks by the Russians, that they are a parcel of vagabonds, composed of idle fellows of different nations, who, having fled from justice, find a safe retreat among this crew. They are, for several reasons, protected by the Turks, who lay claim to the islands, and places adjacent, on the river Dnieper, where they inhabit, and have fortified themselves so strongly as not easily to be attacked; nor can they be attacked without danger of breaking peace with the Turks.

They profess the Christian religion; but have no wives nor any women among them, having erected themselves into a wild kind of military order, if it may be so called. Every person, who is desirous of entering into this community, is obliged to serve a certain number of years, before he is admitted into the brotherhood. The grand master is called Cashavar, which signifies chief cook, who is chosen from among the fraternity for his conduct and courage. I think I need not enlarge on the subject of such a worthless society.

The 24th, I left Goloquast, and came, towards noon, to a small town called Pogrebisha, where I halted. The people, at first sight, taking my cossacks for Haydamacks, shut the gates, and alarmed the place. My passport soon convinced them of their error. After a short stay, I proceeded again on my journey. At night I reached a small village, named Otzeredno, where I lodged.

The 25th, leaving Otzeredno, I got to Vitofftzy, another village, where I lay that night.

The 26th, I arrived at Nemiroff, where the late congress was held, as I have mentioned above. This town is pretty large and populous, well fortified and garrisoned.

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The governor is General Ruffotsky, who hath Colonel Wangenhorn, and several other German officers under him.

The country about Nemiroff is very pleasant and fruitful, having many orchards in the neighbourhood, which produce the largest apples and pears that I have seen any where. They have also plenty of grapes, very good for the table.

The 27th, about noon, I set out again on my journey. I got that night to the village Petzory, where I remained that night.

The 28th, I halted at Spikoff, travelled thence to Lefkovitz, a large village, where I passed the night.

The 29th, I halted at Tamaz-poly, and lodged at Kleimbofka.

The 30th, I arrived at Tzikanoska, the last place belonging to Poland on that frontier. It is a large straggling village, situate on the east bank of the river Ister, now called Dniester, and is the boundary between Poland and Moldavia. On the opposite shore stands the town of Soroka, the first in the principality of Moldavia, now annexed to the Turkish dominions. The same evening, I sent my man to Soroka, to acquaint the commandant or Perkulab, as they are called of my arrival.

Next morning, the 1st of January 1738, the commandant of Soroka, whose name is Petroky, a Greek, came over upon the ice to visit me, and told me that he was very sorry he could not let me pass without a special order from the Prince of Moldavia, who resides at Yassy, to whom he would immediately dispatch an express for that purpose; and hoped I would wait patiently for an answer. In the evening, Mr. Petroky paid me another visit; he showed me much civility, and brought me a present of wine, fruits, &c. which was very acceptable in a place where little was to be got for money.

January 2d. Mr. Petroky acquainted me, that his express was returned, with orders from the Prince to furnish me with horses, and a proper convoy to Yassy.

Having no more occasion for the coffacks, I sent them back again to Kioff; but Mr. Noroff, the lieutenant, was permitted to accompany me to Yassy. This gentleman is an officer of a marching regiment. The coffacks had their own officer besides.

Soroka is but a small town, pleasantly situated on the west banks of the river, about thirty leagues south-east from Chotyn, and the same distance north-west from Bender. The place is inhabited chiefly by Moldavians, mixed with a few Greeks, Jews, and Turks. It is defended by an old tower, in which are some cannon of little use. The channel of the Dniester runs deep there, between two high green banks. The country adjacent is fruitful in grain, and abounds in very rich pasturage.

The 2d, early in the morning, I left Tzikanoska, and passed the river on the ice to Soroka, where, the horses being ready, I took leave of the commandant, Mr. Petroky, and proceeded on my journey. Towards noon I halted at a large village called Kaynar. The preceding summer many of the inhabitants of this place were carried off by the plague; but it was now, by the rigour of the season, much abated. As soon as the horses were changed, we left Kaynar, and, after travelling over a very fine country, came at night to another large village, called Meygura, where we lay.

The 3d, I left Meygura. After passing the river Pruth, I arrived in the evening, at Yassy, where I found good and warm quarters.

Next morning, being the 4th, I was conducted to the palace, and waited on the Prince, who is also styled Hospodar of Moldavia. He takes the title of Serene Highness, though he is only promoted to that dignity by the Sultan, or rather by the Grand Visier, and holds it only during pleasure, being trusted with no other power than the administration of civil affairs. His name is Gregory Ducas, of a reputable Grecian family;

family; he enjoys a general good character. This gentleman treated me with great civility and politeness, regretted that it was not in his power to allow of my going directly to Constantinople, and that I must go to Bender first, where I should find the Seraskier, who had the chief command in these parts. I was not willing to go so far out of my road; but as there was no remedy, I complied. The Prince ordered a Bosniac captain, and two Moldavian soldiers of his guards, to escort me to Bender, which was all he could do for me in the present juncture of affairs.

From Soroka to Yassy the country is somewhat hilly, the soil rich, the pasturage excellent. About the river Pruth are fine woods of various sorts of timber natural to the climate. About Yassy, and in other parts, there are large vineyards, producing grapes in great abundance, whereof are made considerable quantities of wine, of inferior quality, the greatest part of which is consumed in Poland, and others parts adjacent, for which the Moldavians receive considerable sums in ready money.

The city of Yassy stands in a spacious plain, on the rivulet called Bachluy, about thirty-five leagues towards the north-west from Bender; it may contain between two and three thousand houses, mostly built of wood. The inhabitants are Christians of the Greek church. The Prince's palace is an ancient pile of Gothic building, of stone and brick; it hath the appearance of a venerable old castle, for which I suppose it was intended, as this unhappy country hath been at all times exposed to the ravages of barbarous nations.

The 5th, having taken leave of my companion, Mr. Noroff, who returned back to Kioff, I set out from Yassy, accompanied by my Bosniac captain, the two Moldavians, and my own servant. We came, at night, to a village called Voltzinitz, about ten leagues south-east from Yassy, standing in a fruitful valley, where we took up our quarters.

The 6th, we left this village in the morning, and came at night to Kishanoff, another village, where we lodged.

The 7th, we left Kishanoff. On the road we met with many troops of Tartars, going to the eastward, on an expedition, notwithstanding the weather was severely cold, with strong frosts. These hardy people accompanied me all the rest of the way to Bender, where we arrived in the evening.

The country from Yassy to Kishanoff is very fine; but towards Bender, it grows more dry and barren, and does not appear of so good soil, nor to have so good pasturage, as the countries which I passed through.

The Moldavians are all Christians, and the Sultan indulges them with a governor or prince of their own religion. This privilege they have enjoyed for many years, which may be esteemed no small favour under such an iron government as is that of the Turks. Yet it may be observed, that their yoke is much easier, and their manners much more humanized, than at their first entrance and settlement in Europe, though, I am persuaded, that two-thirds of Moldavia lie waste at this time. It seems to have been an established system in Turkish politics to depopulate all the countries bordering on Christendom, reserving no more than may be sufficient to furnish their garrisons and troops with provisions.

As the plague had raged all the preceding year in the town of Bender, and had almost depopulated the place, about a mile short of the town, we turned off the road, to the right hand, towards the Turkish camp, where the Seraskier, or general in chief, lay in the field, with all his army about him. The general's quarters were strongly fortified, with a deep ditch pallisadoed and mounted with cannon; but the troops were lodged in cells under ground, laid over with sticks and earth, having a hole at the top

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to let out the smoke, fenced with a dry hedge about it. In this miserable condition, these poor people passed the winter. I and my Bosphoric captain were conducted to one of these holes, which at night was crowded with Turkish officers of distinction. Such miseries, and many more, are the frequent attendants on destructive war. The Seraskier's name is Gengy Aly Basha, or Young Aly Basha, though he is now about seventy years of age, and hath the character of a brave and active general.

The 8th, the Seraskier sent his secretary to me, who asked me several questions relating to my journey, and hoped that necessity would be admitted as an excuse for the badness of my quarters. In the evening the secretary came again, when he told me, that, in two or three days, their feast of Bayram would be over, and then I should proceed on my journey to Constantinople with a proper convoy. In the mean time, he ordered an officer to furnish me with such necessaries as the place afforded. In this no agreeable situation I was obliged to wait till the feast was over, being five long nights, all the while confined within the precincts of my hut. One alleviation was, the company of my Bosphoric captain, who tarried with me the whole time.

The 12th, in the morning, the secretary came and acquainted me, that the Seraskier had ordered a chivadar, or officer, belonging to the Grand Visier, and two Tartars, to escort me to Constantinople; at the same time, he told me that I might depart when I pleased. This welcome news was very agreeable; for I had been but little better than a prisoner from the time of my arrival at the camp; though, I must own, they were very civil, and made me as easy as the accommodations and the circumstances of affairs would admit of.

I could only see Bender at a distance. But it is well known to be a place of importance, being strongly and regularly fortified, with out-works in proportion. It stands in a plain, near the river Dniester, and is frequently mentioned in the annals of late times, for being the place of refuge of that intrepid, inconsiderate monarch Charles XII. of Sweden, after the Russians had beat him out of the field at Poltova, in the year 1709.

Notwithstanding the contagious distemper was not entirely ceased at Bender, we had our daily provisions from that place.

As soon as the horses were ready, I mounted, and left this plaguy camp, which is so in a literal as well as an allegorical sense. Although our horses were in exceeding bad case, from the fatigues of the last campaign, and from the want of due accommodations, of shelter, &c. during the severe weather that followed, yet we made a shift to come, in the evening, to a large rambling town, called Kaushan, inhabited by Budjack Tartars. It stands south-west from Bender. Here I had good quarters; the people were friendly and hospitable. At supper I sat by an old Tartar, who seemed to be a person of distinction among them. This old gentleman asked me many questions about Europe, through an interpreter, particularly about the illustrious family of Lorraine, which surprised me not a little. The first dish that came before us was pilaw, made of barley; then he told me, in French, that it was not dressed after the French fashion. This brought on a conversation between us in that language, which he spoke well, in which he informed me, that, in his youth, being with the Turkish army in Hungary, he was taken prisoner by the Duke of Lorraine, who then commanded the Imperial army. His Highness took him into his service, in which he lived many years; and, after treating him with great humanity, at last gave him his freedom, with liberty to return into his own country; which extraordinary favour he acknowledged with great respect and gratitude.

The 13th, having got fresh horses, I left Kaushan, and travelled to the westward, towards the Danube, leaving the rising grounds, and came along the plain called the Stepp of Budjack, which is flat, dry, barren, and uncultivated; yet there is some good pasture, especially for sheep, of which the Turkish army have left few remaining. At night, we came to Kongly, where are about a dozen straggling cottages, inhabited by Tartars. We made our quarters that night in the corner of a large shed, along with our horses.

The 14th, as there was nothing tempting to detain us at Kongly, we set forward very early in the morning, and proceeded along the same barren plain, without seeing a house or tree all that day. In the evening we came to a Tartar village, called Tartar-Kew, where we were tolerably well lodged and entertained.

The 15th, we left Tartar-Kew, and came in the evening to the town of Ismayl, standing on the north bank of the famous river Danube, called Dunay in these parts. The place is very pleasant, within sight of the Black Sea. The inhabitants are chiefly Turks. Here I was well lodged, and had good bread and wine. The river here is very broad, and divided into several branches, by islands, considerably large; though, when the river falls into the Black Sea, all the branches are united, and form but one mouth at its entrance into that sea. The north bank consists of rising grounds; the south is fenced with high hills. I think the Danube, at this place, may be compared with the Volga at Astrachan, both for breadth and quantity of water. By what I could observe, all the great rivers, from the Volga to this place, have, for the most part, high lands for their western banks, and low flat lands to the eastward.

The 16th, we passed the north branch of the Danube in a boat, to the next island; but the other branches being fast frozen over, we mounted, and rode and walked by turns, the rest of the way upon the ice; which was, in many places, very rough, and uneven, with great ridges, consisting of pieces of ice driven together, and heaped upon one another, by strong easterly winds, and the rapidity of the current. Some of the ridges of ice were at least seven or eight feet high, which obliged us to walk on foot most part of the way. However, in the evening, we arrived safely at a town called Tultzin, standing on the south bank of the river, four leagues from Ismayl, where we had quarters, and other means of refreshment.

Tultzin is the first town in the ancient kingdom of Thrace, now reduced to a Turkish province, known by the name of Bulgaria. The Bulgarians, who are Christians of the Greek church, live for the most part in villages; the towns, in general, being inhabited by the Turks. This place hath an old abandoned castle, seemingly of European construction; and, as it stands among hills, on the banks of the river, the situation is very pleasant.

The 17th, we left Tultzin in the morning; towards noon we arrived at a large town called Babbadach, standing in a delightful valley environed by hills. At some distance from the top of the hills to the eastward, is a most extensive prospect; particularly a full view of the Black Sea.

It is supposed that the poet Ovid was banished and confined to this place; which must have been no agreeable situation, to a man who had passed his young days in the court of Augustus, and had entered into all the pleasures and amusements of that court, during the time of its politest and gayest period; in the gallantries of which he was supposed to act no inconsiderable part. This amorous poet's book, *De Tristibus*, exhibits a melancholy picture of the manner of passing his latter days at this place, so different in climate from the happy temperament of that of Italy.

After changing horses at this place, we set forwards. At night we came to a village called Kaybaly, at a small distance from which we were so bewildered, in a drift of

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snow, that we lost the road; and, had it not been that the barking of a dog directed us, we must have lain in the fields all night.

The 18th, leaving Kaybaly in deep snow, we proceeded, and came to Danna-Kew, another village, where we passed the night.

The 19th, we travelled through a very fine country, whereon we found very little snow, and came at night to Kabady, where we lodged.

The 20th, we proceeded, and came to a town called Bazar-tzick, and spent the night there. The town is inhabited by Turks, Greeks, and Bulgarians.

The 21st, we came to Provady, a pretty large town, inhabited as the former. We staid there all night.

The 22d, we left Provady; came that evening to Tzengy, where we lodged.

The 23d, we continued our route; halted at a caravanera, four leagues from Tzengy, and after that at a town called Aydos; where, having changed horses, we proceeded on our journey, and slept that night at Benglyr.

The 24th, we came to Kanara, and lay there. I cannot but take notice of this fine country, adorned with many beautiful woods and coppices, a very rich soil, and excellent pasture; but a great deal of it lies waste; and it is but thinly peopled.

The 25th, we came to the town of Kirkglifs; from thence to that of Burglafs, where we remained that night.

The 26th, we went on. We lodged that night at Tzorley.

The 27th, we reached the town of Silivry, which stands on the White Sea, or the sea between the Dardanells and the Porte.

The 28th, we passed through a large town, called Buyk-tzeckmidgy; from thence the last stage to Constantinople.

I must here take notice, that, at Silivry, I was met by another chevadar, who, instead of conducting me directly to the city, as I expected, turned short to the left hand, out of the high road, carried me through by-paths, over steep and moorish hills, uninhabited, till at last we came to a little village; on the top of the hill called Karamackly, where is a neat country-house belonging to Mustapha-cassa Basha, the chief butcher to the Sultan, a place of great trust and honour.

I was lodged in the Basha's house, and met with a friendly reception from his kaya, or steward, who furnished me with what necessaries I had occasion for. In the mean time, I waited patiently for the return of a messenger whom they had dispatched to the Basha. This place stands very pleasant and airy, within the view of the city, and is a retreat for the Basha and his family, in times of the plague.

It will be readily imagined, that I did not much like being carried out of the common road. But, without asking questions, I followed my conductors.

The 29th, the messenger returned from the city, with orders that I should proceed, which was very welcome news to me. Accordingly, we set out about ten of the clock. Towards noon, we arrived at Constantinople. They conducted me directly to the house of Mustapha Basha, who received me with great civility. And, after asking a few questions relating to my journey, he then desired that I would wait till such time as he should acquaint the Visier of my arrival. Mustapha Basha did not return till the evening. Upon his return, he sent an officer with me to Sir Everard Fawkener, the British ambassador, to whom I was addressed, and in whose house I lodged during my abode at Constantinople.

I shall say nothing relating to the effects of my commission, farther, than that I punctually conformed to the terms of my instructions.

Here, it may be observed, that, although the Russians under Count Lacy, and under Count Munich, were very successful every campaign, from the commencement of the war in 1734, and made great acquisitions on the Turkish frontier, on that side, by their taking Aloff and Otsakoff, possessing themselves of the Perecop and the Crimea, and carrying their arms, the last campaign, into Moldavia, which was ended by a considerable advantage gained by the Russians at the battle of Chotim; in consequence of which victory, the Bascha of Chotim brought the keys of that important fortress to the general of the Russian army, who sent the Bascha, and the principal officers under him, prisoners to St. Peterburg; yet the Emperor of Germany's arms in Hungary were by no means successful; the Turks gaining on the Emperor's frontier there, as much as they lost of their own frontiers towards Russia. Elated by their successes in Hungary, during the last campaign, the Ottoman Porte rose in their demands, and insisted on higher terms than Russia thought proper to agree to.

This famous city is so well known, that I need not enter into a minute description, so shall only give a transient view of such remarkable things as occurred to me during my short stay at this place.

Constantinople is situated in forty-one and one-half degrees north latitude, twenty-nine degrees east longitude, upon a point of land, on the European shore, in the province of Romania, and is esteemed one of the most delightful situations in the world; for which reason Constantine the Great chose it for the seat of empire; by whom it was rebuilt and beautified about the year of our Lord 330.

At a distance, the city makes a very fine appearance, having a great number of gilded spires and domes, or cupolas, which multiply as you approach; but, when you enter the city, the general irregularity and narrowness of the streets do in no degree correspond with the magnificent appearance it makes at a distance; which is, indeed, the case of many of the cities and great towns of Europe, seeming to be built at random. I have often thought, that, had a Chinese been consulted, he could have taught both Greeks and Romans how to lay out towns, and that by the simplest rules; viz. Let there be space enough, sufficient breadth of street, and the houses on each side built in a straight line; which rules are observed in all the towns I have observed in China, particularly Pekin. This common error, in laying out towns in Europe, must be owing to the remissness of the government of nations; though this great inconvenience, in so grand a city as Constantinople, hath no relation to the situation of the place, yet it is thought by many, I think very justly, that, were the streets of this city spacious and regular, it would in some measure prevent the frequent pestilential diseases with which this place is affected, and which prevail here more than in any other place I know; there seldom passing a year without its making a dreadful havoc among the populace.

This mortal distemper being almost always, more or less, in this city, may in part be attributed to a defect in Turkish policy, which suffers all ships to enter the port, without requiring bills of health, at any time; even the ships from infected places are admitted. I do not know but that the belief of predestination, prevailing so universally among the Turks, with whom it is a fundamental article of their creed, may likewise contribute to the continuance of the devastations made, by this terrible disease, among the human species.

A very great nuisance, attending this place, is its being pestered with a great number of nasty dogs which belong to nobody; they kennel in every corner of the streets; it is unlawful to kill them; and they are generally fed, which is looked upon, by many of the Turks, as an act of charity.

It is without dispute a populous city; but far short of the numbers reported by common fame, which seldom keeps within bounds in things of this nature. It is true, that many strangers resort hither daily, both from Europe and Asia, and many of them remain here; but then it must be considered how many are carried off annually by the pestilence and other diseases. I do not think the whole number exceeds four hundred thousand souls. In walking the streets, you often meet with people, who, to avoid conversing with you, walk on the other side of the street, for fear of catching the distemper; and most people endeavour to get to windward of each other; which, with many other inconveniencies, renders the place not very agreeable to strangers.

From Pera, a district of Constantinople inhabited by Europeans, and by the foreign ministers residing at the Porte, there is a fine prospect of the city, and of the Grand Seigneur's seraglio; which last stands on an eminence, with sloping gardens, down to the edge of the canal, planted with rows of cypres, and other evergreens. It hath the appearance of a most delightful place; but, though the walks are well shaded, it is not thought good manners, or even safe, to look at them with a spy-glass.

Opposite to the seraglio, on the Asian shore, stands the ancient city of Chrysolopolis, or the Golden City, now called Skutary, a pretty little place.

Along the shore of the Propontis, towards the south-west, runs a ridge of very high mountains, called Olympus, which are covered with snow summer and winter. The mountain of that name, mentioned by the poets, stands in Greece.

February the 3d, there was a great fall of snow, followed by a strong frost, which continued for the space of fourteen days: I thought myself happy in escaping it; but this weather is very acceptable to the people here, as it tends to stop the contagious distemper.

I shall now take a view of some of the most remarkable structures in and about this ancient city, which are commonly shown to travellers. Indeed there are but few remains of antiquity to be seen at present; for the Turks, according to their principles, deface and ruin every thing that hath an air of idolatry, as they call it, whether Pagan or Christian. What Christian churches they have spared are converted into mosques.

March 2d, the weather being fine, I made a party with some friends to ride out and see the aqueducts, which are curious fabrics erected in order to supply the city with fresh water. They are said to be built by the Emperor Valens. They are now kept in repair by the Grand Seigneur. They stand at unequal distances, from four to seven or more miles to the northward of the city, according to the respective supplies of water from springs and brooks.

The long aqueduct is about seven hundred yards in length, and near thirty in height; it consists of two stories or ranges of arches, one above the other, having about fifty arches in a range, all of hewn stone, neatly wrought.

The crooked aqueduct, so called from its form of zig-zag, runs in this figure VVVV; the intent of which is to divert and lessen the force of the current, and hath a triple range of beautiful arches.

At some distance from this stands the high aqueduct, the most magnificent of all, being near three hundred yards in length, about forty in height, having four stately arches with the same number over them. Besides, there are several others of lesser note, which I need not mention. They are all built to convey the water, over low vallies and hollows, to the city.

At night we came to Belgrade, a pleasant village, inhabited by Greeks, where most of the foreign ministers have their country-houses, to which they retire in time of the plague.

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The next day we remained at this village, and walked through the woods, to a neighbouring hill, to the eastward, from whence there is a full view of the Black Sea. These woods are of fine oak, beech, and other timber, fit for the construction of a royal navy. They are well furnished with wild-fowl, and various sorts of other game.

The 4th, we left Belgrade, when, riding to the southward, through pleasant woods and fields, we came about noon to a large village, called Buyuckterey, standing on the north shore of the canal, or Thracian Bosphorus. This canal is natural, buriting out from the Black Sea, between two high mountains, and runs, in a strong current, about sixteen English miles, to the city, where it discharges itself into the Propontis. The depth is from ten to fifteen fathoms; the breadth from about one mile to half a mile; very well stored with most sorts of sea-fish, particularly oysters, of a small kind, but very delicious. The land on both sides is very high, with many pleasant villages along the shore. At the mouth of the canal, where it begins from the Black Sea, the Turks have built two forts to defend the passage, one on the shore of Asia, the other on that of Europe; they may well serve to prevent sudden incursions, but of little use against a strong squadron of men of war, and an easterly wind.

I was informed that, in the reign of Sultan Amurat, a strong party of Cossacks came, in open boats, before these castles were built, or when they were neglected, entered the canal, and put all the city in great consternation. After they had plundered many villages, they returned again to their own country, with little or no loss.

From the Buyuckterey we sent our horses home, and returned to the city by water. Some days after this, I went to see the Sultan, as he came from his devotions at the mosque called Jeney-Jamey. He was on horseback, attended by a small troop of spahis on horseback, and some janisaries on foot. Mahmuth hath a good aspect, and bears the character of being of a humane peaceable disposition. This Prince succeeded Achmet, who was deposed, about seven years before, by one named Ali-Patrone, or Kalyll, a janisary, and his associates, all people of low degree; the next in command to Ali-Patrone, or Kalyll, as he is commonly called, was Mufs-luch, a dealer in melons and other fruits; the third was Emy-Aly. These three chiefs governed the Turkish empire near a month. After they had placed Mahmuth on the throne, they deposed the Grand Visier, and disposed of all offices civil and military, at pleasure. Ali-Patrone, in the mean time, was very sober, never changing his habit, came every morning to the janisaries' hall, where he sat as sovereign judge, and gave sentence on all causes that were brought before him without delay; was very charitable to the poor, and rectified many abuses in the state. That magnificent Visier, Ibrahim-Basha, who had introduced printing, fell a sacrifice to the rebels.

One action of the Kalyll's I cannot omit relating, as it evinces, that his high station did not produce forgetfulness of his old friends. There was one Janaky, a Greek, a butcher by trade, who had formerly lent Ali-Patrone half a dollar. He sent for this butcher, and made him Hospodar or Prince of Moldavia. Poor Janaky would willingly have been excused from accepting so high an office; but his patron insisted on his taking it.

However, these mighty chiefs being intoxicated with power, began to intoxicate themselves with wine also; and they were at length caught in a snare, laid for them by Sultan Geray, Chan of the Crim Tartars, who had been sent for by some of the grandees for that end. Sultan Geray succeeded so well, that the chiefs were cut off, the rest dispersed, and the government re-established on the same footing as heretofore, with very

little bloodshed; the particulars of which being, in general, well known, I say no more of that affair.

The next place I was carried to was the mint, where I saw them coining money of different sorts. It stands in the outer court of the seraglio.

From thence I went to the famous church of Sancta Sophia, now converted into a mosque. There being already many descriptions extant of this ancient fabric, I shall only observe, that it was rebuilt and adorned by the Emperor Justinian, about the year of our Lord 500. It is highly esteemed by architects, for the flatness of the dome, or cupola, which, it is said, the moderns cannot imitate.

In time of war, Christians are not permitted to enter the mosque. Nevertheless, we were conducted up a pair of back stairs to the gallery, from whence we had a full view of the whole. The floor is laid with clean mats and carpets, having no seat, only one pulpit for the Mullah. The gallery is laid with marble, supported by about one hundred marble pillars, of various colours and sizes, most of them, at least, between five and six feet diameter. The whole of the inside hath a noble and grand appearance. At the entry into the gallery, is an old vestry, with the door closed up, of which a Greek, of my acquaintance, told me the following short story, viz. a certain Mullah being in the vestry, saw, or fancied that he saw, a man on horseback, with a sword in his hand, who bid him begone out of that holy place, &c. This, like other tales of the same nature, was not long a secret, and was interpreted to have been no other than Constantine the Great. However fabulous the story appears, the door of the vestry hath been condemned since that time.

From Sancta Sophia I was conducted to the Hippodrome, where the Greeks used formerly to train their horses to the menage, now called the Att-Maydan, and is still applied to the same use by the Turks. It is a spacious oblong square, having a pretty marble obelisk in the middle. On one side of it is a pillar of brass, with serpents twining round it; this is somewhat defaced, and is about ten feet high.

In the great street, at some distance from the Hippodrome, stands another venerable monument of antiquity; a large and tall pillar, called the Burnt-pillar, because it hath greatly suffered by fire in the neighbourhood, which hath cracked it in divers places; this is a misfortune common to narrow streets, and not to be remedied without a well regulated police. This pillar is of porphyry, about twenty yards high.

We went thence to see the grand reservoir, built with intent of supplying the city with water in case of a siege. This must have cost an immense sum of money; for it is all of it under ground; above it are streets and houses. It is not far from the Hippodrome. Towards the water-side, the covering of it is supported by a great number of arches, and many hundreds of stone-pillars, of which not a few are fallen down, and the whole of it is going a-pace to decay. There was no water in it.

There is another ancient fabric, known by the name of Edikuly, or seven towers, standing on an eminence to the westward; which is now a common prison. Near the middle of the city stands a small tower called Bellifarius; whether or not it was the house of that great and unfortunate general, I could not learn.

Opposite to the seraglio, near the middle of the canal, stands a small round tower, upon the summit of a small rock, called Leander's Tower. This, with the foregoing, are the few remains of antiquity commonly shown to strangers.

The haven, which divides the city from that district of it, called Pera, for its extent and depth of water, may probably equal, perhaps surpass, the best in the known world, well fenced on all sides by rising grounds. Near the bottom of the haven is a spacious and most convenient yard for building ships and galleys, with suitable magazines and
warehouses

warehouses for keeping the cordage, guns, ammunition, and for every material requisite for building and fitting men of war and galleys for the sea.

Adjoining is a place called the *Bagnio*, appropriated to the lodging and accommodating galley-slaves; where, it may be supposed, they do not pass their time very agreeably.

My next walk was to see the *Dervises* at worship; they are a religious order of the *Mahometans*, who have a mosque in *Pera*, built in a circular form, with a pulpit for the *Mullah*, and a gallery built in a niche made in the circle for the music. The sermon being ended, the musicians began on various instruments, which were like the European flutes and hautboys; upon which five of the *dervises* stood up, and danced round the mosque, in a frantic manner, turning themselves round, as they advanced, with so quick a motion, that their faces were hardly distinguishable from other parts of their heads. They followed each other at certain distances; but an old man of fourscore years outdid all the rest in quickness of turning round. Yet, when he left off, he did not seem to be all discomposed by the violence of the motion. This extravagant sect make vows of poverty and chastity, travel over all the east, where the religion of *Mahomet* prevails, and are held in great esteem by the devout of that profession.

The 9th of March, the army intended for Hungary, under the command of *Eggeny-Mahomet-Basha*, the *Grand Visier*, began to file off to the camp assigned for them, about three miles to the northward of the city. The procession continued four days; and, as usual, when the *Sultan* himself, or the *Grand Visier*, takes the field in person, the troops are attended by all the different trades and artificers to the place of encampment, each trade having the proper dress and badges of their respective profession, with banners, music, &c.

The first day the *janisaries* marched, with their *Aga*, or chief commander, at their head, followed by a numerous multitude of artificers. The first in procession was a plough drawn by painted oxen, with gilded horns. It would be tedious to mention the rest particularly; I shall only observe, that some of this ragamuffin crew made frightful figures, being naked to the waist, with sabres run through the fleshy part of their arms, and besmeared with blood—A shocking spectacle!

The second day's procession was the pioneers and miners, with their different tools and utensils.

The third day, the *cannoniers* marched.

The fourth day, the *Visier* marched out, attended by the general officers of the army, a great many *spahis* and *janisaries*, and all the different trades of the town; among which rabble, were many such banditti as above described, naked for the most part of the body, all bloody. The *Grand Mufti* was in the same coach with the *Grand Visier*, and had the *Alcoran* carried by a *Mullah*, who sat likewise in the same coach, opposite to the *Mufti*; which was preceded by a number of singers, in their proper habits, singing as they went along. Before the coach was carried the standard of *Mahomet*, which is a horse's tail, said to be brought from heaven by the Angel *Gabriel* to *Mahomet*, and is held in great veneration, seldom appearing but on great solemnities; after which it is carried back to the *seraglio*, where it remains till the next occasion.

When war is declared against any prince or state, the horse-tail is set up at the gate of the *seraglio*, called *Alla-Capy*, or the *Port of God*, from whence the *Grand Seigneur* dates all his dispatches; and, on that account, the court of the *Grand Seigneur* is commonly called the *Ottoman Porte* and the *Sublime Porte*. But when the *Sultan* is in the field, at the head of his army, he dates all his letters and orders from his stirrup. All generals who have three horse-tails, are called *Visier*; but the *Grand Visier*, who

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is always prime minister, governs and directs all affairs relating to the state, both foreign and domestic: next to him in power is the Kaymacan, who is his lieutenant; after him Nisangy Basha, keeper of the seals; then Kap-adgee Basha, chief porter; Kiflar-agassy, the chief eunuch. These are the principal great officers at court. It happens often, that the Kiflar-agassy hath more to say than all the rest put together; for although the ladies live very retired, yet they are not so ignorant as is generally imagined. And, if I am not misinformed, matters of the greatest consequence are canvassed, and often settled in the seraglio, before they are presented to the ministry. One thing is certain, that whoever wants a favour at court needs no better recommendation than a friend among the ladies.

Soon after my arrival, I had an invitation from the famous Count Bonneval, who then was ill of the gout; but, in time of war, it was not thought fit that I should visit that gentleman.

March 15th, Sir Everard Fawcener went to the camp to take leave of the Grand Visier, as is usual for all the foreign ministers to do, on the like occasions. We dismounted at some distance from the tent of this great man, were conducted by an officer to a magnificent tent, near to that of the Visier, and entertained with coffee, &c. for about a quarter of an hour, after which the ambassador, accompanied by the gentlemen of his retinue, went to the Visier's tent, where a stool was prepared for his Excellency. The gentlemen stood during the time the ambassador remained. The Visier sat cross-legged on a sofa raised about half a foot from the floor, which was all laid with rich carpets. Very near him stood a frame, on which were hung some mirrors, sabres, &c. of a very curious workmanship, ornamented richly with gold, silver, and stones of value, as emeralds, rubies, &c. The Turkish camps are, in general, very regular and clean.

The short ceremony being over, we returned again to the city. After some days the Grand Visier marched to Adrianople, in his way to Hungary.

Being about to leave this city, I shall detain the reader with no more particulars than the following short observations.

In Turkey there are few families who have any distinguishing titles or honours appertaining to them which descend to their children. All titles of honour, and places of power and profit in the Sultan's dominions, depend on personal merit, or the Sultan's favour, which dies with the possessor. The only two families who have a just claim to nobility, are those of Dgiggal-Oglu and Kuperly, who, for signal service done the empire, have peculiar privileges; one in particular, that the Sultan, as it is said, cannot condemn them to death. It seems that, on a very critical conjuncture, when affairs were in great disorder, the Sultan died, Kuperly kept it a secret for six weeks; in which time, by his prudent conduct, the government was established on a proper footing. Besides these, there are descendants of their prophet Mahomer's family, of which there are great numbers, who are distinguished by wearing green, and enjoy some privileges.

Having nothing more to do at Constantinople, I am now about to return to St. Petersburg. As I had a commission from Sir Everard Fawcener for the Grand Visier, who was then at Adrianople, I took that road.

April 8th, after taking leave of my friends, I set out from Constantinople, accompanied by a tzaush, or messenger, a janisary, and my own servant.

The 13th, in the morning, I came to the city of Adrianople, where I lodged at the house of Mr. Damiral, a Greek gentleman, who is agent at this place for our ambassador, where I found a friendly reception. The city of Adrianople is about forty

leagues north-west from Constantinople, in a pleasant country, inhabited by Turks, Greeks, and some Jews. The Capuchins have also a convent here. The town is pretty large, and is remarkable for having a very noble grand mosque, with very high minarets, of excellent workmanship. The architect was a Greek, of whom it is reported, that the Grand Seigneur, being amazed at the extraordinary contrivance and execution which the architect exhibited in those buildings, thought that nothing of mechanism was out of his reach, and ordered him to make himself wings, and to fly off from the top of one of the minarets, which the poor builder was forced to attempt. After flying a considerable distance, he fell among some tombs, and broke his neck. I do not vouch for the truth of the story; but I was shown the tombs in the neighbourhood, among which it is said that he fell.

The 14th, I had a visit from Monsieur Peisonell, the French agent, and some of the Capuchin fathers.

The 15th, I went to return the visit at the convent. In coming through the market-place, in the way to my lodgings, I met with a very disagreeable spectacle; which was two men, lying stark naked, without their heads, which had been just before cut off. They were said to have been spies.

After discharging my commission to the Grand Visier, which I effected through Mr. Damiral, and obtaining an order for post-horses, I left Adrianople the 17th, and proceeded on my journey to the northward; in which I need not be particular, having mentioned most of the places in the former part of this relation. I took the nearest way for Yassy in Moldavia.

The 26th, we passed the Danube in a boat, at a place called Kalafs, a few leagues above Ismayl.

The 29th, we arrived at the city of Yassy. The next day I waited on the Prince, who received me in a most friendly manner. He gave orders for horses, and two of his guards, to conduct me to the frontiers of Poland. He likewise sent an officer, to accompany me as far as Nemirosso. I then discharged my tzaush and janifary, who returned back to Constantinople.

May 1st, I left Yassy, and came the next day to Soroka.

The 3d, I left Soroka, passed the Dneister, and came to Tamas-Poly, where I lodged.

The 5th, I got to Nemirosso; and at this place delivered all my dispatches for Europe to General Russotky, to be forwarded according to address.

The 10th, I arrived at Kioff, and set out again the same day.

On the 17th of May I arrived at St. Petersburg.

It is to be noted, all my dates are old stile.

I shall subjoin a list of all the stages and distances from St. Petersburg to Constantinople. As I have in a former journey, particularized the stages to Mosco, I need not repeat them here.

From St. Petersburg to the	Versts.	to the	Versts.
City of Mosco	734	Town of Belof	40
From Mosco towards Kioff, to		Bolshof	40
Sela Packra	30	Selo Glotovo	35
Village of Tzeniskoy	35	Kartzof	35
Lykof-Vrague	40	Selo Samova	30
Dobrichach	35	Selo Tzainaka	30
Caluga	40	Village of Lieubush	30
Lykvyn	30	Town of Seyefski	30
			To

to the	<i>Versts.</i>	to the	<i>Versts.</i>
Town of Tolsto Dubovo	40	Town of Kosselitz	38
Gluchovo	30	Semipologue	25
Korolevitz	39	Brovary	29
Batturin	44	City of Kioff	18
Borzna	73		
Neshina	48	From St. Petersburg to Kioff	1586
Nosofka	28		

The verst in Russia consists of 1166 $\frac{2}{3}$ English yards; so that the distance from St. Petersburg to Kioff, being 1586 versts, is 1051 $\frac{1}{3}$ English miles.

From Kioff to Soroka.

From Kioff to	<i>Polish miles.</i>	to Nemiroff	<i>Polish miles.</i>
Vassilkoff	5	Petzery	2
Belozyrkoff	6	Spykoff	2
Shamarayofka	2	Lefkovitz	1
Squeer	1	Tamaz-Poly	3
Samgorod	1	Kleynbofka	2
Golochuast	1	Tzikanofka on the Dniester,	
Pogrebifha	2	on the bank opposite is	
Spitzinitz	2	Soroka	3
Otzeredno	1		
Lipovitz	1		
Vytopsky	2		39
Kavalefka	1		

Computing 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ English miles to a Polish mile, the distance from Kioff to Soroka will be 253 $\frac{1}{3}$ English miles.

From Soroka, the frontier, to Yaffy, the capital of Moldavia, reckoning the Turkish fahat, or hour, to be three English miles.

From Soroka to	<i>English miles.</i>	to the City of Yaffy	<i>English miles.</i>
Kaynar	12		12
Hetth	12		
Meygura	24	From Soroka to Yaffy	72
River Pruth	12		

From Yaffy to Bender.

From Yaffy to	<i>English miles.</i>	to Bender	<i>English miles.</i>
Rofinar	12		24
Volzinitz	15		
Kolshufhna	24	From Yaffy to Bender	81
Kifhanoff	6		

From Bender to the Danube, along the desert of Budjack.

From Bender to	<i>English miles.</i>	to the Town of Ifmayl	<i>English miles.</i>
Kaufhan	12		21
Kongley	24		
Tartarken	30	From Bender to Ifmayl	87

From Ismayl to Constantinople.

<i>English miles.</i>		<i>English miles.</i>	
From Ismayl, crosses the Danube to		to A Caravanfera	12
Tultzin	12	Aydofs	12
Babbadach	18	Benglyr	9
Kaybaly	18	Kara-Bunar	15
Kodjalo	6	Faky	12
Istere	6	Kangry	12
Danna-Kew	6	Kirglifs	24
Kara-Su	12	Bourgafs	24
Kabady	12	Tzorby	30
Aly-Beg-Kiew	12	Silivry	24
Bazartiek	24	Buyuck Tzeckmiday	18
Usheny	6	Constantinople	18
Provady	24		
Yeny Kiew	9	From Ismayl to Constantinople	381
Tzenggy	6		

The whole distance from St. Petersburg to Constantinople, I take to be about 1295 English measured miles, of 1760 yards each mile.

The several distances as follow, viz.

From St. Petersburg to Kioff	1051	measured miles.
From Kioff to Soroka, the frontier of Moldavia,	253	computed miles.
From Soroka to Yassy	72	
From Yassy to Bender	81	
From Bender to Ismayl	87	
From Ismayl to Constantinople	311	

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Thus, I have finished my fourth eastern journey, which, in all probability will be my last to that quarter of the globe. I would not advise any man to undertake this last, at such a season of the year as I did, or in time of war.

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TRAVELS OF SOME DUTCHMEN IN KOREA,

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY, AND THEIR SHIPWRECK ON THE ISLAND OF QUELPAERT.

By HENRY HAMEL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following short relation was first printed by the author in Holland, where the eight men who returned from Korea were then living: these having been examined by several persons of reputation, all confirmed what the secretary of the ship, as he calls himself, had written. This seems to render the narrative sufficiently authentic, in the opinion of the English translator; who observes, that, according to the French editor, in his preface, there is nothing asserted in the description of Korea, which does not agree with what Palafox, and others who wrote of the Tartar invasion, had said before. However true this may prove, with regard to the customs of the people, (which, as well as the form of government, seems to be nearly the same with the Chinese,) there seems to lie an objection against the geography of the Dutch author, viz. that it does not correspond with the map of Korea, as to the names of any of the cities in the road, which the Dutchmen took from the sea-coast to the capital of that kingdom, or even that of the capital itself. Especially since that map was taken from one hung up in the King's palace, and gives the indigenous names to places, unless the names be written by the missionaries, according to the Chinese, instead of the Korean language: for though both nations use the same characters, their languages are different. As the author resided thirteen years in Korea, the translator thinks he might have published a more ample and satisfactory account of it. Be that as it will, we may be content, provided it is but genuine, since that which the missionaries have sent over is much more scanty. At the end of the journal, we meet with the names both of those who returned from Korea, and those who were left behind, making in all but sixteen out of thirty-six, who were saved from the wreck thirteen years before.

Those who returned from Korea, were

Henry Hamel, of Gorcum, secretary to the ship, and author of this account.

Godfrey Denis, of Rotterdam.

John Piers, of Uries in Friesland.

Gerard Jans, of Rotterdam.

Matthew Ybocken, of Enchuyfen.

Cornelius Theodorick, of Amsterdam.

Benet Clerc, of Rotterdam.

Denis Godfrey, of Rotterdam.

• From GREEN'S, commonly called ASTLEY'S Collection, Vol. IV. 329.

The names of those who remained in Korea, were

John Lampe, of Amsterdam.
 Henry Cornelius, of Ureelandt.
 John Nicholas, of Dort.
 Jacob Jans, of Norway.
 Anthony Ulders, of Embden.
 Nicholas Arents, of Ost-voren.
 Alexander Bosquet, a Scotchman.
 John, of Utrecht.

SECTION I.—THEIR SHIPWRECK ON QUELPAERT, AND TRAVELS IN KOREA.

1. *Their Voyage to Quelpaert, and Shipwreck there.*

Departure from Holland. — Great Storms. — Their Distress. — The Ship wrecked. — How treated by the Natives. — The Wreck secured for their Use: — Sent up to the Governor — are closely confined, but kindly used. — They meet with a Dutchman, sent as Interpreter. — Very good Governor. — A very bad one. — Some Attempt to escape. — Taken and punished. — Quelpaert, described.

THEY left the Texel in the Sparrowhawk, on the 10th of January 1653, in the evening; and, after many storms and much foul weather, came to an anchor the 1st of June, in the road of Batavia. As soon as they had refreshed themselves, they set sail the 14th of the same month, by command of the governor-general, for Tayowan, where they arrived the 16th of July. They carried with them Mynheer Cornelius Lessen, who went to take possession of the government of that city, and Formosa, in place of Mynheer Nicholas Verburge, who had resided there three years. The 30th they, by order of the council, departed for Japan: but next day, towards the evening, as they were getting out of the channel of Formosa, there arose a storm, which increased all night.

The 1st of August, in the morning early, they perceived themselves close upon a small island, where, with much difficulty, they at length came to an anchor; for in most parts of that sea there is no bottom. The fog clearing up, they found themselves so near the coast of China, that they could easily discern armed men scattered along the shore, expecting to make their advantage of the ship's wreck: but, though the storm increased, they there continued all that day and the night following, in sight of them. The third day they perceived the storm had driven them twenty leagues from their course, so that they were again in sight of Formosa. They plied betwixt that island and the continent, the weather somewhat cold. What troubled them most was, that the uncertain winds and calms kept them in that channel till the 11th of the same month, when a south-east wind grew up into a storm, with a heavy rain, and forced them to run north-east, and north-east by east. The three following days the weather continued still more tempestuous, and the wind shifted so often, that they were continually hoisting and lowering their sails.

By this time the frequent beating of the sea had much weakened their vessel, and the continual rain obstructed their making any observation; for which reason they were forced to furl all their sails, strike the yards, and commit themselves to the mercy of

the waves. On the 15th the ship took in so much water, that there was no mastering it. That night their boat, and the greater part of their gallery were carried away, by the continual breaking in of the waves, which shook their bolt-sprit, and endangered their prow: nor was it possible to repair the damage sustained, the gusts of wind were so violent, and came so close one upon another. At length, a wave breaking over their stern, had like to have washed away all the seamen who were upon the deck, and filled the ship so full of water, that the master cried out to cut down the mast by the board immediately, and go to their prayers, saying, if one or two such waves should return, they were inevitably lost.

This was their condition, when the second watch being just run out, he who looked a-head, cried, "Land! land!" adding, that they were not above a musket-shot from shore; which they could not descry sooner for the rain and darkness of the night. They could not come to an anchor, because they found no bottom; and while they were endeavouring at it, in vain, three successive waves sprung such a leak in the vessel, that they who were in the hold were drowned before they could get out. Some of those on the deck leaped overboard, and the rest were carried away by the sea. Fifteen of them got ashore, for the most part naked, and much hurt. They thought, at first, none had escaped except themselves; but, in climbing the rocks, they heard the voices of some men complaining, whom next day, by calling and seeking about the strand, they met with, scattered here and there: so that they made up thirty-six; no more remaining out of sixty-four, and most of them dangerously hurt.

In searching the wreck, they found a man wedged betwixt two planks, which had so pressed his body that he lived but three hours: but of all who perished, they could find only their captain, Egbertz, of Amsterdam, stretched out on the sand, ten or twelve fathom from the water, with his arm under his head, whom they buried: nor had the sea cast any of their provisions ashore, except one sack of meal, a cask with some salt-meat, a little bacon, and a hog'shead of claret. Their greatest trouble was to contrive how to make a fire, concluding they were on some desert island. Towards evening, the wind and rain somewhat abating, they gathered enough of the timber and sails of the wreck, to make some shelter against the weather.

The 17th, as they were lamenting their deplorable condition, sometimes complaining that they saw nobody, and sometimes flattering themselves with the hopes of being near Japan, they espied a man about a cannon-shot distant, to whom they called, and made signs; but as soon as he saw them, he fled. After noon they spied three more; one carried a musket, and his companions bows. Being come within gun-shot, they halted, and perceiving the Dutchmen made towards them, ran away, though they endeavoured to inform them, by signs, that they desired nothing but fire. At last, one of the company resolving to attack them, they delivered up their arms without opposition, and thus kindled their fuel. These men were clad after the Chinese fashion, excepting only their hats, which were of horse-hair; and the Dutch were much afraid lest they should be wild Chinese, or pirates. Towards evening there came an hundred armed men, clad like the former, who, after counting, kept them inclosed all night.

Next day at noon, there coming down about two thousand men, horse and foot, who drew up in order of battle before their hut or tent, their secretary, the chief pilot, and his mate, with a boy, went out to meet them. When they were brought to the commander, he ordered a great iron chain to be put about the neck of each of them, with a little bell, in which condition they were obliged to prostrate themselves before him. Those in the hut were treated in the same manner, all the islanders, at the same time, raising a great shout. When they had lain some time flat on their faces, signs were
made

made for them to kneel, and some questions were put to them, which they did not understand; nor could they, on the other hand, make the natives sensible, that they intended to have gone to Japan; for they call that country Jeenare, or Jerpon. The commander perceiving he could make nothing of all they said, caused a cup of arak to be given to each of them, and sent them back to their tent, ordering their conductors to let him see their provisions; which having viewed, an hour after they brought them rice boiled in water; but believing they were almost starved, gave them not much, for fear it should do them hurt.

After dinner they came with ropes in their hands, which greatly surprised the Dutch, imagining they intended to strangle them; but their fear vanished, on seeing them run towards the wreck, to draw ashore what might be of use to them. At night they gave them more rice to eat; and their master having made an observation, and they were in the island of Quelpaert, which is in thirty three degrees, thirty-two minutes of latitude.

These people were employed all the 19th in getting ashore the sad remains of the wreck, drying the cloaths, and burning the wood to get the iron, being very fond of that metal. Beginning now to grow somewhat familiar, they went to the commander of the forces, and admiral of the island, who was also come down, and presented each with a prospective glass, and a pot of red wine, besides the captain's silver cup, found among the rocks. They liked the liquor so well, that they drank till they were very merry; but returned the silver cup, with many tokens of friendship.

The 20th they made an end of burning all the wood of the ship, and saving the iron: during which time, the fire they made coming to two pieces of cannon loaded with ball, they gave so great a report, that they all fled, and durst not go near the vessel, till the Dutch had assured them, by signs, that they need not fear the like accident any more. This day they brought them rice twice, to eat. Next morning the commander gave them to understand, by signs, that they must bring before him whatever they had saved in their tent, in order to be sealed; which was done in their presence. Meanwhile certain persons being brought to him, who had converted to their own use some iron, hides, and other things saved out of the wreck, were immediately punished before them, to let them see, that their design was not to wrong them of any of their goods. Each of the thieves had thirty or forty strokes on the soles of his feet, with a cudgel six feet long, and as thick as a man's arm. This punishment was so severe, that some of their toes dropped off.

About noon they were given to understand, that they must depart. Those who were well had horses provided for them, and the sick were carried in hammocks. They set forward, attended by a numerous guard of horse and foot; and travelling four leagues, came at night to a little town called Tadiane; where, after a slender repast, they were carried into a warehouse, much like a stable. The 22d, at break of day, they departed, in the same order as before, and travelled to a little fort, near which there were two galliots. Here they halted to dine, and at night came to the town of Moggan, or Mokfo, where the governor of the island resides. They were all conducted to the square before the town house, where about three thousand men stood under arms; some of whom coming forwards, gave them water to drink in dishes; but being armed after a terrible manner, the Dutchmen imagined their design was to kill them. Their very habit increased their fear, for it had somewhat frightful, which is not seen in China, or Japan.

Their secretary, accompanied with some others, was carried to the governor. When they had lain awhile prostrate, a sign was made to the rest to do the same, near a fort of balcony before the house, where he sat like a king. After this, he caused them to be

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asked, by signs, whence they came, and whither they were bound? They answered, that they were Hollanders, and bound for Nangasaki, in Japan. Thereupon he signified, by bowing his head a little, that he understood something of what they said. Then he ordered them to pass in review by four and four at a time; and having put the same question to each of them, ordered them to be carried to the same house, where the King's uncle, who had attempted to usurp the throne, had been confined, and died.

As soon as they were all in, the house was beset with armed men. They had a daily allowance of twelve ounces of rice a man, and the same quantity of wheaten meal, but very little besides, and so ill dressed, that they could not eat it. Thus, their common meals were for the most part only rice, meal, and salt, with water to drink. The governor, who was seventy years of age, was a very understanding man, and in good esteem at court. When he dismissed them, he made signs, that he would write to the King to know his pleasure concerning them, but that it would be a considerable time before he could receive an answer, because the distance was fourscore leagues all but ten, by land; they therefore begged him to order, that they might have flesh sometimes, and other kinds of victuals. They also obtained leave for six of them to go abroad every day by turns, to take the air, and wash their linen. He did them the honour often to send for, and make them write something before him, both in his own, and the Dutch language. By this means they began to understand some words. As he was pleased sometimes to discourse with, and divert them with little amusements, they began to conceive hopes of getting over one day to Japan. He took such care of their sick, that, says the author, "We may affirm we were better treated by that idolater, than we should have been among Christians."

The 29th of October, the secretary, master, and surgeon's mate, were carried before the governor, where they found a man sitting, who had a great red beard. The governor asked them who they took that man to be? And having told him they supposed he was a Dutchman, he fell a laughing, and said they were mistaken, for he was a Koresian. After some further discourse, the man, who, till then had been silent, asked them in Dutch, who they were, and of what country? They returned an answer, adding an account of their misfortunes. Then taking the boldness to ask him the same questions, in their turn, he said his name was John Wettevree; that he was born at Riip in Holland, from whence he came as a volunteer in 1626, aboard the ship *Hollandia*: that, next year, going to Japan in the *Ouderkeres* frigate, the wind drove them on the coast of Korea; that wanting water, and being one of those who were commanded ashore to get provisions, he and two more, named Theodorick Gerard and John Pieters, had been taken by the inhabitants, seventeen or eighteen years before in the wars, when the Tartars invaded Korea; that he was fifty-eight years of age, and that his abode was in the capital city of Korea, whence the King had sent him to know who they were, and what had brought them into his dominions? He added, that he had often asked leave of the King to go over to Japan, without ever obtaining any other answer, than that he must never expect it, unless he had wings, and could fly thither: that the custom of the country was to detain all strangers, but that they wanted for nothing, being provided with diet and clothes as long as they lived.

This was no pleasing news to the Dutchmen; but the joy of finding so good an interpreter dispelled their melancholy. Yet he had so forgotten his mother tongue, that they had much to do at first to understand him; but he recovered it again in a month's time. The governor having caused all their depositions to be taken in form, sent them to court, and bade them be of good cheer, for that they should have

an answer in a short time. Meanwhile, he daily bestowed new favours on them, giving leave to Wettevree, and the officers who came with him, to see them at any time, and acquaint him with their wants.

The beginning of December a new governor came, their benefactor's three years being expired. It would be hard to express the kindness he shewed them at his departure, inasmuch that seeing them ill provided against winter, he caused two pair of shoes, a coat well lined, and a pair of stockings of skins to be made for each of them. He likewise treated them nobly, declaring that he was sorry it had not been in his power to send them over to Japan, or carry them with him to the continent. He added, that they ought not to be troubled at his going away, because, being at court, he would use all his endeavours to obtain their liberty, or have them carried thither. He restored them the books they had saved, with some other parcels of goods, giving them, at the same time, a bottle of precious oil. He likewise got the new governor to mend their allowance, which he had reduced to rice, salt, and water.

But after that lord's departure, which was in January 1654, they were much worse used than before, for barley was given them instead of rice, and barley-meal in place of wheat; the first of which they were forced to sell, to procure other food. This hard usage tempted them to think of making their escape in the approaching spring, and the rather, as the King's order did not come for carrying them up to court. After long consulting how they might seize on a boat in a dark night, at length six of them resolved to execute this design about the end of April; but one of the gang having gotten a-top of the wall, in order to see where the bark lay, was discovered by some dogs, whose barking alarmed the guards.

The beginning of May, the master going abroad with five others, as he was walking, observed, at a little hamlet near the city, a bark well fitted up, without any body to guard it. He presently sent one of his company to get a little boat, and some short planks. Then making each man drink a draught of water, he went aboard, without taking care for any more. Whilst they were labouring to draw the bark over a little shoal that was near it, some of the inhabitants discovered their design; and one of them running out with a musket, went into the water to oblige them to return: yet that did not hinder them from proceeding, except one, who not being able to get up to the rest, was forced to go back to land. The other five attempting to hoist the sail, both mast and sail fell into the water. They soon got things to rights again, with much labour; but as they endeavoured a second time to hoist sail, the end of the mast broke off short, and could not possibly be mended. These delays giving the natives time to get into another bark, they soon overtook the fugitives; who, notwithstanding their weapons, nimbly boarded them, hoping to make themselves masters of the vessel: but finding it full of water, and unfit for service, they all submitted.

Being carried before the governor, he caused them to be laid flat on the ground, and their hands chained to a great log: then the rest being brought also bound and manacled, the prisoners were asked, whether they were privy to their flight? This all the six positively denying, Wettevree was set to examine what their design was: and they answering, it was no other, but to go to Japan; "How durst you, (said the governor,) attempt that passage without bread and water?" They replied, they had chosen rather to expose themselves, once for all, to the danger of death than to die every moment. Hereupon the unfortunate wretches had each twenty-five strokes given him on the bare buttocks, with a cudgel a fathom long, four fingers broad, and an inch thick, being flat on the side that strikes, and round on the other. These strokes were so unmercifully laid on, that the sufferers were forced to keep their beds a month; and

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and though the rest were unbound, yet they were confined, and strictly guarded day and night.

Quelpaert, which the natives call Schefure, lies twelve or thirteen leagues south of the coast of Korea, and is fourteen or fifteen leagues in compass. On the north side of it is a bay, where several barks lie, and from whence they sail for the continent; which is of very dangerous access to those unacquainted with it, on account of the hidden rocks, and that there is but one road where ships can anchor and tide under shelter; for in all other places they are often driven over to the coast of Japan. The island is quite surrounded with rocks, but abounds in horses and cattle; yet these paying great duties to the King: the natives are very poor, and despised by the inhabitants of the continent. In this island there is a mountain of a vast height, covered with woods; besides several small hills, which are naked, interspersed with vales abounding in rice.

2. Their Journey to the Capital of Korea, and other Adventures.

Sent for to Court:—The Road thither:—Arrival at the Capital:—Entered in the Guards:—Cared for by many:—A strong Castle.—Severe Cold.—Attempts of two unlucky to the rest.—Shipwreck on Quelpaert.—The Dutch in Danger.—Banished from Court:—Are hardly used by the Governors:—Get leave to beg.

THE latter end of May, orders came to carry them up to court. Six or seven days after they put them into four boats, with fetters on their feet, and one hand made fast to a block, to prevent their leaping into the water, which otherwise they might easily have done, all the soldiers being sea-sick. After two days struggling with contrary winds, they were put back, and their irons being taken off, returned to their former prison at Quelpaert. Four or five days after, being shipped again by times in the morning, and in the evening they got close up to the continent; and having lain all night in the road, landed next morning, where their chains were taken off, but their guards doubled. Presently horses were brought, to carry them to the city Hey-nam, where they all met again, having been separated at sea, and landed in several places.

The morning following they came to the town of Jeham; where their gunner, who had never enjoyed health since the shipwreck, died, and was buried, by the governor's order. Next night they came to the city Nadioo; the day following to Sanfiang; thence to Tongap, after crossing a high mountain, on the top whereof is the spacious fort called Ilpam-Sanfiang. Thence they travelled to the city Teyn, and next day, having baited at the little town of Kuniga, at night came to the great town of Khin-tyo, where formerly the King kept his court, and at present the governor of the province of Thillado resides. It is a city of great trade, and very famous in that country, though a day's journey from the sea. Going thence, they lay at Jefan, the last town of the same province; then at the little town of Gunun, next at Jenfan, and, lastly, at Konfio, the residence of the governor of the province of Tiongsiando. Next day they crossed a great river, and entered upon the province of Sengado, in which Sior, the capital of Korea, is seated.

After lying many days in several places, they crossed a river as wide as the Maese at Dordrecht, and a league from thence arrived at the city of Sior. They computed the distance seventy-five leagues, from their landing to this city, all the way northward, only a little inclining to the west. Here for two or three days they were lodged all in one house, and then removed into little huts, three or four together, to remain with the Chinese, who were settled there. Being carried in a body before the King, he examined them, by means of Wettewree. After which they humbly beseeched His Majesty to

send them over to Japan, that, with the assistance of the Dutch there, they might one day return to their own country. The King told them it was not the custom of Korea to suffer strangers to depart the kingdom; but promised, at the same time, to provide them with all necessaries. Then he ordered them to do such things before him as they were most expert at, as singing, dancing, and leaping. After which, causing meat to be set before them, he gave to each two pieces of cloth, to clothe them after the Korean fashion.

Next day they were all carried to the general of the forces, who ordered Wettevree to tell them, that the King had admitted them among his life-guards, and, as such, would allow them seven kattis of rice a month. Hereupon each had a paper given him, in which was set down his name, his age, and his country; what profession he followed before, and what he now was, all in their character, sealed with the King's great seal, and the general's; which is nothing but the print of an hot iron. Together with this commission, they delivered to each a musket, powder, and ball, with orders to give a volley before the general's, every first and fourth day of the month; to be always ready to march into the field with him, whether the King went, or upon any other account. In spring and autumn, that general reviews his troops three times a month; the soldiers likewise exercise as often in private. A Chinese and Wettevree were appointed to command them, the former as serjeant; the other was to have an eye over them, and teach the customs of the Koreans.

Most of the great men, out of curiosity, invited them to dine at their houses, to see them exercise, shoot, and dance, after the Dutch manner. But, above all, their wives and children were eager to view them, because the common people of Quelpaert had spread a report that they were of a monstrous race, and, when they drank, were obliged to suck up their noses behind their ears. Hence the people of fashion at Sior were amazed to see them better shaped than their countrymen; above all, they admired the fairness of their complexion. They so thronged to see them, that, at first, they could scarce walk the streets, or be quiet at home. At length the general put a stop to this, forbidding all persons whomsoever to go near them without his leave; the rather, because the very slaves of great men took the liberty to fetch them out of their chambers to make sport with.

In August, a Tartar envoy arriving to demand the usual tribute, the King was forced to send them to a great fort, six or seven leagues from Sior, to be kept there till the ambassador departed, which was the beginning of next month. This fort stands on a mountain called Numma Sanfiang, which is three hours' work to ascend. It is so strong, that the King himself retires thither in time of war; and most of the great men of the kingdom live there. It is always furnished with three years' provision for a great number of people.

About the end of November the cold was so vehement, that the river was frozen, and three hundred horses loaded passed over it. The general, concerned to see the cold they endured, informed the King, who ordered some hides, for the most part rotten, which they had saved from the shipwreck, to be distributed among them, that they might sell them, and buy some cloathing. Two or three, with the money they got by these hides, purchased a little hut for nine or ten crowns; chusing rather to endure cold, than to be continually tormented by their landlords sending them to the mountains, two or three leagues distant to fetch wood. The rest having cloathed themselves the best they could, were forced to pass the remainder of the winter as they had often done before.

The Tartar ambassador returning in March 1655, they were forbidden, as before, under severe penalties, to stir out of doors; but the day he set forward, Henry Jans,

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their master, and Henry John Bos, a gunner, under pretence of going for wood, resolved to meet him on the way. As soon as he appeared at the head of his troops, they laid hold of his horse's reins with one hand, and with the other turned aside their Korean habit, to let him see they were clad after the Dutch manner underneath. This, at first, caused a great confusion among the multitude, and the ambassador asked them earnestly, who they were; but they could never make him understand them: however, he ordered them to follow him. At night he caused enquiry to be made for somebody to explain what they said to him; and hearing of Wettevree, sent for him in haste. That interpreter having advertised the King, a council was held, where it was resolved to make the ambassador a present, in order to stifle the matter from coming to the Khan's ear.

These two unhappy Dutchmen were brought back to Sior, and put in prison, where, in a short time, they died; but whether of a violent or natural death was unknown to their countrymen, who were never allowed to see them afterwards. As soon as this affair was noised abroad, they were carried before the council of war to be examined; and, though they declared themselves no ways privy to their companions design, yet each of them was sentenced to receive fifty bastinadoes for not giving notice of their going out. But the King remitted this punishment; saying, they were to be considered as poor wretches cast into his country by storms, rather than as outlaws who came with an intent to plunder. Hereupon they were sent home again; but with an injunction not to stir abroad without His Majesty's orders.

In June, the general sent their interpreter to acquaint them, that a vessel being run aground on the island of Quelpaert, and Wettevree too old to perform the journey, three of them, who best understood the Korean language, should prepare to set out to bring an account of the wreck. In pursuance of this order, the assistant, the pilot's mate, and a gunner, were chosen, and set forwards two days after.

The Tartar ambassador coming again in August, they were commanded, under pain of severe punishment, not to stir out of their quarters till three days after he was gone. The day before he came, they received letters from their companions, giving an account, that they were closely confined on the southermost borders of the kingdom, to the end, that if the great Khan had been informed of the two unhappy fellows who were dead, and should demand the rest, he might be told, they were all three cast away going to the island of Quelpaert.

The ambassador came again towards the end of the year; so that although the great Khan had sent twice into Korea, since that unfortunate attempt of two of their companions, without making any mention of it, yet most of the great men used all their endeavours with the King to destroy them. The council sat three days upon this affair; but the King, his brother, the general, and some others, were not for taking such measures. The general proposed, that each of them should fight two Koreans with the same weapons; alledging, that the King would thus get rid of them, without putting it in the power of any to say, that he had murdered poor strangers. This intelligence was secretly conveyed to them by some charitable persons. And soon after, the King's brother passing by their quarters, as he was going to the council, of which he was president, they fell prostrate at his feet, and implored his favour; which so moved him to compassion, that he solicited strongly in their behalf; insomuch, that they owed their lives solely to the King and him. This giving offence to many persons, to prevent the designs of such who might attempt to destroy them, and keep them from being seen by the Tartars, it was thought fit to banish them into the province of Thillado, with an allowance from the King of fifty pounds of rice a month.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, in March 1657, they departed on horseback from Sior, in charge of a serjeant, accompanied by their acquaintance as far as the river, a league from the city, where they took their leave of Wettevree. They passed through the same towns they had seen in their way to the court; and coming to lie at Jeam, set out next morning, and, about noon, arrived at a great town, called Diusiong, or Thillapening, commanded by a large citadel. The Penigse, who is chief in the absence of the governor, resides there, and has the title of colonel of the province. Being delivered to him with the King's letters, the serjeant was dispatched to fetch their three companions who had been sent away the year before, and were twelve leagues off, where the vice-admiral commanded. They were lodged together in a public house, making in all thirty-three persons.

In April, they brought them some hides that had been left behind at Quelpaert, which was but eighteen leagues distant. The only business they were charged with, was to pull up the grafs that grew in the square before the castle, twice a month, and to keep it clean. The governor, who was very good to them, as well as all the citizens, being obliged to go to court to answer some accusations, was in danger of his life: but being well-beloved by the people, and favoured by the grandees, on account of his family, he came off with honour. The governor who succeeded him was more rigid, obliging them to fetch their wood, which used to be brought them, from a mountain three leagues off: but an apoplexy delivered them from him in September following.

Yet they fared no better under the next, who came in November: for when they asked him for cloaths (which were then worn out with carrying wood) or any thing else, he answered, that the King had given no orders as to that point; that he was only obliged to furnish their allowance of rice, and that for other wants it was their business to provide for themselves. They therefore presented him with a petition, for leave to beg, each in his turn, representing, that they could not get their living any longer by carrying wood, because they were naked, and that their labour would yield nothing but a little salt and rice. He granted their request; and, in a short time, they were provided against the cold.

At the beginning of the year 1658, a new governor coming, afflicted them with new crosses. He forbid them to go abroad, proffering, if they would work for him, to give each three pieces of cotton cloth. But this they respectfully declined, knowing they should wear out more cloaths in his service than what he would furnish them with. At the same time, some of them falling ill of a fever, (the very thoughts of which disease terrified the natives), he consented, that they should beg in companies; provided they were not absent above a fortnight or three weeks, and that they neither went towards the court, nor Japan. The other half who remained at home, he ordered, should look to the sick, and take care to pull up the grafs in the square.

3. *Their hard Usage, and the escape of Eight to Japan.*

King of Korea dies. — A great Famine. — The Dutch parted: Get leave to beg. — A kind Governor. — Three Comets. — Ease of the Dutch disturbed by severe Governors. — Some hire a Bark and escape: Get out to Sea: — Deserve Japan. — The island Gotto. — Are carried ashore. — Sail to Nangofakis. — Received by the Factors. — Return to Holland.

IN April the King died, and his son succeeded him, with the consent of the great Khán. They went on in their trade of begging, particularly among the religious men, who were very charitable, being never weary of hearing their adventures, and the customs of other countries.

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The governor, who arrived in 1660, was so kind to them, that he often declared, if it was in his power, he would send them into their own country, or at least to some place where the Hollanders frequented. This year there happened such a drought, that all sorts of provisions were very scarce. The next was yet more miserable, abundance of people being famished to death, and the roads full of robbers; but the King vigorously pursued them. Acorns, pine-apples, and other wild fruit, were all the support of the people. The famine was so great, that villages were plundered, and some of the King's stores broken open: yet those disorders being committed by the slaves of great men, none were punished for them. This calamity lasted all the year 1662, and the following felt some share of it. The place where the Dutch were, being no longer able to furnish them with provision, the governor, about the end of February 1663, by order from court, distributed them into three towns: twelve he sent to Saysiano, five to Suinschien, and as many to Namman, sixteen leagues beyond; their number at this time, being reduced to twenty-two. This separation, which at first afflicted them, proved the means of the escape of the author, and his companions.

They set forwards on foot, carrying the sick, and what baggage they had, on the horses allowed them, and all lay in the same towns the first and second night. The third day they came to Suinschien, where the five assigned to that place were left. Next day they lay in a country house, and setting out early in the morning, came about nine to Saisiano, where their conductors delivered them to the governor, or admiral of the province of Thellado, who resides there. This seemed to be a very worthy lord: but five days after he was succeeded by another, who proved their scourge. The greatest favour he granted them, was leave to go cut wood fit to make arrows for his men, who had nothing to do but to learn to shoot, the great men striving who shall keep the ablest archers.

Winter drawing on, they petitioned the governor for permission to seek for cloathing; and he gave them leave to be absent half at a time, for three days. This liberty proved very beneficial to them, because the great men, who had compassion on them, favoured their sallies; so that they were sometimes allowed to be a month abroad. Whatever they got was shared in common. This continued till the governor was called to court, where the King declared him general of his army, which is the second employment in the kingdom. His successor eased them of all their burdens, and ordered, that they should be as well treated as their countrymen who were in the other towns. Thus they were only obliged to pass muster twice a month, to keep house in their turns, and to ask leave when they wanted to go abroad; or at least give the secretary notice, that they might know where to find them.

This governor, besides other favours, often treated them, and pitying their misfortune, would ask, why, being so near the sea, they did not attempt to pass over to Japan? They said, they durst not venture to do any thing so contrary to the King's will; adding, that they knew not the way, nor had a vessel. He replied, there were barks enough along the coast. The Dutchmen alledged, that they did not belong to them, and if they missed their aim, they should be punished as thieves and deserters. The governor laughed at their scruples, not imagining they talked after that manner only to prevent suspicion; and that all their thoughts, day and night, were employed in contriving how to seize a bark. The late governor had not enjoyed his new honour above six months, when being accused to the King of having put to death several persons, as well nobles as commoners, on very slight occasions, he was condemned to receive four-score and ten strokes of a cudgel on his shin bones, and to be banished for ever.

Towards the end of the year a comet appeared, and after that two at once: the first was seen in the south-east, for about two months: the other in the south-west, but their tails were opposite to each other. The court was so much alarmed at it, that the King caused the guards to be doubled in all his ports, and aboard his ships: he also caused his fortresses to be furnished with provision, and warlike stores: he made all his forces, both horse and foot, exercise every day, expecting an invasion from some of his neighbours; inasmuch, that he forbade making any fire at night in those houses which might be seen from sea. The commonalty spent all they had, keeping only as much as would serve to subsist them with rice; because they had seen the same signs when the Tartars over-ran their country. They remembered likewise, that some such thing had appeared before the Japanese declared war against them. Wherever they met the Hollanders, they never failed to ask, what they thought of comets in their country? Their answer was, that they presaged some signal judgment, generally the plague, war, or famine, and sometimes all three; which, says the author, they believed, having had experience of it themselves.

As they lived much at ease all the year 1664, and the next, their whole endeavours were employed to make themselves masters of a bark, but without success. Sometimes they rowed along the shore in a little boat, which served them to get their living; and sometimes round the small islands, to see if any thing would fall out, which might forward their escape. Their countrymen, who were in the two other towns, came every now and then to see them; and they repaid their visits, according as it pleased their governors. They were patient under the greatest severities, thinking it a great mercy that they enjoyed their health, and a subsistence during that long captivity. In the year 1666, they lost their benefactor, who was promoted to the prime dignities at court in reward for his good actions. It is incredible how much good he did to all sorts of people, indifferently, during his two years administration, which gained him the love of all, as well as the esteem of his Prince, and the nobility. He repaired public structures, cleared the coasts, and increased the marine forces.

They were without a governor for three days after his departure, so many being allowed the successor for choosing a happy minute, by means of some diviner, to enter upon his employment. This man, to other severities, would oblige them continually to mould clay. This they refused, alledging, that they ought to be allowed what time they had to spare from their own affairs, to get something to cloath themselves, and supply their own wants; that the King had not sent them to work, or if they must be so used, it was better for them to quit his allowance, and desire to be sent to Japan, or some other place, where their countrymen resorted.

To this he made no answer, but ordered them to be gone, threatening to find a way to make them comply. But he was luckily prevented; for a few days after, being on board a very fine ship, some fire accidentally fell into the powder, (which is kept in a room before the mast), and blew up the prow, killing five men. The governor believing he could conceal that accident, gave no account of it to the intendant of the province; but he was mistaken, for the fire being seen by one of the spies, whom the King keeps on the coasts, as well as in the heart of the country, to be informed of all that passes, he gave notice thereof to the intendant, who sent an account of it up to court, whither the governor was immediately summoned, and, by sentence of the judges, received fourscore and ten strokes on his shin bones, and was banished for ever.

Thus, in July they had another governor, who behaving like the last, required of them daily an hundred fathom of mat; and when they represented it as a thing not to

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be done, he told them, he would find some other employment for them; which he had done, but that he fell sick, although, besides their own affairs, they were obliged to pull up the grass in the square of Penighe, and then to fetch home wood fit for arrows. These considerations made them resolve to take advantage of their tyrant's indisposition, and to get a bark at any rate. For this purpose they employed a Korean, whom they had often relieved in his distress, to buy them one, under pretence that they wanted to go beg cotton in the neighbouring islands, promising him a good share when they returned. Accordingly, he bought a bark of a fisherman. The seller perceiving it was for them, would have gone from his bargain, at the instigation of some who told him, it was to make their escape, and that in case they did, he would be put to death; but being blinded with an offer of double the value, he consented.

As soon as the two Koreans were gone, they furnished the vessel with sails, anchor, rigging, oars, and other requisites, in order to set out the first quarter of the moon, that being the fittest season. They kept two of their countrymen, who came to visit them, and sent to Namman for John Peter of Uries, an able sailor, to steer their vessel. Although their neighbours had conceived some jealousy of them, yet on the fourth of September, as the moon was setting (the time fixed for their departure) they crept along the city wall, unperceived by anybody; carrying off their provision, which consisted of rice, pots of water, and a frying pan.

Having filled a cask with fresh water, in a little island, which was within cannon shot, they, without any noise, passed before the vessels belonging to the city, and just opposite to the King's frigates, keeping as far off in the channel as they could. The fifth, in the morning, being almost out at sea, a fisherman hailed them, but they would not answer, fearing it might be some advanced guard to the men of war, that lay thereabouts. At sun rise, the wind failing, they plied their oars. About noon the weather began to freshen, so that directing their course by guess, south-east, at night they cleared the point of Korea, and were no longer apprehensive of being pursued.

The sixth day, in the morning, they found themselves very near the first island of Japan; and the wind still favouring them, came, without knowing it, before the island of Firando, where yet they durst not put in, because unacquainted with the road. Besides, the Koreans had often told them, that there were no isles to coast in the way to Nangasaki; therefore, holding on their course, with a cold breeze, the seventh, they ran along abundance of islands, which seemed to be numberless. At night, they thought to have anchored at a small island, but the sky appearing stormy, and perceiving abundance of fires on every side, they resolved to continue under sail.

The eighth, in the morning, they found themselves in the same place from whence they set forward the night before, which they attributed to the force of some current. Hereupon they stood out to sea, but were soon obliged, by contrary boisterous weather, to seek the land again. After crossing a bay, they came to an anchor about noon, without knowing the country. Whilst they were dressing some victuals, the natives passed backwards and forwards close by them, without saying any thing. About evening, the wind being somewhat fallen, a bark with six men in it, each having two knives at his girdle, rowed close by them, and landed a man opposite to the place where they were. This made them weigh, and depart as fast as they could, making use of their oars, as well as sails, to get out of the bay: but the bark pursuing, soon overtook them. By making use of their long bambús, they might easily have prevented their coming aboard; but observing several other barks full of Japanese set out from shore, they gave themselves no farther trouble.

The bark hailed them, and asking, by signs, whither they would go, the Dutch let fly their colours with the arms of Orange, which they had provided for that purpose, crying, Holland, Nangafaki. Hereupon, they made signs for them to strike their sail, which done, they carried two men into their bark, and asked them several questions, without being understood. Their arrival had so alarmed all the coast, that not a man was to be seen, but who was armed with two swords. At night, a great bark brought aboard them the third man for dignity in the island; who perceiving they were Hollanders, gave them to understand, by signs, that there were six Dutch ships at Nangafaki, and that they were in the island of Gotto, subject to the Emperor. They continued here three days well guarded, aboard their bark. Meantime, water, wood, and flesh, was brought them, with a mat to cover them from rain, which fell in great abundance.

The twelfth, being furnished with provisions, to go to Nangafaki, they set forward, accompanied by the officer above mentioned. He carried some letters from the Emperor, and some goods, being attended by two large barks, and two little ones. Next day, towards evening, they saw the bay of that city, and at midnight anchored before it, where they found five Dutch ships. Several inhabitants of Gotto, as well as chief men, did them many kindnesses, without taking any thing in return. On the fourteenth, they were all carried ashore, where the Company's interpreters received them. Then their answers to several questions being taken down in writing, they were carried to the governor's house, and about noon brought before him. When they had satisfied his curiosity, he much commended their resolution in encountering so many dangers to recover their liberty.

After this, he ordered the interpreters to conduct them to their commandant, Mynheer William Volguers, who received them very kindly; as did his deputy Mynheer Nicholas Le Roy, and in general all their countrymen. The governor of Nangafaki, who would have kept them a year, caused them to be brought before him on the twenty-fifth of October; and after examining them over again, restored them to the Company's director, who lodged them in his own house. A few days after, they sailed for Batavia, where they arrived on the twentieth of November. At landing, they delivered their journal to the general, who gave them a very favourable reception, and promised to put them aboard the ships that were to sail from thence on the twenty-eighth of December; which vessels arrived at Amsterdam on the twentieth of July, 1668.

SECTION II.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF KOREA.

1. *Its Situation and Extent, with the Manners of the Inhabitants.*

Situation. — *Bounds.* — *An open Sea.* — *The Coasts.* — *Intense Cold.* — *Soil and Produce.* — *Animals.* — *Provinces.* — *Inhabitants, their Character very pusillanimous.* — *Diseases.* — *Physicians.* — *Great Smokers.* — *Their Houses small, and low.* — *Recreations.* — *Travelling.*

THE kingdom known to the Europeans, by the name of Korea, is by the natives called Tiozenkoug, and sometimes Kaoli. It reaches from thirty-four to forty-four degrees of north latitude, being about one hundred and fifty leagues in length from north to south, and seventy-five in breadth, from east to west. Hence, the natives represent it in form of a long square, like a playing card; nevertheless, it has several points of land which run far out into the sea.

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On the west, this kingdom is divided from China, by the bay of Nan-king, but it is joined to it on the north by a long and high mountain, which is all that hinders Korea from being an island. On the north-east, it is bounded by the vast ocean, where every year a great number of whales are taken; some by the French and Dutch: abundance of herrings also are caught there in December, January, February, and March. Those taken in the two first months are as large as what they have in Holland: those they catch afterwards are smaller, and like the Dutch frying herrings. Hence, the author and his companions inferred, that there is a passage above Korea, Japan, and Tartary, which answers to the streights of Weigats: for this reason, they often asked the Koreesian seamen, who use the north-east sea, what lands were beyond them; and they all told them, they believed there was nothing that way but a boundless ocean.

Those who go from Korea to China, embark in the uttermost part of the bay: for the difficulty of passing the mountain makes the way by land very troublesome in summer, because of the wild beasts; and in winter, on account of the excessive cold: yet in this season the bay may be crossed over on the north side, being generally frozen hard enough to bear.

The coasts being inclosed with rocks and sands, makes it difficult of access, and dangerous for strangers to approach it. Towards the south-east, it is very near Japan, there being but twenty-five or twenty-six leagues distance betwixt the town of Pousan in Korea, and that of Osakko in Japan. Betwixt them is the island Suiffima, which the Koresians call Taymuta. It formerly belonged to them, but they exchanged it for that of Quelpaert, in a treaty of peace concluded with the Japanese.

The cold is so intense in Korea, that in the year 1662, the Dutch being in the monasteries on the mountains, there fell such a prodigious quantity of snow, that they made passages under it to go from house to house: to walk upon it, they wear small boards, like battledores, under their feet, which hinder their sinking. By reason of this excessive cold, those who live on the northern coast feed only upon barley, and that none of the best, for no rice or cotton can grow there. The better sort of people have their meal brought from the south.

The rest of the country is fruitful, and produces all the necessaries of life, especially rice, and other sorts of grain. They have hemp, cotton, and silk worms; but they know not how to work the silk. There is also silver, lead, tigers skins, and the nisi root. They have store of cattle, and make use of oxen to till the land. The Dutch met with bears, deer, wild boars, swine, dogs, cats, and several other creatures; but never saw any elephants there. The rivers are often pestered with alligators, or crocodiles, of several sizes: some are eighteen or twenty ells long: the eye is small, but very sharp; the teeth placed like those of a comb. When they eat, they only move the upper jaw. Their back bone has sixty joints. The natives often told them, that three children were once found in a crocodile's belly. Korea breeds abundance of serpents, and venomous creatures. As for fowl, they have plenty of swans, geese, ducks, herons, storks, eagles, falcons, kites, pigeons, woodcocks, magpies, daws, larks, lapwings, pheasants, hens, besides other sorts not known in Europe.

Korea is divided into eight provinces, containing three hundred and sixty cities and towns, without reckoning the forts and castles, which are all on the mountains.

The Koresians are much addicted to stealing, and so apt to cheat and lie, that there is no trusting of them. They think over-reaching a good action, and therefore fraud is not infamous among them; yet the law will redress a man, who has been cheated in a bargain. They are withal silly and credulous. The Dutch might have made them believe any thing they would, because they are great lovers of strangers, but chiefly the

religious men. They are an effeminate people, and discover very little courage; at least the Hollanders were informed so by several credible persons, who beheld the havoc the Emperor of Japan made among them, when he slew their King; and how they behaved, when the Tartars coming over the ice, seized the kingdom. Wettevree, who was an eye-witness to the whole, assured them, that more Koreseans died in the woods, whither they fled, than were killed by the enemy.

They are not ashamed of cowardice, and lament the misfortune of those who are obliged to fight. They have often been repulsed in attempting to plunder European vessels, cast on their coast. They abhor blood, and fly when they meet with any. They are much afraid of sick folks, and particularly those who have contagious distempers: such they presently remove, putting them into little straw hovels in the middle of the fields, where they see none but those who are to look after them: these give notice to passengers to keep off; and when the sick man has no friends to take care of him, others will rather let him die, than come near him. When any town, or village, is infected with the plague, the avenues to it are shut up with a hedge of briars, and some are laid on the tops of distempered houses, that people may know them. Many medicinal plants grow in the country, but the people are not acquainted with them, and almost all the physicians are employed by the grantees; so that the poor, who cannot be at that charge, make use of blind men, and conjurers, whom formerly they followed every where, over rivers and rocks, and into the idol temples: but this custom was abolished, by the King's order, in the year 1662.

Before the Tartars subdued Korea, it was full of luxury and debauchery, the natives giving themselves wholly up to eating, drinking, and lewdness: but now the Tartars and Japanese tyrannize over them; they have enough to do to live when a year proves bad, because of the heavy tribute they pay to the former. Within these fifty or sixty years, the Japanese taught them to plant tobacco, which, till then, was unknown to them; and telling them the seed came from Nampankouk, they often called it Nampankoy. They take so much at present, that there are very few of either sex but what smoke; and the very children practise it at four or five years of age. When first brought them, they bought it for its weight in silver; and for that reason they look upon Nampankouk as one of the best countries in the world.

The poorer sort have no cloaths but what are made of hemp, and pitiful skins: but, to make amends, the root nisi grows there, in which they drive a great trade to China and Japan.

The houses of the Koreseans of quality are stately, but those of the common sort very mean; nor are they allowed to build as they please. No man can cover his house with tiles, unless he has leave so to do; for which reason, most of them are thatched with straw, or reeds. They are parted from one another by a wall, or else a row of stakes, or palisados. They are built by fixing wooden posts, or pillars, in the ground at certain distances, and filling the spaces between with stone up to the first story: the rest of the structure is of wood, plastered without, and covered on the inside with white paper glued on. The floors are vaulted, and in winter they make a fire underneath; so that they are always as warm as a stove. The floor is covered with oiled paper.

Their houses are small, consisting of one story, and a garret over it, where they lay up their provisions. They have seldom more furniture than what may be absolutely necessary. The nobility have always an apartment forwards, where they receive their friends, lodge their acquaintance, and divert themselves; there being generally, before their houses, a large square, or bals court, with a fountain, or fish-pond, and a garden with covered walks. Tradesmen, and the chief citizens, have generally a warehouse adjoining

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adjoining to their mansion-house, where they keep their goods, and treat their friends with tobacco and arak. The women's apartment is in the most retired part of the house, where none must approach them: yet some wives are allowed the liberty of seeing people, and going to feasts; but they sit by themselves; and facing their husbands.

There are, in the country, abundance of taverns, and pleasure houses, to which the Korefians resort, to see common women dance, sing, and play upon musical instruments. In summer, they take this recreation in cool groves, under close shady trees. They have no inns to entertain passengers, but he who travels goes and sits down, at night, near the pales of the first house he comes at. Presently, those within bring him boiled rice, and dressed meat enough for his supper. He may stop thus at as many houses as he will: yet, on the great road to Siou, there are inns, where those who travel on public affairs, have lodging and diet, at the public charge.

2. Their Customs and Learning.

Their Marriages. — Condition of Wives. — Duty of Children. — Mourning for Parents. — Their Funerals. — Inheritance. — Education of Children. — Examination for Places. — Language and Writing. — Their Geography. — Printing. — Arithmetic. — Account of Time.

KINDRED are not allowed to marry within the fourth degree. They make no courtship, because they are married at eight or ten years of age; and the young maids, (unless they be only daughters) from that time, live in their father-in-law's house, till they have learnt to get their living, or to govern their family. The day a man marries, he mounts on horseback, attended by his friends; and having rode about the town, stops at the bride's door, where he is received by her relations, who then carry her to his house, where the marriage is consummated, without any other ceremony.

A man may keep as many women abroad as he can maintain, and repair to them, at any time, without scandal; yet none lives with him but his wife. Noblemen, indeed, have two or three women besides in the house; but they have nothing to do with the management of the family. To say the truth, they make no great account of their wives, whom they use little better than slaves. Although a woman has borne her husband a great many children, it is in his power to put her away whenever he pleases, on the slightest pretence, and to take another: but the woman has not the same privilege, unless she can get it by law. What is still harder, he can compel her to take and maintain their children. However, this unreasonable custom helps to render the country very populous.

Parents are very indulgent to their children, and, in return, are much respected by them. They depend upon one-another's good behaviour, and if one of them withdraws after an ill action, the other does the like. It is not so with the slaves, who have but little regard for their children, because they know they will be taken from them as soon as they are able to work, or do any business. If a freeman lies with a woman-slave, the children born of them are slaves; and such whose father and mother are both slaves, belong to the mother's master.

When a freeman dies, his children mourn three years, during which time, they live as austerely as religious men: they are not capable of any employment, and those who are in posts must quit them. It is not lawful for them even to lie with their wives; and, if they should have any children born during the mourning, they would not be accounted legitimate. It is not permitted them to be in a passion, or to fight, much less

to be drunk. The mourning they wear, is a long hempen robe, without any thing under it, but a sort of sackcloth, made of twisted thread, almost as thick as the twine of a cable. On their hats, which are of green reeds woven together, instead of an haband, they wear a hempen cord. They never go without a great cane, or cudgel in their hand, which serves to distinguish who they are in mourning for, the cane denoting the father, and a stick the mother. During all this time, they never wash, and, consequently, look like mulattos.

As soon as any one dies, his kindred run about the streets shrieking and tearing their hair. They take special care to bury him honourably, in some part of a mountain chosen by a fortune-teller. They inclose every corpse in two coffins, two or three fingers thick, put one within the other, to keep out the water, painting and adorning them, according to their ability. They generally bury their dead in spring and autumn. Such as die in summer, they place in a thatched hut, raised on four stakes, till rice harvest is over. When they intend to bury them, they bring them back to the house, and put their cloaths, with some jewels, into the coffin: then, after making merry all night, they set out at break of day with the body. The bearers sing, and keep time as they go, whilst the kindred and friends of the party make the air ring with their cries. Three days after, these latter return to the grave, where they make some offerings, and then eating all together, are very merry. The meaner sort only make a grave five or six feet deep; but the great men have sepulchres of stone, on which are placed their statues, with their names, qualifications, and employments, cut underneath. Every full moon they cut down the grass that grows on the grave, and offer new rice there; that being their greatest festival next to the new year.

When the children have fully performed this duty to their parents, the eldest son takes possession of the house, with all the lands depending on it. The rest is divided among the other sons; but the Dutch never heard that the daughters had any share, because the women carry nothing to their husbands but their cloaths. When a father is fourscore years of age, he declares himself incapable of managing his estate, and resigns it up to his children: then the eldest taking possession, builds a house, at the common expence, for his father and mother, where he lodges and maintains them, treating them with the greatest respect.

The nobility, and freemen in general, take great care of the education of their children, putting them very young to learn to read and write. They use no manner of rigour in their method of teaching, but manage all by fair means. They give their scholars an high idea of learning, and of the worth of their ancestors, telling them how honourable those are, who, by this means, have raised themselves to great fortunes, which breeds emulation, and makes them studious. It is surprising how much they improve, by such exhortations, in expounding the writings they give them to read, wherein all their learning consists. Besides this private study, there is, in every town, a house, where the nobility, according to ancient custom, of which they are very tenacious, assemble the youth, to make them read the history of their country, and the trials of great men, who have been put to death for their crimes.

There are assemblies, likewise, kept yearly, in two or three towns of each province, where the scholars appear to get employments, either by the pen, or the sword. The governors of towns send able deputies thither, to examine them, and choose the best qualified; and, according to the report made to them, they write to the King, who bestows employments on those deemed worthy. The old officers, who till then, have only had civil or military commissions, at this time use all their endeavours to be employed in both professions, to increase their revenue. The aspiring to these honours, is

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often the ruin of the candidates, because of the presents they make, and treats they give, to gain reputation, and obtain votes. Some also die by the way, and most of them are satisfied with getting the title of the employment they aim at, thinking it honour enough to have been designed for one.

Their way of writing, and their arithmetic, are very hard to learn. They have many words to express the same thing. They sometimes talk fast, and sometimes slow, especially their learned men, and great lords. They use three sorts of writing; the first like that of China and Japan, which they use for printing their books, and all public affairs. The second is like the common writing among Europeans: the great men and governors use it, to answer petitions, and make notes on letters of advice, or the like: the commonalty cannot read this writing. The third is more unpolished, and serves women, and the common sort. It is easier to write in this character, than the other two; names and things, never before heard of, being noted down with very curious pencils. They have abundance of old books, both printed and manuscript, so choicely kept, that none but the King's brother is trusted with them. Copies of them, with cuts, are kept in several towns, that, in case of fire, they may not be all destroyed.

As to their knowledge of the world, their authors affirm, that there are fourscore and four thousand several countries; but few of them give credit to what they write, saying, that then every little island, and shoal, must pass for a country; and that it would not be possible for the sun to give light to so many in one day. When the Dutch named some kingdoms to them, they laughed, affirming, that they only talked of towns, or villages; for their knowledge of the coasts reaches no farther than Siam, which is the limit of their foreign traffic. In effect, they believe there are but twelve kingdoms, or countries, in the whole world, which once were all subject, and paid tribute to China; but that they have shook off the yoke since the conquest of the Tartars, who, they say, are not able to subdue them. They call the Tartar, Tiekse, and Orankay; and Holland, Nampankoug; which is the name the Japanese give to Portugal, and, therefore, not knowing the Dutch, they give them the same.

Their almanacks are made in China; they themselves wanting skill to make them. They print with boards, or wooden cuts, and lay one cut to each side of the paper, and so strike off a leaf. They cast accounts with little long sticks, as the Dutch do with counters. They know not how to keep books of accounts, but when they buy any thing, set down the price under it, and write on it what they made of it, and so find what profit or loss.

They reckon by moons, and every third year add one moon. They have conjurors, diviners, or soothsayers, who assure them whether the dead are at rest, or not; and if the place where they are buried is proper for them: in which point they are so superstitious, that they often remove them two or three times.

3. *The Trade and Religion of Korea.*

Trade of Korea. — The Religion there. — Monasteries and Temples. — The Superiors. — Married Priests. — Nunneries.

THE inhabitants of Korea have scarce any trade, but with the Japanese, and the people of the island of Sufima, who have a storehouse in the south part of the town of Poufan. They supply Korea with pepper, sweet wood, alum, buffalo's horns, goats and buck-skins, besides other commodities, which the Chinese and Dutch sell in Japan. In exchange, they take the product and manufactures of the country. The Koreans have also some commerce in the northern parts of China in linen or cotton cloth; but

but it is very chargeable, because they travel only by land, and on horseback. None but the rich merchants of Sior trade to Pe-king, and they are always three months, at least, on the road.

There is but one sort of weight and measure throughout the kingdom, but the traders abuse it very much, notwithstanding all precautions, and orders of the governors. They know no money but their kaifs, and those pass only on the frontiers of China. They pass silver by weight, in little ingots, like those brought from Japan.

As for religion, the Koresians have scarce any. The common people make odd grimaces before the idols, but pay them little respect; and the great ones honour them much less, because they think themselves to be something more than an idol: for when any of their kindred, or friends die, they all appear to honour the dead man at the offering, which the priest makes before the image; and frequently travel thirty or forty leagues to be present at this ceremony, in order to express their grateful remembrance, or esteem, for some good commander, or learned religious man. On festivals, the people repairing to the temple, every one lights a bit of sweet wood; then putting it into a vessel for that purpose, they offer it to the idol, and placing it before him, make a low bow, and depart:—this is their worship. For their belief, they are of opinion, that good doers shall be rewarded, and evil doers punished. They know nothing of preaching, or mysteries, and, therefore, they have no disputes about religion, all believing and practising the same thing throughout the kingdom. Their clergy offer perfumes before their idols twice a day; and, on festivals, all the religious of a house make a noise with drums, basons, and kettles.

The monasteries and temples, which are very numerous, are built by the contributions of the people, for the most part on mountains. Some of them contain five or six hundred religious, whereof there are four thousand within the liberties of some towns. They are divided into companies of ten, twenty, and sometimes thirty: the eldest governs, and, if any one neglects his duty, may cause the others to punish him with twenty or thirty strokes on the buttocks; but if the offence be heinous, they deliver him up to the governor of the town they belong to. As every man is at liberty to become a religious, Korea swarms with them, and the rather, because they may quit the profession when they please: however, generally speaking, these monastics are not much more respected than the slaves, because of the great taxes they are obliged to pay, and the work they are forced to do.

Their superiors are in great esteem, especially when learned, for they are equal with the grantees, and called the King's religious men, wearing (the badge of) their order over their clothes. They have the power of judging as subaltern officers, and make their visits on horseback, shave their heads and beards, must eat nothing that had life, and are forbidden conversing with women. Whoever breaks these rules, receives seventy or eighty strokes on the buttocks, and is banished the monastery. When they first receive the tonsure, they impress a mark on the arm, which never wears off. They work for their living, or follow some trade: some go a begging, but all have a small allowance from the governor. They bring up children in their houses, whom they teach to read and write. If these children consent to be shaved, they retain them in their service, and receive what they earn. When their master dies, they become free, and heirs to all their goods, mourning for them, as if they had been their fathers.

There is another sort of religious men, who, like the former, abstain from flesh, and serve idols; but they are not shorn, and may marry. They believe, by tradition, that mankind, originally, had only one language; but that the design of building a tower to go up to heaven, caused the confusion of tongues. The nobles much frequent the

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monasteries, to divert themselves, either with common women, which they find there, or others they carry with them, because they are generally deliciously seated for prospect, and accommodated with fine gardens, so that they might better be called pleasure houses than temples; but this is to be understood of the common monasteries, where the religious men love to drink hard.

There were two convents of religious women in the city of Sior; one contains none but maidens of quality, the other those of the inferior fort. They were all shorn, and observed the same rules and duties as the men. They were maintained by the King and great men: but three or four years before the Dutch left Korea, His Majesty gave them leave to marry.

4. *Of the King, and Government of Korea.*

The King tributary; yet absolute: — His chief Officers: — State in going abroad. — Petitions, how presented. — Military Officers, and Soldiers. — Shipping. — The Revenue. — Punishment for Rebels, and Traitors: — Killing a Husband: — Murder and Theft: — For Adultery: — Not paying Debts: — Beating on the Shins, and Feet, Buttocks, and Calfs of the Legs.

KOREA is tributary to the Eastern Tartars, who conquered it before they subdued China, from whence an ambassador comes three times a year, to receive the tribute, which the people pay in the root Nisi. Upon his arrival, the King goes out of town, with all his court, to receive him, and waits on him to his lodging. He is treated every where with such respect, that he seems to be honoured more than the King himself. He is preceded by musicians, dancers and vaulters, who strive to divert him. During the time he remains at court, all the streets, from his lodging to the palace, are lined with soldiers, who stand within ten or twelve feet one of the other. There are two or three men, who have no other employment but to pick up notes thrown out of the ambassador's window, in order to be carried to the King, who desires to know what he is doing at all times. That Prince studies all manner of ways to please this officer, that he may make a favourable report of him to the Great Khan of China.

But although the King of Korea pays an acknowledgment to the Emperor of China, yet his power is absolute over his own subjects. None of them, not the greatest lords, have any property in their lands; their revenues arising out of those estates they hold of His Majesty during pleasure, and from the great number of their slaves, for the Dutch knew some who had two or three hundred.

The chief officers, by sea and land, who make up the King's council, meet every day at court. They must wait till their advice is asked, before they give it; and till they are appointed to manage any business, must not meddle with it. These people have the first places about the King, which they enjoy till fourscore years of age, provided they behave well. The same is practised in other inferior employments at court, which no man quits, unless it be to rise. The governors of places, and subaltern officers, are removed every three years; but very few of them serve out their time, being cashiered for misdemeanors on the accusation of the spies, which the King keeps in all places.

When His Majesty goes abroad, he is attended by all the nobility of the court, wearing their respective badges; consisting of a piece of embroidery before and behind, on a garment of black silk, with a very broad scarf, a great body of soldiers following in good order. He is preceded by men, both on foot and horseback, some carrying colours and banners, others playing on warlike instruments. They are followed by the life-guards, composed of the principal citizens. The King is in the middle, carried under a very rich gold canopy, and the whole proceeds with such silence, that not the

least noise is heard. When he passes by the great men, or soldiers, they must turn their backs to him, without offering to look, or so much as cough, on such occasions. Therefore, most soldiers put little sticks in their mouths, that they may not be accused of making a noise. Just before him goes a secretary of state, or some other great officer, with a little box; into this he puts all the petitions and memorials, which private persons either present on the end of a cane, or hang along the walls, or pales; so that they cannot see who prefers them. These, which are brought him by men appointed to gather them, are laid before the King, on his return to the palace; and whatever orders relating thereto, is forthwith put in execution. All the doors and windows of the houses in the streets, through which His Majesty passes, are shut, and nobody dares presume to open them ever so little, much less look over the wall or pales.

The King keeps abundance of soldiers in his capital city, whose sole business is to guard his person, and attend him when he goes abroad. The provinces are likewise obliged, once in seven years, to send all their freemen, by turns, to guard him for two months. Each province has its general, with four or five colonels under him, and each as many captains depending on them; each of whom is governor of some town, or strong hold; inasmuch, that there is not a village, but where, at least, a corporal commands, who has under him tithing men, or officers over ten men. These corporals are obliged, once a year, to deliver to their captains, a list of what people are under their jurisdiction.

Their cavalry wear cuirasses, head pieces, bows and arrows, swords, and whips with small iron points. The foot likewise wear a corset, a head piece, a sword, and musket or half pike. The officers carry nothing but bows and arrows. The soldiers are obliged to provide fifty charges of powder and ball, at their own cost. Every town in its turn, furnishes also a number of religious men, to guard and maintain, at their own expence, the forts and castles, which are situate in narrow passes, or on the sides of mountains. These are reckoned the best soldiers, and obey officers chosen out of their own corps, who observe the same discipline as the other troops. Thus, the King knows to a man, how many are fit to serve him. Those turned of sixty, are discharged from duty, and their children supply their places. The number of freemen, who neither are nor have been in the King's service, together with the slaves, makes above half the people in the country.

Korea being almost encompassed by the sea, every town is obliged to fit out and maintain a ship. Their ships have generally two masts, and thirty, or thirty-two oars; to each of which there are five or six men: so that each of this sort of galleys has about three hundred men, for rowing and fight. They carry some small pieces of cannon, and abundance of artificial fire-works. Every province has its admiral, who views these vessels once a year, and gives an account of what he finds to the high admiral, who sometimes is present at these reviews. If any of the admirals, or officers under them, commits a fault, he is punished with banishment, or death; as in the year 1666, their governor, who had the command of seventeen vessels, was punished for the offence already mentioned.

The King's revenue, for maintenance of his house and forces, arises out of the duties paid for all things the country produces, or that are brought by sea: to this purpose, in all towns and villages there are store-houses to keep the tithes, which the farmers, who are generally of the common sort, take upon the spot in harvest time, before any thing is carried away. Those who have employments, receive their salaries out of the revenues of the places where they reside, what is raised in the country being assigned to pay the sea and land forces. Besides this tithe, those men, who are not listed in the

army, are to work three days in the year, at whatever business the country shall put them upon. Every soldier, whether horse or foot, has yearly three pieces of cloth, worth eighteen shillings, given to cloath him; which is part of the pay of the troops that are in the capital. This is what is raised on the people, who know no other duties, or taxes.

Justice is severely executed among the Korefians. He who rebels against the King, is destroyed, with all his race: his houses are thrown down, and no man dares ever rebuild them; all his goods forfeited, and sometimes given to some private persons. Nothing can save the man from punishment, who makes any objection to his decree: this the Dutch were often witnesses of. Among the rest, the author remembers, that the King having desired his brother's wife, who was excellent at her needle, to embroider him a vest; that princess bearing him a mortal hatred, stitched in, betwixt the lining and the outside, some charms and characters, of such a nature, that His Majesty could enjoy no pleasure, nor take any rest, whilst he had it on.

At length, suspecting the matter, he had the vest ripped, and found out the cause. Hereupon, the King condemned her to be shut up in a room, the floor whereof was of brass, and ordered a great fire to be lighted underneath, the heat whereof tormented her till she died. The news of this sentence soon spreading through the provinces, a near kinsman of the unhappy lady, who was governor of a town, and in good esteem at court, ventured to write to the King; representing, that a woman, who had been so highly honoured as to marry His Majesty's brother, ought not to die so cruel a death, and that more favour should be shown to the sex. The King, incensed at this courtier's boldness, sent for him immediately, and, after causing twenty strokes to be given him on his shin bones, ordered his head to be cut off.

This crime, and those following, are only personal, and do not involve the whole family. If a woman kills her husband, she is buried alive up to the shoulders, in a highway, and an axe laid by her, with which all passengers, who are not noblemen, are obliged to give her a stroke on the head till she is dead. The judges of the town, where this happens, are suspended for awhile: it is deprived of a governor, and made subordinate to another place; or, at best, only a private gentleman is left to command in it. The same penalty is inflicted on such towns as mutiny against their governor, or send false complaints against them to court.

It is lawful for a man to kill his wife for adultery, or any other heinous fault, on proving the fact. If the woman so killed was a slave, the penalty is, to pay three times her value to the owner. Slaves, who kill their masters, are cruelly tormented to death; but they reckon it no crime for a master to kill his slave, though upon a slight account. Thus they punish murder. After they have long trampled on the criminal, they pour vinegar, (in which they wash the putrified carcase), through a funnel down his throat, and when he is full, beat him on the belly with cudgels till he bursts. Thieves are trampled to death: and though this be a dreadful punishment, yet the Korefians are much addicted to stealing.

If a single man is found a-bed with a married woman, he is stripped naked to a little pair of drawers; then daubing his face with lime, they run an arrow through each ear, and fasten a little drum on his back, which they beat at all the cross streets, to expose him: this punishment ends in forty or fifty strokes of a cudgel on the man's bare buttocks; but the woman receives them with drawers on. The men are naturally very amorous, and so jealous, that they seldom allow their best friends to see their wives. If a married man be taken lying with another man's wife, he is to suffer death: this happens chiefly among persons of rank; and the criminal's father, if living, or else his

nearest relation, must be the executioner. The offender is to choose his death; but generally the men desire to be run through the back, and the women to have their throat cut.

They, who by a time appointed, do not pay what they owe to the King, or private persons, are beaten twice or thrice a month on the shin bones, which is done till they can find means to discharge the debt: if they die before they have satisfied the creditor, their nearest relations must pay it for them, or suffer the same punishment; so that nobody ever loses what is due to him. The slightest punishment in this country is, to be bastinadoed on the buttocks, or calfs of the legs; and they look upon it as no disgrace, because it is very common, being often liable to it for only speaking one word amiss. Inferior governors, and subordinate judges, cannot condemn any man to death, without acquainting the governor of the province; nor can any try prisoners of state, without the King be first informed.

The manner how they bastinado on the shin bones is this: they tie the criminal's feet together, on a little bench four fingers broad, and laying such another under his hams, which are fast bound to it, they strike on the shins with a sort of lath of oak or alder, as long as a man's arm, somewhat round on one side, and flat on the other, two inches broad, and about the thickness of a crown piece. They must not give above thirty strokes at one time, and then two or three hours after they repeat them, till the whole number be compleat, according to the sentence.

When the offender is to be drubbed on the soles of the feet, he is made to sit down on the ground, then having bound his feet together by the great toes, they rest them on a piece of wood they have betwixt their legs, and beat them with a cudgel as thick as a man's arm, and three or four feet long, giving as many strokes as the judge has ordered. The bastinado on the buttocks is thus: the men being stripped, they make them lie on the ground with their faces down, and bind them to the bench. The women have a pair of wet drawers left on, and in this posture they beat them with a larger and longer lath than those before mentioned. An hundred strokes are equivalent to death, and many of them die, some even before they have received fifty.

When they are adjudged to be beaten on the calfs of the legs, it is done with rods or wands, as thick as a man's thumb. This punishment is common to women and apprentices. Whilst these severities are inflicting, the criminals cry so lamentably, that the spectators seem to suffer no less than the offenders.

A DESCRIPTION OF TIBET, OR TIBBET*.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH Tibet is a country of very large extent, yet it scarce appeared in our maps before those published by De l'Isle. It was there represented as a narrow kind of desert, lying between India and China, without either towns, rivers, or mountains, although no part of Asia abounds more with the two latter. Europeans had, indeed, received some confused accounts of it from the missionaries sent into the Indies; but none particular enough to form any right judgment of its qualities, form, or dimensions. The Jesuits Grueber and Dorville, were the first who (having travelled through great part of it, in their way home from China in 1661,) gave us any tolerable ideas of its large extent, or the customs of its inhabitants.

The letters relating to their travels are published in Thevenot's French collection. Kircher also, in his *China Illustrata*, has given an account of their journey through that country, with cuts of the most remarkable things that occurred, as delivered to him by themselves †. But, as they travelled only one road, they have gone but a little way towards furnishing out the geography of those unfrequented regions. In short, the map-makers had almost nothing to work upon for Tibet, but the scanty materials of those friars (for Desideri ‡ says but little of the country or road he took,) before the late missionaries in China procured a map of it; which, though far from being complete, or exact in every particular, affords, on the whole, a very satisfactory view of the country.

With respect to the inhabitants, animals, and other productions, we are not perhaps so well provided; there being very few materials for the history to be met with, but what come from the above-mentioned missionaries. As those who transmitted the map were not in Tibet themselves, they have communicated only a few scattered remarks, which they had from the Lama mathematicians, who surveyed the country §. Of this kind are those to be found in Avril's Travels, and Gerbillon's Historical Observations on Tartary, who had his informations from a Chinese envoy. Others, as Tavernier and Thevenot, have occasionally spoken from report, concerning Butan, or Tibet. The most complete and express piece yet extant upon the subject, seems to be, a Description of the Kingdom of Butan, written by an anonymous author ||; but as it does not appear from what authority he has taken his memoirs, they are to be made use of with caution.

* From Green's Collection, vol. iv. p. 449.

† A translation is inserted in Ogilby's China. Thevenot has omitted the cuts.

‡ Desideri, the Jesuit, travelled, in 1714, from Kashmir in India to Lapas; but gives little or no account of the road, or the country.

§ These are published by Du Halde, in the fourth volume of his description of China, under the title of "Geographical and Historical Observations on the Map of Tibet, containing the Dominions of the Grand Lama, and the adjacent Countries subject to him, reaching to the Source of the Ganges, extracted from the Memoirs of Pere Regis."

|| An account of this is given in the Nieuw. Mercur. Paris, for July 1718.

SECTION I.— *The Name, Extent, Mountains, and Rivers of Tibet.*

The Name, Situation, Extent, Bounds. — Tibet surveyed: — Account of the Map: — Its Imperfections. — Mountain Kantes terrible to pass. — Elevation of Tibet. — River Yarkh, or Tfan-pu, Ny-kyang, Lan-fan, Kin-cha-Ky-ang. — Source of the Whang-ho. — River of Gold. — Lake of Stars. — Lakes of Tibet.

THE country, which Europeans call Tibet, or Thibet, is named by the Orientals, Tibt, or Tobt. It is also pronounced by some nations Topet, or Tupc. The Tartars call it Barantola, under which name they comprehend all that vast tract lying between the great river Ya-long, and the source of the Ganges, extending above twenty degrees from east to west, and more than eight from north to south. The people of Kashmír and others on this side the Ganges call it Búton or Bútan; and the Chinese, Tfan, or Tfan-li, from the great river Tfan-pú, which runs through it. But Lassa, or Lafa, being the richest and pleafantest province, and dignified with the residence of the Grand Lama, those borderers frequently give that name to the whole country*.

We are likewise told, that among the Tartars, the name of Tanguth, or Tangút, is common to all the countries from Koko-Nor to the south of the Ganges †; but others assure us, that it is unknown to the inhabitants, who call themselves Vojid ‡. The like may be said of Tufan, which Gaubil says is the name of Tibet. or rather one of its names §: that is, such as may be given to it by the Tu-fan, or Si-fan themselves, who were formerly masters of it, or some particular bordering people; for it is certain neither of those two names belong to Tibet at present.

This country, taken at large, is situate between the eighty-seventh and hundred and twenty-first degrees of longitude, and between the twenty-sixth and thirty-ninth of latitude; being in length, from west to east, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five miles; and its breadth, from north to south, where broadest, seven hundred and eighty: but as its figure is somewhat triangular, growing narrower gradually as it extends from east to west, in some places it is not above half that breadth, in some a fourth part, and in others still less. It is bounded on the north by the country of Koko-Nor, and a great sandy desert, which separates it from Little Búkharia; on the east by China; on the west by the Mogul's empire, or Hindústán, and Great Búkharia; and on the south by the same empire, the kingdom of Ava, and other countries belonging to the peninsula of India without the Ganges.

As Tibet was but little known to the Chinese themselves, though their next neighbours, an ambassador, whom the late Emperor Kang-hi sent thither the beginning of the present century, to reconcile the two Lama factions of the red and yellow hat, mentioned hereafter, employed certain persons, whom he had brought for the purpose, during the two years he staid in the country, in making a map of all the territories immediately subject to the Grand Lama. In 1711, this map was put into the hands of Regis, to be connected with the maps of the Chinese provinces: but as no situation had been fixed by celestial observation, and the distances were laid down only from common computation, he could not execute his orders.

The Emperor hereupon resolving to procure one more accurate, sent two Lamas, who had studied arithmetic and geometry (in a mathematical academy, established under the protection of his third son), with orders to comprise in their map all the

* See Soucier's *Obs. Math.* p. 161.; and Du Halde's *China*, vol. ii. p. 360, 363, and 384.

† Du Halde, as before, p. 363.

‡ *Bibl. German.* vol. iii. p. 25. It is there spelled Vojid.

§ *Hist. de Gentch.* p. 190.

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country from Si-ning in the province of Shen-fi to Lasa, the Grand Lama's residence, and from thence, to the source of the Ganges; and likewise to bring some of the water of that river back with them. This performance was, in 1717, laid before the missionaries, who found it vastly preferable to that of 1711; but not without faults. However, by help of the measures used in this map, by comparing it with some itineraries in the south-west, west, and north-west roads, and by the informations they received from some persons of note, who had travelled in that country, they found themselves in a capacity to draw a map of all Tibet, much more correct than any before published.

As the two Lamas were about their work at a time when the Eluths were ravaging Tibet, they were obliged to hurry away, for fear of falling into the hands of the enemy, they being of the yellow hat, or Chinese party. They therefore contented themselves in many circumstances relating to the countries round the source of the Ganges, with such information as the Lamas, in the neighbouring temples, could afford them*, and with what they could learn from the historical account found at the Grand Lama's at Lasa. If the latitude of the mountain, called Kentais (or Kante-shan, according to the Chinese), from whose west-side the Gauges issues, had been taken by observation, the course of that river might have been more easily determined: for although the Lama geographers traced the course of the Tfan-pu, which flows from the east of the same mountain, yet their measures alone cannot be sufficient for accurately fixing the latitude of Kentais †.

West of this mountain is another called Kantel, in the map, Kenti; which, according to Desideri, is frightful to look at, and always covered with snow: it divides Kashmir, in Hindustan, from Great Tibet, which begins from the top of it. From the entrance on that side as far as Leh, or Ladak, the road lies between the mountains, which are a true image of sadness, horror, and death itself. They are heaped upon one another, and so contiguous that they are scarcely separated by the torrents, which fall impetuously down, and dash with such a noise against the rocks as stuns and terrifies the most intrepid travellers. The top and bottom of these mountains are equally impracticable.

The road over them is ordinarily so narrow, that there is scarce room to set one's feet; and the least false step tumbles you down the precipices, in great danger of losing your life, or breaking your limbs, as happened to some of the caravan which the author went with. Shrubs or bushes would be of great use on this occasion; but there is not a plant, or so much as a blade of grass to be found on them. In passing the impetuous torrents that separated one mountain from another, they found no other bridge than some narrow tottering plank, or some ropes stretched across, and twisted with green boughs: they were often obliged to put off their shoes in order to tread sure: for the author's part, he still trembled at the very thoughts of those dreadful passages †.

The land of Tibet, in general, is very high. Gerbillon observes, that a mandarin, who had been there as envoy, informed him that, in passing from China to Tibet, he found a sensible ascent; and that in general the mountains, which are very numerous, are much more elevated on the east side towards China, than on the west-side facing

* It is observed by Regis, p. 388. of Du Halde's China, that in this part of the map the missionaries retained the names of places given by these informing Lamas (because more to be depended on than those found in travellers), as if they did not observe the same rule in other parts of the map: and, indeed, in the country of Ko ko Nor, Manchew names are often inserted instead of Mongul.

† Du Halde's China, p. 384, et seqq.

‡ Lettres Edifiantes, p. 190, et seqq.

Tibet *. Certainly, continues that author, those little hills, whence the small river Altan-kol † (or Golden River) takes its rise, must be vastly higher than the sea; since this river, which is rapid enough, discharges itself into the lakes of T'ing-fû-hay, and the Whangho has a very swift current from those lakes, for about two hundred leagues, to its fall into the Eastern Ocean. This elevation of the land makes the country, on this side, very cold for the latitude; but when you descend the mountains, and enter Tibet, the air is much more temperate. ‡. In the western part, where Desideri travelled, the climate was very severe; the winter being, he says, almost the only season which rules the year round, and the tops of the mountains continually covered with snow §.

The missionaries have transmitted very little concerning the geography of Tibet, except the map || which affords many materials for making a description of the country. The great river, which runs quite through Tibet, from west to east, according to Regis, is called Yarûtsan-pu, or Dsan-pu, that is, the River Yarû; or simply, T'ian-pu ¶, the river, by way of eminence, in the same manner as Kyang in China is almost become a particular name of the Yangtse-kyang, which divides that extensive empire. It is yet hard to determine where the T'ian-pu discharges itself: but as it runs from Tibet south-west towards the sea, it probably falls into the Bay of Bengal, about Arakan, or near the mouth of the Ganges, in the Mogul's empire; called by the Tibetians, Anonkek, or Anonjen. The rivers to the west of the T'ian-pu run into countries very little known. It is no less uncertain where many others empty themselves.

The Nu-kyang enters Yun-nan, and after a course of some hundred li, changes its name to Lû-kyang, and passes into the kingdom of Ava. The Lan-t'ian-kyang likewise enters Yunnan, and after receiving several small rivers, becomes the great Kyulong-kyang, that is, the River of the nine Dragons, and flows into the kingdom of Tong-king. On the north of the same province of Yun-nan, runs the Kin-cha-kyang, or River with Golden Sand; which, after a long winding course, falls into the Yangtse-kyang. The Chinese maps, which the missionaries found in the tribunals of the province of Yun-nan, as well as the inhabitants of the country, give the name of Nu-i to the people beyond the river Nu-kyang; and to their neighbours on the north of the kingdom of Ava, that of Ti-tse: but probably these are not the names of those half-savage nations, inhabiting the mountains, through whose country, it is likely, some of the rivers of Tibet must run **.

With regard to the Whang-ho, the Chinese envoy told Gerbillon that it has its source †† in the north-east part of Tibet ††, from a lake, or rather three lakes, called T'ing-fû-hay, so near to each other that they seem but one. From thence it hastens towards the south, between mountains; and being enlarged with all the small rivers of Ko-ko Nor, it enters China near Ho-chew, (a city of Shensi, on the borders of Se-chwen, ten days journey in a straight line from the source,) by a very narrow passage, between two vast steep rocks, cut for the purpose, as the Chinese tell us, by their famous Emperor Yu.

The envoy farther informed him, that he had crossed a river of Ko-ko Nor, called, in the Mogol tongue, Altan Kol, or Golden River: that it is about three feet deep, and

* The same is observed on the side of Tartary, to the north of the Great Wall; so that China lies in a sort of hollow, inclosed by the mountains of Tibet and Tartary. † Near the country of Ko-ko Nor.
 ‡ Du Halde, as before, p. 258. § Lettr. Edif. vol. x. p. 200. || It is inserted in Du Halde's China, divided into nine sheets. ¶ So it is named in the map. ** Du Halde, as before, p. 388.
 †† The course of this river has been described before, p. 735. †† In the borders of the country of Ko-ko Nor, described before, p. 402.

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runs into the lakes of Tſing-fû-hay; has abundance of gold mixed with its sands, which employs the inhabitants all the summer in gathering it, and makes a principal revenue of the Princes of Koko Nor: that a person they employ will take six, eight, or ten ounces, sometimes more: they take the sand from the bottom of the river, then wash it a little, and retaining what looks like gold, melt it in crucibles. This gold, which seems to come from the neighbouring mountains, is esteemed very good, and sold for six times its weight of silver. There is also gold in other rivers belonging to the Grand Lama, and much of it is carried to China*. Regis agrees with Gerbillon in this, and particularly influences the Kin-cha-kyang † before mentioned: but says, the missionaries are ignorant what river has supplied China with that gold, which is preferred to all others.

Gaubil is more particular and exact than Gerbillon. He says, that in the place where the Whang-ho rises, there are more than an hundred springs, which sparkle like stars; whence it is called Hotun Nor ‡ that is, the sea of stars, in the country. The Chinese, Sing § fû || hay, signifies, the Sea of Stars and Constellation. These sources form two great lakes, called Hala Nor, or Karo Nor, that is, the Black Sea, or Black Lake, about two miles from Hotun Nor. Afterwards there appear three or four little rivers, which joined, form the Whang-ho, which has eight or nine branches. In 1704, the Emperor Kang-hi caused the source of this river to be searched after. In the memoirs presented to that monarch, the sources of the Whang-ho are named Otan-tala ¶ consisting of many little lakes; the waters of which are received by two great lakes to the eastward; and all together produce the Whang-ho**.

Besides the lake of Koko Nor, which (according to Grueber) signifies the Great Sea, and is called by the Chinese, Si-hay, or, the Western Sea, there are several other large ones in Tibet, as, the Charing Nor, and Oring Nor not far from the Hotun Nor, or Oton-tala; the Tenkiri, above seventy miles long, and forty broad, in latitude thirty-two degrees, and longitude west of Peking twenty-four; the Lonkeri, and Map-ama, where the Ganges begins. This is all that can be gathered from authors, with regard to the natural geography of Tibet: as to the natural history, they afford very few remarks.

SECTION II. — *Of the Kingdoms into which Tibet is divided, particularly Great and Little Tibet.*

THE country, generally comprized under the name of Tibet, is variously divided by authors. Bernier ††, within its limits, places three kingdoms, Little Tibet, Great Tibet, and Laffa; Desideri does the same, calling the first Baltistan, and the second Butan; under which last name, Tavernier ††, and others, seem to include both Great Tibet, and Laffa. However that be, these three divisions or provinces of Tibet, are subject to so many distinct sovereigns; exclusive of the countries of Koko Nor, and the Tufan, or Si-fan, which properly fall within the limits of Tibet, and have sovereigns also of their own. Of these we shall give, separately, what account authors furnish us with.

* Du Halde's China, p. 258. † This river, whose name has the same signification with that of the Altun Kol, runs not far from the said lakes, which shews the country abounds with gold. ‡ Nor, or Naor, is great lake, or sea. § Sing, not Tſing, signifies stars. || Or, Lyew, signifies constellations. ¶ This is the Manchew word, and, indeed, most of the names of places in Koko Nor, and the borders of China, are given in that language, instead of the Mongul, which is spoken by the inhabitants. ** Gaubil, Hist. de Gentch. p. 190, et seq. †† Memoirs of the Mogul Empire, tom. iv. p. 122, et seq. †† Travels in India, p. 182, et seq.

I. LITTLE TIBET, OR BELADISTAN.

Little Tibet Bounds, Extent, and Produce. — Eskerdû the Capital.

LITTLE TIBET, according to Desideri, is called also Baltistan *, and lies to the north-west of Kashmir, the northern province of Hindûstan, but a few stages distant. This author informs us little farther than that the country is fertile, its inhabitants are Mohammedans, and the princes who govern them, subject to the Great Mogul †.

In the year 1664 they were tributary to that monarch. Bernier acquaints us, that a dissension having arisen a few years before in the King's family about the succession, one of the pretenders to the crown applied secretly for assistance to the Governor of Kashmir, who, by Shâh-Jehân's order, gave him powerful succours; and having put to death or flight all his competitors, left him in possession of the country, on condition of paying tribute yearly in crystal, musk, and wool.

This petty King came to see Aureng-Zebe, when he was in Kashmir, bringing with him a present of the same kind; but he had so pitiful a train, that Bernier should never have taken him for what he was. The lord, in whose service the author was, having entertained him at dinner, thit better to get information concerning those mountains ‡, Bernier heard him say, that his country, which borders on Kashmir to the south, was bounded on the east by Great Tibet; that it was about thirty or forty leagues broad §; that it afforded a little crystal, musk, and wool, but for the rest was very poor; that there were no gold mines, as was reported; that in some places there was very good fruit, especially melons; that they had very hard and troublesome winters, because of the deep snows which fell; and that the inhabitants, who formerly had been Pagans, were almost all become Mohammedans, of the Shiyah sect, which is that of the Persians, as himself was ¶.

The same curious author gives an account of the road to Kashgar, from whence we learn that Eskerdû, the capital of Little Tibet, lies eight days journey from Gûrche, a town on the borders of the kingdom of Kashmir, which is four stages from the city of that name; that two stages beyond Eskerdû lies Sheker, another town, situate upon a very famous medicinal river; and fifteen farther a forest, on the frontiers of the kingdom; from whence, in fifteen days more, you reach the city of Kashgar, which lies east of Little Tibet, inclining somewhat to the north ¶¶.

2. GREAT TIBET, OR BUTAN.

The Name, Extent, chief Cities, Air and Soil. — The Inhabitants. — Its Commerce, Commodities, Religion, Lamas, or Priests. — Government. — Bûtan invaded by the Great Mogul. — The King's Artifice.

THE names of Great Tibet and Bûtan, which by some authors are extended over the whole country, from the frontiers of Hindûstan to the borders of China, are, by others restrained to the western part of that region; but what its dimensions are none

* Rather, we presume, Belidistân, that is, the Mountain Country. † See Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 188. ‡ Meaning his country, which by this appears to have been very mountainous. § De Pile makes it about two hundred and eighty miles long, and an hundred and sixty broad. ¶ Bernier, as before, p. 122, et seq. ¶¶ The same, p. 128.

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Great Tibet, a somewhat farther difficult, is pretty mountain, covered caravan, thirteen the way on foot, fortrefs situate am those mountainous miles north of the Ganges. Fifty n Hindûstan, stands miles east of Latak and eighty miles fo give the name of e where these places

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have undertaken to define: even the Lamas, who made the map of Tibet, have not divided it into provinces or districts, contenting themselves with setting down the names of such parts as occurred to their knowledge.

Great Tibet, according to Desideri the Jesuit, lies to the north-east of Kashmîr, and somewhat farther from it than Little Tibet. The road thither, though extremely difficult, is pretty much frequented. This kingdom begins at the top of a frightful mountain, covered with snow, named Kantel, which Desideri arrived at with the caravan, thirteen days after he had left Kashmîr. In seventeen more, travelling all the way on foot, through frightful mountains, they arrived at Leh, or Ladak*, a fortress situate amongst them, where the king resides. They found no great towns in those mountainous provinces †. Ladak, or Latak, is placed in the map about seven miles north of the river Lachû, which ninety miles lower falls into the Ganga, or Ganges. Fifty miles to the north-north-west of it, in the mountain bordering on Hindûstan, stands another fortress, called Timur-keng ‡. An hundred and ninety miles east of Latak, and on the same river, lies Chasîr-tong, another city, or fortress; and eighty miles south-east of this, Dîsprong, or Chaprong §. But that map does not give the name of Great Tibet, or Bûtân, or indeed, any general name, to the part where these places are situate.

Desideri observes, that the weather in Great Tibet is very severe, and that winter reigns almost all the year round ||. Agreeably to this a merchant of Lafla told Bernier, that the whole kingdom of Great Tibet was, in comparison to his, a miserable country, full of snow for more than five months of the year ¶. According to Desideri, the earth produces nothing but corn and barley; scarce any trees, fruit, or roots, are to be seen.

The same author writes, that the inhabitants of Bûtân are naturally gentle and teachable, but unpolite, and ignorant; having neither sciences, nor arts (though they do not want genius), nor any communication with foreign nations: that they wear nothing but woollen: that their houses are small, narrow, made of stones piled rudely one upon another: that traffic is ordinarily carried on among them, by exchanging provisions: that the merchants repair thither to look for wool: and that they have no money of their own, but make use of the Mogul's coin, each piece being worth five Roman Julias**.

Great Tibet carries on a trade with the neighbouring kingdoms, and formerly the caravans of India, as Bernier informs us, passed through it from Kashmîr to China; till the Great Mogul, Shâh Jehân, having made an attempt upon that country, the King suffered none to enter his dominions, on that side, for a considerable time. In the interim, they went by way of Patna in Bengal; but at present, the old road seems to be open again, Desideri, the Jesuit, having gone thither with a caravan from Kashmîr.

The commodities of Tibet, which the merchants brought back in their return from China, according to Bernier, were musk, crystal, and jashen; but chiefly very fine wool, of two sorts, one of sheep, the other called tour, which is rather a kind of hair, like the castor's, than wool. The jashen is found here; it is a bluish stone, with white veins, so hard, that it must be cut with diamond dust. It is highly esteemed in the

* Latak, in the maps. † Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 180, et seq. ‡ Signifying, perhaps, the Iron Castle. D'Anville calls it Timur-kand. § Probably the Chaparanga, which Antony Andrada represents as a very great city. || Lettr. Edif. p. 200. ¶ Bernier's Memoirs of India, tom. iv. p. 128. ** Lettr. Edif. p. 194, et seq.

court of the Mogul. They make cups of it and other vessels, of which the author had some very rich ones, curiously inlaid with threads of gold *.

As to the religion of Great Tibet, Desideri takes notice, that the first plantations one meets with in Bûtan are Mohammedans; but that the rest are inhabited by Gentiles, who are less superstitious than those in other idolatrous countries. They call God, Konchok †, and seem to have a notion of the Trinity. They adore another deity also, named Urghien ‡ who they say was both God and man, without father or mother, but born of a flower about seven hundred years ago §; yet they have the statue of a woman, with a flower in her hand ||, who, they say, is Urghien's mother.

They adore saints likewise, and use a kind of beads. No sort of meats is forbidden them. They reject the transmigration of souls, and polygamy; in which three points they differ from the Indians.

Their religious persons, called Lamas, wear a habit different from secular folks. They do not braid their hair, nor wear bobs in their ears like others; but have the tonsure, like Romish monks, and are obliged to perpetual celibacy. Their employment is to study the books of the law, written in a language and character different from the vulgar. They recite certain prayers, chanting them in the same manner as is done in popish churches. They are the persons who perform the ceremonies, present the offerings in the temples, and keep the lamps lighted. They offer to God corn, barley, dough, and water, in very neat little vessels; which offerings are eaten as a holy thing by them. They are held in great veneration, and live ordinarily in communities, separate from all profane conversation. They have local superiors, and over them a superior general, whom the King himself treats with great respect. One of that Prince's relations, and the son of the Lompo, or prime minister, were Lamas. The King, and several of his courtiers, considered Desideri, and his companion, as Lamas of the law of Jesus Christ come from Europe. They said, their book was like that of the missionary; which however, he would not believe. He adds, that many of them know how to read their mysterious books, but none understand them ¶.

There is only one Ghiampo, or absolute Prince in Bûtan. He who reigned in 1715 was named Nima-Nanjai **, and had under him a tributary King. After visiting the Lompo, or prime minister before mentioned, called the King's right arm, the missionaries had an audience of His Majesty himself, who received them sitting on his throne. Next day they had a second, and four days after a third, wherein they were treated more familiarly than at first ††.

This country has been so lately discovered, and little frequented, that scarce any thing is to be met with relating to its history, excepting a particular or two mentioned by Bernier. This author informs us, that seventeen or eighteen years before he was in Kashmîr ††, Shâh Jehân, the Great Mogul, had attempted to conquer Great Tibet, as formerly the Kings of Kashmîr had endeavoured. His army, after sixteen days difficult march among mountains, besieged a castle; which having taken, there

* Bernier, as before, p. 125 and 129. † In the Italian, Konciok. Græber writes Konjû. ‡ This, probably, is the same worshipped in Lassa under the name of La, and called in China, Fo. § That is, about the year 1005: it should rather be 2746 years ago, if Fo, or La, be meant. ¶ The Mohammedans of Little Bukharia believe, that the mother of Isa, or Jesus, conceived by smelling a flower. ¶ Heav should he know that? ** In the original, Nangial. †† Lettr. Edit. p. 194, et seq. †† He was there in 1664.

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remained no more to do than to pass a river, which is famous and very rapid *, and to march directly to the capital town, which might have been easily carried, the whole kingdom being struck with a panic; but the season being far spent, the Governor of Kashmîr, who was the general, apprehending he should be surprised by the snow, returned. After he was gone, the garrison left in the castle, either for fear of the enemy, or want of provision, soon abandoned it; which frustrated his design of returning thither the next spring.

In 1664, the King of Great Tibet, knowing that Aureng-Zebe was at Kashmîr, and threatened him with war, sent an ambassador with presents of musk, crystal, and those precious white cow-tails, which, by way of ornament, are fastened to the ears of elephants; also a jashen of great price, on account of its extraordinary bigness.

This ambassador's train consisted of fifteen or sixteen persons, all tall men. Excepting three or four of the better sort, all the rest were dry meagre fellows, with only three or four hairs on each side for a beard, like the Chinese, and plain red bonnets on their heads, like seamen; the rest of their garments suitable. Four or five of them had swords, but the rest marched behind the ambassador without any thing in their hands. He promised the Great Mogul, in his master's name, to suffer a mosque to be built in the capital city; that his coin thenceforward should, on one side, bear the impress of Aureng-Zebe, and himself become tributary. But it was thought, when the Mogul's back was turned, he would laugh at that treaty, as he did at one he made formerly with Shâh Jehân †. However that be, all we know farther of the affairs of Great Tibet since that time is, that it hath at present a king of its own, as hath been before related.

SECTION III. — A DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF LASSA, OR BARANTOLA.

1. *Its Name, Extent, Cities, and Inhabitants.*

Its different Names, to what owing: — Its Bounds, and Extent: — Cities and Towns. — Tonker, or Lassa. — Mountains; Putala. — Inhabitants; their Shape: — their Drefs: — a slovenly People. — Female Polygamy: — Language and Characters: — Soil and Produce: — Rhubarb; Worm-Seed; Martens. — Road of the Caravans. — Course of Trade. — Commodities. — Women Artizans. — Silver Coin.

THE third part, or dominion, into which Tibet is divided, according to Bernier, and Desideri, is called Lassa, apparently from the territory of Lassa, wherein the capital city is situate, whose names are inserted in the map. This kingdom, Grueber tells us, is called by the Tartars †, Barantola; and Tavernier describes it under the name of Bûtan: for this last being the general appellation used by the bordering nations towards India, that author might have taken the name from the Indian merchants at Patna, and not from the Lassa merchants, who came there to sell their musk §. It might be owing to the same cause, that Desideri could never hear at Kashmîr of more than two Tibets, the Great, or Bûtan, and the Little: but at Ladak ||, the capital of the first, he was told of a third called Lassa ¶; the name Bûtan, if used in the country, being probably peculiar there to Great Tibet.

* This must have been the Ganges, if the capital was Latak in Great Tibet; and the Tfan-pû, if it was Tonker in Lassa. † Bernier's Memoirs of India, p. 123, et seq. ‡ Meaning, we presume, the Eluth Mongo's. § See Tavernier, part ii. p. 182. || In all probability, this part of Tibet, which Desideri calls Bûtan, after the Indians, goes only by the name of Ladak in the country itself. ¶ See Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 188.

On the contrary, Bernier became apprized of three Tibets at Káshmir, because he had his information immediately from a merchant of Lassa; and this might be the reason why he does not give any of them the name of Bútan, which, perhaps, is not used in Lassa. However that be, this may account how one author comes to apply the appellation of Bútan to Tibet in general; while another restrains it to Great Tibet only. Grueber calls this whole country Tangut, and says, it is divided into several parts, of which Lassa, or Barantola, is the chief*: yet others assert, that the name of Tangut is at present unknown to the people of Tibet †. This may be true, and yet it may be used by the Tú-fan, or by the Tartars of Koko Nor, (called by him Kalinak) through whose territories that missionary travelled in his way from China.

The kingdom of Lassa, or Barantola, is bounded on the south by vast chains of mountains, covered with snow, and no less difficult to pass than those which secure Great Tibet on the west; the torrents that separate them being to be passed on planks, laid on ropes stretched across them. On the west lies Great Tibet; on the north a great sandy desert, which separates it from Kashgar and Little Bukharia; and, on the east, the countries of Koko Nor, and the Tu-fan, bordering on China. According to the report made to Tavernier, to the northward nothing was to be found but vast forests and snow; to the east and west, nothing but bitter water ‡.

There is no determining, by the map, how far this country extends westward, or by what bounds it is separated from Great Tibet. Desideri says, this third Tibet is six or seven months journey from Ladak, through desert and uninhabited places §: if so much, Lassa must be small in comparison of Great Tibet; but, properly, that is the time the author spent on the road between the two capitals of those countries; nor does he mention when he passed out of one dominion into the other.

According to the map, the country of Lassa, or Lasa, is fuller of towns than Great Tibet, especially the territory of Lassa, where stands the capital of the kingdom. The chief of these towns are Tonker, Changaprang, Shannaurin, Chufor, Sankri, Dfan-larken, all to the north of the Yarú, or Tsumpú, and on or near that river; Súрман, and the ruins of Tsitfirhana, near Koko Nor. To the south of the Tsampú, cities are more numerous; the principal are Aridfong, Changlas, Jikfa, Riukpú, Oytong, Lafoy, Tonk-chong, near the river: Chiron, Niamak, Paridfong, Tudfong, Tareng-dfong, &c. near the south borders of the country: but the missionaries have transmitted no account of any of these places except the capital. They only observe in general, that the towns in Tibet are, for the most part, but small ¶, and none of them in a state of defence: nor is there, according to Regis, much occasion for fortifications; because the Tartars (whom they only have to fear) in their wars, seldom undertake sieges, choosing to fight in the open field ¶¶.

The capital is, in the map, called Tonker, and situate at the foot of the mountain Putala, near the confluence of a small river with the Kalyú, which falls into the Tsampú, about thirty miles to the south-south-west. The missionaries, who call this place Lassa, or Lasa, say scarce any thing of it, only Regis observes, that it is rather a spacious temple than a city.

According to Grueber, the mountain Putala (or Butala **, as he writes it) is very high, and stands at the end of the city, and on it the cattle ††, where the Great Lama,

* On which depends Retiak, a very populous province on the east side. See his Letters, p. 1, in Thevenot's Collection, tom. iv. † See the authors before cited. ‡ Tavernier, p. 185. § Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 205. ¶ Gerbillon says, the people dwell in small towns and villages, living by agriculture. ¶ Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 388. ** Not Bietala, as in Kircher's Account of his Voyage, translated by Ogilby. †† See the print in Green's Collection.

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and Teva, King of Tangut, resided *. Gerbillon reports, from the information of a Chinese ambassador, that the Kaltyû-mûren †, a pretty large river, runs at the bottom of Putala, in the middle of which stands the Grand Lama's palace, or temple, seven stories high, in the uppermost of which he lodges; and that by the side are the ruins of King Tfanpa's royal city, destroyed by Kush Hiân, King of the Eluths, towards the middle of the last century. The author was assured, by the same person, that it was but four hundred leagues from Si-ning in Shen-si, to Putala, which he had travelled in forty-six days in winter ‡, and that the country was pretty well inhabited §. Desideri observes, that at Lassa they reckoned it but four months journey to Pe-king ¶. Grueber says, the King resides at Pütala, a castle built on the mountain like the houses of Europe, consisting of four stories, and very good architecture ¶¶.

The inhabitants **, according to Tavernier, are strong and well-proportioned, but their noses and faces somewhat flat. Their women are said to be bigger and more vigorous than the men ††, but much more troubled with swellings in the throat; few escaping that disease.

Both sexes are clad in summer with a large piece of fustian, or hempen cloth: in the winter with a thick cloth, almost like felt, and wear on their heads a kind of bonnet, much like our drinking-cans, which they adorn with boars teeth and pieces of tortoise-shells, round or square. The richer sort intermix coral, and amber-beads, of which their women make necklaces. All wear bracelets upon their left arms only, from the wrist to the elbow. The women wear them tight, the men loose. About their necks they wear a silken twist, at the end whereof hangs a bead of yellow amber or coral, or a boar's tooth, which dangles upon their breasts. On their left sides their girdles are buttoned with beads of the same ††.

Grueber observes, that the courtiers were exceeding expensive in their dress; which consisted of cloth of gold, and brocade. Some of them wore a habit resembling, in all respects, that of women §§, excepting that they made use of a red coat, after the manner of the Lama. For the rest, this author says, the people of Barantola are very slovenly, for that neither men nor women, wear shirts, or lie in beds, but sleep on the ground: that they eat their meat raw, and never wash their hands or faces: but that as to their manners, they are very affable, and friendly to strangers. Women are seen in their streets, as among the other Tartars, contrary to the custom of the Chinese ¶¶.

With regard to their diet Tavernier reports, that they feed on all sorts of flesh, except that of cows, which they adore as the common nurses of mankind; and that they are great lovers of spirituous liquors ¶¶¶.

Although the men, according to Friar Horace, are restrained to one wife, and cannot marry within certain degrees, without the bishop's dispensation ***; yet Regis observes, that a woman there is allowed several husbands, who are generally related, and even

* Grueber's Voyages, p. 1, and 20. in Thevenot's Collection, part iv. † This must be the Mogul name, as Maren, in their language, signifies a river. ‡ By the way of T'fing-fu bay, where the Whang-ho rises, twenty days from Si-ming. § Du Halde, as before, p. 258. ¶ Lettr. Edif. p. 208.

¶¶ Grueber, as before, p. 1. ** Horace, a late Capuchin missionary to Tibet, pretends, that country contains no fewer than thirty-three millions of people: though Desideri, but a few years before, in his

journey from Great Tibet to Lassa, found nothing but wild uninhabited places. The King's letter to Horace, in 1742, is dated at Lassa, from his palace Khaden Khagu San (misprinted elsewhere Khaden Khagfer) and the Grand Lama, from his great palace of Putala. †† That may be the reason why

they are allowed to marry many husbands ††† Tavernier's Travels, part ii. p. 184, et seq. ¶¶ See the figures in Green's Coll. ¶¶¶ Grueber's Voyages, p. 1, and 21. ¶¶¶ Tavernier, as before, p. 184.

*** Nouv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 57.

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sometimes brothers. The first child belongs to the eldest husband, and those born afterwards to the others, according to their seniority. When the Lamas are reproached with this custom, they apologize for it by the scarcity of women, which prevails both in Tibet and Tartary, where the males are more numerous: but this excuse, says the missionary, is trifling; for the Tartars admit of no such irregularity*.

The same author informs us, that the language of Tibet differs entirely from the Mongol and Manchew, but nearly agrees with that spoken by the Tù-fan, or Si-fan; and that the Tartars call the characters in use with the people of Tibet, the characters of Tangut †. La Croze has published the alphabet, which was given to Bayer by a Mogul interpreter. He says, they are the same with the Wigûr, Oygûr, or Jugur characters ‡, as they used formerly to be called; which are in use through all the east, from the Caspian Sea, to the Gulf of Bengal. Besides the Mogul letters, which are derived from them, and but little varying, our author observes, that the manner of writing of all the Indians, is very like it, and almost suspects it to be derived from thence. He adds, that the specimen of the Bûtan characters, given by Hide §, is the running hand letters; those of his alphabet the capitals: and that the anonymous author of the description of Bûtan ||, speaks in brief, but fully of both kinds ¶.

The above mentioned alphabet consists of four vowels, the *y* being wanting, and very rightly, for it is properly a consonant; twenty simple letters, ten double letters, and ninety-six compound characters, or such as are animated with their vowels.

Regis tells us, that the missionaries could procure no account of the plants produced in this country, nor of the nature of its trade, only that it is chiefly carried on by the way of Bengal** : but Tavernier gives us some account of both. According to him, the soil is good, abounding in rice, corn, pulse, and wine. The chief commodities, in which the inhabitants trade with other nations are musk, rhubarb, worm-feed, and furs. The most excellent rhubarb comes from hence: it is a root which they cut in pieces, and stringing them ten or twelve together, hang them up to dry: as the wet spoils it, the merchants run great hazards in bringing it; both roads, especially the northern, being subject to rain.

Worm-feed grows in the fields, and must die before it can be gathered: But the mischief is, that before the seed is ripe, the wind scatters the greater part, which makes it too scarce. When they gather it, they take two little hampers, and as they go along move them from the right to the left, and back again, as if they were moving the herb, which they bow at the top; and thus all the seed falls into the baskets.

Had the natives as much art in killing the marten as the Russians, they might vend great store of those rich furs, considering the animals are very numerous there.

The same author informs us, that there are two roads to Bûtan (as he calls this country for the reason before mentioned;) the northern by Kabul ††, the other, southern, through Patna in Bengal, and the territories of the Rajah of Nupal ††; being a journey of three months over the mountains of Naugrokot, which are nineteen stages of the caravan from Patna, mostly through forests full of elephants. They travel in palekis,

* Du Halde's China, p. 385. † They are called by the Chinese, Si-fan Wha, "the language of the Si-fan;" and Si-fan He, "writing of the Si-fan:" by the Tartars, Tangut Jerjen, that is, "the characters of Tangût;" which last term is common among them. See Du Halde, Paris edit. vol. iv. p. 463; and the English, vol. ii. p. 388. ‡ Something has been already spoken concerning the Oygûr characters and those of Tibet. See Green, vol. iv. p. 398, and 399. § In his Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. tab. 17. || Mentioned before. ¶ See A. G. Erudit. tom. xlvi. p. 415. ** Du Halde, as before, vol. ii. p. 388. †† Or rather Kashmir, before mentioned. †† This seems to be the Nek, al of Gumber, who went the southern road.

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but generally on oxen, camels, and horses of the country, which are exceeding small, but very hardy. They are eight days crossing the mountains. They can make use of no other carriage for their goods but those small horses, the road is so narrow and rugged: but the merchants are commonly carried on the shoulders of women, who attend for the purpose. From the mountains they make use of the same kinds of voiture, as at setting out.

When the merchants, trading to Bûtan for musk and rhubarb, get to Gorroshepûr, the last town belonging to the Mogul, and eight stages from Patna, they apply to the custom house officer to reduce the twenty-five per cent. duty on those commodities, to seven or eight; and if he refuses, go the northern road round about, through Cabul. When they come there, the karawâns part, some for Tartary, others for Balk. Here the merchants, coming from Bûtan, barter their goods with the Tartars, for horses, mules, and camels, money being scarce in that country. Those goods are afterwards transported by the purchasers into Persia, as far as Ardevil and Tauris; whence some Europeans have imagined, that rhubarb and wormseed came out of Tartary, as, indeed, some of the former does; but not so good as the other sort, being liable to corrupt sooner. Some of the merchants go to Kandahâr, and thence to Ispahan, whither they carry coral, yellow amber, and lapis lazuli, all in beads, if they can meet with them.

Those who pass through Gorroshepûr, carry from Patna, and Daka, coral, yellow amber, bracelets of shells, particularly tortoise, with great thick pieces of the last, some round, others square. As the people of Bûtan burn amber at the end of their feasts, like the Chinese (some of whose ceremonies they observe), it is in great request among them. The merchants of this country will give, at Patna above mentioned, for a ferre (or nine ounces *) of large pieces of yellow amber, as big as a nut, bright and clean, thirty-five or forty rûpis; which will yield, in Bûtan, from two hundred and fifty to three hundred, according to its colour and beauty. Coral, wrought into beads, is profitable enough; but they chuse to have it rough, to shape it as they please themselves.

The women and maids are generally the artists among them, as to those toys. They also make beads of crystal and agate. As for the men, they make bracelets of tortoise, and other shells. They also polish those little pieces of shells which the northern people wear in their ears; and adorn their hair with. In Patna, and Daka, there are above two thousand persons thus employed, to furnish the kingdoms of Bûtan, Afem, Siam, and other northern and eastern parts of the Mogul's dominions.

The King of Bûtan coins much silver, in pieces of the value of a rûpi, whence the author concludes, there must be some silver mine in the country: however, the merchants could not tell where it lay. As for the gold they have, which is but little, it is brought them by the merchants of the more eastern regions †.

2. *The Religion of Tibet, and its surprising Conformity with the Romish.*

Religion of Tibet like the Romish. — Jesuitical Apology. — The Parallel drawn by other Missioners. — Christianity in Tibet. — A Nestorian Forgery. — Late gross Imposture of Romish Missioners. — Report concerning Christian Tartars accounted for.

THE religion of Tibet is the same with that professed in China by the sect of Fo, whereof already some account † has been given: nor have we much to add here, the

* The ferre of yellow amber, musk, coral, ambergrise, rhubarb, and other drugs, containing nine ounces to the pound. † Tavernier's Voyages, part ii. p. 182, et seq. ‡ See Green, vol. iv. p. 206, et seq.

missioners, who have been in the country, such as Grueber the Jesuit, Desideri, and Horace de la Penna, prefect of the Capuchin mission, lately established there *, having done little more than pointed out the resemblance that they found between the religion of Tibet, and their own.

Several missionaries have imagined, that in the ancient books of the Lamas, some traces remain of the Christian religion; which as they think, was preached there in the time of the Apostles. Their conjectures are founded upon, 1. The dress of the Lamas, which is not unlike that of the apostles in ancient paintings. 2. Their subordination, which has some affinity to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. 3. A resemblance between some of their ceremonies and the Romish. 4. Their notion of an incarnation: and, 5. Their maxims of morality. But no certainty can be had in this matter, without being well acquainted with their ancient books; which according to the Lamas of greatest learning, relate only to the transmigration of the soul.

Nothing can be inferred from the resemblance of some of their ceremonies to ours, says the same Jesuit; but that, like all other nations, they have some notion of religion. The apostles dressed according to the fashions of the countries wherein they resided, or to which they belonged; and a subordination is found amongst priests of other religions, Mohammedans, as well as idolatrous †. From hence, one would be apt to think, the resemblance between the religion of Tibet and Rome is very trifling: but if any credit is to be given to other missionaries, it is very glaring, and runs through almost all the doctrines of the Romish church, as well as the ceremonies. Gerbillon mentions some of these ceremonies. 1. Holy-water. 2. Singing-service. 3. Praying for the dead. 4. Their dress is like that in which the apostles are painted, and they wear the mitre and cap like the bishops. 5. Their Great Lama nearly the same among them, as the Sovereign Pontiff among Romanists †.

Grueber goes much farther: he affirms, that although no European or Christian was ever there before, yet their religion agrees with the Romish in all essential points. Thus, they celebrate the sacrifice of the mass with bread and wine; give extreme unction; bless married folks; say prayers over the sick; make processions; honour the reliques of idols (he should have said saints); have monasteries and nunneries; sing in the service of the choir, like the Romish monks; observe divers fasts during the year, undergo most severe penances, and among the rest, whippings; consecrate bishops; and send out missionaries, who live in extreme poverty, and travel bare-foot through the deserts, as far as China. These things, adds Grueber, I was an eye witness of §.

Friar Horace says, that in the main the religion of Tibet is the counterpart || of the Romish. They believe in one God, and a trinity, but full of errors; a paradise, hell, and purgatory, but full of errors also. They make suffrages, alms, prayers, and sacrifices for the dead; have a vast number of convents filled with monks and friars ¶, amounting to thirty thousand; who, besides the three vows of poverty, obedience, and charity, make several others. They have their confessors **, who are chosen by their superiors, and receive their licences from their Lama, as a bishop, without which they cannot hear confessions, or impose penances. They have the same form of hierarchy

* An account of their proceedings was published at Rome, in 1742, entitled, "Relazione del principio, e stato presenti del vasto Regno del Tibet, ed altri due Regni confinanti." A French translation is inserted in the *Nouv. Bibliothèque Littéraire*, tom. xv. from p. 46 to p. 82; with a Critique of sixteen pages at the end, by the *Journaux*. † Du Halde's *China*, vol. ii. p. 387, et seq. ‡ The same, p. 26; § Grueber's *Letters*, p. 18, et seq. Thevenot's *Collect.* tom. iv. || "Une image." ¶ Desideri says, they have the monastic life and tonsure. ** Andrada says, they use a sort of confession among themselves.

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as in the Romish Church; for they have their inferior Lamas, chosen by the Grand Lama, who act as bishops in their respective dioceses, having under them simple Lamas, who are the religious *. To these may be added the use of holy water, crosses, beads, and other matters.

Some, as we have observed, like Regis, would conceal this resemblance, wisely considering, that it would be no credit to their religion to be so nearly related to one confessed to be grossly idolatrous, but would help to confirm the Protestant charge of idolatry upon it. Others would pretend, that the people of Tibet were once Christians, but now degenerated into Pagans †; and Andrada says, they have still an idea of the Christian mysteries, though confused and corrupted. Grueber having suggested, that he was the first Christian who had been in Barantola, or Tibet, Thevenot, his collector, takes care to acquaint the reader, that the Jesuit was mistaken; for that he finds Christianity had spread farther through the east, than the ecclesiastical writers were aware of; and that there had been Princes, and even whole nations, Christians on the frontiers of China. He adds, that he could even point out the time when Christianity was carried thither by the Nestorian missionaries, and how it came to be lost: but that it was necessary to wait till the proofs could be printed in the languages in which they were written, and some other pieces added; which would contribute much, he says, to clear up the geography and history of those countries.

We are sorry those tracts never were printed, but fear his Christian Princes and nations were only such as the famous Prester John, and his people; who, as Christians, doubtless, had no other existence than in the writings of the Nestorian missionaries ‡; a set of men, it may be presumed no less addicted to deceiving, than the Romish or Grecian. Hayton, not content with having Ung, or Vang Khan, and his tribe Christians, affirms, that both Kublay, the conqueror of China, and his brother Hülakü, who reigned under him in Persia, were converts to the faith. But we find nothing like this in history, unless the Bonzas were Christians, to whom the Chinese historians say the former was too much addicted.

To omit others, we have a flagrant instance of this imposing spirit in the missionaries, just come to hand from Tibet itself. Friar Horace de la Penna, before-mentioned, who is at the head of that mission, pretends, that he, and his brother Capuchins, not only converted the city of Lassa, but almost brought over the King and the Great Lama himself, who gave them leave to build a church, and licence to preach; recommended theirs as the true law, and allowed their subjects to embrace it §. Thus, these men did, with the greatest ease imaginable, what the missionaries in China deemed impossible to be effected. Gerbillon and Regis say, the people are so infatuated with their Lamas, that there is no hope of converting them ||; much less can it be supposed the Great Lama, who assumes the title of a deity, would turn a proselyte to the Capuchins, and acknowledge a man for his superior. This would be to own himself an impostor; to renounce his infallibility (which one may as well suppose the Pope would do); subject himself to the laws of a mortal, and, in short, ungod himself at once. Yet this gross forgery of Friar Horace is supported by the Pope, and the congregation *de propaganda fide*, by whose orders the memoir was cooked up, and published. It is observable, that Horace does not once mention the pretensions of the Grand Lama to the God-head; either through ignorance, or knowing that a circumstance of that nature would confute his false assertions.

* Nouv. Bibl. tom. 14. p. 55. et seq. p. 220 and 448. a. p. 363, and 388.

† See Avril's Travels, p. 163.

‡ See Green, vol. iv.

§ Nouv. Bibl. tom. xv. p. 51, et seq.

|| Du Halde's China, vol. ii.

Hence, it plainly appears, how little regard ought to be had to the testimony of the missionaries, Romish or Nestorian, in cases of this nature. Gaubil cannot conceive how such a notion should prevail, of there being Christian nations in the east, unless the thing was fact: but he himself, at the same time, helps us to account for it in a very natural way. He says, the Chinese call the Lamas of Tibet, the Bonzas of the West; and have often considered the Christians among them as western Bonzas, or Lamas, and as Mohammedans*. Might not then the notion have arisen, and been propagated from the report of other nations, who mistook the Lamas, and those of their persuasion, for Christians, on account of the great resemblance which they found between the religion of the Lamas, and that of the Greek or Roman missionaries? Of this the following authorities amount almost to a demonstration.

Kircher tells us, that Andrada, the Jesuit, undertook the voyage into Tibet, on hearing that the inhabitants were professed Christians †. In the relation of the journey of the Russian ambassadors, who went to China about the year 1623, speaking of the Mongul Lamas, or friars, as they are called, there is this expression: they say, that their religion is the same with ours, only the Russian monks are black, and theirs white ‡. The Lamas (says Desideri) told us, that their book of the law, or religion, was like ours: the King also, and several of his courtiers, considered us as Lamas of the law of Jesus Christ §. Hence it may be well presumed, that Marco Polo, and the friars who went into Tartary in the thirteenth century, mistook the followers of the Lamas for Christians, if they have not designedly represented them as such.

3. Of the Dalay Lama, adored as God incarnated.

His Origin and Name. — Frequent Incarnations. — Image Worship. — A licentious Man-slayer. — The Impostor's Titles, and divine Attributes: — Cheat, how kept up, and propagated: — The idol, how adored: — Attended by Priests: — Their Number at Putala. — Great Lama's State, in giving Audience: — His Excrements worn as precious Relics. — The Donation of Tibet.

THE chief object of worship in this country, is the same which in China is called Fo ||, but by the Lamas in Tibet, La ¶. This Prince, who was born one thousand and twenty-six years before Christ **, and reigned in a part of India, called Chang-tyen-cho ††, or, as others say, Si-tyen ‡‡, gave himself out to be God, assuming human flesh; and when he died, it was pretended, that he only withdrew for a while, and would appear again in a determinate time; as he actually did, if the testimony of his devout disciples, the writings of the primitive fathers amongst them, and, in short, the tradition and authority of the whole church, from age to age, down to the present, are at all to be regarded in proof. And this imposture has been practiced since as often as there has been occasion for it: So that the god La, still lives, and is corporally present in the person of the Dalay Lama. In which respect, the church of Tibet has infinitely the advantage of the Romish, inasmuch as the visible head of it is considered to be God himself, not his vicar, or deputy; and the incarnate deity, who is the object of divine worship, appears alive in human shape to receive the people's adorations: not in the form of a senseless bit of bread, or playing at bo-peep in a diminutive wafer,

* Hist. de Gentch. p. 107. † See Ogil. China, vol. ii. p. 344. ‡ Purchas. Pilgr. vol. 3. p. 799. § Lettr. Ediff. tom. xv. p. 198. || Couplet says, Fo signifies 'non homo,' or, no man. ¶ Sin. Phil. Proem. p. 28. ¶¶ Gaubil. Hist. de Gentch. p. 142. note 13. ** Grueber says, they believe him to be the brother of the first King of Fanguit, and still usually call him the brother of all the Kings. See his Letters, p. 1, in Thevenot's Collection, tom. iv. †† Couplet. Sinic. Philos. Proem. p. 27, et seq. ‡‡ Gaubil, as before, p. 190, in the notes.

which

which would be too gross a cheat to impose on the understandings of the Tibetans, however ignorant * and superstitious the missionaries, to their own shame represent them.

The priests account for the several incarnations of their deity, from the doctrine of the soul's transmigration, or passing from one body to another †; of which La was the first inventor. They solve, after the same manner, every thing that concerns their principal images; such as Menippe, which has several heads of different forms †. Grueber (who calls it Manipe) says, those heads are nine in number, and so placed, as to terminate in a cone of monstrous height. This is the chief of all the images, before which the people perform their sacred rites, with many odd gesticulations and dances, often repeating, O Manipe Mi-hum, O Manipe Mi-hum! that is, O Manipe, save us! They frequently set divers sorts of meats before this image, in order to appease the deity.

The same author mentions a most detestable custom, which has been introduced into the kingdoms of Tangut, and Barantola. They chuse § a lusty youth, to whom they grant liberty, on set days of the year, to kill, without distinction, whomsoever he meeteth with; supposing, that they who are thus slain, as if consecrated by Menipe, immediately obtain eternal happiness. This youth, whom they call Fût, that is, the slayer, dressed in a very gay habit, decked with little banners, and armed with a sword, quiver, and arrows ||, at the times appointed sallies furiously out of the house (being, says the author, possessed with the demon to whom he is consecrated,) and wandering through the ways and streets, killeth people at his pleasure, none making any resistance ¶.

The Great Lama who, as we said before, is La, or Fo incarnate, is, according to Grueber, called in the country, Lama Konjû, or the Eternal Father **. He is also stiled Dalay Lama ††. The same author says, in another letter, that Great Lama signifies the Great High Priest, and Lama of Lamas; as he is also stiled, the High Priest of High Priests ††. These last titles regard only his office, or degree, in his ecclesiastical or religious capacity; but with respect to his divine nature, or quality, which intitles him to be adored as God, they term him likewise the heavenly Father §§, ascribing to him all the attributes of the true deity; as, that he is omniscient, and that all things are open to his view, even the secrets of the heart. If at any time he asks questions, it is not, say they, for sake of information, but to remove the scruples of the incredulous and disaffected. They believe that Fo (or La) lives in him: hence those of his religion in China call him Ho-fo, or the living . . . In consequence of this persuasion, he is held to be immortal, and that when in appearance he dies, he only changes his abode: that he is born again in an entire body, and the happy place of his residence is revealed by certain pretended tokens, which the Tartarian princes themselves are obliged to learn of the other Lamas; who only know the child appointed by the preceding Grand Lama to succeed him |||.

* This has been shewn to be an invidious misrepresentation. See Green, vol. iv. p. 123. note (a). † Bernier says, they are wedded to this doctrine, and that his Lama physician was full of surprising stories about it. † Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 387.

§ Doubtless the priests, by the chief priest's orders || See the cut drawn by Grueber, who saw this fatal youth, who had a licence to kill people for the good of their souls.

¶ Grueber's Letters, p. 22, in Thevenot's Collect. part 4. ** The same, p. 1. Desideri writes, Konchok. See Green, vol. iv. p. 454 note (d). †† On this occasion, Bantuck observes, that as the word Lama, in the Mogul languages, signifies a priest, and Dalay, a vast extent, or the ocean, Dalay Lama is as much as to say, the universal priest. See History of the Turks, Moguls, &c. p. 486. By this author's leave, Lama seems to be a word in the language of Tibet †† Grueber's Letters, as before, p. 22; and Ogilby. p. 36. §§ The same. ||| Du Halde, as before, p. 385.

To keep up this opinion of his immortality, the Lamas after his death, seek, throughout the whole kingdom, for another person, as like unto him, in all respects, as may be, to supply his place: and thus he has undergone a new resurrection, or incarnation, seven times since his first appearance *. Bernier relates the matter thus, as he had it from a Lama physician. When the Great Lama is old, and ready to die, he assembles his council, and declares to them, that now he was passing into the body of a little child, lately born: that when this child, who was bred up with great care, was six or seven years of age, they (by way of trial) laid before him a parcel of household-goods mixed with his own, which yet he could distinguish from the rest: and thus, he said, was a manifest proof of the transmigration †.

Grueber says, that this belief is propagated by the policy of their kings, and those who are in the secret of this cheat, in conjunction with the Lama Konjü ‡. The missionaries rail heavily at this imposture, calling it wicked and diabolical, as if besides transubstantiation, which is worse, they had not other impostures in their own religion §. But it is done, doubtless, out of envy; because they have none which redounds so much to the honour and wealth of themselves.

Grueber says, the Great Lama sitteth in a remote apartment of his palace, adorned with gold and silver, and illuminated with lamps, in a lofty place like a couch, covered with costly tapestry. In approaching him, his votaries fall prostrate with their heads to the ground, and kiss him with incredible veneration. Thus, adds the Jesuit, hath the devil, through his innate malignity, transferred to the worship of this people that veneration which is due only to the Pope of Rome, Christ's vicar, in the same manner as he hath done all the other mysteries of the Christian religion ¶.

The same author farther observes, that he always appears with his face covered; letting none see it but those who are in the secret: that he acts his part extremely well, while the Lamas, or priests, who are perpetually about him, attend him with great assiduity, and expound the oracles that are taken from his mouth ¶¶. Here it must be noted, that Grueber learns all he writes concerning the Great Lama from the citizens of Barantola; for the missionaries could not see him, no Christian being admitted into his presence **, nor, indeed, any body of a different religion, without adoring the pretended deity: however, they took an exact copy of his picture, as it was exposed to view in the entrance of the palace; to which they paid the same veneration as to himself in person ††.

Bentink tells us, that at the foot of the high mountain near Putala, whereon the Dalay Lama resides, above twenty thousand Lamas dwell in several circles round it,

* Grueber's Letters, as before, p. 1; but p. 23, and in Ogilby, p. 361, it is said by some mistake, seven times in a hundred years. † Bentink observes, that although the Lamas are great sticklers for the metempsychosis; yet those among them who pretend to know more than the rest, do not believe that the soul passes really out of one body to enter into another; but only its faculties. See History of the Turks, Moguls, &c. p. 487. ‡ Grueber's Letters, p. 2.

§ Neret, the Jesuit, in his Voyage to the Holy Land, published in the New Memoirs of Missions into the Levant, tom. v. calls the Greek and Armenian patriarchs, ravenous wolves, and the worst of names, for deceiving the people with the pretended descent of the miraculous fire into the holy sepulchre on Easter-day, although he himself would impose the more palpable fable of the house of the Lady of Loretto travelling from Nazareth to Italy, upon the belief of his readers: and Vertot, in his History of the Knights of Malta, would persuade us, that the Romish church, when in possession of the said sepulchre, was actually invested with the power of bringing down the fire from heaven: and were the Latins restored, no doubt they would go on with the imposture no less boldly than those who at present have the management of it. ¶ Grueber's Letters, p. 22; and Ogilby, p. 360. ¶¶ The same, p. 2, and 23; and Ogilby, p. 361.

** Yet Friar Horace, it seems, was admitted without any difficulty. †† Ogilby's China, p. 361.

according

according as the rank and dignities which they possess, render them more worthy to approach the person of their sovereign pontiff*.

According to the account transmitted by Regis, the Grand Lama sits cross-legged on a kind of altar, with a large and magnificent cushion under him; where he receives the compliments, or rather adorations, not only of his own subjects, but of prodigious multitudes of strangers; who make long journies to offer him their homage †, and obtain his blessing. Some even travel there from India, who never fail to enlarge before him upon their own merit, and magnify the sufferings they have undergone in their painful pilgrimage. But next to the people of Tibet, the Tartars are most devoted to the Grand Lama, some of whom resort to Lassa from the most distant corners. When the Eluths-Dsongari invaded Tibet, the sister of Ayuki, Khàn of the Eluths-Torgauti ‡, with her son, was at Lassa upon the like errand.

Princes are no more excused from this servile adoration than the meanest of their subjects; nor do they meet with more respect from the Grand Lama, who never moves from his cushion, nor any other way returns their homage. He only lays his hand upon the head of the worshippers, who then think themselves pardoned. The Lamas who drew the map observed, that in receiving the Chinese ambassador, he did not kneel like the Tartar princes; but when he enquired after the King's health, resting upon one hand, he only made a small motion, as if he intended to kiss him from his seat §. He was at that same time dressed in a red habit of woollen stuff, such as the common Lamas wear, with a yellow hat ¶.

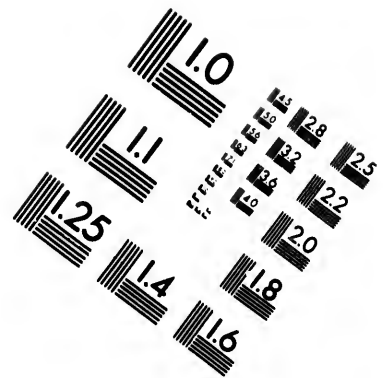
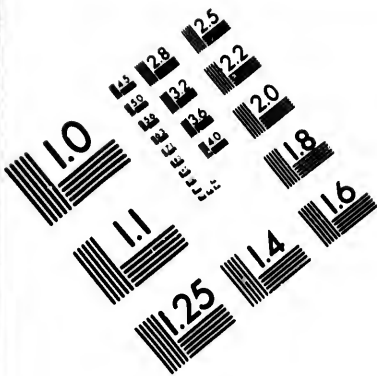
Grueber assures us, that the grandees of the kingdom are very eager to procure the excrements of this divinity, which they usually wear about their necks as relics. In another place, he says that the Lamas make a great advantage by the large presents they receive for helping the grandees to some of his excrements, or urine; for by wearing the first about their necks, and mixing the latter with their victuals ¶, they imagine themselves to be secure against all bodily infirmities**. In confirmation of this Gerbillon informs us, that the Mongols wear his excrements pulverized in little bags about their necks, as precious reliques, capable of preserving them from all misfortunes, and curing them of all sorts of distempers. When this Jesuit was on his second journey into Western Tartary, a deputy from one of the principal lamas, offered the Emperor's uncle a certain powder, contained in a little packet of very white paper, neatly wrapped up in a scarf of very white taffety: but that prince told him, that as it was not the custom of the Manchews to make use of such things, he durst not receive it. The author took this powder to be either some of the Great Lama's excrements, or the ashes of something that had been used by him ††.

Trophies are erected on the tops of the mountains †† in honour of the Great Lama, for the preservation of men and cattle §§. All the Kings, who profess the religion of the Great Lama, before they are inaugurated, send ambassadors, with very rich presents, to crave his benediction, as a means to render their reigns happy ¶¶.

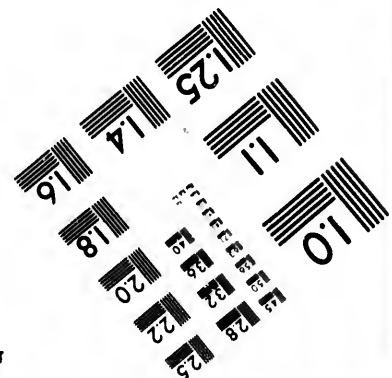
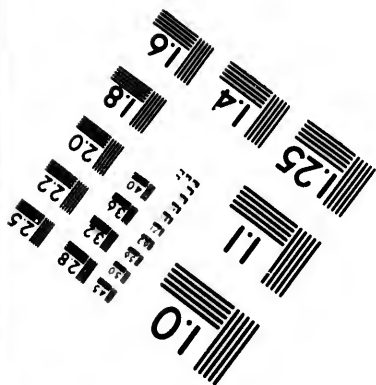
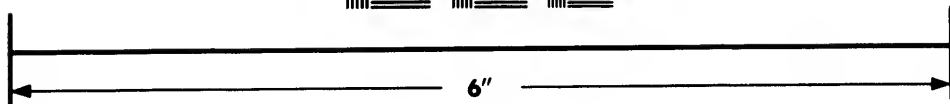
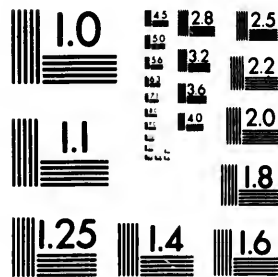
Till of late, the Dalay Lama was a mere spiritual prince; but he is now become a temporal one also, with a large patrimony; the Chàn of the Eluths, who conquered

* History of the Turks, &c. p. 486. † Grueber says, they offer a multitude of presents and oblations. Letters, p. 22. Ogilby, p. 360. ‡ See Green, vol. iv. p. 431. They arrived there in 1703, and returned in 1712. § Du Halde's China, p. 95. ¶ The same, p. 87. ¶ The Butan merchants told Tavernier, that they threw his ordure, powdered, over their victuals. Trav. vol. ii. p. 185. ** Grueber's Letters, p. 2, and 23. Ogilby's China, p. 361. † Du Halde's China, p. 318. †† See the point in Green's Coll. §§ Ogilby, as before, p. 358. ¶¶ The same, p. 362.





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it in the last century, having made him a present of it *, which is a much larger patrimony than that called St. Peter's, usurped by the Popes. Yet for all this, Bentink informs us, that he does not meddle, in any sort, with the temporality of his dominions, or suffer any of his Lamas to meddle with it; but puts all secular matters under the government of two Khâns of the Kalmûks, who are to furnish him with all things necessary for the maintenance of his family. When he has any political affairs to transact, it is the Deva (or Tipa, a sort of plenipotentiary,) who acts under his orders †.

4. Of the Hâtûktûs, or Apostolical Vicars, and the inferior Lamas.

The Religion far extended. — Apostolic Vicars. — Lama Hierarchy: — Their Habit accounted honourable: — Numbers and Rules: — Their Character misrepresented: — Their Religion unknown to the European Missioners. — Lamas conceal their Religion. — Reasons assigned, and refuted. — Mongolian Lamas. — Lamas in China encouraged, and why. — The red and yellow Hats.

THE religion of the Great Lama seems to be more extended than any other in the world: for besides Tibet, which is its native-seat, it has spread itself over all the Indies, China, and Western Tartary, from one end to the other. It is true, the provinces of the Indies and China, have many ages ago thrown off his jurisdiction, and set up chief priests of their own, who have modelled the religion of their respective countries, according to their different fancies, or interest. But Tibet, and the greater part of Tartary, are still subject to him in spirituals. The better to govern this vast dominion he constitutes deputies, or vicars, to officiate in his stead. These are called Hâtûktûs, or Khâtûktûs; which, according to Regis, are chosen from among the disciples of the Great Lama. It is esteemed a real happiness to be admitted into the number of these last, which never exceeds two hundred; and they on whom the honour of Hâtûktû is conferred, are considered as so many lesser Fos †; they are neither confined to the pagods, nor limited to Tibet, but settle where they please; and soon acquire great riches, by the offerings of their numerous worshippers §. One of them who resided among the Kalka Mongols, about the beginning of this century, set up for himself ||, in opposition to his master, assuming all the privileges and powers which the Grand Lama pretends to; and, in all likelihood, others from time to time will follow his example.

For keeping up discipline and order in ecclesiastical matters there is a kind of hierarchy in Tibet, consisting of church officers, answering to archbishops, bishops, and priests. They have also their priors, abbots, and abbesses, superiors, provincials, or such like degrees, for ordering what concerns the regular clergy. The Lamas, or priests, who preside over the temples throughout the country ¶, are sent from the college of the Lama's disciples before mentioned. The other Lamas officiate as assistants at divine service in the churches and monasteries; or go abroad on the mission into foreign countries.

* Du Halde, as before, p. 258. † History of the Turks, &c. p. 486; and L'État de la Boucharia. ‡ Or, living Fos. See Green, vol. iv. p. 371, and 377; and so Regis seems to translate the word in one place, when speaking of the Hâtûktû, he adds, or living Fo. Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 252. It may be the Tibetan, or rather Mongol word, answering to the Chinese Ho-fu, signifying the same thing. However that be, we find here, in the persons of the Hâtûktûs, the appearance of the Deity in several different bodies: but they have more sense, or modesty, than to assert that the same body is multiplied, or existing in several different places at once, as the Romish priests do, in consequence of their absurd and blasphemous doctrine of transubstantiation. § Du Halde, as before, p. 385. || See Green, vol. iv. p. 377. ¶ These are marked in the maps of Tibet.

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Regis says, the Lamas generally wear a woollen frize like ours, but narrower, and not so close; yet is lasting, and retains its colour. They use, besides the hat, different kinds of bonnets, according to their several dignities; one of which is somewhat remarkable, as it resembles our bishops' mitres; but they wear the slit before*.

The Great Lama's colour is red; but as the Emperor of China has of late gained some footing in Tibet, those of his party, as well as all the Mongol and Kalka Lamas, wear yellow. Bentink, speaking of these latter, observes, that they go habited in long yellow robes, with great sleeves, which they bind about their waist with a girdle of the same colour, two fingers broad. They have the head and beard shaved very close, and wear yellow hats. They always carry a great pair of beads of coral, or yellow amber, in their hands, which they turn incessantly between their fingers, saying prayers to themselves after their manner. The nuns wear very nearly the same dress, excepting that they wear bonnets edged with fur, instead of hats, which the Lamas wear †.

There are several princes in Tibet who assume the Lama habit, and under the titles of the Grand Lama's principal officers, act almost independently of him. The dignity of Lama is not limited to the natives of Tibet alone. The Tartars and Chinese, who are equally ambitious of this honour, go to Lassa to obtain it †.

The multitude of Lamas in Tibet is incredible, hardly a family being without one, either out of their devotion, or expectations of preferment in the Grand Lama's service. The rules of the Lamas are too many and burdensome, to be all observed by one Lama; wherefore they divide the load among them, one confining himself to this particular duty, and another to that; but they are all obliged to conform to celibacy §, as well as to renounce worldly grandeur and employments ||.

As to their character, if you will take it from their great adversaries, the missionaries, most of them are debauched; yet they govern Princes ¶, who give them the chief place in assemblies, and are blindly followed by their votaries, who give them the best of what they have. Some of them are tolerably skilled in medicine; others have some notion of astronomy, and can calculate eclipses **. Bernier met with one of these Lama physicians at Kashmir, who came in the train of an ambassador from Great Tibet ††. He had with him a book of recipes, which he would by no means part with ††.

Regis represents them as very ignorant §§, affirming that few of them can read or understand their ancient books, or even say their prayers, which are in an ancient tongue and character, no longer spoken or known |||. But this charge must be unjust, if other writers may be credited ¶¶. Besides Friar Horace declares, that there are in Tibet universities and colleges for teaching the things relating to their law *** or religion.

Bentink gives a different account of the Lamas in Tartary. He says, they both teach and practise the three great fundamental duties of honouring God, offending nobody, and giving to every one what belongs to him: that the lives which both they and the Kalmuks, or Eluths lead, incontestably prove the two last points; and that he was informed by some travellers of credit, that they strenuously protest against adoring more than one God: that the Dalay Lama, and Khûtuktûs, are his servants, with whom he communicates for the instruction and good of men: that the images which

* Du Halde's China, p. 387, et seq. † History of the Turks, &c. p. 487. ‡ Du Halde, as before, p. 385. § Bentink says, both the monks and nuns take the vows. || Du Halde, as before, p. 388, and 395. ¶ Is this more than what they do on this side of the globe? ** Du Halde, as before, p. 253, 256, 263, 387. †† See Green's Coll. vol. iv. p. 455, c. †† Bernier's Memoirs of India, p. 126, et seq. §§ See before, p. 371. ||| See Du Halde, p. 253. ¶¶ Green, vol. iv. p. 123, note a. *** Nonv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 57.

they honour are no more than representations of the Deity, or some holy men; and that they expose them to the view of people, only to put them in mind of their duty.

This, excepting what relates to their external discipline, is all the author could pick up after all his pains, not having been able to find persons capable of thoroughly informing him: for as all the sacred books of their religion are written in the language of Tangût*, which both Mongols and Eluths are entirely ignorant of, they depend, like the papists, wholly upon what their priests are willing to tell them; and these make so many mysteries of what regards their worship †, that one has much ado to get any thing out of them. For all this, it seems strange to Bentink, that Europeans should be so little acquainted with a religion which is spread over all the middle part of Asia, and might be so easily known to the Russians, who border on the countries where it is professed: but then he observes, that the Russians, like other nations, search after nothing but what concerns their profit ‡.

If the Russians in Siberia, mostly merchants and soldiers by profession, are to blame in this article, the Romish missionaries must be much more culpable: because they were obliged, in point of duty, to be thoroughly acquainted with the religion of the people whom they were sent to convert; and by their residence for above an hundred and fifty years in China, had the fullest opportunity of consulting both their priests and books: yet how little have they done that way; nay, the latter missionaries, even those who were in Tibet itself, appear more ignorant of the religion of that country than the early ones. Friar Horace, the Capuchin, who, if you will believe him, had such easy access to the Grand Lama, and was so highly caressed by him, was yet, as hath been before observed, a stranger to his divine character §. On the other hand, Desideri, the Jesuit, though he says he was at Lassa, never once mentions the Dalay Lama, as if no such person had resided there; he only speaks of some great Lama, who had audience of, or made a visit to the King.

For having thus failed so egregiously in this particular, various excuses are made by them: some allege the ignorance of their priests, as not able to give an account of the doctrines of their religion: others, their reservedness in communicating either what they know themselves, or their sacred books: others pretend, these volumes are written in an obsolete language and character, not understood by the priests themselves; and some shuffle it off by saying, if they were to search their books, they do not believe they should meet with any thing worth knowing, more than what they are already acquainted with. Lastly, they give up the conversion of the Tibetians, declaring, that so long as the Great Lama continues master of the country, Christianity can make little or no progress there ||.

As to this last apology (not to mention its being expressly contradicted by the testimony of honest Friar Horace, as before mentioned,) it seems strange, that the Nestorian missionaries should find it so easy, and the Romish so difficult to convert this nation; or that the inhabitants of Tibet should be more obstinate now than they were nine hundred years ago; and more averse to embracing Christianity at present, than their religion bears so great a likeness to it, than before, when it had scarce any resemblance of it at all; unless it was on account of that conformity.

But not to stay to examine the weight or consistency of such arguments any further, we may justly impute the omission either to their own negligence, ignorance, or unwill-

* Or Tibet. † Rather articles of their faith. ‡ History of the Turks, &c. p. 488, et seq. § A whimsical thing indeed, that he should make a convert of a god without knowing it. || Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 388.

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lingness, fully to lay open the agreement of the religion of Tibet with that of Rome, as hath been already suggested*.

The most powerful among the Lamas are those called by the Chinese, Mong-fan, who possess a wide territory in Tibet, north of Li-kyang-tù-fù in Yun-nan, between the rivers Kincha-kyang and Vu-lyang-ho. This country was ceded to them by U-fan-ghey, (whom the Manchews made King of Yun-nan), to engage them in his interest †.

Although the religion of the Great Lama is spread though China, yet he seems to have no jurisdiction there; at least the missionaries are silent as to this article of his supremacy, reckoned so important in their own church. The Lamas, however, have from time to time attempted to get footing in the empire, perhaps with a view to establish their master's authority there; but have never been able to compass their design, owing, in great measure, doubtless, to the opposition of the Ho-shang, or Bonzas, who probably, assert the freedom, or independence of their church, as the Gallican formerly did in France.

Gaubil tells us, that the Chinese history first speaks of Lamas being employed by the Mongols, and erecting monasteries among them, in the reign of Keyuk Khân, grandson of Jenghîz Khân †. But as they came in great numbers, and were very chargeable to the people, going among them from house to house, Tayting §, sixth Emperor of the Ywen, forbid them to enter China ||. However, their authority continued there while that family possessed the throne, whose ruin is attributed to the encouragement given them by Shun-ti, the last of it: but Hong-vù having restored the dominion of the Chinese, expelled the Lamas along with the Mongols.

They recovered their credit in China when the Manchews got possession: for although they were formerly no friends to the Lamas, yet when they began to invade their neighbours, they politically favoured them: and when Shun-chi became master of the empire, the Grand Lama omitted no measure that might secure his interest in that Prince, not disdaining even to leave Lassa, and travel to Pe-king, to congratulate the Emperor, and bless his family. After this, the Empress erected a magnificent temple for the Lamas, whose example was imitated by the Princes, Princesses, and others; which encouragement soon multiplied their number in China. They are very wealthy, and dress in fine yellow, or red satin, and the choicest furs; they appear well mounted, and attended with retinues, more or less numerous, according to their degree of Mandarinship; which honour the Emperor frequently confers upon them ¶. Thus, on his side, he endeavours politically to ingratiate himself with the Grand Lama, whose power, he knows, is very great among the Tartars, carrying on his intrigues even in Tibet itself.

Hence it came to pass, that in the beginning of this century, a division happened in Tibet itself, amongst the Lamas. One party adhered to the red hat, the colour used by the Grand Lama; the other assumed the yellow hat, to denote their attachment to the present imperial family of China **, whose interest has increased since the Tse-vang-raptans troops, which had ravaged the country, were defeated there in 1720, by the Chinese army ††.

* Green, vol. iv. p. 212, note f, and 220. † Du Halde, as before, vol. ii. p. 385. ‡ Gaubil, Hist. de Gentch. p. 142, note 13. § His Mongol name was Yesuntimur. See the table, Green, vol. iv. p. 449. || Du Halde, as before, vol. i. p. 501. ¶ Du Halde's China, p. 387. ** The same, p. 384. †† See Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. pref. p. 22.

5. The Government of Tibet.

Tibet conquered: — Its Donation to the Lama. — Another Revolution in the Kingdom: — Governed by a Tipa: — Awed by China. — Emperor imposed on by the Lamas. — Envoys, how treated. — The King's State, and large Cannon: — How revered.

TOWARDS the beginning of the last century, Tibet was governed by a King of its own, called Tfanpa Han *; in the Chinese history, Tfan-pû; and the dominions of the Grand Lama were confined to a small province †. But about the year 1630, the Grand Lama being exasperated to find Tfanpa deficient in the respect which he used to pay him, called to his assistance the Eluths of Kôko Nor ‡, a nation most blindly devoted to him. They, under the conduct of Kushi Han, aided by Paturu-hum Tayki §, invaded Tibet with a powerful army; and having obtained a compleat victory, took the King prisoner, and put him to death. After which he gave his kingdom to the Grand Lama, being satisfied with becoming his vassal; and having the title of Han conferred upon him, settled, with all his people, in the neighbourhood of Lassa, to secure the Grand Lama in the possession of his new dominion: but the auxiliary Princes returned home to the country of Koko Nor ||.

Andrada, the Jesuit, who in 1624 travelled from Agra in the Mogul's empire, to the source of the Ganges, pretends, that the Grand Lama's resentment to the King arose from his beginning to have some thoughts of embracing Christianity, upon the preaching of that missionary; and that while he was in India, whither he had returned to procure assistance in his ministry, the revolution above happened. Regis has adopted this fiction of that lying Jesuit ¶, who in all probability, never was in Tibet, as shall be shewn hereafter **.

The posterity of Kûshi Han continued to protect the Grand Lama, in the manner above related; yet, according to Bentink, the Khân of the Eluths-Dsongari, who possesses Great Tartary, kept a kind of superiority over the country, and took care, that the two Khâns ††, who had the administration in temporals within the Grand Lama's dominions, did not abuse that power; and whenever they endeavoured to become independent, which happened pretty often, they were always sure to find him in their road ††, who knew how to bring them to their duty §§. About the year 1710, this Prince, called Tse-vang-raptan ||||, being then in war with the Emperor of China, arrived at the lake of Lop, and crossing the sands with only fourteen persons, came to the

* Gerbillon, on this occasion, says, that this Prince was formerly very powerful, and is supposed to be the famous P-ester John; but with as little reason as others affirm him to be the Christian King of the Abissins in Africa: for M. Polo, and the monks who first brought the account of him declare, that Ung Khân, chief of a horde of Tartars, was the Prester John; and then this latter must have concerned himself with temporal as well as spiritual affairs, which the Dalay Lama never did. Thus are writers led astray by this ignis fatuus, and besotted with a regard for authority or tradition, though ever so much exploded, or absurd in itself. † Perhaps that of Lassa, where the capital is situate. ‡ Or, Eluths-Kofhoti, see Green, vol. iv. p. 402. § Ibid. p. 401, e. || Du Halde, as before, vol. ii. p. 258, and 386.

¶ See the same, p. 385. ** See also Hist. of the Turks, &c. p. 490. †† Meaning him at Lassa, and the other of Koko Nor. †† Desideri observes, that this third Tibet, or Lassa, is more exposed to the incursions of the Tartars, than the other two. Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 204. A Lassa merchant told Bernier, that his King was often at war with the Tartars; but could never explain what Tartars they were. Bernier's Memoirs of India, tom. iv. p. 128. Tavernier, on the other hand, says, vol. ii. p. 185, that the inhabitants of Bûtan know not what war is, having no enemy to fear but the Great Mogul. This circumstance agrees better with Great Tibet than Lassa. §§ History of the Turks, &c. p. 485. || Pronounced by the Chinese, Lapûtan.

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river Hotomni * in Kashgar. There being joined by some troops, he sent a detachment to Lassa, commanded by an experienced general, with six thousand men, to conquer Tibet; under pretence that the Grand Lama was an impostor, and that he was resolved to reduce the Lamas to their ancient dependence on the sovereigns of the country.

Talay Hân †, the grandson of Kûshî, who then reigned in Tibet, marched against them with an army of twenty thousand men; but notwithstanding the superiority of his troops, was defeated and slain. After this, the country of Lassa was ravaged, the towns taken as soon as besieged, and the temples entirely plundered, even that of the Grand Lama not excepted, where the booty was immensely rich, and all the Lamas that could be found were transported into Tartary ‡. This happened at the time when the Lama geographers were making the map of Tibet. But Raptan, it seems, did not long keep possession of this country; for Kanghi sending an army against him, his troops were defeated in several battles, and himself obliged to retire to his own country § in 1720, all Tibet remaining in possession of the Chinese forces ||. However, it may be presumed, they did not keep it as a conquest, but restored it to its former masters; for in 1742, Friar Horace found a King at Lassa, whom he names Mivagn ¶, as well as the Dalay Lama.

As the Great Lama renounces all concern with temporal affairs ever since the donation that was made to him of Tibet, he chuses a viceroy, who governs in his name, and by his authority, under the title of Tipa (or Deva, as some write it). For though the Hâns, who succeeded Kushi, reside at Lassa, in the heart of the country, they meddle not with the government **, but are content with reigning over the wandering hordes of Eluths. The Tipa, though married, wears the Lama habit, but without subjecting himself to the rules of that order. The late Emperor Kang-hi, during the war with Kaldan, predecessor to Raptan, created the viceroy of Tibet, Vang, or Regulo, to attach him to his interest. He knew, that both the Tipa and Grand Lama secretly favoured Kaldan, and were capable of crossing his designs: besides, had they joined the Mongols, and interested religion in the war, it would have been difficult to withstand so many enemies. Wherefore, after the defeat of that daring Prince in 1697, the Emperor observed no measures either with the Tipa, or Grand Lama himself, but spoke like their master ††.

On this occasion our author Gerbillon, in his seventh journey into Tartary, with the Emperor of China, relates a curious passage concerning the Dalay Lama's regeneration. The Emperor had for a long time suspected the death of the Dalay Lama, because his ambassadors could never obtain an audience, under pretence that the divinity was in his retirement: but being resolved to discover the truth, he sent an envoy in 1696 to the Tipa (or Deva) with positive orders either to see him, or know if he was dead; at the same time commanding that officer to deliver up to him the daughter of Kaldan (married to a Tayki of Koko Nor, subject to the Talay Lama,) and two Hûtûktis, who had espoused the interest of that Prince, threatening to make war upon him if he refused to comply.

* In the great desert to the south-west of Hami. † Or Dalay Khân. ‡ Du Halde's China, p. 385; and Spuciet's *Obs. Math.* p. 179. § Du Halde, as before, p. 388. || *Lettr. Édif.* tom. v. pref. p. 22. ¶ So his letter is signed, but without the title of Hân at the end, which looks suspicious. ** Grueber says, there are two Kings in Barantola, one called the Deva, who governs in temporals, the other the Grand Lama. See his *Letters*, p. 22; in Thevenot's fourth tom. and Ogilby's vol. i. p. 360. But if matters be as Gerbillon represents them (for Regis is not so particular), Grueber must have mistaken the viceroy for the Hân, or King. He likewise, p. 20, makes the latitude of Lassa, by observation, twenty-nine degrees six minutes: the Jesuits' map, twenty-nine degrees thirty-six minutes. †† Du Halde, as before, p. 258, 259, and 385.

The Tipa, terrified at this message, immediately dispatched Nimata Hâtûktû, one of the principal Lamas of Pûtala, with a respectful letter to the Emperor, offering to send the parties demanded, if His Majesty insisted on it, only interceding in their favour. Kang-hi received this envoy with extraordinary honours, and accepted his presents of pastils, coral, beads, &c. Having been asked concerning the Talay Lama, he told the Emperor, that he had been dead sixteen years: that before his death he assured them he would rise again at a place appointed; which accordingly happened: that he desired them to educate him till he was fifteen years of age, and, in the mean time to keep his death secret: lastly, that he left a letter, with an image of Fo, directing it to be sent to the Emperor, the tenth moon of the sixteenth year after his decease; till which time the Lama begged His Majesty would conceal it.

The Emperor promised to do so, and sent two inferior Mandarins along with him, to obtain immediate satisfaction to his other demands. Two days after their departure, an envoy, whom His Majesty had sent to the nephew of Kaldan, returned and informed him, that in the second moon of the same year the Talay Lama's ambassador told him of his death, and pretended regeneration, and that in the sixth moon the young Talay Lama came out of his retirement. The Emperor hereupon thinking himself abused by the Lamas, sent an express to call back Nimata Hâtûktû, and the two envoys. The Lama said he knew nothing of what had been published in another place, but that he had executed his orders. Upon this, His Majesty thought it no breach of promise to open the above-mentioned letter before all the Mogul Princes of his retinue, on the twenty-second of March 1697; and thus the death of the Talay Lama, which happened so long before, was published*.

On this occasion it may be observed, that the Emperor's envoy to Lassa is supplied with horses for himself and attendants, by the country people where ever he comes; besides camels to carry his baggage, and all necessaries, being allowed six sheep and an ox for five days. In like manner, the Emperor maintains the envoys of the Grand Lama, and the Princes of Koko-Nor, when they come to Pe-king †.

We find little more in travellers concerning Lassa, excepting what Tavernier mentions from the report of merchants, relating to the King of Bûtan; by which, for the reasons already given, is to be understood Barantola, or Lassa. This Prince, according to that author, hath constantly seven or eight thousand men for his guard, armed with bows and arrows: but some carry battle-axes and bucklers. There are always fifty elephants kept about the palace, and twenty-five camels, with each a piece of artillery on his back, that carries a half-pound ball, and a gunner, who sits behind to manage it.

The merchants assured Tavernier, that some of their cannons had letters and figures upon them of above five hundred years standing: that no person dare stir out of the kingdom without the governor's leave, or carry a musket along with him, unless his kindred will be bound that he shall bring it back. One of them had a piece, which, by the characters on the barrel, appeared to have been made above an hundred and eighty years. It was very thick, and polished within as bright as a looking-glass. Two thirds of the barrel were garnished with embossed wires; certain flowers of gold and silver being inlaid between. The mouth was shaped like a tulip, and it carried a bullet that weighed an ounce. But the author could neither prevail with the merchant to sell it, nor give him any of his powder, which was long, but of an extraordinary force.

* Du Halde's China, p. 366.

† The same, p. 258, et seq.

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There is no King in the world more feared and respected by his subjects than the King of Bûtan; being in a manner adored by them. When he sits to do justice, or give audience, all that appear in his presence hold their hands close together above their foreheads; and at a distance from the throne prostrate themselves upon the ground, not daring to lift up their heads. In this humble posture they make their petitions to him; and, when they retire, go backwards till they are out of his sight. The merchants assured Tavernier, that those about the King preserve his ordure, dry it, and reduce it to powder like snuff*: that then putting it in boxes, they go every market-day and present it to the chief traders and farmers, who, recompensing them for their kindness, carry it home as a great rarity; and when they feast their friends strew it upon their meat. The author adds, that two of them shewed him their boxes with the powder in them †.

SECTION IV. — AN ACCOUNT OF THE SI-FAN, OR TU-FAN; AND THE COUNTRY INHABITED BY THEM.

I. *Of the Si-fan's Country, and Manners of that People.*

The Si-fan's Country: — Different Accounts of: — Its true Situation. — The Remains of a large Dominion. — The Black Si-fan: — The Yellow Si-fan: — Their Government, Language, and Customs: — Almost independent. — The Rhubarb Country.

THE country of the Si-fan (who are a people quite unknown, at least in name, to the western historians, whether Asiatic or European) is differently represented as to its situation and dimensions, in the accounts sent from China by the missionary geographers. According to Regis, it borders on the provinces of Shen-si, Se-chwen, and Yun-nan, reaching from the thirtieth to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude; and westward to the river, called by the Chinese, Ya-long-kyang †.

By another account, it extends but a little way along the western borders of Shen-si. For better understanding the situation of it, the author observes, that the little town of Chwang-lan § (or Chwang-lang-ing) stands, as it were at the meeting of two valleys; whereof one goes towards the north as far as the gate of the great wall, called Hya-yu-quan ||, the space of above an hundred leagues, and contains three great cities, Lan-chew, Kan-chew, and Sû-chew, with several forts belonging to them. The other valley extends westward above twenty leagues to Si-ning, and is full also of little forts, which are subject to that city, and render the Chinese absolute masters of the plain country: but they are not so of the mountains, which are inhabited by a nation different from the Chinese, who lie to the south of them, as well as from the Tartars, who lie to the north ¶.

This vague account only helps to puzzle the reader; for the Chinese lie to the east and north, rather than to the south of these people; and the Tartars more to the west than to the north, where the Chinese territories interpose. In short, supposing them to be situated as before described, according to the map, their territories must be

* As from hence it appears, that by the King, the Dalây Lama, who was then sovereign, is to be understood; so that by Bûtan must be understood Lassa. As for the small mistake, in saying he sits to do justice, whereas the Great Lama meddles not with temporals, it is very excusable in the author, who might well imagine that was a part of his regal office. † Tavernier's Travels, vol. ii. p. 184, et seq.

‡ Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 305.

§ It lies in about twenty-six degrees forty-eight minutes, by the map of Shen-si.

|| Or Khya-yu-quan, and Kya-yu-quan.

¶ Du Halde, as before,

vol. i. p. 22.

a narrow tract of mountains lying between the north-west part of the province of Shen-si, and the country of Koko Nor, inclosing the latter on the north and east in form of a bow. But in the map there is no mention of the Si-fan in those quarters, whence, probably, Du Halde, or his correspondent *, has mistaken the country of the Si-fan for that of Koko Nor.

In the third place, the maps of the Jesuits differ from both the foregoing accounts. In the fifth sheet of Tibet, the country of the Si-fan is distinctly marked out. It is bounded on the east by the Chinese province of Se-chwen; on the north by the country of Koko Nor; and on the west by a river called Tfacho Tfitsirhâna, which rising to the south of the lakes whence the Whang-ho issues, runs through Se-chwen, where it where it takes the name of Ya-long-kyang, and afterwards that of Kin-cha-kyang †. According to this situation, which seems to be the right, the country of the Si-fan lies between twenty-nine degrees fifty-four minutes, and thirty-three degrees forty minutes of latitude, and between twelve degrees thirty minutes, and eighteen degrees twenty minutes of longitude west of Pe-king. Its figure is triangular, the base, which lies to the north, being about thirty miles long; and the other two sides, which make an angle to the south, about two hundred and forty-five each.

This is all which at present remains to the Si-fan, of a very large dominion they were formerly possessed of, comprising all Tibet, and even some neighbouring territories of China. Hence, it may be presumed, it is (as well as on account of the affinity between the languages of the Si-fan and Tibet) that the Chinese, we are told, extend the name of Si-fan over all that country, and sometimes to all the nations lying west of their own empire. In all probability, it is that great empire of the Si-fan, including the whole country between China and Hindûstan, with all those wide plains and deserts on the north and west of it, inhabited by Eluth-Tartars, and bounded, in the map, by a chain of mountains, which were formerly called Tangût, Tanguth, or Tankut ‡; and the rather, because at present the language and characters of Tibet, still used by the Si-fan, are called the characters and language of Tangût, as hath been already observed §. However that be ¶, the condition of the Si-fan, or Tu-fan, is very different from what it was formerly. They have not now one town in their possession, and are pent up between the rivers Ya-long on the west, Whang-ho on the north, and Yang-tse-kyang on the east ¶; whereas anciently their kingdom had fortified towns, was well peopled, and very powerful **.

The Chinese distinguish the Si-fan, or Tu-fan, into two sorts of people: The He Si-fan, or black Si-fan, and the Whang Si-fan, or yellow Si-fan; from the colour of their tents, not their complexions, which are in general a little swarthy. The black Si-fan have also some pitiful houses, but are very uncivilized. They are governed by petty chiefs, who depend on a greater. Those whom Regis saw were dressed like the inhabitants of Hami ††. The women wore their hair parted into tresses hanging down on their shoulders, full of little brass mirrors.

* Who seems to be Regis, for he is quoted afterwards. † See the maps. ‡ Du Halde, as before, vol. ii. p. 385. § See Green, vol. iv. p. 457, note f. ¶ How easily might the missionaries have solved all difficult questions concerning the situation and extent of Tangût, when they were on the spot? But they do not so much as tell us what name the Si-fan go by, either among themselves or any of their neighbours, except the Chinese. Thus, for want of making proper enquiries, either through negligence or ignorance, they have recourse to conjectures themselves; differ from one another in their accounts of things, and generally leave material points of history and geography in the dark, just as they found them. ¶ Its springs are in this country. The most famous of them, called He-shwi by the Chinese, but Chûnak by the Tu fan, rises in the mountains named Chûrkûla. ** Du Halde, as before, vol. i. p. 22, and 29. †† Or Kham-til, in Little Bakharia.

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The Yellow Si-fan are subject to certain families, whereof the eldest is made a Lama, and wears a yellow habit, which may also contribute to their name. These Lamas, who are all of the same family, and govern in their respective districts, have the power of deciding causes, and punishing criminals. They inhabit the same canton, but in separate bodies, and without forming large families of the same kindred, which appear like Syaw-in, or little camps, as the Chinese geographers call them. The greater number of them dwell in tents; but some have their houses built with earth, and a few of bricks. They want nothing of the necessaries of life. They have numerous flocks of sheep. Their horses indeed are but small, but well shaped, mettlesome, and strong.

The Lamas who govern those people do not make them uneasy, provided they render them certain honours, and punctually pay the dues of Fo, which are very trifling *. The Armenians who were at To-pa †, seemed very well pleased with the Lama, who is lord of the place, and was not then above twenty-five, or twenty-six years of age. Far from vexing his subjects, he only took from each family a very small tribute, in proportion to the quantity of land it possessed.

There is said to be some difference in the language of these two sorts of Si-fan; but as they understand one another well enough to trade together, it is probable that they differ only as dialects of the same tongue. The books and characters used by their chiefs are those of Tibet. They have customs and ceremonies very different from the Chinese, though bordering on them: for instance, it is usual for them to present a large white handkerchief of cotton or taffety when they go to wait upon persons whom they mean to honour. They have also some customs like those found among the Kalka Tartars, and others which resemble the usages of the Tartars of Koko Nor.

Neither nation is more than half subject to the neighbouring Chinese Mandarins, before whom they rarely appear when summoned, little regarding their citations: nor dare those officers treat them with rigour, or offer to force them to obedience; the frightful mountains they inhabit, whose tops are covered with snow even in July, sheltering them against all pursuits. Besides, as the rhubarb grows in abundance on their lands, they are courted by the Chinese for that precious commodity ‡.

2. *The History of the Si-fan, or Tù-fan.*

Formerly very famous: — Invade the Empire: — Conclude a Peace: — Assist the Chinese. — The White Tartars break the Peace. — Invade the Empire: — Burn the Capital: — Are made to retreat by Chinese Stratagems: — Invade China afresh: Are defeated again: — Sue for Peace: — Break it, but routed: — Another Defeat: — Their Capital taken: — Recovered again: — The Tù-fan retreat: — A Peace concluded: — Their flourishing State.

IT appears from the Chinese geographers of the middle age, from the history of the provinces of Shen-si and Se-chwen, and by the great annals Nyen-i-she, that the Si-fan, or Tù-fan, had formerly a very large dominion, and Princes of great reputation, who made themselves formidable to their neighbours, and even to the Emperors of China. On the east side they not only possessed divers territories, which at present belong to the provinces of Se-chwen and Shen-si, but also pushed their conquests fo

* These dues seem to be a kind of tithes, as being exacted on a religious account. That of Fo was always the religion of the Tù-fan, who always chose their Lamas to be ministers of state, and sometimes to command their armies. Du Halde, p. 29. † Near Si-ning, at one end of the great wall in Shen-si. ‡ Du Halde's China, vol. i. p. 22, et seq. Some of their rivers yield gold, of which they make handsome vessels and images.

far into those provinces, as to subdue several cities of the second rank, whereof they formed four great governments. Westward they were masters of all the countries, from the river Yalong to the borders of Kashmir, in the Great Mogul's empire.

In the seventh century, Ki-t'ou, King of the T'u-fan, possessed this vast dominion, and had several Kings his tributaries, to whom he sent patents and seals of gold. This Prince, in 630, coveting an alliance with Tay-t'oung, that renowned Emperor of the Tang dynasty, sent a famous embassy to that Prince; which having been received with great marks of distinction, he by a second, demanded a Princess of the imperial blood, for his son Long-t'oung. The Emperor's council, looking on this as a very bold proposal, rejected it, without deigning to deliberate on it. Hereupon Long-t'oung succeeding to the throne, on the death of his father, came at the head of two hundred thousand men to demand the Princess; and having defeated certain Princes tributary to China, who opposed his passage, penetrated to the borders of Shen-si, where the Emperor then kept his court. From thence he sent one of his officers with a haughty letter to His Majesty, demanding that the Princess should be immediately delivered up to him, with a certain quantity of gold, silver, and silks, by way of portion.

The Emperor, offended at such a demand, amused the envoy with hopes, till his troops were assembled on the frontiers, and then dismissed him disgracefully, and without returning any answer to his master's letter. At the same time his army attacked that of the Si-fan, and routed it. However, as the loss was not considerable, Long-t'oung rallied his troops, and being in a condition to give the Emperor uneasiness, in 640*, the Princess, by advice of his council, was sent, with a great deal of pomp, to the Si-fan King who after the ceremonies of marriage were over, retired, and became very serviceable to the Empire on divers occasions: particularly, when the General Alena usurped a tributary kingdom of China, he joined the imperial army with all his forces, which he commanded in person, and had a good share of the victory in killing the rebel.

Ki-li-fo, who succeeded Long-t'oung, improved the peace he was in with all his neighbours, by the treaties which he made with different nations of Tartars, especially, the Whey-he †. This Prince dying without any issue, Sufi, his next heir and successor, was, called in, with his Tartarian confederates, to assist the Emperor When-t'oung ‡, obliged at that time to quit his court at Chang-gan-fu (at present called Si-ngan-fu) and abandon it to the rebel Gan-lo-shan. This Gan-lo-shan was a foreign Prince, whom the Emperor, against the advice of his ministers, had advanced to the highest employments, and even intrusted with the command of his army. This traitor, finding himself master of great part of the north, assumed the title of Emperor, and marched to attack Chang-gan; which having entered, he plundered the imperial palace, and carried the treasure to Lo-yang ||; but by the assistance of Su-si, he was defeated, and soon after killed in bed by his own son.

The T'u-fan, or Si-fan, in reward of their service, besides the rich plunder of Lo-yang; and other rebellious cities, were presented with great quantities of silks, and the choicest things that China afforded: but whether through covetousness, or pride, as soon as

* The dates, which in Du Halde are set in the margin, we have thrown into the text.

† Du Halde's China, vol. i. p. 23. ‡ Whey-he, or Whey hū. They inhabited in the neighbourhood of Turfan. See before, p. 431. c. § Or, Hiva-t'oung. This Emperor began his reign in 713, and died in 762. He founded the college of the Han-lin-ywen, first gave the title of Regulus to his distinguished generals, and divided his dominions into fifteen provinces. || This was about 762, in the fourth year of the reign of Su-t'oung, Hiva-t'oung's successor. But this history, in Du Halde, is very inaccurate, neither observing the dates, nor reigns, when the facts, which are related, happened.

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they heard of the Emperor's death *, they set forward with a formidable army; and arriving on the frontiers of the empire, before there was the least surmise of their irruption, the governors of Ta-chin-quan, Lanchew, and all the country of Ho-si-û †, were forced to surrender. The prime minister, who at first could not believe this, sent Ko-tsey, the most experienced general then at court, with three thousand horse to learn the truth.

Ko-tsey ‡ being informed at Hyen-yang, a city not far from the capital, that the enemy's army consisting of three hundred thousand § men, would be there that very day, dispatched a courier to the minister to apprise him of the danger, and press for succours: but the good patriot did not stir a step faster. Meantime the generals of the enemy, who knew the country, being arrived at Hyen-yang, detached a considerable body of troops to possess themselves of a bridge on the river. The Emperor, from whom the honest ministry had, till then, concealed the danger he was in, confounded with the news, abandoned his palace. The great men of his court, the officers and people, all followed his example. Thus, the victorious army entered the palace without resistance, and having carried off the immense riches, set the city on fire. ||

Ko-tsey, who had retired, that he might join the troops, which, on the first alarm, left Chang-gan, seeing himself now at the head of forty thousand men, to supply by policy what he wanted in strength, ordered a detachment of horse to encamp on the neighbouring hills; and there ranging themselves in one line, to make a dreadful noise with their drums, and light up great fires every night in different places. This artifice succeeded; for the Tû-fan fearing to be surrounded by the united forces of the empire, conducted by a general of known bravery and experience, marched westward and blocked up the city of Fong-tsyang.

Ma-lin, who commanded in that district, came to the relief of the place; and forcing his way through a body of the enemy's troops, whereof he killed above a thousand, threw himself into the town. As soon as he was entered, he caused all the gates to be opened, to let the enemy see he did not fear them. This extraordinary conduct confirming them in their first suspicions, and their fatigued troops being unable to withstand fresh forces, they resolved to retire with the spoil they had already gained. After their retreat, the Chinese repaired Chang-gan, whither the Emperor returned some months after his shameful flight.

These troubles were no sooner over, than the Chinese were obliged to take the field against a new rebel, called Pû-kû, who entered into confederacy with the Tû-fan and the Whey-he Tartars, before mentioned: but he being very opportunely taken off by a sudden death, they had the address to disunite the two nations, by fomenting a jealousy about the chief command. Yo-ko-lo, general of the Whey-he, would needs command the whole army. This the Tû-fan opposed, as contrary to their orders, and dishonourable to their kingdom, which was much superior to the little state possessed by the Whey-he. The Chinese generals, who were encamped in their view, secretly supported the pretensions of Yo-ko-lo, and at length joined him. Hereupon the Tû-fan were attacked as they were marching off, and lost ten thousand men in their retreat.

The King of the Tû-fan meditated how to retrieve his losses, and being informed, that the Whey-he were retired much dissatisfied with the Chinese, he sent his army to besiege Ling-chew. The governor of this city, and its district, who had but few troops,

* This was ten years after Hivn-tsong's death, in 772, the eighth of Tay-tsong So-tsong's successor.
 † That is, to the west of the Whang-ho. ‡ Elsewhere, Ko tsu-i. In Couplet Ko-twi. § Two hundred thousand, according to Couplet, p. 61. || Du-Halde, as before, p. 23, et seq. and 199.

carefully shunned an engagement. The course he took was, at the head of five thousand horse, to attack the magazines of the besiegers; which he not only burnt, but carried off all the spoil they had taken, with part of their baggage. This loss obliged the Tû-fan to return home in haste, where they remained quiet for five years, and then brought a formidable army into the field, which dividing into two bodies, fell almost at the same time on the districts of King-chew and Ping-chew. These numerous troops easily defeated several bodies of the imperial forces. But at last the General Ko-tsey routed them intirely, in 779, by means of an ambuscade.

This defeat disposing the King of Tû-fan to peace, he sent an ambassador, with no fewer than five hundred men in his retinue, to the Emperor; who to mortify him, detained him a long time at court, without an audience. His master, greatly incensed at such contempt, was preparing to take revenge, when Tay-tsong * happened to die. His son Te-tsong, who succeeded (in 781), taking a different measure, feasted the ambassador, and his retinue, gave them rich habits, and loading them with presents, sent them back, under the conduct of Wey-ling, one of his officers; who had orders to lay the blame of the small regard which had been paid his ambassadors, to their bad conduct, and having too numerous a retinue †.

Wey-ling, contrary to his expectation, was received and dismissed with honour, as well as a magnificence that surprized the Emperor himself, and gave him an esteem for this court ‡, which promised an inviolable regard to peace. But this King dying in 786, Tfang-po, his successor, ordered his army forthwith to enter Shen-si; which they did, without being discovered, and defeated all the imperial troops they met with, till they arrived at Kyen-ching, called at present Kyen-yang: but the Chinese general, Li-ching, with the troops of the province, coming up, as the enemy were on the point of besieging the city, obtained so complete a victory, as forced them to sue for peace, which was ratified by oath. Yet some of their officers, who desired the continuation of the war, endeavoured to seize the Emperor's envoy, and carry him to their camp. The general, however, disowned having any hand in the matter; and without committing any farther hostilities, returned home with his army.

This first expedition not having the desired success, the King of the Tûfan prepared for a second; and in 791 sent an army strong enough to oppose both the Chinese, and their new allies the Whey-he Tartars. At first they took some considerable forts, which lay in their roads; and having possessed themselves of Gan-si, advanced to Peking, which lies to the south of Ning-hya. Here they were surprized, and defeated by the Whey-he: yet far from retiring, they continued their march towards the court with incredible resolution: but soon after, the General Wey-kau falling on them unexpectedly, cut several bodies of them in pieces, and pursued them as far as the frontiers; where afterwards, to hinder the incursions of the enemy, the fortresses of Tong-ka, Ho-tau, Mu-pu, and Ma-ling, were built, in the district of Ning-yang-fû, belonging to Shen-si.

Yet this precaution proved useless; for scarce were those towns finished, when the Tû-fan returned in 801, and at length took Lin-chew, which they had before attempted several times in vain. But on the appearance of Wey-kau with his army, they abandoned the city, and marched towards Wey-chew in Se-chwen, which was one of the best places they had. Wey-kau pursued them, and finding they fled continually before

* His death fell out in 780, and Ko-tsey, the famous general, died in 784, the first of the forty-ninth sexagenary cycle of the Chinese. † Du Halde's China, p. 24. ‡ Yet neither the name, nor situation of this court is mentioned; nor does it appear from the history in what part of their dominions the capital of the Tû fan stood.

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him, laid siege to that town. The King of the Tû-fan, startled at this news, immediately sent Lun-mang, his prime minister, with considerable succours; but being met by Wen-kau, he was defeated, and taken prisoner. Immediately after this victory, he had admission into Wey-chew, which he made a place of arms, and went to besiege the fortrefs of Quen-min-ching; but was baffled there, through the bravery of the governor.

Wey-Chew was one of the royal cities; and the Kings of Tû-fan, since the time of Ki-lo-so, resided there one part of the year: so that King Itay, who succeeded his brother, resolving by all possible means to recover it, levied an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men next year, and sent to besiege it. On the report of their march, the Chinese general threw himself into the city: but the expected succours nor arriving, he was constrained to surrender, after a siege of twenty-five days, held out against the continual assaults of the enemy.

The Tû-fan, puffed-up with their conquest, advanced towards Ching-tu-fû, the capital of Se-chwen. The Emperor's general, unable to oppose their march, spread a report that he was gone to possess himself of the defiles of the mountains through which they had passed, and caused his little army to make all the necessary motions to induce them to believe it; which had so good an effect, that for fear of having their retreat cut off, they retired to Wey-chew.

As soon as they were returned, Itay, who was a mild prince, being content with having retaken the place, sent to acquaint the imperial generals on the frontiers, that he was willing to live in peace; and as a proof of his sincerity, enjoined his officers to act only on the defensive. The Chinese, on their side, behaved with great generosity, on several occasions. Si-ta-mew, a Tû-fan, governor of Wey-chew, having offered to deliver up that place to the Chinese general, almost all the other officers were for accepting the proposal, but Ni-û-fan; who declared, that a great empire ought to prize sincere dealing more than the possession of a town, and that their breach of the peace would authorize all the perfidies which the Tû-fan had committed, or should commit for the future. Hereupon the offer was rejected.

Itay took the opportunity of the peace, to govern his subjects by new laws, and advanced none to employments but men of the greatest merit. If he was informed of any person remarkable for his knowledge, and application to study, he preferred him to those who were equally experienced in the management of affairs. Thus, he sent for Shang-pi-pi, one among the literati, of great reputation*, from the farthest part of the kingdom; and after he had examined him, made him governor of the city and district of Chen-chew, at present Si-ning †.

3. *History of the Tû-fan continued, to the Destruction of their Empire.*

Disorders in Government cause a Rebellion: — The Rebel defeated in all his designs. — Tû-fan Power broken. — King of Hya defeated by the Tû-fan: — Their Power ruined by dividing the Kingdom among three Brothers: — Two of them submit to the Emperor on good terms. — the final Destruction of the Empire of the Tû-fan, or Si-fan.

ITAY dying without issue, was succeeded by Ya-mo, his nearest of kin, who gave himself up wholly to his pleasures: he lived in peace with his neighbours, but by his

* Hence it appears that the Tû-fan had introduced the Chinese form of government; perhaps, after having made some conquests in China, as the Lyau and Kin did afterwards. † Du Halde's China, vol. i. p. 25, et seq.

oppressions and cruelties, became so odious to his subjects, that they left their country in crowds. In short, he was the first cause of this kingdom's falling to decay. The distractions increased much more after his death; for as he neither left any children, nor had nominated a successor, one of the ministry, gained by the widow queen, caused the son of Pay-va, her favourite, a child of three years old, to be proclaimed King in 842.

On the first report of this election, Kye-tù-na, first minister of state, hastened to the palace, and opposed it, in behalf of the royal family. But his zeal cost him his life; for they killed him as he was returning home. This conduct of the court lost them the hearts of all the people. Lù-kong-je, the great general, who was then with the army, near the frontiers, refused to obey the orders that were sent him by the new government; and even conceived thoughts of making himself king. He was a man of boundless ambition, and proud, full of his own merit, extremely passionate, and often cruel: but on the other hand, was brave, skilful, and capable of the greatest undertakings. He first caused a report to be spread, that he was preparing to extirpate the usurpers of the crown; and then marched directly against the army of the new King, which he defeated. He also took and plundered Wey-chew. By this time his army, by the accession of malcontents, was an hundred thousand strong. But the first thing he attempted, was to bring the governors of the provinces into his measures.

Shang-pi-pi being one of the principal, and his troops, by the care he took to exercise them, the best in the kingdom, Lu-kong-je was willing to found him first: and after writing him a deceitful letter, advanced towards the city. Shang-pi-pi, who saw through the general's design, to deceive him in his turn, wrote him an answer, which flattered his hopes. At the same time, setting forward with all his troops, he came upon the rebels so unexpectedly, that without any difficulty, he defeated their army although much stronger than his own. Lu-kong-je retired much enraged in his heart; and, in 846, having recruited his forces, imagined, the way both to regain his authority, and win the affections of his nation, was to enter the territories of China, and give them up to be plundered. He had some success at the beginning; but was quickly beaten by the Chinese generals, who afterwards took from the Tù-fan the city of Yen-chew, and several fortresses.

The rebel, who considered these as losses which might easily be retrieved, if once he was sole master of the kingdom, having augmented his army by Tartars, to whom he promised the plundering of the frontiers of China, bent all his thoughts on reducing Shang-pi-pi. Thus he began his march; and arriving near Chen-chew, forced Shang-pi-pi to abandon his camp, which he had fortified on the first news of his approach. Hereupon that officer passed the river, broke down the bridge, and followed the enemy step by step on the other side, without ever coming to an engagement, although Lu-kong-je, to draw him to a battle, made great ravages in his march. Meantime the natural brutishness of the rebel general, and his bad temper, which increased by the small success of his enterprizes, rendered him so insupportable to his soldiers, that they deserted in troops to Shang-pi-pi, while the Tartars, for the same reason, returned home.

Lu-kong-je hereupon despairing of compassing his design, submitted to the Emperor on certain conditions, and repaired to Ko-chew, a Chinese city, where he lived at ease the remainder of his life. This happened about the year 849. While this ambitious general was master of almost the whole forces of the state, the Princes of the Blood retired into different parts of the kingdom, where they had small patrimonies; and some took shelter in certain forts that belonged to them, towards Se-chwen, resolving rather

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to submit to the Emperor of China than to an usurper. Others fortified themselves in their mountains; while some of the most considerable remained in the territories they possessed, bordering on the government of Shang-pi-pi. Hence arose an infinite number of distractions in the state, which lasted many years, and proved the ruin of this monarchy at last.

When the Tû-fan, divided into different parties, were weary of fighting, many officers and foldiers joined themselves to Pan-lo-chi, Prince of Lû-kû, a place in the borders of the district of Chen-chew, which the children of Shang-pi-pi had preserved for their nation. As soon as they beheld a chief of the royal blood, they quickly formed an army, and resolved to attack the King of Hya, who had ill requited their services. This new King was a Tartar originally of Tupa, (near Si-ning,) who, by assistance of the Tû-fan, had about the year 951, founded a new dominion, near the Whang-ho, under Li-ki-tsyen *, in spite of the Chinese, the capital whereof was Hya-chew, at present Ning-hya; from whence the new kingdom took its name. This King had in the year 1003, † renewed the war with the empire, at that time governed by the Song ‡; entering suddenly with a numerous army into the western part of Shen-si, which bordered on the small dominion that the Tû-fan were still possessed of.

Pan-lo-chi offered to join the Chinese commander with his forces, to destroy this growing power, provided the Emperor would honour him with a title that might give him more authority among those of his own nation. The proposal being liked, His Majesty sent him patents, as governor general of the Tû-fan. The King of Hya, who knew nothing of these private contracts, after making some ravages, besieged the town of Si-lyang, and taking it, put the governor to death. He thought to push his conquest farther, believing, that Pan-lo-chi was coming to join him with his troops: but that Prince arriving at the head of sixty thousand men, attacked him with so much valour, that he entirely defeated his great army; however, being wounded in the battle, he died soon after the victory.

So-tso-lo, his successor, in 1015, bent his thoughts on recovering the ancient monarchy of his ancestors. His little dominions consisted only of seven or eight towns, particularly T'fong-ko-ching, Li-t'ing-ching, Ho-chew, I-chwen, T'fing-tang, Hya-chen, and Kan-ku, with some neighbouring countries; but was in hopes, that the rest of the Tû-fan would join him, when they should see him powerful enough to defend them. He fixed his court at T'fong-ko-ching, where he established officers the same, both as to number and titles, which the kings, his predecessors, had. Afterwards, levying new forces throughout his dominions, he entered the territories of the empire several times, but was always beaten; and at length, concluded a peace.

As the growing power of the King of Hya, who had assumed the title of Emperor, gave So-tso-lo some uneasiness, the Chinese monarch, to engage that Prince more firmly in his interest, made him governor general of Pau-shun, which stood very conveniently for him: but So-tso-lo dying soon after, the division, which ensued among his children, hastened the entire ruin of the Tû-fan state. That Prince had by his first wife two children; one named Hya-chen, the other Mo-chen-tsu. He had afterwards the Prince Ton-shen, by a second venter, who prevailed on him, in her son's favour, to imprison his children by the first, and oblige their mother to turn nun. But they finding

* See an account of the origin, extent, and end of this monarchy, p. 433, and 446.

† This is the year marked in the margin; but if so, Li-ki-tsyen must then have reigned fifty-two years.

‡ This family, which is the nineteenth, began their reign in 961.

means to escape, and deliver their mother out of the convent, the people who had assisted them, declared in their favour.

So-tfo-lo, who had recovered from his infatuation, approving of this change, gave T'fong-ko-ching to Mo-chen-tfu for his maintenance; for he had removed his court to Chen-chew. To Hya-chen he assigned Can-ku, for the place of his abode; and to Ton-shen, whom he judged most capable of keeping up his family, he surrendered all his authority, with the government of Pau-shun, and the rest of his dominions. Ton-shen resided at Li-t'ing-chin; where he was beloved of his people, and feared by his neighbours; inasmuch, that all the Tû-fan, who dwelt to the north of the Whang-ho, were under his subjection.

This great power, wherewith the younger brother was invested, gave the two elder, and their families, apprehensions of being one time or other oppressed. Mû-ching, son of Hya-chen, more uneasy than his father, delivered up Kan-ku, Ho-chew, and all the lands which were in his possession, to the Emperor; who granted to him, and his posterity, whatever he demanded, in order to live with honour in the empire.

Kyau-ki-ting, the heir of Mo-chen-tfu, the eldest brother, was much beloved in his little state; but did not long survive his father. His son Hyn-cheng, who succeeded, so incensed his subjects by his violences and cruelty, that they formed a design to depose him, and set up his uncle Sû-nan in his stead. But the plot being discovered, Sû-nan, and almost all his accomplices, were put to death.

One of the principal officers, named T'fyen-lo-ki, finding means to escape, carried with him Cho-fa, one of the family; and seizing the city of Ki-kû-ching, caused him to be proclaimed Prince of that petty state. But Hya-ching hastening thither with his forces, took the place, and put Cho-fa to death. T'fyen-lo-ki having found means to get to Ho-chew, persuaded Van-chau, the governor, to conquer the country of T'fing-tang, and representing the thing as very easy, that general attacked the little city of Mofchwen, which he took without difficulty. Hereupon, Prince Hya-ching seeing himself hated by his people, and vigorously attacked by the Chinese, in 1099, repaired himself to Van-chau, and offering him all the territories that belonged to him, obtained his demands of the Emperor.

The like happened to Long-fu, a son of Mû-ching, whom one of the chiefs of the Tû-fan had put in possession of the city of Hi-pa-wen. After several battles fought, with various success, against Van-chau, wherein he distinguished himself by his surprising valour, that Prince submitted also upon advantageous terms.

In the midst of the troubles, which arose in the twelfth century, between the Chinese Emperors of the dynasty of the Song, and the eastern Tartars, called Nu-che, who took the name of Kin, the family of Ton-shen, which continued longest in splendor, made an alliance with the Kings of Hya; and under their protection, enjoyed their territories pretty peaceably; till at length it was involved in the common ruin by the victorious arms of Jenghiz Khân*. The year 1227, according to the Chinese history, is the æra of the intire ruin of the Tû-fan †: from which time they have remained in their ancient country without either name or power ‡.

* The missioner passes slightly over this part relating to the destruction of the power of the Si-fan, and Si-hya; which yet is the most curious and interesting to us of all their history, as being connected with that of Jenghiz Khân. † Yet in the preceding history we find no mention of them, possibly for the reason given by Green, vol. iv. p. 447. ‡ Du Halde's China, p. 26, et seq.

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 TRAVELS OF BENEDICT GOËZ, A PORTUGUEZE JESUIT,
 FROM
 LAHOR IN THE MOGOL'S EMPIRE TO CHINA, IN 1602*.

INTRODUCTION.

News of Katay : — A Mission thither resolved on, and why. — Pagans deemed Christians. — Goëz prepares for his Journey. — Abstract ; whence taken.

THE name of Katay, first made known in Europe by Marco Polo, had since his time been so little heard of, that most people doubted if there ever was such a country : but while the public were thus divided in their opinions, news came from the Jesuits of Lahor † concerning that famous empire. They had their information from an aged Mohammedan merchant, who had distributed an hundred thousand pieces of gold at Mekka, and had lived in Khânbalu ‡ thirteen years, whither he went as ambassador from the King of Kaygar §. He said the Katayans were a very fair and handsome people, exceeding the Rûms, or Turks, in comeliness : that they were Christians, having temples full of pictures and images ; had crucifixes, which they devoutly adored : priests, whom they much revered, and fed with presents : monasteries, altars, lamps, processions, and other ceremonies. He added, that among them were some Jews, and many Mohammedans ; which latter were in hopes of converting the Christian King to their religion.

On these tidings, Nicholas Pimenta, a Portugueze, visitor of the Indies at Goa, out of his Jesuitical zeal formed a design of sending missionaries to instruct this nation ; who being at so great a distance from the head of the church, might otherwise, it seems, be liable to fall into errors. Hereupon he sent advice to the Pope and King of Spain ; who forthwith gave orders to Arias Saldanna, then Viceroy of India, to assist and defray the expences of the expedition, as Pimenta should direct. Goëz, who was coadjutor to Xavier, superior of the mission in the Mogol's empire, and spoke the Persian, as well as understood the customs of the Mohammedans, being then at Goa on an embassy to the Viceroy from the Great Mogol, Akbar, who had a great esteem for him, Pimenta || pitched on him as a fit person to undertake this new mission.

Those of the society were informed, by the letters of Matthew Ricci, sent from Peking, that Katay was the same country with China : but as that information was contrary to the advice of the Lahor Jesuits, the visitor inclined to the opinion of the latter. On the one hand, he could not conceive, it seems, that so very foolish a sect as the Mahomedan could penetrate into China ; and, on the other, it was affirmed, that there was not the least sign of Christianity ever having been in that vast empire. Whereas Katay was reported to be a Christian country, and this was the rather believed,

* Green's Coll. vol. iv. p. 642.

† In Purchas, Xambalu.

‡ In commission with another ambassador.

§ In a letter of Jerom Xavier, dated from thence 1598.

|| It should be Kafgar, or Kâshgar.

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as it came from the Mohammedans themselves. However, it was thought not improbable, that Katay might have communicated its name to China, as being a kingdom contiguous to it. On the whole, it was thought proper to pursue the design with a view both to remove the doubt, and find out a shorter way of trading with China.

With regard to the Christians, whom they took for granted would be met with in Katay, the Mohammedans, says Trigautius, either told lies, according to their custom, or were deceived by appearances: for as they do not worship images themselves, and saw many in the temples of the Chinese, not much unlike those by which the Papists represent the mother of God, and certain saints, they might think both followed the same religion. They observed, that the priests put candles and lamps on their altars: that these Pagan sacrificers wore sacred vestments, like what the Romish books of ceremonies call pluvials*: that they make processions, and sing much in the same manner as is done in the Romish church, according to the institution of St. Gregory, and such like things; which the devil, says our author, who imitates sacred ceremonies, had transferred to the Chinese †: and this resemblance, continues he, might induce foreigners, especially Mohammedans, to think they professed Christianity.

Goëz being chosen as before mentioned for the expedition, was sent back by the visitor to Lahor, then the capital of the Mogol's empire, in order to accompany the merchants, who every fifth year, according to the old Mohammedan's report, set out for China, with the title of ambassadors from the King of Persia. In 1602 he came to Agra, where the Akbar, applauding his design, gave him not only his letters to several petty Kings, his friends or tributaries, but also four hundred crowns for his journey ‡. Here he put on the habit of an Armenian merchant, wearing his hair and beard long; also, according to the custom of that people, took the name of Abdallah §, adding Isay, to denote his being a Christian; and by this means obtained a free passage, which he could not have done had he passed for a Portuguese.

He carried with him several Indian commodities, as well for disguise as to exchange for necessaries on the road, bought with money furnished by the Viceroy for that purpose. He arrived at Lahor the 13th of December. Xavier gave him for companions two Greeks, Leo Grimani, a priest, and Demetrius, a merchant, who were well acquainted with the roads; and, in place of four Mohammedan servants appointed him he took one Isaac, an Armenian, to whom we owe the following journal of his travels: for Goëz dying at So-chew, in the entrance of China, Isaac went forward to Pe-king, where Ricci drew up an account of their travels, partly from some minutes left by Goëz, and partly from what Isaac told him, on the credit of his memory ¶.

This curious relation is inserted in Ricci's Commentaries ¶, which Nicholas Trigautius, or Trigault, a Dutchman, translated out of the Italian MS. into Latin, and published at Rome in 1618 **. Purchas has given it in English, in his Pilgrims; and Kircher an abridgment of it in his *China Illustrata*; whence Ogilby has made his translation. The following abstract, though referring to Purchas, is taken chiefly from the original.

* Chafubles, or Copes. † We have already shewn, that there is more reason to believe, that the devil transferred those and other ceremonies, doctrine, and practices from the Bonzas to the Papists. See before, p. 221, a.
 ‡ Purchas adds, from Jarric, besides a thousand rupees, which he had already spent. Perhaps that was the money advanced to him by the Viceroy, as mentioned lower down.
 § Purchas says, from Jarric, that he took the name of Branda Abdallah. ¶ See Purchas, vol. iii. p. 311; and Trigaut. de Christiana Expedit. cap. xi. and xiii.
 ** Under the title of "De Christiana Expeditione, apud Sinas." It was translated into French, and published at Paris the same year.

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SECTION I. — *The Travels of Goëz from Labor, the Capital of India, to Kishgar.*

Goëz leaves Labor. — Kafrestan City. — Ghideli. — Kabul, a famous City. — Policy of Goëz. — Charakar. — Parvam. — Aingharan, Kalcha. — Talban. — Kalchans rebel: — Plunder the Caravan: — Goëz escapes. — Tenga Badashân. — Charchunal, Serpanil. — Sirchil Province. — Tangbetar Yakonith. — Hyarkan, or Yarkian. — Precious Marble, or Jasper, how procured — Audience of the King. — Journey to Kotan: — Danger from Zealots: — Resolves to proceed: — Is dissuaded in vain.

GOEZ, furnished with several writings, and a table of moveable feasts till the year 1610, left Lahor in Lent 1603, with a caravan of five hundred merchants, who set out every year with a great number of horses and waggons for the kingdom of Kaskar. In one month's time they came to the city of Atheke, in the province of Lahor; and fifteen days after passed a river a bow-shot broad, where they staid five days, on a report of a numerous gang of robbers being on the road. In two months more they came to the city of Passaur, where they relted twenty days. At another small town beyond this they were informed by a pilgrim, that thirty days off was a city named Kafrestân *, into which no Mohammedan dared to enter under pain of death; yet that Pagans were admitted into the city, but not their temples. He added, that the inhabitants of that region go to church dressed in black: that the soil was fertile, and yielded plenty of grapes: he gave a cup of the wine to Goëz, who found it very good, and thence conjectured they were Christians. Here they staid other twenty days: and because the way was infested with thieves, they procured a convoy of four hundred soldiers, from the lord of the place.

Travelling twenty-five days farther along the foot of a mountain, they came to a place called Ghideli, where the merchants pay duty. On the road they kept on their guard against the robbers, who, from the top of the hill, assail them with stones, unless some go up to repel them. For all their care they were assailed by them, and many wounded, who had much ado to save their lives and goods. Goëz escaped by flying into the woods.

In twenty days more they came to Kabul, a famous city and mart still in the Mogol's dominions. Here they staid eight days; for some of the merchants had no mind to go farther, and durst not venture forward, being so few. Here the caravan met a Princess, who was sister of the King of Kaskar, called Maffamet Khân †, and mother to the King of Kotan: she was called Haji Hanem ‡, as having been on pilgrimage to Mekka; from whence returning, and falling short of necessaries, she applied to the merchants to borrow money. Goëz, considering that his Mogol patents were now wearing out, thought this a proper opportunity to procure the friendship of another King; and, therefore, lent her 600 crowns on certain goods, refusing to take any interest; which, however, she made up to him, repaying him bountifully in pieces of marble, which is the best merchandise that can be carried to China. Grimani, the priest, wearied with tediousness of the journey, would go no further; and Demetrius staid in this city to trade §.

The caravan being much increased, Goëz held on with Isaac the Armenian. In the next city they came to, called Charakar ||, is great store of iron: here Akbar's seal,

* Kafrestân signifies, "the Country of Infidels." In the original Capherstan.

† Doubtless a mistake for Mahamet Khân, and the rather, as he is afterwards miscalled Mahametian.

‡ Haji signifies "Pilgrim," and is a very honourable title among the Mohammedans.

§ Purchas, p. 311. Trigaut. l. v. c. 11.

|| In the original, Ciaracar.

which hitherto had freed him from payment of customs, was disregarded. Ten days after they came to Parvam, a small town, in the utmost confines of the Great Mogol's dominions. After resting five days they travelled over high mountains, and in twenty stages came into a region named Aingharan. In fifteen more they got to another called Kalcha *, whose inhabitants dwell in villages, and have fair hair like the Dutch. Ten days farther they came to a place called Jalalabâd †, where the Bramins exact customs granted them by the King Bruarate.

In fifteen days more they came to Talhan ‡, where a rebellion of the Kalchans detained them a month. Hence they passed to Kheman, a small walled town, under Abdulahan, King of Samarhan, Burgania, Bukharata §, and other neighbouring kingdoms. The Kalchans being in the neighbourhood, the commander of the place sent to the merchants not to pursue their journey by night, lest the rebels lighting of them, should by that means be furnished with horses; but to come into the town, and join him to repel them. They were scarce gotten up to the walls, when news being brought that the Kalchans approached, the governor and his people ran away.

Hereupon the merchants made in haste a fortification with their baggage, and carried into the inclosure plenty of stones, to make use of, in case arrows failed. The rebels perceiving that, sent a messenger, desiring them to fear nothing, promising to accompany and defend them. The merchants not daring to trust them, fled to the next wood, leaving their goods at the mercy of the thieves; who, after they had taken what they pleased, called them back, and permitted them, with their empty packs, to enter the empty walls. Benedict lost nothing but a horse, for which also he afterward received cotton cloths. They continued at Kheman in great apprehensions, till at length an eminent commander, called Olobet Ebadaskan, sent his brother out of Bukharate; who, by threats, compelled the rebels to let the merchants depart. However, their rear was plagued with pilferers, four of whom setting upon Goëz, he threw amongst them his Persian turban, and while they made a foot-ball of it, set spurs to his horse, and overtook his company.

After eight days travel, in a very bad road, they came to Tenga Badashân ||, which signifieth "a troublesome way;" for there is space but for one to pass, and that on the high bank of a great river ¶. The inhabitants, with a company of soldiers, set upon the merchants, and took from Goëz three horses, which he after redeemed. Here they staid ten days, and then, in one day, came to Charcunar **, where they were five days detained by rains in the open field, and, to mend the matter, assaulted by thieves. Ten days after they arrived at Serpanil, a place quite forsaken. Then they climbed a high hill, called Sakriithma, which only the strongest horses were able to pass, the rest going about: two belonging to Goëz halted, and had much ado to overtake the caravan.

In twenty days they came to the province of Sarchil, where they found many villages, not far from each other. After two days stay for refreshing, they in two days more came to the foot of a mountain, called Chechalith ††, which they ascended, thick covered with snow; many were frozen with the cold, and Goëz was in great danger,

* In the original, Calcia.

† In the original, Gialalabah; a corruption, doubtless, of Jalalabâd, which signifies the "Glory of the City."

‡ Or, Talkhan, a city on the road between Balk and Badakshân.

§ Abdallah Khân, of Samarkand, Burgania, and Bukhâria. Purchas writes Burgavia, and Bacharate. What country is meant by Burgania, or Burgavia, we cannot conjecture.

|| Or, Badakshân. In the original, Badascian. Purchas has it, to Badascian, called Tengi.

¶ This must be the Jihun, or Amû, on which Badakshân is situate.

** In the original, Ciarcunar.

†† In the original, Ciccialith.

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for the weather lasted six days : at length they came to Tanghetar, belonging to the kingdom of Kâskar. There Isaac fell from the bank of a great river into the water, and for eight hours lay half dead. In fifteen days more they reached the town Yakonith ; but the road was so bad, that Goëz lost six horses by the way. Five days after, hastening before the caravan, he got to Hiarkan ; from whence he sent necessaries to the rest, who soon after arrived there in November, 1603*.

Hiarkan,† the capital of the kingdom of Kaskar, hath great resort of merchants, and variety of commodities. Here the caravan of Kabul ends, and another assembles to proceed to Katay : the captain‡, or chief, buys the post at a great price of the King, who vests him with absolute power over the merchants. It was a year before a sufficient number could be gotten together to undertake so long and dangerous a journey : neither do caravans set out from hence every year, but only at such times as they know they shall be admitted into Katay.

The commodity before-mentioned, best for carrying thither, is a certain shining marble, which for want of a fitter word, Europeans call jasper. The King of Katay buys it at a great price ; and what he leaves, the merchants sell to others, at exceeding great rates. Of it they make vessels, ornaments for garments, and girdles, with other toys, whereon they engrave leaves, flowers, and other figures. The Chinese call it tushe§. There are two kinds, one more precious, like thick flints, which are found by diving in the river Kotan, not far from the city-royal||. The other meaner sort is dug out of quarries, and sawed into slabs above two ells in breadth. The hill where they are dug, called Konfanghi Kasho, or the stony mountain, is twenty stages from the same city. This marble is so hard, that they must soften it with fire to get it out of the quarry. The King farms it every year to some merchant, who carries provisions for the workmen for that space of time.

Goëz visited the King, named Mahametaïn¶, and presenting him with a watch, a glass, and other European commodities, procured his pass to the kingdom of Chalis** ; for he did not think it proper yet to speak of going to Katay. When he had been there six months, Demetrius arrived from Kabul ; and but for Goëz interposing with gifts, had been handsomely drubbed, as well as imprisoned, for refusing, according to the custom of the merchants, to make a present to the mock Emperor, whom they chuse with the King's permission.

After this, thieves breaking into the house, bound Isaac, and clapped a sword to his throat, to terrify him from making a noise : but Demetrius hearing the bustle, cried out, and scared them away. Mean while Goëz went to receive his money, lent to the mother of the King of Quotan,†† whose residence was six days‡‡ journey distant. As he was a whole month away, the Mohammedans raised a report, that he was dead, slain by their priests, called Kachishes, for refusing to invoke Mohammed§§ : and because he left no will, they sought to seize on his goods ; but, to their disappointment, and his companion's joy, Benedict returned at last with plenty of the precious marble.

One day, as he was eating with some Mohammedans, who had invited him, there rushed in a person armed ; who, setting a sword to his breast, commanded him to in-

* Purchas, p. 312. Trigant. ch. 11. † Yarkian, or Jurkend, as others. See before, p. 528.
 ‡ Called the caravan Basha. § In the original, tushe ; a mistake, no doubt, for yu-she. See Green, vol. iv. p. 309.
 || By the Jesuit's map, the river of Khoton runs about ninety miles east of Yarkian.
 ¶ In Purchas, Mahamethin ; before called Maffamet Khân, which shews the names are much corrupted.
 ** In the original, Ciglis ; yet Ramusio writes Chialis, i. e. Khialis. †† Kotan, Hoton, or Hotom.
 ‡‡ Purchas has ten days ; but six are more agreeable with the map. §§ This must be false, for the Mohammedans never invoke Mohammed. Perhaps it should be for refusing to say the Mohammedan confession of faith : in which case he must either have turned Mohammedan, or suffered death.

voke Mohammed: but he refused, saying, that in his law there was no such name invoked; and the company taking his part, thrust that mad fellow out of the house. The like zeal, it seems, often endangered him. Another time he was sent for by the King of Kâskar, who in presence of his priests, and the Mullas, or learned men, asked what law he professed, whether that of Moses, David, or Mohammed, and which way he turned himself in praying. He answered, that he professed the law of Jesus, whom they call Isay; and turned any way when he prayed, believing that God was every where. This occasioned a great dispute among them; for they turn to the west*: yet they concluded, that in this his practice might be good.

Meantime one Haji Alif, of that country, being appointed captain of the future caravan, he invited Goëz to a feast, accompanied with music. At the end of the entertainment, he desired his company to Katay. This was just what the Jesuit aimed at, who, knowing the disposition of the Mohammedans, wanted the invitation to come from them. Ati was so earnest in the matter, that he got the King to second his request to Goëz; who complied, on condition that His Majesty would give him his letters patent. Those of the first caravan, from Kabul, who were loth to lose his company, did all they could to dissuade him from the enterprize. They advised him not to trust to the people of Kâskar, saying they were treacherous, and would destroy him.

This advice was the more to be regarded, as several of the natives themselves affirmed, that those three Armenians would be slain by their companions, as soon as they were out of the city. This so terrified Demetrius, that he dropped them a second time, and would have dissuaded Goëz from proceeding any farther; but Benedict was resolved to fulfil the expectations of those who sent him, at all hazards.

SECTION II.--Continuation of the Author's Travels from Kashgar to So-chew, in Katay, or China.

Caravan sets forward: Fatiguing road.—Karakatay.—Aksu City.—Kucha Town.—Chalis City.—Goëz victorious:—leaves the Caravan.—News from Pe-king.—Turfan.—Kamul.—Wall of China.—Remarks on the Road.—Dangerous Travelling.—The Frontiers fortified.—Kan chew, and So-bew.—Artifice of Merchants to enter China, by counterfeit Embassies:—Sends to Pe-king:—His letters received.—Goëz in Distress:—His Death:—His Effects seized.—The Merchants sued:—Are shamefully cast:—yet little recovered.—Isaac goes to Pe-king.

GOEZ hereupon preparing for his journey, bought ten horses for himself, his companion Isaac, and their baggage. Meantime the caravan bashâ, who was gone to his house five days journey distant, to get his equipage ready, sent to Goëz to hasten forward, and by his example quicken the other merchants.

About the midst of November, 1604, they came to a place called Yolchi†, where they pay customs, and their passports are examined. From thence, in twenty-five days, they got to Aksu, passing through the following places, Hanchalish‡, Alcheghiet, Hagabateth, Egriar, Mefetelek, Horma, Thalek, Thoantak, Minjeda, Kapetalkol-zilan, Sark-ghebetal, Kanbashi, Akon-serfek and Chakor. The road was very fatiguing, being through the sands, and very stony||.

In the way they crossed the desert, called Karakathay, that is, the black land of the Kathayans¶; because, as they say, the Katayans dwelled there a long time. Also one

* Because Mekka, to which the Mohammedans always turn, lies west, or south-west of Kâshgar.
 † In the original, Agiâsi. ‡ In the original, Jolci. § In the same, Hancialix.
 ¶ Purchas, p. 313. Trigaut. ch. 12. ¶ Rather, Black Katay.

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of the Jesuit's horses falling into a rapid river, swam to the other side; but came back again, it seems, of himself, on invoking the name of Jesus.

Aksu is a town of the kingdom of Kâskar, whose governor, the King's nephew, being but twelve years old, affairs were managed by his preceptor. He would needs see Goëz, who presented him with sugar and such childish things. The young Prince, in return, received him kindly, and made him dance at a solemn ball. Benedict next visited the Queen-mother, who admitted his patent with great reverence: to her he gave a crystal glass, a piece of Indian calico, and the like.

Here they staid fifteen days for other merchants, and then departing proceeded through Oitograkh, Gazo, Kâshani, Dellay, Saragabedall, to Ugan, and then to Kucha, another town, where they staid a whole month to refresh their beasts, almost spent with the bad ways, and want of barley. Here, to extort a present, the priests would have constrained Goëz to fast during their Lent.

From hence, in twenty-five days, they came to Chalis*, a small, but well-fortified city. This country was governed by a natural son of the King of Kâskar, who hearing that Benedict professed a different religion, began to terrify him, saying, it was a very audacious thing for a man, who was of another faith, to enter those territories; and that for so doing, he might lawfully deprive him both of his goods and life. But when he read the King's letters patent, he was pacified, and with a present became also a friend. One night sending for Goëz, Isaac fell into tears, thinking he was going to be put to death. Benedict despising the danger, went courageously to the palace: but when he came there, found all the business was, that he might dispute with the priests and learned men; whom, it seems, he presently struck dumb by dint of argument: nay the Viceroy himself approving all he said, declared, that the Christians were the true believers; adding, that his ancestors† had professed the same law†. After this he feasted, and kept him to lie that night in the palace.

In this city they staid three months, for the caravan bashâ would not depart without a great company (it being so much more gain to him) nor suffer any man to go before. However Goëz, tired with the delay and expence attending it, by a present obtained leave of the Viceroy, to make the best of his way. He was just ready to depart from Chalis, when the merchants of the former caravan returned from Katay. These feigning an embassy (as usual) had pierced as far as the capital; and having lodged for three months in the same palace of strangers, with the Jesuits, brought sure tidings of Ricci, and the rest of the society, to Goëz; who wondered thus to find that Katay was China, and Kambalu was Pe-king. Among other evidences, they produced a piece of writing in Portugueze, which they had taken out of the dust swept out of the chamber, in order to shew in their own country, at their return.

Goëz having obtained the Viceroy's letters for his security, departed with Isaac, and a few others, and in twenty days came to Puchan, a town of the same kingdom; whose governor generously furnished them with necessaries out of his own house. From hence they travelled to Turfan, a strong and well-fortified city, where they staid a whole month. From Turfan they proceeded to Aramuth, and so on to Kamul, another well fortified place; where, likewise, they halted for a month, because they were well

* In the original, Cialis.

† In case the Viceroy did say these words, which is hardly possible, he must have mistaken the Christians for the worshippers of Fo; as we have already observed hath been often the case: For the religion of Tibet prevailed in these parts before the time of Jenghiz Khân.

used throughout the kingdom of Chalis, which ends at this town. From Kamul, in nine days, they came to Khya-yu-quan*, at the northern walls of China; where they waited twenty-five days for the answer of the Viceroy of that province†.

After this they were admitted within the walls, and in one day came to So-chew‡, a city, where they heard much of Pe-king, and other places, whose names were known; so that Goëz was now fully convinced, that Karay and China differed only in name.

All the way from Chalis, to the borders of China, being infested with incursions of the Tartars, the merchants travel in great fear. In the day they examine, from the hills, whether there be any parties of them by plains; and if they judge the coast clear, perform their journey by night with silence. One night Benediët falling from his horse, the rest went on, not missing him till they came to their lodging; and then Isaac going back to seek him, found him by the found of the name Jesus, almost despairing to see his company any more.

In the way they found many Mohammedans slain, who had ventured to travel alone: although the Tartars seldom kill the natives, saying, they are their servants and shepherds; because they take from them flocks of sheep, and herds of bullocks. They eat no wheat, barley, nor pulse, saying, it is food for beasts, not men. They feed only on flesh, eating that of horses, mules, and camels; yet are said to live an hundred years. The Mohammedan nations, on this side, not being warlike, might easily be subdued, if the Chinese cared to enlarge their dominions §.

The end of the famous walls, before-mentioned, is in the west of China, which extends northwards; from which end, for the space of two hundred miles, is the part where the Tartars most commonly made their excursions formerly, as they do at present, but with less danger; for the Chinese, to restrain them, have built two very strong cities in Shen-si, and garisoned them with choice soldiers. These have a peculiar Viceroy, and other magistrates, who depend immediately on the court, and reside in one of them, named Kan-chew ||.

So-chew, the other, hath a special governor, and is divided into two parts; one inhabited by the Chinese, called Kitayans by the Mohammedans, who occupy the other part, and come from Kâskar, and other western countries on account of trade. Many of them having wives and children, settle there: yet they have no magistrates of their own; but are governed by the Chinese, who every night shut them up within the walls of their own city. There is a law, by which no man, who has lived nine years in the place, can return to his own country.

The merchants who resort hither, come mostly from the west under feigned embassies; and have, in consequence of a contract made with China by seven or eight kingdoms, obtained a privilege of sending every sixth year seventy-two persons in quality of ambassadors, with tribute to the Emperor; consisting of the shining marble before-mentioned, diamonds of the rock, azure, and other things. By this means they travel to court, and return at the public charge. The tribute they carry, is very little expence to them: for no man pays dearer for this marble than the Emperor himself, who esteems it a dishonour to take any thing of strangers for nothing: besides, they are so well supplied, at His Majesty's cost, that it is computed they get every day, above their necessary charges, a ducat a man. Hence many slaves were admitted in this embassy,

* In the original, Chiaicun, a fort at the entrance of the Great Wall. See Green, vol. iv. p. 55.

† Province of Shen-si.

‡ In the original, Socicu.

§ Purchas, p. 314.

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purchasing the privilege of the caravan bashâ, by large presents. For this purpose they counterfeit their King's letters, acknowledging vassalage to the Emperor of China. The like embassies are admitted from divers other kingdoms; as Kauchin-China, Siam, Leukhew, Korea, and some parts of Tartary. The Chinese are at incredible expences on these occasions; nor are they ignorant of the fraud: but finding their account in it, flatter their sovereign with the fancy, that all nations pay him tribute; whereas, in fact, he rather pays tribute to them.

Goëz arrived at So-chew the end of the year 1605, grown wealthy by his long journey. He had thirteen horses, five hired servants, and two boys whom he bought, besides the marble, more worth than all the rest; the whole valued at two thousand five hundred ducats. In this city he met with other Mohammedans returned from the capital, who confirmed the former reports. Hereupon he wrote forthwith, to acquaint Ricci of his arrival: but the superscription of the letter being written in European characters, and the Chinese, who carried them, not knowing either the Chinese names of the Jesuits, or the quarter where they lodged at Pe-king, could not deliver them. The next year, at Easter, he sent other letters by a Mohammedan, who had fled from that city (for none may either go in or out without the magistrates leave), acquainting them with his voyage and situation, desiring them to take some course to free him from his prison, that he might return by sea to India along with the Portuguese.

The Jesuits, who had long before been informed from Goa of his intended journey, yearly expected him, and made such enquiry of those counterfeit ambassadors; but could hear no tidings of him. They were therefore rejoiced at his letters, which they received in November following, and presently dispatched a person, to bring him, if possible, to court; not an European, lest one stranger should hinder another; but a native, by a Chinese mother, named John Ferdinand, a virtuous young man, who had not yet performed his noviciate. To him they joined a new convert, well acquainted with the country. His orders were, in case he could not bring Goëz thence by leave of the magistrates, or any other means, to stay there with him, and write to the Company; who were then to try what they could do by their friends at Pe-king.

This journey, of near four months, was undertaken in a very severe winter, they setting out the eleventh of December. Meanwhile Goëz, who suffered more injuries from the Mohammedans in So-chew, than on the road, was forced to sell his marble for twelve hundred ducats, which was under half price; wherewith he paid his debts, and maintained his family a whole year. In the interim the caravan arriving, he soon run out the remainder of his cash, in the frequent entertainments he was obliged to make for the captain of it. This laid him under a necessity of borrowing money; and because he was chosen into the number of the seventy-two ambassadors, he bought some pieces of marble, hiding an hundred pounds of it in the ground, to conceal it from the Mohammedans: for without that commodity, he would have been debarred from going to Pe-king*.

Let us now turn to Ferdinand, who had his afflictions also: for his servant run away from him at Si-ngan-fû, the metropolis of Shen-si, carrying away half what had been given him to bear his charges. From thence, however, with much fatigue, he got in two months to So-chew, where he arrived the seventh of March, and found Goëz on his death-bed. The sick man, however, rejoiced at receiving the letters from those of his society; but died eleven days after, without having made auricular confession for so many years; as to which, he relied on God's mercy.

* Purchas, p. 315. Trigaut, lib. 5. cap. 13.

† In the original, by mistake, Shan-si.

about G. Goëz

His death was not without suspicion of poison from the Mohammedans* ; who, as soon as he departed, seized all that he left behind. Among the things that were lost, nothing is more to be regretted than his journal, which he had kept in detail of his travels. This book they were the more earnest to get into their hands, in order to prevent payment of debts there entered. They would have buried him also like a Mohammedan, if Isaac and Ferdinand had not opposed them. Goëz was a man of great parts, and after his admission, had done great service to the society, but was not priested. He ordered Ferdinand to caution the Jesuits not to trust the Mohammedans, nor pursue this road to China, as being unprofitable and dangerous.

As the merchants, by a custom among themselves, divide the goods of all those who die on the road, they bound Isaac, threatening to kill him if he would not invoke Mohammed†. Hereupon Ferdinand presented a request to the Viceroy of Kan-chew; who wrote an order under it to the governor of So-chew, to examine the affair impartially. He first was favourable; but corrupted by bribes, threatened to whip the complainant, and held him in prison three days. However, not discouraged by this treatment, he sold his garments for want of money, and continued the suit five months. All this while, as Ferdinand could not speak Persian, nor Isaac either Portuguese, or Latin; they could not converse together. When before the tribunal, one said the Lord's prayer, the other repeated the name of Benedict Goëz, with a few Portuguese words: but nobody understanding either of them, the judge thought they spoke in the language of the province of Kanton‡, and understood each other.

At length, in two months, Ferdinand learned to speak the Persian. The Mohammedans, among other things, pleaded that Ferdinand was a Chinese by his countenance, and Isaac a Saracen§. In answer to this allegation, Ferdinand one day assured the court, that he was a mortal enemy to the law of Mohammed, which did he profess, he would without doubt, abstain from hogs' flesh: at the same time pulling a piece of pork out of his sleeve, he and Isaac fell to eating it very heartily. Hereupon those present set up a loud laugh; while the Mohammedans ashamed, spat at the Armenian, saying, he was deluded by the Chinese cozeners: for all the way on the road to prevent offence, Benedict and Isaac had abstained from pork.

Thus, the effects of the deceased were decreed to Ferdinand: but, after all, nothing was found, except the pieces of marble, which had been hidden underground: these they sold to pay their debts, and buy necessaries for their journey to Pe-king; whither, at length, both of them arrived. They brought a cross finely painted on gilt paper, with the passports of the Kings of Kâskar, Quotan, and Chalis; which are kept for a memorial.

Isaac related all these passages to Ricci, upon credit of his memory, and a few minutes of Benedict's¶. Having staid a month at Pe-king, he was sent, by the usual road, to

* This is an invidious reflection, common with Popish zealots.

† It should be, turn Mohammedan.

‡ Although none were there who understood either Latin, or Portuguese; sure there were enough among the Mohammedans who could speak the Persian. It seems, by this account, that Ferdinand could not speak the Chinese.

§ The Mohammedans are every where called Saracens, by this author; which term we use here only to avoid repetition of the same word.

¶ There is some room to believe, not only that the distances of places are often made greater than they are, but also, that the places themselves are not always set down in their proper order, some seeming to be placed after, which should be before others: and the rather, because it must have been morally impossible for Isaac to have retained the distance and position of such a number of towns as are mentioned, exactly in his memory, and it does not appear of what nature, or extent, the minutes of Goëz were.

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Amakao*. From thence, in his voyage to India, he was taken by the Dutch : but being redeemed by the Portugueze of Malakka, he held on his course; and, hearing of his wife's death, returned not to the Mogol's country, but staid at Chaul, and was alive in 1615, when Trigautius wrote†.

TRAVELS THROUGH TIBET, TO AND FROM CHINA:

BY SEVERAL MISSIONERS.

INTRODUCTION.

Road to China through Tibet attempted by Andrada the Jesuit :—his Relation censured.—Chesaud sets out :—is forced to return.—Grueber's Travels ; literary account of them.

ALTHOUGH Goëz was sent expressly to discover the road to China, through Little Bukhâria; yet it does not appear the Jesuits prosecuted that design, probably for the advice he left them to the contrary. However, about the year 1660, Amatus Chesaud, a Frenchman, superior of the residency of Isfâhân, attempted to pass thither through the countries of the Uzbeks and Turkestân, but was deterred by the difficulty and danger of the road. From that time none of the Romish missionaries have ventured to travel on that side, although caravans are continually passing and re-passing, with which the Armenians make no scruple to associate themselves, and perform the journey with safety.

The above-mentioned undertaking dying with Goëz, the Society turned their thoughts next on opening a way to China through Tibet: a region, whose inhabitants they were informed were Christians, or at least of a religion nearly resembling their own; and, consequently, had so much the stronger inducement to prosecute that design, as they hoped to meet with easy conversions, a thing they despaired of in Mohammedan countries. Travellers mention two ways of passing into Tibet; one the northern road, by the north part of the Mogol's empire, the other southern, through Bengal. In 1624, Anthony Andrada, a Portugueze Jesuit, attempted the northern road, and penetrated as far as Katay, or China. In 1661, Grueber and Dorville, Jesuits, travelled from China to India, through Tibet, taking the southern road; with regard to which, Tavernier about the same time procured some informations. In 1414, Desideri, another of the Society, passed into Tibet, as far as Lassa, by the northern road; and

* Makau.

† Purchas, p. 316. Trigaut. lib. v. cap. 13.

lastly, in 1732, Horace de la Penna, with other Capuchins, went to the same place by the southern route.

These are all the travels to this vast region that have appeared in print. Those of Andrada and Chéfaud are very short, and contain nothing extraordinary. The first, it seems, made the journey, on hearing that the people of Tibet were professed Christians. The substance of his relation is this: that he left Lahor in 1624, and having passed the Ganges, entered into Skrinegar * and Chafaranga, very great and populous cities; in the last of which are many monuments, he says left by the Christians; that from thence crossing an exceeding high mountain, on the top of it he discovered a vast lake, which gives rise to the Indus, Ganges, and the other great rivers of India: that passing forwards through high mountains he arrived, after many days journey, at the city of Redor, in the cold northern region of the same name: Lastly, that from hence travelling through the kingdoms of Maranga and Tankhut, subject to the Tartars, he in two months arrived at Kathay, or China.

Bentink, in a note on Abulghâzi's genealogical history of the Tartars, says, he is sure that the author of Andrada's letter, relating to the present state of Tibet, and religion of the Lamas †, never was in Tibet, in regard all he writes of that country, is so contrary to what at present appears to be the case; and that all he reports concerning the worship of the Lamas, is taken from the account which Rubruquis has given of certain religious among the Tartars. It must be confessed, the journal of his travels is very superficial; and besides affording very little, if any, light into the geography of the country, mentions places, such as the kingdoms of Redor ‡ and Marango, which do not appear to lie in the northern road through Tibet: nor is there any lake there, which is the common fountain of the rivers above mentioned; at least the Indus, and all the other rivers of India, except the Ganges, are known to have their sources in India itself §.

The travels of Chéfaud seem to be more genuine than those of Andrada, but are still less to the purpose: for he went no farther than the borders of Great Bukhâria, and then turned back. The account was sent by the author, in a letter from Kashan near Ispâhân, written in Persian to Kircher, who has inserted an abstract of it in his *China Illustrata* ||, to the following effect: that a year before he wrote the letter, he travelled from Sfahân (or Ispâhân) to Bâlkh; which he says, is the regal city of Uzbek ¶; in order to see if it was practicable to pass through that country and Turkestan, to Katay, and thence to China: but that when he arrived in the train of the Uzbek ambassador, as far as the bounds of Kezalbash **, he found the way to be both difficult and dangerous: that for this reason he continued for some months at Hayrat ††, formerly (he says) called Skandria, and there had a full view of the place which the ancients called Bakhtra, where there is a great university (built by the son of Tamerlang ††, but going to ruin), and many other structures raised by the Uzbeks, when in

* Perhaps, a mistake for Serinegar, or Kashmir; but then that city lies on this side of the Ganges.
 † Printed at Paris in 1629, with permission of the Society, and dedicated to the general of that order.
 ‡ Perhaps, Redok; which, as well as Maranga, is mentioned by Grueber. § History of the Turks, Moguls, &c. p. 491. || Ogilby has given a translation in his *China*, vol. i. p. 363. It has no date.
 ¶ It is only one of the capitals of the three Uzbek dominions in Great Bukhâria. ** That is, of the Persian dominions called Kezalbash, or red-heads, from their turbans. See Green, vol. iv. p. 639. note d.
 †† Herat, or Heri, capital of the province of Khorasan in Persia. †† Or, Timûr-ling that is, lame Timur for Tamerlan was lame of one leg. His son, spoken of here, was doubtless, Shâh Rokh, who succeeded him, and reigned at Herat.

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possession *: that from Hayrat he came back to Mashhad †, called by some the Holy; where there is a masjid ‡, adorned with gold. Here he staid two months disputing with the learned, who are numerous, about their law: that leaving this place, he came to Nishapûr, and then to Sabazwar §, belonging to Khorasân; whence passing through the cities of Setam, Damgan, and Jamnam ||, he proceeded to Kashan, in the province of Arakand ¶, the way for the most part sandy; and thence to Sfhân, thirty farsang distant.

These are all the itinerary remarks which these two authors afford: but Grueber, though not so particular as could be wished, is much more copious. What relates to his travels, is contained in five letters, all written in Latin by himself; except the first, which is in Italian, from one anonymous virtuoso to another, setting forth the substance of a conversation which he had ** with our Jesuit on the subject of his travels, and the customs of the Chinese; on which last the discourse chiefly turned. The second is from Grueber to John Gamans, a Jesuit at Afchaffenburg in Germany; containing a brief account of his journey from China. The third, dated December 11, 1664, from Dantzick, is in answer to several questions put to him by some learned nobleman, concerning China, and the Tartars who conquered it. The fourth is on much the same subject, dated from Breslaw in Silesia, March 14, 1665. The last, containing the substance of several letters written by Grueber to Kircher ††, furnishes the most particular account of his journey from China to India, gives the latitudes of the chief places observed by the author, and is embellished with cuts drawn by him, representing the habits of the people, the Great Lama, Patala, Buth, the slaying youth, and other remarkables in the countries he passed through.

These letters are published by Thevenot, in his French collection of voyages ††: but he has omitted all the cuts, which Kircher gives in his *China Illustrata*, and after him Ogilby. In the following section we have incorporated the remarks, contained in the several letters, together; or making the substance of that to Kircher the text, supplied it with notes from the rest.

SECTION I. — TRAVELS FROM CHINA TO EUROPE, IN 1661.

BY JOHN GRUEBER, JESUIT.

Sets-out. — Si-ning. — Great Wall: — Account of it. — Delightful travelling, in the Great Desert. — Koko Nor Lake. — Kalmak Tartars: — Their Dress and Dwellings. — Lassa, or Barantola. — Tartar Women. — Mountain of Langur. — Nepal Kingdom. — King Partasnal. — The Jesuits present. — Odd Customs. — Kingdom of Maranga. — Mogul's Empire. — Comes to Agra: — Returns to Europe: Resumes the Mission. — Author's Character. — Latitudes observed. — Road from Tavernier. — Corrobbepur City. — Way of travelling — Nupal Country. — Mountains of Naugrokot. — Women-Porters. — Butan, or Tibet.

THE missioner set out for China, as we conjecture, in the year 1656. According to the first letter, he went from Venice to Smyrna by sea: from thence to Ormuz by

* The author seems to mistake Timûr, and his descendants, for Uzbeks; which latter possessed Khorasân but a very short space, under Shaybek Khân. † Or Mashhad, the same with Tûs in Khorasân. See Green, vol. iv. p. 443. note i. In the original, written Maxahad. ‡ Or, temple, in Kircher Mesquit. The Persian word is melkû, whence most. § Also, Nishapur, and Sebzar. || Doubtless, Bastam, Damagan, and Semnan, three cities in the road from Nishapûr, to Kashan. ¶ By which must be understood the Persian Irak. ** In company with Signor Carlo Dati. †† He tells us, in his third letter, that on quitting Rome he left many geographical remarks with Kircher, and that he was about publishing them in 1664. They were published in his *China Illustrata*, at Amsterdâ, in 1667, in folio †† Part iv. containing twenty-six pages and a half.

land, in five months : from Ormuz by sea, in seven months, to Makac. There landing, he passed through China, partly by water, partly by land, to Pe-king, in three months*. He staid in China three years; in one of which, viz. 1660, he says, the fifty-six Jesuits, who were then in that empire, baptized more than fifty thousand men †.

In his return, he took a road never, perhaps, attempted by any European before. Grueber left Pe-king in the month of June ‡, 1661, in company with Albert Dorville, of the same Society : in thirty days he came to Si-ngan-fû §, and in thirty more to Si-ning, or Si-ning fû||, crossing the Whang-ho, or Yellow River, twice in the way.

Si-ning is a great and populous city, built at the vast wall ¶ of China, through the gate of which the merchants from India enter Catay, or China. Here they stay till they have licence from the Emperor to proceed forward. The wall at this place is so broad that six horsemen may run abreast on it, without embarrassing each other. Here the citizens of Si-ning take the air (which is very healthful, coming from the desarts,) and recreate themselves with the prospect, as well as other diversions. There are stairs to go a-top of the wall, and many travel on it, from the gate at Si-ning to the next at So-chew, which is eighteen days journey.

This they do by the governor's licence, out of curiosity ; having a delightful prospect all the way from the wall, as from an high tower, of the innumerable habitations on one side, and the various kinds of wild beasts, which range the desert, on the other side. Besides wild bulls, here are tigers, lions, elephants, rhinoceroses, and monoceroses, which are a kind of horned asses**. Thus, the merchants view the beasts free from danger ; especially from that part of the wall, which running southward †† approaches the more inhabited provinces of Quang-si, Yun-nan, and Tibet : for at certain times of the year they betake themselves to the Yellow River, and parts near the wall, which abound with thickets, in order to get pasture, and seek their prey.

This desert is partly mountainous, and partly level, all over sandy and barren ; excepting that in some places you meet with little rivulets, whose banks yield good pasture. It begins in the middle part of India, and extends from south to north ; but nobody ever yet hath discovered its bounds, which may stretch to the frozen ocean. Marco Polo calls this desert Lop, and speaks of its being haunted with spirits. But Grueber says nothing of them. The Tartars formerly called it Beljan now Samo ; the Chinese, Kalmuk ; others Karakathay ††. The Tartars accustomed to desarts dwell here in tents, removing with their cattle, wherever they can find a river, or place fit for pasture §§.

The road from Si-ning, as far as Lassa, is somewhat differently described, in different letters. In the first we are told, that our missioner passing out of China, entered the sands of Desart Tartary, which he crossed in three days : afterwards he came to the banks of the Koko Nor, which signifies the Great Sea ; being a great lake, or sea, like the Caspian, where the Yellow River has its source ||||.

* Grueber, letter 1. † The same, letter 2. ‡ In the second letter, he is said to have set out the thirteenth of April, sent by th. new Emperor (Kaug-hi) as mathematician of the empire, leave being procured by Adam Schall. § Capital of Shen si. ¶ A mistake for Si-ning-chew, or Wey. In the second letter it is called Ciniara, a city seated at the great wall. ¶ Not so, but several miles distant. Grueber drew a draft of the wall, which is given by Kircher. ** In another place of this letter, it is said, no other animals are found in this desert, but wild bulls of a mighty bigness. †† The author mistakes here, for the wall does not proceed south of Si-ning, nor touch that city, but ends twenty miles to the west ; nor can any travel from Si-ning to So-chew on the wall, which besides being, on many accounts, unfit for the purpose, breaks off in several places for twenty or thirty miles together. †‡ These seem to be the remarks of Kircher, mixed with those of Grueber, who could never have committed so many blunders in so few lines. The Chinese call it Sha-mo, the Tartars, Kobi ; both words signifying a sandy desert. Kalmuk is a nickname, that comes from the Mohammedan Tartars. §§ Letter the fifth. |||| This is a mistake : for the Whang-ho or Yellow River, rises from other lakes to the south-west. See Green, vol. iv. p. 451.

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Leaving this sea behind him, he entered into the country of Toktokay, which is almost desert, and so barren, that it need fear no invasion. One meets with nothing but some tents of Tartars *. It is watered by the Toktokay, a very fine river, whence it takes the name. It is as large as the Danube, but so shallow, that it may be forded every where.

Thence having crossed the country of Tangut, he came to Retink, a very populous province, belonging to the kingdom of Barantola; where at length he arrived, whose capital city is called Lassa †.

According to the fifth letter, or Kircher's abstract, we are told, that presently after they had passed the great wall, they found a river stored with fish, on which they supped in an open tent. Then crossing the Saffron River ‡, they immediately entered that vast and barren desert of Kalmak, inhabited by the Kalmak Tartars §, who rove up and down it to rob the caravans, and at certain seasons settle with their portable cities on the banks of the rivers. The Jesuits often met with their habitations in the way, and drew their figures as represented in the plate ||, viz. a Kalmak man, clothed with a leathern garment, and a yellow cap. A Kalmak woman in a habit made of a certain skin, of a green or red colour; each with a charm about their necks, to preserve them from dangers: a Lama, that is, one of their Tartar priests, or bishops. They wear a white coat, or cloak, cast backwards, with a red girdle; and a yellow coat, from the girdle of which hangeth down a purse: their cap, or hat, is painted red. In the offskip are expressed their habitations, being tents made with small sticks twisted, or plaited together, and covered with a coarse woollen stuff ¶, bound together with cords. The turning-wheel is an instrument like a sceptre, which the people turn round while the Lama prays.

From Si-ning they in three months entered the kingdom of Lassa, which the Tartars call Barantola **. The King is styled Teva ††, descended from an ancient race of the Tangut Tartars, and resides at Butala, a castle built on a high mountain ††, after the European fashion, where he has a numerous court §§. The great priest of this country is called Lama Konju |||, and adored as a god ¶¶. He resides at Barantola, and is the Pope of the Chinese and Tartars, called by them God the Father; whose religion, in all essential points, tallies with the Romish; although, says the author, no Christian ever was in the country before ***.

Here they staid a month, and might have converted many of the natives, but for that devilish God the Father (as the author calls him), who puts to death such as refuse to adore him. However, they were kindly treated by the people and King, who was the brother of that God the Father †††.

In the court of Deva, King of Tanguth †††, they saw a woman born in Northern Tartary, dressed in an unusual habit: She wore hair like knotted cords, her head and girdle adorned with cockle-shells §§§. They saw, likewise, some women no less strangely dressed, who came from the neighbouring kingdom of Koin. The ladies braid or curl their hair in the manner of hair-laces, or small bands, and twist it behind them: on their foreheads they wear a red fillet, beset with pearls; and on the top of their heads a silver crown, bedecked with turquoises and coral.

* In his second letter, he says, he met with neither man nor bird, but many wild beasts; and that they suffered extremely in the journey. † Letter the first. ‡ Or, Whang-ho. § These are the Eluths, or Tartars of Koko Nor. ¶ See plate 54, p. 403. ¶¶ Rather, felt. ** Letter the fifth. Misprinted Baranteka, in the second letter. †† Or, Deva, as in the fifth letter; and Tipa, as others write. ††† See Green, vol. iv. p. 456. §§ Ibid. ||| For so Sama Konjum (as it is there faultily printed) is explained in the second letter. ¶¶ See Green, vol. iv. p. 459, d. *** Letter the first. ††† Letter the second. ††† So Barantola is called here. §§§ This was a woman of Khamil, or Hami. See Green, plate 55, p. 456.

Grueber drew the pictures of the Grand Lama, (taken from one hung at the palace-gate,) and of Han, late King of Tangut *. This last, who had fourteen sons, was for his goodness and justice revered as God. He was of a dark complexion, his beard of a chefnut colour, mixed with grey, and his eyes protuberant †.

From Iassa, or Barantola, they came in four days to the foot of the mountain Langur; which being exceeding high, travellers can hardly breathe at top, the air is so very thin; neither is it to be crossed in summer without great danger from the exhalations of certain poisonous herbs. Besides, as no waggons or beasts can pass it for the rocks and precipices, they must proceed on foot, almost a month, till they came to Kuthi, one of the two chief cities of the kingdom of Nekbal. This mountainous tract ‡ is plentifully furnished with springs, both hot and cold, which issue from all parts of the mountain, affording store of fish and pasture.

From Kuthi, in five days, they came to the city Nesti §, still in Nekbal; where provisions are so plenty, that thirty or forty hens are sold for one scutum.

From Nesti they came in five days journey to Kadmendu ||, the metropolis of Nekbal, where reigns a potent King.

From Kadmendu, in half a day's time, they came to the city Nekbal, called also Baddan by the natives, the regal city of the whole kingdom ¶.

The first letter relates, that Nekbal is a month's journey in extent, and has two capital cities, Katmandir and Patan **, separated only by a river. The King, called Partafinal, resides in the first, and his brother Nevagnal (a young handsome Prince), in the latter. He had the command of all the troops in the country; and while Grueber was there, had a great army in the field, to oppose a petty King named Varkam, who made frequent incursions into his dominions.

The Jesuit presented this Prince with a telescope; wherewith having discovered a place where Varkam had fortified himself, he desired the Prince to look that way, which he did; and seeing the enemy so near, cried, "Let us march against them;" not considering that their seeming approach was the effect of the glass. It is not easy to express how pleased he was with this present ††. He likewise gave the King other curious mathematical instruments; with which he was so taken, that he determined not to let them go, but that they promised him faithfully to return. In that case, he promised both to erect a house for their use, endowed with ample revenues, and grant them full power to introduce the Christian law into his kingdom ‡‡.

In this country, when a man drinks to a woman, the company pour in the liquor cha, or the wine, three times for the parties; and while they are drinking, affix three pieces of butter to the brim of the cup, which those that pledge them take off, and stick on their foreheads.

They have a most cruel custom in these kingdoms; for when they judge their sick people to be past hopes of recovery, they carry them into the fields, and casting them into deep ditches full of dead corpses, there leave them to perish; and their bodies, when dead, to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey, esteeming it an honour to have living creatures for their tombs.

* See Green, plate 61, p. 460.

† Grueber has given other cuts relating to Tibet; which, with their descriptions, have been given in Green's plates, 56, 57, 58, and 59.

‡ Kircher supposes this to be the Parapanisus of Ptolemy, and Belor of Polo; in which last conjecture, at least, he is very much mistaken.

§ This, and Kuthi, are said a little lower to be the two chief cities of Nekbal.

|| In the first letter called Katmandir.

¶ Letter the fifth.

** This must be Baddan, or Nekbal, in the fifth letter: but there is a great disagreement between the two letters with regard to its distance from Katmandir.

†† Letter the first.

‡‡ How came they to neglect so favourable an offer?

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The women, out of a religious whim, never wash, but daub themselves with a nasty kind of oil; which not only causes them to stink intolerably, but renders them extremely ugly and deformed.

From Nekbal, in a journey of five days, you meet with the city Hedonda *, a colony of the kingdom of Maranga, inclosed in Thebet. Its metropolis is Radok †. From the names of Dominic, Francis, and Anthony, still in use with the natives ‡, it appeared, that Christianity had been planted there in times past §.

In the first letter we are told, that in Maranga he saw no towns, but only houses, or rather huts made of straw, and among them a custom-house. The King pays yearly to the Great Mogol a tribute of two hundred and fifty thousand rixdollars, and seven elephants ||.

From Hedonda (crossing the kingdom of Maranga), in eight days, they came to Mutgari, the first city of the Mogol's ¶ empire.

From Mutgari is a journey of ten days to Battana **, which is a city of Bengala on the Ganges.

From Battana, in eight days, they came to Benares, a populous city on the Ganges, famous for an academy of the Brahmans, where persons are instructed in their religion and sciences.

From Benares, in eleven days, they came to Katampor, and from thence, in seven more, to Agra ††. So that from Pe-king thither was a journey of two hundred and fourteen days; but reckoning the time which the caravans rest, it will come to about fourteen months. Here Dorville, the companion of Grueber in his travels, died ††.

The author's travels from Maranga is related, with some variation, in the first letter. It is there said, that from thence he entered India, and came to Minapor, the metropolis of the country, where he crossed the Ganges, twice as broad as the Danube. Thence he travelled to the city Patan; and from Patan, in twenty-five days, to Arga, the chief royal seat of the Mogol's empire, eleven months after he had left China.

This first letter furnishes us also with an account of his travels from Agra to Europe, and several other particulars not to be met with in Kircher's memoirs. From Agra he got, in six days, to Deli; and from Deli, in fourteen, to Lahor, on the Ravi, which is as broad as the Danube, and falls into the Indus, near Multan §§. At this last place he embarked on the Indus, and in forty days fell down to Tata, the last city of Indostan, and residence of a viceroy, called Laskartan. Here he found many English and Dutch merchants. From thence sailing to Ormuz, he landed; and passing through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, came to Smyrna; where putting again to sea, he arrived first at Messina, and then at Rome, fourteen months after he had left Agra.

He had not been long at Rome before he received orders to return to China. Accordingly he went into Germany, and from thence to Poland, with a design to cut out another new road through Russia; having by the Emperor's means, obtained passports from the Dukes of Courland and Moscovy: but when he arrived on the borders of Russia, news came that the King of Poland, in conjunction with the Tartars, had invaded the Grand Duke's dominions. Fearing therefore that it would be difficult, to

* At the end of the letters, it is said to be the first city of the Mogol's empire. † This, Kircher observes, was the utmost extent of Andrada's travels. ‡ This looks like a pious life. § Letter the fifth.

|| Letter the first. ¶ This author calls him the Mogol. ** In the first letter, called Patan.

†† Kircher says, he received the foregoing account from the mouths of Grueber and Dorville: yet at the end of this abstract tells us, the last died at Agra, in his way to Europe. †† Letter the fifth.

§§ In the original, Multaia, by mistake.

get to Moskow, called by the Tartars, Stoliza, he thought it best to return to Venice, which he did just at the time when the Emperor was sending Count Lefly on an embassy to the Porte. In the train of this lord he travelled to Constantinople, designing to take his way through Natolia, Persia, and the Indies. But on his arrival was seized with a violent flux, and pains in the stomach; so that being unable to proceed, he returned by sea to Leghorn, and thence to Florence. Here his disorder abating, he repaired to Venice, in order to pass through Friuli to Vienna, and so to Constantinople, once more to attempt getting to China by that road, (but how he succeeded, we do not find.)

The author in 1665, when he set out on his return to China, was about forty-five years of age, of an affable temper, and extremely civil, joining to other good qualities the German sincerity, which rendered his conversation perfectly agreeable*. The variations found in the letters from whence we have collected our materials, seem to be owing to the defects of the author's memory, and mistakes of those who took the relation from his mouth. With regard to the Chinese and Tartars, he has explained some things more fully than other authors have done, as well as related others in a different manner.

Table of Latitudes observed in this Journey.

Si-ning city	-	-	-	36	10	0†
Laffa, or Barantola	-	-	-	29	6	0
Kadmendu	-	-	-	27	5	0
Hedonda	-	-	-	26	36	0
Battana on Ganges	-	-	-	24	44	0
Benares on Ganges	-	-	-	24	50	0

We shall add, by way of supplement, the information which Tavernier received from the merchants in Bengal concerning this southern road through Tibet.

The kingdom of Bû-tân, whence comes the musk, rhubarb, and some furs, is a kingdom of great extent: but Tavernier could never come to a perfect knowledge thereof. He observes, that the caravan is three months travelling from Patna, in Bengal, to the kingdom of Bû-tan †. It sets out about the end of December, and eight days after arrives at Gorroshepûr, the last city in the Great Mogol's dominions.

From Gorroshepûr to the foot of the high mountains is eight or nine days journey more. As the country is nothing but wide forests, full of wild elephants, the merchants suffer much; for instead of taking their rest, they are forced to watch, keep fires, and shoot off their muskets all night long; otherwise, the elephant, who makes no noise in treading, would be upon the caravan before they were aware; not that he comes to hurt the men, but to get what victuals he can find.

You may travel from Patna to those mountains in Pallekis. But they usually ride upon oxen, camels, or horses, bred in the country. These last are generally so little, that when a man is on the back of them, his feet touch the ground; but they are very strong, and will travel twenty leagues together without baiting. Some of them cost

* Letter the first and fourth. † The Jesuits, who made the map, found it to lie in thirty-six degrees, thirty-nine minutes, and twenty seconds, which difference of twenty-nine minutes shews Grueber's observation to be far from accurate, and brings that of the other places under the same suspicion. Ogilby has twenty minutes instead of ten; as it is in Thevenot. ‡ Butan is Tibet. For a description of the musk, rhubarb, &c. from this author, see Green, vol. iv. p. 457.

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200 crowns : for indeed the roads over the mountains are so narrow and rugged, that you can make use of no other sort of carriage.

Five or six leagues beyond Gorroshepâr you enter into the territories of the rāja of Nupal *, which extend to the frontiers of Bû-tan. This rāja pays every year to the Great Mogol an elephant for his tribute. He resides in the city of Napul, from whence he derives his title : but there is little of either trade or money in his country, which is all woods and forests.

The caravan being arrived at the foot of the mountains of Naugrokot †, abundance of the inhabitants, chiefly women and maids, repair thither, in order to carry the merchants and their goods across the mountains, which is eight days journey more. There are three women to carry one man, relieving one another by turns. They have upon each shoulder a woollen roll, to which is fastened a large cushion, that hangs down their backs, upon which the merchant sits. Their luggage and provisions are laid on the back of goats, which carry an hundred and fifty pounds weight a-piece. They who chuse to ride, are in many places, forced to have their horses hoisted up with cords. They never feed them but morning and evening. Their morning fare consists of a pound of meal, half a pound of brown sugar, and half a pound of butter, mixed together with water. In the evening they must be contented with a few flat pease bruised, and steeped half an hour in water. The women-porters get for their ten days travel two roupies a-piece ; the same also for every loaded goat, and every horse which they lead ‡.

After you have passed the mountains, you may travel to Bû-tan upon oxen, camels, horses, or in pallekis. Thus far from Tavernier concerning the road to Bû-tan : what he relates with respect to the inhabitants, and trade of the country, has been already inserted §.

SECTION. II. — TRAVELS INTO TIBET IN 1714 : BY HYPOLITO DESIDERI, AN ITALIAN JESUIT.

[Now first translated from the French.]

Author leaves Goa. — High Mountains, difficult to cross. — Fertile Spots. — Comes to Kashmir. — News of Tibet. — Enters Great Tibet. — Horrible Mountains. — Dreadful travelling. — Arrives at Leb, or Ladak. — Air, Soil, Inhabitants. — Believe in a Trinity. — Saints and Images. — Other Resemblances. — Visits the Grand Lama. — Searched for Jewels. — A third Tibet. — Comes to Lassa. — Admitted to Audience. — Favourably received.

THE account of this journey into Tibet was written in Italian by the author to Ildebrand Grassi, another missioner of the same society and nation, then residing in the kingdom of Mysour, in the peninsula of India, on this side Gangcs. The letter is dated from Lassa, the tenth of April, 1716. N. S. A French translation of it is inserted, by Du Halde, in the fifteenth tome of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, &c.* containing twenty-six pages ||, in twelves, large print. The relation, as those of the missioners commonly are, is very superficial. It gives you neither a regular journal of the road, nor description of the country and inhabitants, but only certain loose, imperfect

* Perhaps, the same called in Grueber's journal Nekbal ; and in Desideri's, Nepal. † They are nineteen stages, or days journey, from Patna. ‡ Tavernier's Travels, part ii. p. 183. § See Green, vol. iv. p. 456, et seq. || It begins, p. 183.

† They are
§ See Green,

remarks

remarks; which, however, are of no small use, considering how little we know of Tibet. On this occasion the reader will, doubtless, be surprized to see that the Jesuits, who have been so long in China and India, between which that vast region lies, should not be able to give a better account of it than what is to be found in the reports of this author, and his successor, *Horace de la Penna*.

Desideri, having been appointed for the mission of Tibet, left Goa on the twentieth of November, 1713, and came to Surat on the fourth of January, 1714. Having spent the time he staid there in learning the Persian, the twenty-sixth of March he took the road for Delhi *, where he arrived the eleventh of May; there he found Manuel Freyre, destined to the same mission, for which they both set out the twentieth-third of September, and got to Lahor the tenth of October. From thence departing on the nineteenth, they, in a few days, came to the foot of Caucasus, which is a long chain of very high and steep mountains. After passing one, you find a second higher than the first; that is followed by a third; and the more you ascend, the more you have to ascend, till at the last, you come to the highest of all, called Pir-Panjal. The Gentiles have a profound respect for this mountain; where they bring offerings, and worship a venerable old man, who, they say, is appointed to guard the place. This the author takes for granted to be the remains of the fable of Prometheus, whom the poets feigned to have been chained to Caucasus †.

The top of the highest of these mountains is always covered with snow and ice. They were twelve days passing them on foot, crossing with incredible trouble the torrents made by the melted snow; which rush over the stones and rocks with such violence, that Desideri was often forced to lay hold of an ox's tail, to prevent being carried away with the current. He likewise suffered extremely from the cold, for want of providing proper cloaths for the journey.

This mountain-country, though otherwise so frightful, yet in several parts appears very agreeable, from the multitude and variety of trees, fertility of the soil, and many habitations that occur: for here one meets with some small territories, whose Princes are dependent on the Great Mogol; nor are the roads so bad, but that travellers may pass them either on horse back, or in a jampan, which is a kind of palankin ‡.

The tenth of March they arrived at Kashmir, where they were obliged to stay six months, because the prodigious quantities of snow which fell in the winter had shut up the passages. Here Desideri was reduced almost to the last extremity, by a distemper caused, as he judged, by the fatigues he had undergone. However, he continued to learn the Persian, and make enquiries concerning Tibet: but after all his pains, he could find then out but two countries of that name; one called Little Tibet, or Baltistan §, a few days journey from Kashmir, extending from the north towards the west; whose inhabitants and princes are tributary to the Great Mogol. But there is no business there for the missioners, long experience having convinced them, that they can reap but little fruit in countries, where, says the author, the impious sect of Moham-medans prevails.

The second Tibet, named Great Tibet, or Bütan, extends from the north towards the east, and lies a little farther from Kashmir than the other. The road, which lies

* Delhi, or Delli, in the Mogul's Empire.

† It is, doubtless, on this weak ground, that Desideri has given the uncertain name of Caucasus to this chain of mountains, omitting the modern name, which would be certain, and of infinite more use. Such absurdities, which in authors are very common, only discover their ignorance, while they would show their learning, and perplex instead of clearing-up geography. Bernier, in his memoirs, part iv. p. 87, 101, et seq. speaks of this old man and Pir-Panjal.

‡ Lettres Edif. tom. 15, p. 183, et seq.

§ See Green, vol. iv. p. 452.

¶ Perhaps for Beladistan, that is, the mountain-country.

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through narrow passages, is frequented by caravans, which go thither every year for woollen. The first six or seven days journey is tolerable, but afterwards the roads grow very difficult, occasioned by the winds, the snow, and the extreme cold; yet one is obliged to lie at night on the bare ground; sometimes even on the snow or ice.

Great Tibet begins at the top of a frightful mountain named Kandel, all covered with snow; one side of it belongs to Kâshmir, the other to Tibet. They left Kâshmir the 17th of May 1715, and were forty days in travelling to Leh, called also Ladak, where the King of Great Tibet resides; which journey they performed on foot. The thirtieth, being Ascension-Day, they passed the mountain, that is, entered Tibet. The road lay through the mountains, which are a true image of horror. They are heaped one upon another, and so close together, that they are scarce separated by the torrents, which dash against the rocks with a noise enough to daunt the most hardy travellers.

The top and bottom of the mountains being impassable, one is obliged to proceed along the sides of them; and the way is so narrow that there is scarce room to set one's foot; hence great caution must be used: for the least false step tumbles you down the precipices, where you run the risk of losing your life, or at least of breaking your limbs; as happened to some of the caravan: for there is not a bush, or blade of grass to catch at, which might save your fall. In passing from one mountain to the other you find no other bridges over the torrents, than some narrow, quaking plank, or cords stretched across, and interlaced with green boughs. Nay, often you are obliged to put off your shoes, that you may tread with less danger.

The very thoughts of those passes made the author tremble: not to mention the other inconveniences before mentioned, relating to the weather and manner of resting at night. Add to this, the necessity they were under of feeding on the flour of sattu, a kind of barley, which they commonly boiled; though the natives eat it crude, when they could find a little wood to dress it. To increase their misery, the reflection of the sun from the snow almost blinded them; so that Desideri was obliged to cover his eyes, leaving only a small opening sufficient to see his way. Lastly, every two days they met with custom house officers; who not content with the usual duties, demanded what they thought fit.

In these mountainous countries one finds no large towns, nor any money, but that of the Great Mogol, each piece being worth five Roman Julios; trade being generally carried on by exchange of commodities.

They arrived the twenty-fifth of June, at Leh, or Ladak; which is a fortress where the Ghianpo, or King, resides; who is absolute, and named Nima Nanjal. He has under him a tributary King. The first settlements one meets with are Mohammedan; the rest are inhabited by Pagans, who are less superstitious than the natives of other idolatrous countries.

The climate in Tibet is very rough. Winter reigns almost all the year round; the tops of the mountains are continually covered with snow. The soil produces nothing but corn and barley. One sees neither trees, fruits, nor plants. Their houses are small and narrow, made of stones heaped one upon another, without any art. The inhabitants go clothed with woollen stuffs. They are naturally of a mild and tractable disposition, but ignorant, and unpolished; having neither arts nor sciences among them (although they do not want genius), nor any correspondence with foreign nations.

As to their religion, they call God Konchok, and seem to have a notion of the Trinity: for sometimes they name him Konchok-chik, or the one God: at other times,

Kouchok-sum, or the Trine God. They use a kind of beads, on which they repeat Om, ha, ham. Om, they say, implies intelligence, or the arm, that is, power; Ha, the word; and Hum, the heart, or love; and that these three words signify God: They adore also one called Urghien, born about seven hundred years ago. When asked if he be God, or man, some answer, that he is both: that he had neither father, nor mother, but was produced by a flower. However, their statues represent a woman with a flower in her hand; who, they say, is Urghien's mother.

They worship several other persons, whom they consider as saints. In their churches there is an altar covered with a cloth, and ornaments; in the middle of which is a kind of tabernacle, where, according to them, Urghien resides; though at the same time they affirm he is in heaven. For the rest, they reject the transmigration of souls, and do not admit polygamy: nor is any sort of meats prohibited among them; three articles in which they differ widely from the idolatrous Indians.

Their religious are called Lamas*, and our missioners were considered as Lamas of the Christian law by the King, and several of his court; who observing them to recite their office, had the curiosity to look at the books which they read in, and eagerly enquired what the pictures represented which they found there. After they had examined them, they said Nuru, that is, very well †: they added, that their book was like that of the missioners; but Desideri, it seems, could not believe it. He allows many of them can read their mysterious books, but affirms none understand them ‡. They often wished he was skilled in their language, or they in his, that they might hear him explain his religion. This, which could be nothing but curiosity, the author would impose as a proof, that they were ready to embrace the Romish faith §.

Two days after their arrival at Ladak, the missioners went to visit the Lampo, who is the first person next the King, and called his right arm. The second of June they had their first audience of His Majesty, who received them sitting on his throne. The fourth and eighth they were sent for again, and treated with more familiarity. The sixth they visited the Great Lama, who was accompanied with several other Lamas, one of whom was a near relation of the King's, another the Lampo's son. They were received very politely, and presented with several refreshments, according to the custom of the country.

These honours and testimonies of friendship, however, did not secure them against trouble. Some of the Mohammedan merchants, who came from Kâshmir to trade for wool, either through jealousy, or hatred of the Christian name, told the King and his minister, that the missioners were rich merchants, who brought with them pearls, diamonds, rubies, and other precious commodities. This was enough to bring vexations upon them. They were presently visited by a messenger from the court, who having searched their lodging, carried away with him a large basket, and a leathern purse, wherein they kept their linen, books, several writings, some instruments of mortification beads, and medals. The most credulous papist can scarce be supposed stupid enough to believe, that this King was more pleased to see such trumpery, than pearls and diamonds, which he expected: yet the Jesuit, true to the cause of lying and imposture, has the front to affirm that the Prince declared so much.

Desideri had already begun to learn the language, in hopes of fixing his abode in this country, when he came to learn, that there was a third Tibet. After several deliberations, it was resolved, contrary to his inclination, to go and make the discovery. This is a journey of about six or seven months, through desert and uninhabited places.

* An account of them, from this author, is given Green, vol. iv. p. 454. † They approved of things which they used themselves in worship. ‡ How could he know this, who was ignorant of their language, as he confesses in the same breath? § Lettr. Edif. p. 194, et seq.

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This third Tibet, also, is more exposed to the incursions of the Tartars, who border on it, than the other two.

They departed from Ladak the seventeenth of August 1715; and arrived at Lassa, the eighteenth of March 1716. They suffered greatly in the way, travelling through the midst of snow, ice, and excessive cold, which reigns in those mountains. Soon after their arrival, they were cited to appear before certain tribunals, about a troublesome affair *. As they passed by the palace, the King, who was in a balcony with one of his ministers, asked who they were. That lord, who was a person of great probity, and knew their case, took that occasion to apprise His Majesty of the injustice which was done them. Hereupon the King sent for Desideri immediately, and gave orders, that they should give over vexing them.

Some days after paying a visit to the same minister, he asked our Jesuit, why he had not been yet introduced to the King? His answer was, that he had nothing fit to make a present of to so great a monarch. This excuse not serving, he was obliged to repair to the palace; where in the hall he found above an hundred persons of distinction, who demanded audience. Presently two officers came, and having taken a list of their names, carried it to the King, who immediately ordered Desideri to enter along with a Great Lama. The Lama's present was considerable; the Jesuit's but trifling: yet the Prince caused his to be brought from the door, where the other was left (according to custom) and to shew how well satisfied he was with it, kept it near him, which is a singular mark of distinction at this court. Then ordering the missioner to sit opposite to him, and very near his person, talked to him for near two hours, without speaking a word to any other present. But Desideri had no opportunity all the while to put in a syllable, in behalf of either his religion, or mission thither. In short, the King, after speaking in his commendation, dismissed him.

This Prince is a Tartar, who some years before conquered Tibet, which is not far from China: for they reckon but four months journey from hence to Pe-king, whither an ambassador, who lately arrived from that court, was returned †.

SECTION III. — AN ACCOUNT ON THE COMMENCEMENT, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE CAPUCHIN MISSION IN TIBET, AND TWO OTHER NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS, IN THE YEAR 1741. — BY FRIAR HORACE DELLA PENNA, PREFECT OF THE MISSION.

Missioners set out: — Reception by the King, and Grand Lama: — Allowed to preach. — The King's Passport: — His Letter to Horace. — Grand Lama's Letter: — The prime Minister's. — Supply of Missioners. — The King's Edict, recommending Popery as the true Law. — The King's Stedfastness. — The Lama's Licence. — Some Conversions made. — King of Bargao, his Licence to preach. — King of Battia infatuated: Letter to the Pope, who sends Missioners, and applies to the Public. — Objections: The first: — The second: — The third: — The fourth. — Similar Hierarchies. — Female Polygamy. — The fifth.

THIS relation, which was published at Rome in 1742 ‡; was not written in the form it appears, by Friar Horace, but dressed up by the procurator general, or the

* Why is the cause concealed? † Lettr. Edif. p. 202, et seq. ‡ Under the title of "Relazione del Principio e Stato presente delle Missioni del vasto Regno del Tibet, ed altri due Regni Confinanti, raccomandata alla Vigilanza e zelo de Padri Cappucini, della Provincia della Marca nello Stato della Chiesa. In Roma, nella Stamperia di Antonio de Rossi. 1742. Con licenza de Superiori." It is in small quarto, and contains twelve pages. The translation is inserted in the fourteenth tome of the Nouvelle Bibliothèque, ou Histoire Littéraire; with judicious remarks by the journalisist.

Congregation *de propaganda*, from the account he gave them by word of mouth or writing, of the state of Tibet, and success of his mission. As on one hand Horace seems to have imposed on them, in many things; so on the other, there is no doubt but they in their turn, have imposed on those for whom the memoir was designed, namely, persons of figure and wealth, who were best able to give assistance to this new mission. They judged, that the surest way to obtain their ends, was to represent Tibet in great measure already converted, and that nothing was wanting to complete the work so successfully begun, but a sufficient number of missioners. It is thus only that the glaring improbabilities which appear in this tract can be accounted for, which we have taken notice of elsewhere: and as we have likewise inserted already from thence the little which it affords concerning the country and inhabitants of Tibet*, we shall confine our abstract chiefly to matters concerning the mission, and other occurrences.

Clement XI. considering that the inhabitants of Tibet (little known to the moderns) where St. Thomas preached the gospel †, were at present all Pagans, resolved in the last year of his popedom, to send thither twelve Capuchins of the province della Marca, in the estates of the church, under Francis Horace della Penna, as prefect; with orders to enquire into the state of that kingdom, and see how a mission might be introduced for preaching the faith, and converting the natives. After a tedious and fatiguing journey, the missioners at length arrived at the capital, taking the road from the Great Mogol's empire through the kingdoms of Battia and Batgao; but for want of a regular correspondence, several years passed, without hearing any thing from them. Mean time nine of the twelve died, and the prefect returning to Rome, gave an account, that the other three were rendered unfit for service, either through age, or the hardships they had suffered. He said he was sent by the King of Tibet, to solicit for more missioners, and to settle a method of corresponding by letters, as well as receiving yearly the supplies necessary for the support of the mission.

Horace and his companions having been presented to the King, and a Great Lama, they were received with a benevolence natural to those people: and His Majesty having heard the reason of their coming into his dominions, ordered the prefect to deliver him, in writing, an account of the law which he proposed to preach. The Lama did the same, and Horace having obeyed their commands, waited on the King some days after, to know his opinion of the doctrines contained in the memoir. "Lama," says he, "know that the law professed by me and my subjects has always appeared good to me, as having been bred in it: but, I confess, yours seems better." The Capuchin, on so good encouragement, made a bold push, and desired His Majesty not only to embrace a religion which he approved of, but to oblige his whole kingdom to do the same. The King (who, doubtless, did not expect so hasty a summons) answered, that it was not time for that yet; bidding him and his companions, in the mean while, to learn the language, and teach their law.

Horace, after this, went to the Lama, to know what he thought of the matter. But the Pontiff, it seems, more reserved than the King, gave him his objections in writing ‡, and desired his solution. The Friar went to work without delay, and having drawn up an answer, carried it to the Lama; who only said, he would examine it, and then talk to him about the same. However, as he observed their humility and disinterestedness (which, by the way, Friars know well how to counterfeit on occasion) he shewed an extraordinary love and kindness to them §. He likewise recommended to them the

* See Green, vol. iv. p. 458, et seq.

† This account of the origin of the mission is taken from the memoir itself.

‡ To have given the reader a right idea of this remarkable affair, the Friar's system of doctrines, and the Lama's objections, ought to have been set forth in the memoir.

§ Nouv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 48, et seq.

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learning of the language; which, that they might do the more effectually, the King put them into the hands of a Lama monk, much esteemed at court. He likewise gave them permission, confirmed by edict, to build a church and house, forbidding any person to molest them, and ordering his ministers to protect them, and require no tribute of them. These favours from the heads both of the state and church, procured them the respect of all the great men in the capital *.

This region is so vast, that the inhabitants amount to no fewer than thirty-three millions. They are very tractable, and of an amiable disposition. Although they are all Gentiles, yet they have, and confess, both in the names and forms, many things which the Romanists retain, and profess in their religion †.

Horace being ready to return to Europe, to execute the King's commands before-mentioned, received from him the following passport: "From Lassa, the place of excellence and residence of the King, be it known to all our subjects, ministers, great and small, who dwell on the road to the kingdom of Niverri, westward, That the European Lama having come to Lassa, capital of the rich kingdom of Tibet, to aid and do good to all people; and being to return to the said kingdom of Niverri, no tax-gatherer is to demand any duty of him. We order, that nobody do him any injury; but that all assist him in his passage. From our palace of Khaden Khagn San, this year Chilvimo Khagn, that is, 'of the Region of the Water,' the 23d of the moon," which answers to the 7th of August 1732.

He had orders, when he had got to Nepal ‡, capital of the kingdom of Batgao, to write to the King, and first minister of state, to let them know how he did. This he performed, and received answers both from them and the Grand Lama. That of the King runs as follows: "We have a great pleasure that you, European Lama, by the grace of God, are in good health, and that your body is like to the finest gold, and as the increasing of the moon till it comes to be full. We have received your letter with the crystals, which are extremely agreeable to us. Return quickly with other Fathers; and continue writing to me without interruption, as runs the Ganges §. Written from Lassa, the good day the 23d of the seventh month." This answers to the 3d of August 1733.

The Grand Lama's letter is in these terms: "It gave me no small pleasure and consolation to find by your letter, that you are very well ¶. And since you have always the bowels of a father for your dear friend, I must believe that your life will always be very happy. All your discourses are printed in my heart. This letter is wrapped in a piece of yellow brocade, called torchesalam ¶¶. Given the good day, 1st of the sixth month, in the year of the Water Ox," that is, the 23d of July 1733.

The letter of the prime minister begins in a kind of religious rant. "Triumph over all infidels, and be you holy! I am rejoiced to hear that you are very well, and that the branches of your heart are extended to gather the fruits of your excellent law." One may conceive from these letters, adds the memoir, the great esteem which the King, the Grand Lama, and the prime minister had of our holy evangelical law **.

* Nouv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 48, et seq.

† An account of these articles has been already given.

‡ Or, Napak. Perhaps the Nupal of Tavernier. See Green, vol. iv. p. 458, a.

§ It is not

likely, that the King should mention the Ganges (which is not in his dominions of Lassa, but those of Ladak, or the second Tibet,) when the Tsau-pu, which runs near Lassa, is in more esteem.

¶ It is not probable, that the King should write to this friar: it is much less so, that the Great Lama should stoop to send him a letter, especially conceived in such terms, as amount to acknowledging him as his superior.

¶¶ Is it likely the Great Lama would mention such an impertinent circumstance?

** Those who consider these letters, can only conceive that they were forged, to make the Popish dupes believe their religion was in high esteem with such as were chief in power.

Upon this report made to His Sanctity, and the holy congregation, they appointed for the mission nine other Capuchins, assigning to each eighty Roman crowns for his voyage, and as much for his annual maintenance, giving them a year's salary beforehand. They set out in 1738, with a present for the King, and another for the Great Lama; besides two briefs, one for each. In the year 1742, a letter came from Friar Horace, setting forth, that they had arrived at Lassa the year before: that the presents of the Pope, called by them the Grand Lama, had been received with great satisfaction; and that the King, as well as the Great Pontiff, were preparing presents for his Holiness, and to answer his briefs; which were to be sent the year following by one of the Capuchins, whose age had rendered him useless to the mission*.

There came with the said letter the original privilege for liberty of conscience, granted by the King, and published throughout his dominions. It is conceived in these terms:

“ We, Nivagn, King of Tibet, give warning to all men under the sun, and in particular to the ministers of the residence of the Supreme Lama, to the ministers of Lhafa, to the chiefs of a thousand, of an hundred, and of ten men: to the chiefs of the Tartars, and all both great and small: to the ministers named Hemor, Gnalep, and Chirajis, and to all the governors of fortresses and provinces, and to all the governors of several castles, and to the subordinate governors; and to the nobles of all Tibet; to the privileged persons, and all others, powerful or not powerful; that none of you have the presumption to hinder the execution of the present privilege in favour of all these European Fathers of the religion, called that of the Capuchins, or true Lamas Gokhar, provided that none others interfere who come for sake of their private interest; these being arrived not to trade, but only with a view to do good to all men; to recommend the works of true saints; to conduct all men in the true road to paradise; to teach subjects to be very submissive, and to obey, with a sincere heart, their proper Kings †, their viceroys, and their ministers; and to extend the law of the true God, that is to say, the evangelical law.

“ The Sovereign Pontiff, or Grand and Supreme Lama of all these Fathers, who, as a tender father, extends his compassion and love to all men, to draw them out of the road to hell, and render them partakers of an eternal and immense glory, as well as felicity, in the abode of paradise; without regarding the incredible expence, sends into all kingdoms, as far as in his power, preachers of the true law: and it is for the same end, and not for other motives ‡, that he has sent some again into our kingdom. It is for this reason that we give for ever our seal to all those who are called European Fathers, or, properly, Lamas Gokhar §; and to all those who shall come after them, liberty to preach, and extend the law of the true God, freely, openly, and publicly; not only in the city of Lhafa, but also throughout the kingdom of Tibet, in all places, and to all persons, as well religious as secular.

“ To you all, univerally, as before recited, more powerful, or less powerful, and in particular to the Chinese, to the Tartars Hor ||, and to all others, whether religious or secular, we command, that no person attempt to hinder those whose hearts are enlightened with the light of the true God, to embrace the true law, and who voluntarily desire to embrace the true law, or have embraced it already. All you, as above,

* Nouv. Bibl. tom. xiv. p. 57, et seq.

† His Majesty should have said, their Catholic Kings.

‡ To be sure he knew the Pope's heart better than he did himself; nor ever heard that these European Lamas had been expelled China eighteen years before, for contrary suspicions. § How comes it this uncouth term, though often inserted, is not explained? || These are a sort of Tartars, never heard of in Europe before.

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do not dare to hinder them from learning it; and when they have embraced it, let none obstruct them, or forbid them to observe freely, openly, and publicly, this true law. Be it known likewise to you, that all who shall embrace and keep this true law, shall be reputed by us more faithful subjects than those who retain the first *; and that with respect to the preachers of the true law, or apostolic missioners, we shall guard and defend them, taking them under our special protection: neither do any thing, be it ever so trivial, that may give them the least cause of uneasiness; but live in peace with them. All you, who are concerned as aforesaid, print these letters. Given at Kadeno Khagfer [before, Khaden Khagn San,] the residence of the triumpher on all sides, in the year of the Iron Bird, the 30th of the seventh month:” that is, the 9th of September 1741.

During the eight years that Horace was absent from Tibet, the King's affection for the Romish religion (which the memoir always takes care to compliment with the name of holy) increased, it seems, instead of diminishing: in proof of this, part of a letter is inserted, which we are told was written from the King, by his secretary of state, to Horace whilst in Italy; intimating, that “he gave belief to his own religion, only because he was bred in it †; whereas he believed in that of the Capuchins, and held it in great devotion.” This he bid him represent to his Grand Lama. But he assigns no reason why he believed in it; nor is the date of the letter, or of its arrival, mentioned †.

We are told next, that the exposition of doctrines, given by Friar Horace to the Grand Lama, had made the same impression on that Pontiff as on the King; as appears from his privilege, which, in substance as follows, is the same with the royal.

“We universally command all men under the sun, particularly all the ministers of our residence, the ministers of Lhafa, that all these European Fathers of the religion called that of the Capuchins, or Lamas Gokhar, in the kingdom of Tibet, not being mixed with the other, who come for sake of interest, or only to trade; we command, we say, that wherever they go or stay, every one of you may assist them, and do them good offices. And that throughout the whole extent of the kingdom they may carry on, in peace, the work which they have been sent to execute §. Written and given in our great palace of Putala, the year of the Bird of Iron, and twenty-eighth of the autumn of the star called Thrumaho;” that is, the 7th of October 1741.

Our Friar likewise speaks of some conversions which he had made, and of certain persons whom he had baptized. He observes, that the Capuchins he carried with him, having had time to make a great progress in the language, which he taught them during the voyage, he hoped they would soon be able to preach the gospel, which the people of Tibet were very well disposed to embrace: so that by the protection of the King, the Great Lama, the prime minister, and the whole court, he did not doubt

* Meaning the established religion of Tibet. Was ever such impudent forgery? Would any sovereign thus incense his subjects, by stigmatizing them openly as rebels? Does the religion of Tibet assert the independency of the church on the state more than the Romish? But the devil knows how to hide his cloven foot till he has gained his point. † It is strange this should not be as strong a motive in Tibet, as it is in Europe; or that the people there should so easily get over the prejudices of education, which in these parts of the world are found so difficult to conquer. Does not this shew how egregiously mistaken and conceited we are, in fancying ourselves endowed with more reason and good sense than any of the Asiatics? ‡ Nouv. Bibl. p. 64, et seq. § Here the Lama is supposed to give the Capuchin licence to overturn the established religion, and dethrone himself, in favour of the religion of the Capuchins, which new term seems to be coined to distinguish the religion taught by them from that of the Jesuits. Such is the rancour that reigns among these detestable orders of friars.

quickly to see the capital city entirely converted; especially considering how well the doctrine had been received by great numbers both of the clergy and laity.

But, he adds, that, considering the great extent of the kingdom, and many millions of inhabitants, it would require a great number of missionaries, dispersed through the provinces, to carry on and complete the work so successfully begun. On the other hand, the memoir declares, that the Apostolic Chamber was so poor, and much in debt, that, far from supporting new missions, it was not in a condition to maintain those already established, the number of missionaries requisite for the purpose was so great. This inability in the Apostolic Chamber happened to be the more unlucky, in regard the Kings of other dominions bordering on Tibet required missionaries: for the Capuchin de Recanati, superior of the mission, sent to the kingdom of Batgao in 1735, being with two of his companions at Nepal, the capital; the King, it seems, was so enamoured with their doctrine, that he assigned them a large palace, confiscated from one of the grantees, for their habitation; and granted them liberty of conscience, by the following public edict, sent by the said superior to the procurator-general of his order.

"We Zaervanejitta Malla, King of Batgao, residing in Nepal, grant, by virtue of these presents, to all the European Fathers, liberty to preach, teach, and gain over to their religion, the people under our dominion; and in like manner permit our subjects to embrace the law of the European Fathers, without fear of being molested either by us, or those who bear authority in our realm. However, these conversions ought to be perfectly voluntary, and not procured by force. Thus it is. Kafinat, the Doctor, was the writer: Grifnanfarangh, the Governor-general, confirms it: Bisoraja, the Great Priest*, confirms and approves it. Given at Nepal, in the year 861, in the month of the Margshies. Good day. Health.

"I, Friar Vito de Recanati, Capuchin Missioner, testify that this is a true copy of the original. †."

The same Capuchin, with his companions, passing afterwards into the kingdom of Battia, bordering on the Mogol's empire; the King being informed, that they preached a law which it was necessary to embrace and follow, in order to be saved, sent one of his ministers for them, to the place where they then were, resolving to hear himself what they had to say on that subject. Accordingly they explained their law, and pointed out the errors of that observed in the country. All this they made him easily apprehend, by means of a written instruction; which pleased to such a degree, it seems, that he commanded them to remain with him, because, forsooth, their religion being all charity ‡, he would needs have them preach it in his kingdom §. Recanati answered, that being destined by the Pope to the mission of Batgao at Nepal, he could not comply with his request. The King replied, that he would write himself to the Pope, to obtain his permission for them; not doubting but he would both grant it, and send him other missionaries.

The Capuchin hereupon submitted, and received the letter written by the King to His Sanctity, in these terms: "I am in good health, and wish the same to you. Some-

* These Pagan High Priests, or Popes, contrary to what is found in Europe, are more tractable and honest than the inferior priests. † Nobody doubts but the Friar would have sworn to the truth of a greater falsehood, to serve his religion or interest: for friars are the same now as in the time of the Tartars, and before.

‡ O wicked deceivers! Spawn of Satan! Well ye know, that it is the most uncharitable, cruel, and destructive religion, both to the souls and bodies of men, this day on earth. § As if there was little or no charity among his people: though the missionaries, both Protestant and Papist, represent the Indian charity and humanity every where, as infinitely surpassing what is to be found among the greater part of the Christian sects. [These strange notes of Green are given for the reader's amusement.]

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time ago I was informed, that the missionary Fathers have been sent to do good to mankind. Out of a desire to have it explained to me, I sent for them into my presence; and being satisfied that their ministry is entirely charity, I ordered them to stay in my kingdom: but, as they tell me they cannot obey me without the Sovereign Pontiff's permission, I entreat this Lord, the Sovereign Pontiff, to command some Fathers to remain in my realm, which I shall consider as the highest favour. Given at Battia in the year 184, and month of the Bufadabi. Signed the King." Thus it is. "I Friar de Recanati, Capuchin missionary, attest that this is the true sense of the original."

The same missionary, we are told, sent this letter, with the King of Batgao's privilege, to the procurator-general; who received it the beginning of this year *, before the letters of Horace, from Tibet, reached his hands. The Pope having received these packets from the procurator, sent them to the Congregation *de la Propaganda*. These being in debt, and in no condition to bear this new expence, represented the case to His Holiness; who, notwithstanding the poverty of the Apostolic Chamber, gave orders for sending over some regulars, at his own expence, though not so many as were requisite. He wrote also to the King of Battia a very fine brief, it seems, to acquaint him, that he condescended to his request, and returned him thanks; at the same time exhorting him to be the first who should set his vassals the example of embracing the Romish religion. He wrote another likewise to the King of Batgao, to thank him for the privilege before recited, and make him the same exhortation †.

This is the state of the mission in Tibet, Batgao, and Battia. But as it was not possible to support it, without greater expences than the Pope and congregation aforesaid, were able to supply, therefore the procurator-general of the Capuchins published the preceding account, not only to let all good Catholics see what a hopeful prospect there was of propagating their religion in those foreign countries, but also to excite grandees and pious souls to contribute their cash to promote so glorious a design.

Thus ends the relation whereon the journalst has made several pertinent remarks, which we shall briefly touch on. First, he asks, since these three Kings required missioners of their own accord, why should it be at the expence of those they apply to? Were they less inclined to maintain the priests of a religion they liked, than those of a religion they were out of conceit with? Secondly, that as the capital of Tibet had been almost entirely converted in 1741, he cannot conceive how Friar Horace should speak of only some conversions since that time, and a few persons baptised. He wonders also, since Lhafa was almost converted, that he says nothing of the Christianity of Putala, which is so near it; especially as he had the Great Lama's licence to make profelytes †. Thirdly, that the facility with which the Grand Lama appears to favour the new religion is beyond all imagination; especially as they pretend to have acquainted him, that there was in Europe a Sovereign Pontiff, or Dalay Lama, who exercised the same authority over the Christians, as he of Tibet did over that kingdom, and all Tartary. This, says the journalst, exposed a clashing of interests, titles, and jurisdictions, which ought to have incensed the Lama of Putala against him of Rome. Instead of that, after receiving answers to his objections (neither of which are laid before the reader,) he becomes as tractable as the King himself. What makes this surrender of power and interest the more incredible, is the Grand Lama's laying claim to the divine attributes,

* That is, 1742. when the relation or memoir was printed.

† Nouv. Bibl. p. 70, et seq.

‡ It looks as if the Grand Lama was more ready to own himself an impostor, than the inferior were willing to lose the benefit of the imposture.

no less than Christ himself *. Is it possible, that a person who enjoys the honours of a god, is accustomed to the same adorations, and considers himself vastly superior to all mortals, should so easily give up all his rights; and acknowledge for his superior a man he knows nothing of, residing in a distant corner of the earth † ?

Fourthly, as the missioners pretend they found the people of Tibet so ready to embrace the evangelic law, doubtless, the reader would be glad to know, what were the doctrines they preached: but they neither tell us whether those delivered in scripture, or Pope Pius IVth's creed, or, simply, the institutes of their order, are what they call the Religion of the Capuchins. They do not mention a word of Jesus Christ, whereby one might judge it was him they preached. There are only two things then mentioned in the relation which could induce the Tibetians so easily to conform. The first is the outward agreement, in the form of ecclesiastical government ‡. But this, instead of forwarding their conversion, ought to be one of the greatest obstacles: for where there is such a great similitude, it must be the most difficult thing imaginable to convince the people, that there can be any reason for a change §; besides twenty to one the Pagan Lamas would find they should be losers by becoming Christian Lamas. In short, there needs no more to set the Lamas of Tibet against the religion of the Capuchins, than obliging them to learn the Latin for their offices. This single innovation would make the greater part of them revolt.

The other thing which might facilitate the conversion of the Tibetians is, that the married men can, by their law, have but one wife. This is a very favourable article, plurality of wives being, according to the missioners, the great obstacle to the conversion of other nations: but there is a circumstance mentioned by Du Halde, though not taken notice of by Friar Horace, or those who drew up the memoir, which knocks all in the head again; namely, that although the husbands in that country have but one wife, yet the women have several husbands ¶. If this be the case, woe be to the missioners who shall attempt to deprive them of so important a privilege. If the men accustomed to a plurality of wives, rise up in arms every where against the Christian religion, which would reduce them to one, what opposition must it meet with from the women, long used to half a dozen husbands at a time? Doubtless, they would fly upon the missioners tooth and nail in defence of their rights.

Fifthly, the privilege granted by the King and Grand Lama, for liberty of conscience and preaching is not, perhaps, a thing so rare, or of such great consequence as may be imagined, or the memoir would represent it: for Kempfer affirms, that in most of the states of Asia, as well as Japan, liberty of conscience is readily granted ¶¶, so that it be not inconsistent with the temporal government, or prejudicial to the public peace. But what is singular in the privileges granted by the two powers ruling in Tibet, is, that they exclude the missioners who mix themselves with others, who come for private interest, and motives of commerce. It would require no great skill in conjuring, says the journalist, to guess at those others, who are to be excluded by the edict **: but who told the King and Lama, adds the same author, that there are missioners of such a mercenary order ††? Why, who should, but their good friends the Capuchins?

* The Journalist says, than the Pope of Rome. But the Popes do not assume the name of God in an absolute sense, as the Grand Lama does. † Nouv. Bibl. p. 81, et seq. ‡ See Green, vol. iv. p. 459, a. § Ibid. p. 212, note f. ¶ Ibid. p. 457, d.

¶¶ Ibid. p. 457, d. ¶¶ But not, we presume, in so extensive a degree, giving leave to any who will, to embrace the new doctrine, and forbidding any to hinder them, &c. ** He means, doubtless, the Jesuits. †† Nouv. Bibl. p. 90, et seq.

Extract f

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CARON'S ACCOUNT OF JAPAN.

[Translated from the Dutch.]

*Extract from Hagenaar's Voyage to and in the East Indies, from 1631 to 1638 ; with
CARON'S Account of Japan*.*

IN 1634 Hagenaar was sent by the Governor-general of Batavia, Brouvar, with the yachts *Grol* and *Zeeburg*, to *Tayovan* in *Formosa*, where he arrived in the middle of August. A violent tempest drove him soon after from the road. After being tossed about a considerable time, he cast anchor in the bay of *Firando* in Japan. There is a good roadstead in the entrance for barks and Japanese vessels, but it is not very fit for the Company's ships.

Formerly there were two hamlets close to each other, near the road, which made together a tolerable village ; they now are united, and form a considerable town. The houses are small, and constructed of thin deals rabbited together.

There are hardly any merchants here, but those who reside at the lodge, which is very large, and built of wood. It consists of four large rooms, five bed-rooms, baths, stoves, kitchens, and other conveniences. It is, however, an old and ruinous building, so much so, that the merchandize in it may not be considered as very safe. To have it properly secured against thieves, fire, or other contingencies, a stone house ought to be erected.

The lodge attracts many people to this place to trade with the Dutch. Without this, the place would be what it formerly was, a village of fishermen. The increase of revenue to the Lord of *Firando* is proportionate to the increase of buildings ; and there are now thirty-six streets in the place.

Hagenaar then sailed to the bay of *Courchie*, in the same neighbourhood, where he found some other Dutch ships. The president of the factory, *Koakebakker*, came on board his ship, accompanied by some Japanese chieftains, in order to muster the crew according to custom. The next day he went higher up the bay of *Firando*, and discharged his cargo.

About this time thirty-seven persons lost their lives at *Firando*, on account of their being either professed Christians, or born of Christian parents. Some were hung up by the feet ; others were beheaded, and cut to pieces ; and again, others were tied to stakes and burnt.

On the 1st of November, Hagenaar sailed to *Nangasakki* with the Company's bark, taking with him 36,000 taels, each worth three gilders, to exchange for silver in bars. Here he saw a venerable old man, *Melchior van Santvoort*, who had resided there thirty years, having belonged to the fleet of *Mahu*, one of whose ships had been lost here. After a stay of nine days, Hagenaar returned to *Firando*.

Nangasakki has a capacious bay, and a good road. The city stands close to the sea, at the end of a valley. It is intersected by several canals, over which there are a number of wooden bridges, which are mostly covered. The houses are large, and in general built of wood. There are many streets, most of them unpaved, and, in rainy weather, scarcely passable. At night they are shut by booms. The place has neither walls nor ditches, but is very populous, and abundant in provisions.

* This is chiefly followed in the " *Japonia* " of *Varenius*.

About this time the yacht *Venlo* was laden with timber, rice, and forty boxes, each containing about 3000 gilders in silver, bound for *Taiovau*; the *Wepen van Delft* was sent with specie and the requisite articles of merchandize to *China*; and the *Grol* (*Hagenaar's* vessel,) with a flute-ship, failed direct for *Batavia*.

IN August 1635, *Hagenaar* arrived at *Firando*, for a second time, coming last from the *Piscadores*, whence he brought a rich cargo. Disputes having arisen, about this time, between the Japanese and the Dutch, on matters of trade, it was deemed expedient to send an envoy to the Emperor at *Jedo*, in which city he had his residence. *Hagenaar* was appointed to this office, and set off on his journey about the middle of December.

Directly after his arrival, which was in the beginning of the year 1636, he apprized the Lord of *Firando* thereof, and solicited an audience. He made a public entry into *Jedo*; on which occasion the concourse of people was so great, that they could scarcely move forward. They took up their abode in the house of a bonze, or Japanese priest, which was the usual place of resort of the Dutch who came to *Jedo*. It was not till the next day that he obtained an audience from the Lord of *Firando*. The presents were at first refused, but afterwards accepted. The Dutch were obliged to have a petition drawn up, couched in the most respectful terms, stating the object of their embassy, by the private secretary of the Lord of *Firando*; and nearly a month elapsed in various procrastinated ceremonies and negotiations, before a message was sent to them from one of the chief ministers of the Emperor, saying that no opportunity had yet occurred of laying their petition before the Emperor; that it was not likely that their business could be done before the *сандатс*, that is, the Japanese new year; and that he, therefore, advised the Dutch to set out on their return.

Hagenaar, upon this, took his departure from *Jedo*, leaving behind him, however, some of the Company's servants, amongst whom was the senior merchant *Frans Caron*. Having reached the large city of *Meaco* in eight days, *Hagenaar*, who had been wounded by his Japanese servant, in a fit of drunkenness, was obliged to take his passage by water to *Hofucka*, where he arrived the next day. As he had to wait here for the Company's bark, he took a palanquin to view the city. He saw here eight magnificent pagodas, adorned with gilt statues; also the famous castle, which is strongly fortified according to the Japanese mode, being surrounded by handsome stone walls, and deep ditches. The bark soon made its appearance, and *Hagenaar* returned to *Firando*.

In the beginning of June, our people saw the last Japanese vessels come in from their whale-fishery. This fishery commences in December, and continues till May or June. In this period they had taken two hundred and seventy-four fish of various sizes. They are all caught near the shore.

About this time *Caron* came back from *Jedo*, where he had had an audience of the Emperor, who was very well pleased with the presents offered by the Dutch; and gave them in return two hundred pieces of silver, worth about two thousand five hundred gilders. The Lord of *Firando* gave the chief of the Dutch factory leave to build a ship, and man her with Japanese; and in other points the affairs of the Company seemed to go on very well.

In the beginning of August, *Hagenaar* failed for the island of *Tabour*. A Japanese, who was accused of theft, proved his innocence by the following method: he held in his hand a piece of very thin Chinese paper, upon which were painted three monstrous images,

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images, folded together. Upon this a large piece of red hot iron was put; the paper instantly caught fire and was consumed, but the iron did not appear to have done the least injury to the man's hand. This was considered as a mark of his innocence, and he was acquitted in consequence.

Hagenaar then returned to Firando, where, soon after, it was determined in council to send the merchant Van Santen to compliment the Emperor, and transmit some presents to him. At the same time, the information given by the junior merchant Versteegen relative to the existence of an island very productive of gold, in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees north, about four hundred leagues to the eastward, was taken into consideration; but it was determined not to make any attempt at that time to discover it; partly for want of vessels, and partly, because the season was gone by for sending such as could have been dispatched from Japan: besides, the matter was looked upon in a very dubious light, as the Castilians were in the habit of traversing those seas every year. The enterprise was therefore deferred till a more convenient time.

On the 18th of October the Japanese celebrated a festival in honour of archery. At the end of a wide street, in which the principal magistrates resided, a target was erected. Three Japanese appeared on horseback, armed with bows and arrows, and otherwise equipped as for war. They put their horses upon a full gallop, and, upon approaching the target, they shot their arrows at their highest speed, about ten feet off. When the centre was hit, loud acclamations were heard. Each horseman shot three times.

Hagenaar now received orders from Batavia, to proceed thither by way of Taiovan; and sailed accordingly in the beginning of November.

THE accounts given by Frans Caron, mentioned in the following narrative, interspersed with additional observations by Hendrik Hagenaar, which latter are distinguished by inverted commas, respecting the interesting empire of Japan, are separated from the narrative part, and here subjoined.

Japan, called Nippon by the inhabitants, is supposed to be an island, or an assemblage of islands, together constituting an empire. This is, however, not quite certain. The Japanese are themselves ignorant on this subject. By the most particular inquiries made by Caron it appears that, from the province of Quanto, whence the Emperor derives the largest portion of his revenue, and in which is situated his capital city Jedo, it is twenty-seven days journey, in a direction north-east-by-east, until the utmost point of the province of Tfunga, which borders upon the ocean. Thence an arm of the sea is passed, which is reckoned to be eleven leagues broad; after which you come to the country of Jesso, or Sessio, which produces large quantities of beautiful furs, but which is very desert, mountainous, and thinly inhabited. It is so extensive that, though the Japanese have penetrated very far into it, they have not yet found its termination, and cannot determine its extent. They have often been obliged to give up the further pursuit of discovery for want of provisions. This obstacle might, however, easily be removed; but the accounts given by the emissaries sent thither have not encouraged the Emperor to make further progress. According to them, the country is wild; and where there are inhabitants, they are represented as being hairy all over the body, with very long hair and beards, more resembling wild beasts than human beings. Whether, therefore, any of the islands which compose the empire of Japan are united to the continent or not, must thus remain unascertained.

The two large islands, called Chikok and Saickok, are governed by Kings and noblemen. The last-mentioned, which is the largest, includes a separate province called Fisen, which is said to be the smallest province of the whole empire. The largest island, Japan Proper, or Nipon, is close to the two just mentioned, and reaches to the country of Jesso, whose extent, as has before been observed, is not exactly known. It is divided into seven provinces, namely, Saickok, Chikok, Janaifort, Jettingo, Jettsigen, Quanto, and Ochio. These provinces, together with their cities and fortresses, are under the immediate authority of a number of Kings and noblemen, who govern them, and levy the revenues, out of which they transmit annually to the Emperor, the amount which has been fixed as their quota upon their appointment.

The revenues are appropriated, in the first place, to the maintenance of the Emperor, the King, his son, and of the court, in which objects are expended 4,000,000 cockiens, each cockien worth ten Dutch florins; secondly, 5,000,000 cockiens are devoted to maintain the guards, who are all noblemen, and receive pay each according to his rank. The whole annual expenditure is 28,345,000 cockiens. The lordships, lands, and estates which the Emperor distributes amongst his Kings, Princes, and noblemen, generally bring in 19,185,000 cockiens; but whether they produce more or less, the amount at which they are rated must be brought into the imperial treasury.

The monarch has the title of Emperor, and is the lord paramount of the subordinate Kings, who are all dependent upon him; and he is also the absolute proprietor of all their possessions. Caron saw, during his residence in this country, several instances of Kings and noblemen, who, for trifling misdemeanors, were exiled to different islands, and others who were condemned to death; whose estates, revenues, and treasures were bestowed upon others, according to the will of the Emperor.

The imperial city of Jedo is very large. The palace, or castle, is six miles (in the original an hour and a half) in circumference; and is surrounded by three deep moats, and stone walls. These moats are connected with each other, and the bridges and gates of communication are so numerous and intricate, that it is difficult to form a conception of them.

The streets are very broad; some are bordered on both sides by sumptuous palaces. The gates are fortified on each side with iron bands, or gratings, about an inch in thickness, laid crosswise over each other. Over each gate is a large building, capable of containing, in case of necessity, two or three hundred men.

It is in the interior part of the castle that the imperial palace is situated, consisting of many large apartments, surrounded by shady groves, which although planted by art, appear to be the productions of nature. There are likewise fish-ponds, rivulets, open spaces, race-grounds, rides, gardens, and a number of separate apartments for the women.

In the second inclosure stand the palaces of the Princes of the Blood, and of the principal ministers. In the third and outer inclosure are the palaces of the principal Kings and nobles of Japan; all gilt and richly adorned. Without are the dwellings and houses of the inferior nobles, more or less sumptuous, according to their rank. Taken altogether, this astonishingly large palace appears, within and without, like a golden mountain; for all the nobles, from the highest to the lowest, spare no expence to ornament their residences, in order to give a greater lustre to the whole, and to please the Emperor, who takes great delight therein.

Here reside the married wives and children of the nobles, in order that, being always under the eye of the court, they may serve as hostages for their fidelity. This exceedingly large palace, which has an extent equal to a great city, is thus at all times filled with

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with great men, who never appear in public without a numerous retinue of inferior nobles, pages, horses, and palankeens. The streets, however broad, are yet too narrow for their pompous processions.

The Emperor shews himself to his subjects, sometimes on horseback, and sometimes in an open sedan. He is generally accompanied by a number of lords, who are styled His Majesty's companion-nobles. They are generally some of his richest and most powerful subjects, but do not enjoy any other dignity or employment than that of constantly attending upon the person of the monarch. It is requisite, however, that every one of them should possess some eminent qualification. Some are musicians, others physicians; some singers, others beautiful writers; some painters, others orators.

Upon them follows the first division of the body guard, consisting of principal lords, Kings, and Princes, the Emperor's sons by his concubines, who are on that account excluded from the succession to the throne, as also his brothers, nephews, and other near relations. These illegitimate Princes are very numerous, as may easily be supposed from the great number of the Emperor's concubines. One of the Emperor's uncles, who is King of Mito, has fifty-four sons, besides daughters, whose number is not publicly known.

In the third place, follows a part of the second division of the body guard. As this consists of several thousand men, the colonel, some of the officers, and part of the guard precede the Emperor about the distance of a cannon-shot; and the rest follow him at a similar interval.

How uncommonly large soever the number be of the soldiers kept by this monarch, none are found amongst them but chosen men, well made, of a courageous appearance, expert in the use of arms, and even not ignorant of literature.

The appearance of the Emperor in public thus makes a brilliant display. An astonishing multitude of people are seen, all well made, all dressed in black silk, some on foot, some on horseback, before, aside of and behind the monarch, altogether marching in ranks in the best order, and without any one deviating in the least from his appointed station.

It is at the same time in the utmost silence that the procession proceeds. No one is heard to speak a word. Neither the spectators in the streets, nor those who form the procession make the least noise. It can only be perceived by the sound of men's footsteps, and the trampling of horses.

Some time before the Emperor appears in public, his intention is announced; all the streets through which he is to move are cleansed and strewn with sand. The doors of all the houses are open. No one is allowed to appear at them, or at the windows, or in the shops. Every one is obliged to return to the interior of his house; or, if there be any one that the Emperor desires to see, he must kneel on a mat before his door.

When the Emperor designs to repair to Miaco, which sometimes happens once in seven years, to pay a visit of ceremony to the Dairo, who is the true heir to the throne of Japan, an entire year is previously taken up in making preparations for the journey, and regulating the ceremonies to be observed. In order that the nobles may not crowd each other on the road, the number that shall set out and travel every day is fixed.

Jedo is one hundred and twenty-five leagues distant from Miaco. Many cities, and large open villages lie on the road, two, three, or four leagues asunder. There are also twenty-eight palaces, erected at convenient distances to lodge the Emperor and his retinue on their journey. Twenty of these palaces are fortified. All, from the first to the last, are provided with an establishment of an household, soldiers, horses, furniture,

ture, and every necessary for the use of the Emperor. Those who accompany the Emperor when he sets out from Jedo until he reaches the first palace, remain there; the retinue that is in readiness there replaces them, and go on to the second, where they remain; those in the second go on to the third, and so on till the last, regularly relieving each other. The same order is observed in the homeward journey.

In the year 1636, a large building was founded at Nicko, situated four leagues from Jedo, intended as a mausoleum for the then lately deceased Emperor. In front of the pagoda, appertaining to this building, was suspended the large brass chandelier, which had been presented by the Company to His Majesty in that year. Close to it stands a castle, surrounded by a double moat, and handsome bastions, built of stone. It contains a great number of elegant apartments. This castle, which was built for no other purpose than for the accommodation of the Emperor, when he is required to be present at the funeral ceremonies of his father, was completed in five months, an incalculable number of carpenters, masons, stone-cutters, painters, and other workmen, having been employed in its erection, which in the ordinary course of work, might easily have consumed three years.

The treasures of gold and silver of that monarch are kept in chests containing each one thousand taels. It is said, that there is an incredible number of them; but the real number is known to very few. These chests are distributed in different parts of the chief palace, in one place more, in another fewer. According to the labels upon them, it would appear that some of these chests have remained filled with money for one hundred years. Since the receipts very far exceed both the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure, it follows, that immeasurable sums must be kept in these treasuries.

The present Emperor's father was the son of Ongosclio, who put an end to the last state of civil confusion into which the empire had fallen, and gave to it a regular form of government. He died at the age of fifty; when on his death-bed, he addressed the following words, amongst others, to his son:—"The lands and treasures which I possess, belong to you; but there is one thing which I wish to put into your own hands; it is this chest; it contains the ancient laws and annals of the empire; the decisions and proverbs of our sages; and the principal and most precious gems. Keep all these things with care; they belonged to me, and have been religiously kept and respected by all our progenitors."

The present reigning Emperor had not, when he succeeded to the throne, either a lawful wife, or any children, being exceedingly addicted to an unnatural propensity. The Dairo, who had two very beautiful female relations, sent them to him, requesting that he would honour her whom he liked best with the title of Midni, or Empress. The Emperor, unwilling to offend him, retained one of them; but he never had any thing to do with her, continuing to live according to his usual manner. This young Princess fell, in consequence, into a deep melancholy, which, however, she sought to conceal, for fear of exciting the Emperor's displeasure. Her nurse, to whom she was much attached, and who was much respected in the court, having observed this, took the liberty once, when she thought she had found the Emperor in a good humour, to say to him, "How is it possible that your Majesty takes so much delight in the barren pleasures to which you are devoted, whilst you neglect a beautiful Princess, who would not only yield the blossoms of pleasure, but also the useful fruit of an heir to your dominions?" The monarch, though offended at this freedom, made no reply, but rising, retired to his own apartment, whence he immediately sent for his principal architects, and commanded them to collect as many workmen as they could, and instantly to begin the construction of a palace, to be built in the form of a castle, surrounded by high walls

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walls and deep moats, provided with heavy gates, drawbridges, and a range of apartments. As soon as this palace was finished he caused the Empress, her nurse, and all the female attendants who had accompanied her from Miaco to be shut up in it, with a strong injunction that they should never see the face of a man.

These occurrences greatly displeased the Emperor's own nurse, who had influence over him, and who was respected at Court as if she had been his own mother. She regretted much to think that the Emperor would leave no children. To induce him to alter his mode of life, she caused the most beautiful damsels to be sought for in the palaces of the Kings and principal lords, and to be presented to him as occasion might serve. When, however, this did not succeed, she sought for the most beautiful girls throughout every station in the empire. Amongst those whom she brought forward into notice, there was the daughter of a sword-cutler, of whom the Emperor became enamoured, and who became pregnant by him. This circumstance, however, occasioned so much jealousy amongst the other ladies belonging to the Emperor, that they determined to destroy the infant as soon as it was born; and they in fact did commit this horrid deed. How much soever this grieved the Emperor's nurse, and others of the courtiers, yet they gave no information of it to the Emperor, dreading the terrible and sanguinary consequences which it would, doubtless, have produced.

From the earliest times of which the annals of the empire make mention, till about one hundred years ago, Japan was governed by a series of Princes of the same race, who followed each other in uninterrupted succession, and who bore the title of Dairo. Their subjects honoured them, not only as sovereigns, but as saints; inasmuch, that they were never disturbed by any internal commotions. Every one imagined, that to offer resistance to the Dairo, or not to pay due reverence to his sanctity, was equivalent to sinning against God himself.

Whenever any one of the Kings of the empire engaged in hostility with another, a general was sent from the court, who, with the imperial army, took the side of the one favoured by the Dairo, or compelled them to adjust their differences, or punished them. The sanctity of the Dairo not only relieved him from intermeddling personally in such affairs, but it was considered as a shameful degradation for him even to touch the ground with his foot. The sun and moon were not even permitted to shine upon his head. None of the superfluities of the body were ever taken from him, neither his hair, his beard, nor his nails were cut. Whatever he eat was dressed in new vessels. He had twelve wives, to whom he was married with much pomp and ceremony. Whenever he appeared in public his wives accompanied him, each in a separate carriage, ornamented with his arms and emblems. In his palaces stood two rows of houses, six on each side, all handsomely built and adorned, appropriated for these twelve wives, besides many other apartments for his concubines.

Every evening a banquet was prepared in every one of these twelve separate houses or palaces. No one was previously acquainted with that which the Dairo honoured with his presence. As soon as this was known, the festive multitude repaired from the other eleven, to the favoured abode; the other eleven wives attended with their ladies in waiting, and musicians, to do honour to the house and to her who dwelt therein. Plays were represented, and dancing and feasting prevailed; all being intent upon affording the greatest pleasure to the Dairo.

When a son and heir to the empire was born to him, eighty of the youngest and handsomest ladies, wives of noblemen, were assembled, in order to choose a nurse from amongst them for the hereditary Prince. They were conducted in great state to the palace, and welcomed with much ceremony by the other eleven wives of the Dairo, or Empresses,

Empresses, and by all the ladies of the court, together with nine of the principal lords, and nearest relation of the Dairo, who, in default of male issue, were, respectively, to succeed him.

On the following day they were all examined, and out of the eighty, forty were again selected; upon which occasion a festival was held. The forty who were rejected, were dismissed with much ceremony, demonstrations of respect, and valuable presents. On another day the forty were reduced to ten, these again to three, and out of these three finally one was chosen. At each selection new festivities took place, and presents were distributed.

The nurse thus selected instantly suckled the child, who had in the mean while suckled the breasts of one of the principal ladies belonging to the court. It was not, however, till after she was consecrated, as it were, by repeated ceremonies, that the nurse was reckoned worthy of being intrusted with so precious a pledge. Numerous were the marriage and child-bed festivals, and anniversaries, all which were celebrated with great state and ceremony.

All these peculiarities continue to be observed at the court of the Dairo, who has a sufficient revenue to defray the expences attending them, without having recourse to the funds belonging to the state, which are at present under the controul of another Emperor. I shall now, in a few words, relate the occasion of this important revolution.

The dignity of commander-in-chief of the army, was formerly one of the highest and most important in the whole empire. The Dairo's second son often filled it. A certain Dairo, who had a third son, of whose mother he was fervently enamoured, wished, to please her, to advance him to the same dignity as his brother, who, either by law or custom, was entitled to it. For that purpose he ordered that the office of commander-in-chief should be divided between them, that is, enjoyed by them by turns every three years. This was accordingly done; but one of the brothers, during the time in which he was in office, so much ingratiated himself with the great men of the land, that they entered into an engagement with him, to maintain him in the possession of the important post he filled. The representations and menaces of his father were, in consequence, unavailing to make him quit his situation at the termination of the appointed three years.

The consequences of this dispute were easily to be foreseen, and that the flames arising from it would soon burst out and spread over the whole empire. The Dairo finding himself compelled, in order to maintain his authority, to have recourse to coercive measures, resolved to bring his son back to his duty by force, or even, if necessary, to deprive him of his life. The last took place. This was the first civil war that the Dairors ever were engaged in, and the first opposition to their authority.

The other commander-in-chief, however, remaining the sole possessor of his important post, acted in the same manner as his brother had done; he pursued his measures with such certainty, and obtained so powerful a party amongst the great men of the empire, that, after the decease of the Dairo, he caused himself to be declared the absolute governor of the empire, leaving to the heir apparent nothing more than the title and the accustomed forms of respect paid to the imperial dignity.

The consequence of this was a second civil war. The Dairo took his opportunity, and appointed another commander-in-chief, who defeated the first. But the benefits arising from this victory were reaped solely by the general; who, in his turn, following the steps of his two rebellious predecessors, usurped the sovereign power.

Hence arose a third civil war, of which the consequences were more pernicious than those of the two former; for each King or lord who felt no inclination to submit to this

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new sovereign, set himself up for an independent Prince. The empire was thus torn to pieces in every corner. There was no city, town, or even village, however small, that was not at enmity with the neighbouring places.

In the midst of these disturbances and commotions, a soldier of fortune arose. At first he had only a band of fifty men; but by means of his courage, and the good fortune that accompanied him, he soon found himself at the head of a numerous body, with which he made himself master of a considerable number of cities and fortresses, and, in the course of three years, made the whole empire submit to his authority.

He further acted in the same manner as the other mutinous commanders had done. He left to the Dairo only the title and the revenues attached to it, and took the real sovereignty, upon himself. The Dairo, too weak to offer any resistance, was compelled to wear the yoke imposed upon him, and to crown the new Emperor with his own hands, reserving only the title.

The name of this usurper of the empire was Taïcko. He was a man of great abilities, and reigned fortunately, by reason of the measures he adopted to consolidate his authority, and to prevent the chief nobles of the empire, who both envied his good fortune, and submitted with reluctance to the dominion of a Sovereign of so ignoble a birth, from stirring up mutiny or rebellion against him. In fact his plans were wisely and efficiently laid for this purpose. In order to provide employment for those of whom he was most apprehensive, and whom he desired to remove from the court, he declared that, inspired by the desire of fame and of the extension of the frontiers of the empire, he had projected to undertake the conquest of the land of Corea. For that purpose he dispatched thither an army of sixty thousand men, and gave commands in this army to those Kings and nobles of whom he had the greatest suspicion. He afterwards contrived to make this war last seven years, during all which time he kept the great men whom he distrusted, at a distance from court. He wrote to them, from time to time, in an insinuating way, and fed them with fine words and large promises. At the same time, however, he strictly enjoined them not to think of returning till they had completely subjected the country, and had attained the renown of having united it to the crown of Japan.

The army, however, so long detained in those distant parts, began to murmur. Every one ardently desired to return home, without being able to obtain permission to do so. Not daring, however, to do otherwise, both officers and soldiers began to wreak their discontent upon the conquered inhabitants, and committed every kind of barbarity. Murders, rapes, and conflagrations were incessant throughout the country; and their wanton excesses arose at length to such an height, that the oppressed natives, no longer able to bear or submit to them, sent deputies to the Emperor to prefer their complaints to their new Sovereign. These not having, in their opinion, been received in a sufficiently friendly or considerate manner, found means to administer poison to the Monarch. The intelligence of his death no sooner reached Corea than the army dispersed. The chiefs hastened home, either to take their chance in a struggle for the imperial dignity, or at least to secure to themselves some lordship or territory.

Taïcko had an only son named Fideri, who, at the untimely death of his father, was only six years old. The Emperor, upon feeling his approaching dissolution, made a will, by which he named as guardian to his son, one of the chief nobles of the empire called Ongosschio. He made Ongosschio sign an instrument with his own blood, by which he promised, that as soon as the Prince attained the age of fifteen years, he would cause him to be crowned Emperor of Japan by the Dairo, would acknowledge him as such, and would rather forfeit his life than depart from this solemn engagement.

Ongosschio,

Ongoschio, who had been selected by Taicko, because he was acquainted with his abilities, having conducted his affairs with great prudence, caused himself to be appointed regent of the empire. He availed with much cunning, of the jealousy that prevailed amongst the different Kings, which he found means to excite and foment, in order to promote his purposes. No sooner was he firmly settled in the government of the empire, than he forgot the engagement in favour of his princely pupil, which he had entered into, and signed with his own blood. Fideri, having attained the appointed age, was accused by his guardian of not being faithful to himself, and of having entered into engagements and conspiracies with some of the nobles, in order to procure himself to be crowned without his knowledge; and even of having declared himself to be his enemy.

These frivolous or unintelligible accusations were backed by measures of force. Ongoschio had recourse to arms to maintain himself in the imperial government. Having assembled an army in the kingdom of Suraga, he marched to Ofacka, where Fideri held his court. He besieged the place, and took it after an investment of three months. Fideri was constrained to beg for mercy, and to offer to resign the empire; requesting further of Ongoschio, that he would give him some lordship, and receive him amongst his vassals in the same manner as the other nobles. For the readier obtaining of these conditions he sent his wife, who was a daughter of Ongoschio, that she might intercede with her father for him. But Ongoschio would not even see her. On the contrary, his ambition and cruelty rose to that pitch, that he caused a large quantity of wood to be collected and piled up round the house into which his son-in-law, with his mother, wives, and most faithful friends had retreated, and setting it on fire, put them all most wretchedly to death.

After this deed of cruelty, he disincumbered himself of all the men of consideration who had taken the part of Fideri, and in that manner subjected the whole empire to his sway. He in some measure made amends for his violence and cruelty, by a wise government, in which he equalled his predecessor Taicko. But he did not long enjoy his high dignity. He was far advanced in years when he attained it, and died soon after his usurpation. His son, Combo, or as some call him, Conbofamma, succeeded him and was crowned as Emperor. He was the father of Chiongon, the Emperor who sat on the throne at the time this narrative was composed.

The revenues of the empire, which are distributed to or farmed by the kings and nobles, amount to 18,400,000 cockiens, each cockien being worth ten gilders. In time of war, or as often as the Emperor requires it, each noble is obliged to furnish a quota of troops equivalent to the extent of his possessions. For example, a nobleman who has an income of one thousand cockiens must provide and maintain in the field twenty foot-soldiers, and two horsemen. The Lord of Firando, who has a revenue of 6,000 cockiens, is obliged to furnish 1200 infantry and 120 horsemen*, besides the servants, slaves, and other followers of a camp. The number of the troops which the Kings and nobles must furnish upon the first summons of the court, thus amounts to 368,000 infantry and 36,800 cavalry. The Emperor moreover entertains, out of his private purse, 10,000 foot-soldiers, and 20,000 horsemen; who lie in garrison in the cities and fortresses, or serve him as body-guards.

* There must be here a mistake in the numerals, and either the revenue of Firando must be 60,000 cockiens, or its contingent 120 infantry and 12 cavalry; the former is most probable. S. H. W.

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Most of the nobles, at least those of the first rank, generally keep in actual service twice as many troops as they are required to furnish at the first summons. It is by the splendour of this martial retinue that they chiefly demonstrate their princely power. Besides which, they seek by this means to avail of any opportunities that may occur to make themselves more known, and by some martial exploit to acquire renown. This was apparent in the last war of Arinas.

All the cavalry wear armour, but the foot-soldiers only wear a helmet. Some of the horsemen are armed with pistols; some with short lances, and others with bows and arrows; all, however, are provided with scimiters.

The infantry, which is divided into companies, are armed with two sabres, and, according to the size and strength of the men, with heavy or lighter firelocks. Some carry long pikes, or nanganets, which are a sort of bayonet.

There is an officer to every five soldiers, who is armed like the men. Five of these smallest subdivisions, or twenty-five men, have again an officer, so that each company, which consists of fifty privates, has ten inferior officers, and two who are placed over them; over which two again there is another, to whom they are subordinate, and who is the effective captain of the company. Five companies have a chief placed over the captains, and fifty companies again another chief over the ten officers, who each command five companies. The cavalry is organized in the same way.

The number of the living inhabitants of the whole empire of Japan is annually exactly known; as well as particularly, the number of soldiers, citizens, and farmers. Over every five houses an inspector is appointed, who must keep a register of all who are born, and of all who die, and render account thereof to his superior. The latter reports the same to the lord of the place; he again to the King; and the King transmits his documents to two ministers, who are appointed for that purpose by the Emperor.

The Dutch are in the habit of designating all the counsellors and placemen of the empire by the general appellation of counsellors of state. But they have all their respective titles of honour, except the four first and chiefest ministers of state, who have none, but are always attending the person of the Monarch in his court, and render account to him of all that occurs in the empire. These are both feared and revered by all the kings and nobles. The incomes of the chief ministers amount to twenty, those of the inferior placemen to ten; and the salaries of those who fill the lowest stations may, at least, be reckoned at from two to three tons of gold*.

No one dares to attempt any opposition to the will of the Sovereign; and when he has positively stated his opinion, no one ever dares to utter any thing by way of persuading him to change it. The least punishment that would await a temerity of this kind would be banishment. The placemen are chosen from amongst the lords and nobles who are educated for the particular service of the Emperor; who selects from amongst them those who please him most. Hence in the hope of favour, in which they all live, each pays his court to the Sovereign, and is ready to fulfil his desires even before his lips are opened to express them. Whatever injustice the Emperor may commit, or into whatever extravagance or excesses he may plunge, they praise or approve of all.

Though the nobles possess very enormous revenues, yet the expences which they are obliged to incur are still more so. They must appear at court, and at least reside there six months in every year. What they are compelled to expend in that time in the metropolis almost surpasses belief. The lords from the northern and eastern parts of the empire must beat court during one half year, and those from the south and west during the

* A ton of gold means one hundred thousand gilders or about 9100l. sterling. S. H. W.

other half. Yet they must fend, previously to coming to court, to ask permission to do so; and on their arrival they give pompous entertainments. Such also take place at their departure. On their journeys out and home they are escorted by bodies of from one to six thousand men, each according to his rank and wealth; and it will readily be conceived that so numerous a retinue must be extremely expensive to them. The Lord of Firando, which is the place where the Company have a lodge or factory, though one of the least considerable of the nobles, does not go to court with a less suite than three thousand nobles, soldiers, esquires, and other dependants, requisite to compose a stately retinue. At Jedo there are two palaces, in which he constantly keeps one thousand attendants, both male and female. The other nobles do the same, each in proportion to his income.

This astonishing concourse of people is the cause that every thing is very dear at Jedo, and that housekeeping is consequently very expensive. In addition to the maintenance of their retinue, comes that of their buildings. How sumptuously soever they may be adorned, the proprietors have never done, but are constantly making alterations or additional ornaments. To this is to be added likewise the cost of cloaths, in which in the same manner not a little is wasted; for all these numerous dependants must be habited so as to do honour to their chief. The women, especially, spend large sums as well upon their own dress, as upon that of their ladies in waiting, and further female attendants. The grand dinners they are obliged to give, and the presents they are forced to make, also run away with a great deal.

In addition to all this, it must likewise be stated, that whenever the Emperor takes it into his head to erect new castles, or to repair the old ones, to dig canals, or to effect any other similar works, each noble is obliged to furnish workmen according to his rank and revenue. The number of workmen that are forthcoming on such occasions is incredible, as is also the rapidity with which they finish what they are engaged in. The nobles spare no expence to make the Emperor observe their zeal to afford him satisfaction, and at the same time, doubtlessly, to get the sooner rid of the burthen which is laid upon them.

Whenever any of the chief nobles build a new palace, he causes an entrance to be made for common use, and also one which is more elegant, adorned with carvings from top to bottom, varnished and gilt. This is covered over with planks in order not to be damaged either by the sun or by the rain; and it remains thus covered till the Emperor goes to feast in the new-built palace. As soon as he has passed in and out of it, it is again shut and covered up, nor is it either opened, or uncovered again, except upon a like occasion; because no one may enjoy the honour of treading on the same threshold with the Emperor; whilst at the same time it would be considered as derogatory to His Majesty to pass over one that had been worn.

The Sovereign seldom pays more than one visit to the same house during his life. Whole years are employed in making preparations for his visit. All the articles of furniture are adorned with the arms of the empire, in carved work, in painting, or in embroidery. After the imperial feast, they are put by, and are never again used. They are preserved like precious jewels, in remembrance of the honour done to that house by the Sovereign, in appearing at table in it. He is invited three years before hand; and the interval is not the least too long to issue the necessary orders, and pay due attention, that nothing may be wanting.

Such an entertainment is of considerable importance, and occasions no little to do. It continues for three months for all the nobles and courtiers, for whom, from the day that the Emperor dined there, open table is held for that time, daily. The excesses that

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that take place on these occasions are not trifling. The erection of a new castle, and the feast which the Monarch deigns to celebrate there, with the consequences of it, are enough to ruin a King. And in fact, some of them, and many of the great men, ruin themselves by it. To continue in favour with the Sovereign it is necessary, however, for them to resolve upon celebrating these honour-bringing but ruinous festivities.

When the Emperor has been out a hunting, and has caught any cranes, a species of bird that is highly venerated in this country, he sometimes lends one of them as a present to some grandee who is most in favour with him. But the honour to receive a bird from the Emperor, caught by his own hand, is so great, that the favoured nobleman, in order to testify his gratitude, is obliged to lay out at least one half of his possessions in presents, feasting, and other expences, and sometimes to ruin himself entirely.

The Lord of Zatsuma lately gave an entertainment to the Emperor in a newly erected palace. So well pleased was the Monarch with the reception he had met with from that nobleman, that he presented him with an addition of six tons of gold to his annual income, *to serve for provender for his horses*, as His Imperial Majesty expressed himself.

The Emperor frames and concludes all the marriages of the nobles. The wife whom they receive from his hand is always the object of their tenderest affection. To receive her, they erect a palace on purpose. They give her a number of women to serve her, sometimes as many as two hundred, according to their income. The money which is dissipated by the sex in dress and ornament may be called exorbitant. Their separate apartments must be sumptuously adorned, gilt, carved, and provided with costly furniture. They only go out once a year to see their nearest relations. On those occasions they sit in palankeens, and are accompanied by from thirty to fifty ladies in waiting, each of whom is attended by a waiting-maid, who follow each other in stately order on each side of the palankeens, which are superbly decorated.

The children of those wives who are given by the Emperor in marriage succeed the father in his lordship and territories. If they are barren, or bring forth no male children, the kingdom, or the lordship, is generally transferred to another noble.

The nobles in this country have as many concubines as they choose, or can maintain. The number of their children is consequently often very great, who have nevertheless no share of their paternal inheritance, and sometimes fall into beggary.

Whatever can be imagined as contributing to pleasure and the support of luxury is to be found in the apartments of their women. There are gardens, fish-ponds, arbours, summer-houses half on shore and half over the water, all sorts of land-birds and of water-fowl, musical instruments, and such like. Plays are represented; and feasts and banquets constantly occur. They very seldom admit any men into them, and then only some of their nearest relations. These women's apartments are very carefully guarded. No woman, whether old or young, rich or poor, may have any conversation or connection with any man but the one to whom she belongs. They must pass their whole lives, or at least a great part of them, in the state of servitude to which they are condemned. It is not only a criminal action, but even the bare suspicion of it, that is punished by death. Nevertheless, the women are very amiable, mostly possessed of surpassing beauty and elegance of shape, and gifted with many captivating graces. With the greatest humility and the most ready obedience they serve the King or the nobleman to whom they belong, whilst he is in their dwelling. They anxiously attend to every thing that can afford him satisfaction. They talk, or are silent, laugh, or are grave, according to the humour which they perceive predominates at the moment in their master.

Their dress is of different coloured silk. Each, according to the rank they hold, or the post assigned them, wears an appointed colour. Some wear a red dress, with green

faſhes and ribbons; others a white one, with red trimmings; others again appear in yellow, with ſcarlet girdles and ſtrings. Almoſt all their dreſſes are embroidered, or adorned with golden figures, either painted, printed, or ſewn. The wives of all the nobles of every rank have their ſervants or ladies in waiting; moſtly daughters of nobles, who have had a cultivated education. They muſt bind themſelves for twenty, or at leaſt for fifteen years; and ſome do ſo for their whole lives.

All women, from the higheſt to the loweſt, are taught this leſſon, never to interfere in ſtate affairs or in any worldly matters: this leſſon is obſerved by them as an holy law. Hence they never dare hold any converſation with their husbands on ſuch ſubjects, or even aſk them any queſtions. They would not only, not receive any answer, but it would be taken in very ill part; and there is nothing they are ſo fearful of as the diſpleaſure of their husbands.

The men of this country ſay proverbially, that upon entering the apartments of the women, they leave all worldly cares and the remembrance of them, behind them upon the door-mat, and take them up again, when they go out; adding, that they viſit thoſe places for no other purpoſe than to drink deep from the full cup of the pleaſures of this life. In fact, nothing is ever heard there but ſounds of delight. New modes of ſtirring up the fire of love, and of ſatiſfying the paſſion, are inceſſantly invented. New feſtivities are in conſtant preparation; every kind of muſical instruments are heard; ſinging, dancing, dramatic entertainments, in ſhort every thing which can pleaſe the taſte of the maſter is adopted and praſtiſed.

The reaſons which the Japaneſe adduce, for having adopted this mode of living with reſpect to their women, and that they do not allow any male ſtranger to ſet foot in their apartments, or to hold any intercourſe with them, or that they ſhould interfere in any kind of buſineſs, are expreſſed by them to be, becauſe they maintain that the woman is born to ſerve the man, to accommodate him in his pleaſures, to bear children, and to bring them up; and that having enough to do with thoſe occupations, they muſt not apply themſelves to any thing elſe. Furthermore they ſuppoſe, that by theſe means they prevent innumerable jealousies, quarrels, wars, maſſacres, and a thouſand other inferior ills, which they maintain are almoſt the inevitable conſequences of a contrary mode of acting; ſuch as their anceſtors, to their ſore grief, experienced at the period when their women were not kept in ſuch ſtriſt bands. They relate a thouſand inſtances of theſe, either regiſtered in their ancient hiſtories, or handed down to them by tradition, or commemorated by the drama. They have a long catalogue of wives, who have deceived, ruined, and even murdered their husbands in thoſe times.

Either by education, or in conſequence of a fortunate temperament given them by nature, the women in Japan are faithful to their husbands, and very modeſt. Several examples are given by Mr. Caron as occurring during the time of his reſidence there.

A nobleman of elevated rank in the kingdom of Fingo had a very handſome wife. The King falling in love with her, cauſed her husband to be privately murdered. A few days afterwards he ſent for the widow to court, who, in the mean time, had obtained a knowledge of the King's crime and intentions. The Prince having declared his paſſion to her, and preſſed her to grant the completion of his deſires, ſhe answered him in the following terms; "I ought, O King, to account myſelf fortunate to have been able to pleaſe you, or to contribute any thing towards your happineſs. Yet I declare to you, that the moment you touch me, I will bite out my tongue with my teeth and cauſe my own death, unleſs you grant my previous requeſt. If you grant this requeſt, however, I promiſe to become your ſervant. Give me thirty days to mourn for my husband, and to celebrate his funeral; and permit me at the end thereof, to

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hold a feast on the tower of your palace, with all my relations, that I may take leave of them, and assure them of my regard." This request, though it somewhat displeas'd the King, yet he could not refuse it; nor could he conceive why she desired to hold this feast on the tower of his palace. However it was so; a feast was held there; the King was present, and indulg'd in eating and drinking, flattering himself that he should shortly satisfy the desires that rag'd in his bosom; the lady however rose, and pretending to require a little fresh air; proceeded to one of the galleries of the tower at a little distance from the company, whence she suddenly made a spring, and dash'd herself to pieces, in the presence of the King and all the guests; preferring thus this violent death to a violation of her chastity.

A young servant-maid kneeling before a nobleman, whose servant she was, and reaching out her hand to pour out some wine for him, had the misfortune to let an unlucky wind escape her. She was hereby so forcibly affected by shame, that she was not only deprived of the power of rising and leaving the apartment, but, drawing back her hand, and letting her face fall upon her bosom, she covered her head with the slip of her dress, and seizing her right breast she drew it up to her mouth, and set her teeth into it with such a delirious force, that they remained clenched in her flesh, until she actually died from the emotion of shame that had seized her.

A certain nobleman having caus'd a number of handsome and well shaped young girls to be collect'd from amongst the inhabitants of his territories, in order to put them to service in the habitation of his wives, found amongst them the daughter of a poor soldier's widow, who pleas'd him so much that he took her for his concubine; some time after, her mother secretly sent to inform her that her poverty was so great that she even wanted bread. Whilst she was reading her mother's letter the nobleman came into the apartment, and she attempted to conceal the writing from him. But he, most likely entertaining suspicious thoughts, became angry, and insisted upon knowing from whom the letter came, and by whom it had been brought. A feeling of shame on account of the poverty of her mother made her refuse to satisfy him; but at length, seeing he was preparing to take the letter by force, she fold'd it up, put it into her mouth, and attempting to swallow it, it stuck in her throat and choak'd her, so that she died incontinently. Anger and jealousy made the nobleman instantly cut open her throat, and get the letter out of it; which was not so much damaged but that it could be read. He soon found that the unfortunate victim was innocent, and that the secret which she had sought to conceal at the expence of her life, was no other than the penurious situation of her mother. He was much affected by her death, and melting into tears, sent for her mother to his palace, where she was amply provided with all that was necessary or agreeable, and was yet alive, when Mr. Caron left the country.

As a further proof of the chastity and natural modesty of the nation, it may be stated, that parents never indulge in light or loose conversation in the presence of their children, even not in any allusions to marriage or its purposes, nor in many things of the kind that would be consider'd as perfectly harmless by us. If any thing of the kind happens to escape in an unguarded moment from any one in company, the young people directly rise and leave the room.

The children love and respect their parents in an uncommon degree. They are firmly persuad'd that those who fail in, or neglect, their duty to their parents, will be punished by the gods. During the whole year they appropriate one day in every month to the memory of the decease of their parents. On that day they neither eat flesh, nor any thing that has received life; fruits and vegetables are then their only food.

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The revenues of the nobles arise out of the various products which their territories afford. Some lands yield corn; some gold and silver; others copper, iron, tin or lead; others again timber, hemp, cotton or silk. All these revenues are estimated at the real value, and are known to the Emperor, who appoints a chancellor or steward to each of them, upon the pretence, and for the purposes, as appear by the following form of appointment; "To our beloved and faithful; your affairs are extensive and you have many subjects to govern. This has induced me to send to you an understanding and faithful person, who has been brought up under my roof, in order to give him to you for an aid. Make use of him, and demonstrate thereby your gratitude for what I do for you." This emissary or spy from the court, is received with every imaginable demonstration of joy. He is sumptuously entertained; presents are made to him; and in result every means is resorted to to bring him over to the interest of the chief to whom he is sent.

Those who are employed by the Emperor for this purpose, are educated at court from their infancy, and have always served him in one of the three chambers. He is therefore fundamentally acquainted with them, and conceives that he can implicitly rely upon them. He makes them swear, and sign with their blood, to transmit information to the Emperor of whatever they see, be it of much or of little consequence, of whatever they hear, and of whatever in any way comes to their knowledge respecting affairs of state; as likewise to keep a daily register of the measures and acts of the grantees to whom they are dispatched. The Kings and nobles dare do or undertake nothing unknown to the chancellor, who in fact is more the real governor of their territories than themselves.

Almost all the nobles entertain a certain number of men of understanding and experience, whose advice, given without any simulation or reserve, they listen to. Every evening they must represent to them any mistakes into which they may have fallen during the day just elapsed; for it is a received maxim amongst this nation, that no human being can know his own faults. They are convinced that those who are called to the exercise of important dignities, and who have the direction over many things, often fall into error, by precipitation, by anger, by pride, or by too fond an attachment to pleasure; and they prefer to be privately reminded of their faults than to be exposed to the consequences which might ensue from them, or to the observations to which they might give rise in public.

The principal courtiers have their proper names; they are, however, in general, addressed by the name of the territories which they possess, or by the titles of dignity they enjoy: the place or castle at which they usually reside bears the same name as themselves. Besides this, men are mostly distinguished by three different names, at three different periods of their life. Infancy has its proper appellation, which it would be ridiculous, according to their ideas, to apply either to the age of adulthood or to that of grey hairs. When they attain the age of manhood they change their name, taking one that is fitting; and the same occurs again in advanced life.

The Japanese, however, in general have also family names, which are derived from their ancestors. These they place before their familiar names, saying, that they existed before them in the world, and ought therefore to have precedence.

When a nobleman dies, from ten to thirty of his subjects or servants, according to the rank and power of the deceased, rip open their bellies, and accompany him to the grave. Those who do this, have entered into an engagement to do so, and have given their words to that effect; for whenever it happens that their lord shew them any particular favour, or promotes them in his service, they thus address him, to demonstrate their gratitude: "My lord and master! you have so many faithful subjects; what have I

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done more than they, to deserve the honour you have conferred on me? I cannot make you any return in any other way than by giving you back this body, which is already our own, and by promising you that it shall not exist longer than you do." To confirm the promise, they drink a beaker of wine together, which is a solemn ceremony amongst the Japanese: engagements confirmed in that way cannot be broken.

The ripping open of their bellies is thus performed. They assemble their relations, and go all together to a pagoda. In the middle of it mats and carpets are spread, upon which they sit down, and partake of a farewell repast. They eat and drink heartily and gaily, as if nothing was the matter. After the repast, the man who means to die cuts open his belly cross-wise, so that the entrails gush out. Such as possess most courage afterwards cut their own throats, and immediately give up the ghost. There are nevertheless no fewer than fifty different modes of ripping up their bellies, which are customary amongst them. He who performs this operation with the greatest courage and coolness, acquires the most fame, and is most admired and praised.

"All the pagodas are constructed of timber, and are elevated three or four feet above the ground. They are mostly of a square form, and from ten to forty feet across. On each side stand steeples, likewise constructed of wood, carved and gilt. These pagodas are in great numbers, but most of them are of a small size. Every where are to be seen images, or representations of dragon's heads, giants, and such like, though mostly without any proportion or regularity. The Japanese utter short ejaculatory prayers before the pagodas; after which they throw their offerings, which consist in small pieces of copper money, into a sort of box or chest."

When the principal nobles erect any lofty walls, either by the command of the Emperor, or for their own use, it sometimes happens that some of their dependants beg the favour of being permitted to serve as a foundation, and that their bodies may be laid under the wall; for the Japanese have imbibed the idea, that a wall erected upon the body of a man, who has offered himself voluntarily for that purpose, is subject to no manner of accident. When the offer is accepted, the victim lays himself down in the trench dug for the foundation, and heavy stones are then lowered down upon him, which crush him to pieces.

"The persons, however, who offer themselves up in this manner, are slaves, who are treated very ill, and lead a wretched and penurious life; so that it is probable, that they, on that account, prefer rather to die in that manner than lead so miserable a life."

The Emperor possesses a good number of large and well fortified castles. Those of Osaka and Jedo are the principal. In the territories of the Kings and nobles there are likewise large castles, and great cities, but the latter are not surrounded by intrenchments or walls.

All the streets in the towns and cities are laid out nearly alike, and of the same length, namely, sixteen ickiens, each ickien being three ells*. At the end of each street is a gate which is always shut at night, and sometimes also, in case of necessity, by day. A watch is set every night, and the streets are lighted by lanthorns. All roads are measured, and at the end of each league there is a stone, shewing the distances from the different places.

Both in the cities and in the villages there are two inspectors appointed over each street, who have an eye over all that occurs in it, and are obliged to render an account

* This seems rather applicable to the breadth than the length. A Dutch ell is three-quarters of a yard. S. H. W.

thereof.

thereof. In order that some persons may not appear before the magistrates in a manner, or upon motives, unbecoming the respect due to them, superiors are appointed in every street to prevent this, who act as fathers, friends, arbitrators, or counsellors, and endeavour to settle disputes in an amicable way. If this may not be, they then appear before the judges. In cases of importance immediate resort is had to their tribunal.

In many cities, wells of water, at small distances from each other, may be observed in most of the streets; which is a very necessary precaution, as the houses being built of wood are very subject to accidents by fire; by which it often happens that entire streets are consumed.

Neither cities nor villages have any municipal rights or income; for each place has its own lord, who possesses there the sovereign authority. Neither citizens, merchants, or nobles, pay any kind of taxes or imposts, excepting alone for the ground upon which their houses are built. This tax amounts to the value of from one to twenty gilders, according to the size of each house, and the extent of ground it occupies. Besides which, every freeholder must furnish for each arvas a workman or servant, and this occurs twice or thrice every month. The service, however, that is required often does not last for one hour, and continues at most for half a day.

Each King or lord subsists upon the produce which he derives both from land and water. In the same manner the nobles under them, and the soldiers, live upon the produce of that portion of land which is appropriated to them by their lord. The merchant lives upon the profits of his profession. The citizens and mechanics, from their vocations and labour. The peasants, who are little better than slaves, subsist upon an allotted portion of the produce of the lands which they cultivate.

"The revenues, thus arising both from the land, and from the fisheries, are bestowed by the Emperor upon particular lords. He also disposes of the produce of the whale-fishery. We may here remark, that the whales, of which in general from two to three hundred are caught by the Japanese, are nothing like so large in these seas as they are in Greenland. Their blubber is generally from four to eight inches in thickness, and is much intermixed with the flesh, which is eaten by the inhabitants."

Every lord, or master, from the Emperor down to the meanest citizen, dispenses justice in his own affairs, territories, house or family. The Emperor has certain regents or magistrates in all his dependences, cities and villages, appointed to take cognizance of affairs regarding him. The nobles and the military enjoy the privilege, when they are condemned to death, of ripping open their bellies. Merchants, citizens, and persons of inferior rank, receive their punishment from the hands of an executioner. Those who follow mercantile pursuits are held in no manner of respect, but are on the contrary despised on account of the deceptions they practice in their trade, in which, only looking to immediate profit, they use all manner of tricks, craft, and lies. Nor are the citizens and mechanics in much estimation; they are despised on account of their inferior station; the citizens, because they are at the service of the public, and mechanics, because they subsist from the labour of their hands. The peasants are very wretched; they labour very hard, and live very poorly.

The punishment of death is inflicted for the slightest crimes, particularly for theft; whoever has stolen even the value of one penny, has no pardon to expect. Whoever hazards any money in gambling loses his life. Whoever kills another, whether on a sudden, or by treachery, must give life for life. All crimes which are punished by death by us, are equally so there. Every one must bear the punishment of his own crime.

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When, however, the offence is committed against the state, punishment is inflicted upon the whole race of the offender. The fathers, the sons, the brothers, all are condemned to death; all their property is confiscated: the mother, the sisters, and the daughters, are sold for slaves.

The property arising from confiscation, whether in the immediate domains of the Emperor, or in the territories of the lords, does not fall either to the monarch or the lords; they have no manner of share in it. Whatever is confiscated comes into the hands of a receiver, who keeps an accurate account of the same; and it is appropriated to the erection or repairs of pagodas and bridges, to the keeping in repair of the high-roads, and to other similar objects of public utility.

"Various modes of capital punishment are practised. In order to discover a theft the following process is adopted. A small flat and square piece of iron, about a quarter of an ell square, is heated red hot, and afterwards suffered to lie till it begins to look blue. It is then laid upon both the outstretched palms of the accused, upon which have previously been laid one or two sheets of very thin paper, painted with images of demons, which instantly catch fire; the accused then throws off the iron as soon as he can. If his hands are burnt or scorched, he is pronounced guilty; or if they remain unhurt he is acquitted. A man convicted of theft is first fastened to a cross in the following manner. To a bamboo of the thickness of a man's arm two sticks are fastened across; the sufferer is placed upon it, and tied by the neck, with a slip knot, to the bamboo; his hands, arms, and legs are then tied down to the cross sticks. Being thus placed, the cross with the man upon it is set up an end. A man then comes forward provided with a pike, the point of which is armed with a sharp flat piece of iron, a quarter of an ell in length. With this he pierces the body of the criminal, first penetrating on the right side up to the left shoulder, and then from the left side up to the right shoulder. These stabs generally pierce the heart, so that the suffering of the criminal is short. The other kinds of punishment which prevail in this country are all cruel in their sort; and adapted, by the excitement of terror, to serve as examples to deter other malefactors."

In all places, and on all occasions, the execution of justice is very severe. The Lord of Firando, not long ago, caused three young ladies out of his seraglio to be shut up alive in a large chest, the inside of which was provided on all sides with nails, leaving them to die in that most miserable manner. One of them had entered into a too familiar intercourse with a nobleman, but the other two had committed no other crime than that of having been privy to the amour, and not having divulged it. The nobleman ripped up his belly.

A husband who finds his wife with another man in any apartment of which the door is shut, is allowed to kill them both, although no harm may have happened between them, as sometimes, though seldom, is the case. If the husband be not at home, or is in the field, the father of the wife, her son, her brother, or another relation, may exercise the same right, and represent the person of the husband. Even a male servant belonging to the house may do the same. Hence instances of adultery occur very rarely. During the whole time that Mr. Caron resided in that empire, only one instance of that crime came to his knowledge. The affair happened in the following way:

A certain Japanese, pretending to go a journey, returned very shortly after he had left his house, and found a man with his wife, whom he killed in the very act. He tied his wife to a ladder, and left her standing upright the whole night. The next day he invited to dinner all their relations, both his own and those of his wife, as well men

as women. Although this was contrary to the custom of the country, as men and women are never invited to a feast at the same time, but always at different times; he requested that for that once they would depart from the custom; and his desire was complied with. The women being assembled in a separate room, asked several times for the mistress of the house. The husband's answer was always, that she was busy making ready, and would soon make her appearance, desiring that they would in the mean time divert themselves. Both men and women, however, being now met together in the dining-room, sat down to table, often repeating, however, during the meal, the inquiry for the mistress of the house. In the mean time, the husband having left the room for a while, went and cut off the private parts from the corpse of the adulterer, and laid them upon flowers in a box, the lid of which he shut down; then loosening his wife from her bands, he made her put on a winding-sheet, and put the box into her hands, leading her to the company in that dress, and telling her, "Go and offer the company this dainty, and try whether the guests will say a good word for you, and will entreat me to forgive you." The woman, more dead than alive, as may easily be conceived, fulfilled her commission, and fell upon her knees before the company. But no sooner had she opened the box and perceived the contents, than she rose to take flight, but her husband, intercepting her, cut off her head. The guests were not a little disturbed by this scene, and rising from table, left the house and returned to their homes.

"Those who travel to Jedo along the road called the Long Street, which is one hundred and thirty-six leagues long, are served in the houses where they stop for refreshment by women, or slaves, as they call them. An interpreter asks the traveller which of the women, whom he sees, and who are all dressed in silk, he desires to have to sleep with him that night. The woman on whom his choice falls, willingly submits. In Japan it is a regular custom that, as soon as any vessels enter a harbour, the hosts or innkeepers repair to the commanders of the ships, and ask them whether they desire to have a concubine during the time they remain there. If the offer be accepted, the man brings forward a woman, and the conditions are settled as formally as if it were a marriage. These women receive for their support three, four, or six pence every day, and are allowed one or two silk dresses, which cost twenty, twenty-five, or thirty gilders; one or two cotton dresses, doe-skin shoes, and other articles of ornament. To the parents or proprietor of the concubine a payment is made of ten, fifteen, or as high as thirty gilders. The agreement is celebrated by a festival, and the parties live together, during the appointed time, as man and wife."

The following are reckoned to be offences against the state: the breach of any of the Emperor's ordinances and proclamations; the misconduct of the nobles of the empire in the administration of the affairs committed to them by the Emperor; the embezzlement or improper appropriation of the revenues of the empire; the coining of counterfeit money; the ravishment of another's wife or daughter; the forcible carrying away of women from the highlands to the lowlands. Not only the offender in these cases, but his whole family, is liable to punishment. If the wife be an accomplice in the crime she must also suffer death; but if she be innocent of it, she is quit by being sold for a slave; for the women are not allowed to be put to death for the crime of another; it is only their own crimes for which they are liable to capital punishment. The usual punishment on occasions of the kind just mentioned are, according to the nature of the crime, burning alive; crucifixion, with the legs in the air and the head downwards; tearing into four quarters by bulls; and sometimes being cast alive into boiling water or oil.

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A certain Japanese, who had contracted with one of the imperial governors to furnish a certain quantity of carpenter's work and masonry, having miscalculated in his bargain, failed to complete it properly, but to hide it he had bribed some of the military and inspectors, in whose department the contract was to have been executed. This having been discovered, the inspectors were condemned to rip open their bellies, and the contractor to be crucified with his head downwards. He was a man of great desert, and one who was much respected by the principal counsellors and courtiers of the Emperor; and although, according to law, no person may or dare be a petitioner in such cases, to excuse those who have committed crimes of that nature, yet the great inclination which was felt for the offender, and the compassion which his case excited, worked so powerfully upon the members of the council, that they ventured to throw themselves at the Emperor's feet, and to solicit mercy for him. Behold the answer:

"I have heard your request with displeasure; but what offends me most is, to perceive by it, that your judgment has been so remarkably weakened. Ought not a man who has been guilty of so enormous a crime to die? And what is the motive which induces you to solicit me in his behalf? Have ye also let yourselves be shamefully bribed by presents or by money? Go, change your sentiments; do not attempt to infringe the laws by disarming justice. If there be any one amongst you who is so much attached to money and riches, let him enter into my treasury and satisfy his desires. Enter, I say, unto ye all: ye have my leave." No one ventured to make a reply, but all retired abashed and confounded.

A peculiarity is observed in the infliction of capital punishments in Japan, which is worthy of notice. It happened, says Caron, in my time, what indeed is not a matter of rare occurrence, that a nobleman who had been appointed by the Emperor to the administration of a certain territory in the neighbourhood of Jedo, extorted from the peasants a larger contribution than that at which the lands they cultivated were legally assessed. Scraping in this manner together more than he stood in need of for the support of his establishment, he saved money and became a rich man. The peasants, at length, not being able to endure the oppression under which they laboured any longer, presented a petition and proved the allegations which it contained. Upon this, the nobleman was condemned, together with his whole family, to rip open their bellies. He had a brother in the western territory, at about two hundred and fifty leagues distance, in the service of the King of Tingo; an uncle at Zatsuma, twenty leagues further; a son in the service of the Rajah of Kinocani; a grandson in the eastern territory, one hundred and ten leagues from Jedo, at the court of the King of Maffame; another son in the service of the governor of the castle of Quando; two brothers, who were soldiers in the imperial service; and another son, the youngest of all, who lived near Jedo, and whom he had given to a rich merchant, who, having no other children, but daughters, had, even in his infancy, earnestly begged to have the young man, with the intention of marrying him to one of his daughters; the Dutch were well acquainted with the merchant. All these persons, being at such wide distances from each other, ripped open their bellies, and died on the same day, and at the same hour.

In order to fix the day of execution, a calculation was made, how many days an imperial courier would require to travel from Jedo to Zatsuma, the most distant place where any of the relatives of the culprit resided; and on what day of the month, and at what hour of the day, he could arrive there. It appearing, that that would be on the eighth day of the eighth month, orders were issued, that all the others should execute the sentence upon themselves on that day exactly at noon; which was observed with the greatest precision.

The merchant, whose daughter had married the youngest son of this noble criminal, died at Osaka of grief at the death of his son-in-law, whom he had educated, and whom he tenderly loved. His daughter desired also to rip open her belly, and die with her husband; but seeing that her parents kept a watchful eye over her to prevent her, she took the resolution of declining to take any food or drink, and by that means put an end to her life, eleven days after the death of her husband.

These instances are sufficient to teach us the dreadful effects of a despotic government, and by contrast, the happiness of those nations whose lives and property do not depend upon the will of a tyrannical sovereign, but are solely under the constraint of laws that do not operate but to the harm of those who are really guilty. Extortionary avarice ought undoubtedly to be restrained and punished, but, at the same time, a line of difference ought to be drawn between those who are guilty of an infraction of the rights of others, and those who have not participated either by act or will in the crime. Tyranny follows one road, and true civil liberty the other.

The Japanese shew a great degree of Stoicism in the hour of death, whether it be a natural or a violent one. Even the women appear actuated by an intrepidity, in other countries foreign to their sex. They are sometimes seen to suffer the cruellest tortures with great coolness. The pain of death is likewise denounced against the utterance of falsehood in particular cases, especially in such, by which the magistrates are sought to be deceived in the exercise of their judicial authority.

It is, however, necessary to observe, that all that has been said on the subject of capital and other punishments is alone applicable to the inferior nobility, the military, the merchants, citizens, and peasants. The punishments that are inflicted upon the Kings and upper order of nobility are different; their lives are not touched.

Forty leagues to the eastward of the coast of Jedo, there lies an island in the main ocean, which is only one league in circumference, and is called *Faistefina*. The coast of it is precipitous; there is no bottom to be found around it, and there is no harbour; vessels can therefore only touch at it in the following manner:

The first persons who went thither were adventurers, who, on a perfectly calm day, by means of straps and ropes fastened round their bodies, found means to climb up the precipice. Those who had ascended the height in this manner, made use of those ropes to haul up to the top timber and tools, which were fastened to them by their companions, who remained in the barks. Provided with these materials and tools, they contrived to fix some beams in such a way, and to secure them so well at one end, that the other jutting out from the rocks, were able to hold by ropes attached to them the barks below, and keep them lifted six or more feet above the water, leaving them in that suspended situation. For the least wind occasions so heavy a swell against the rocks, that any vessel remaining at the foot of them would be dashed to pieces against them. The island is every where barren and craggy, and produces nothing but a few mulberry-trees. It is almost as difficult to approach the island, as it is to land people upon it.

The nobles of the first rank, who have committed any offence against the Emperor, or have drawn upon themselves his displeasure, are sent in exile to this island. There are guard-houses placed at different parts of the island, well provided with soldiers, who are stationed there to prevent any one from having any intercourse with the exiled nobles, or from conveying any assistance to them, as the means of their escape. The garrison is relieved every month, wind and weather permitting, at which times provisions for the soldiers, and for the exiles, are sent thither. These provisions are very bad, and are distributed in a very sparing manner. Exclusive of a little rice,

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the wretches confined there only receive the bark of trees, and other strange food, difficult to eat, and worse to digest. Small huts are their abode, which are scarcely sufficient to shelter them from the heats of summer or the colds of winter. They suffer very severely in consequence of their hard treatment. They are, moreover, obliged to collect the silk produced by the worms, which are bred here in considerable numbers, to prepare and spin it, and to weave as many pieces of silk stuff every year as are imposed upon them for a task.

When the Emperor died in the year 1631, all the prisoners, in every part of the empire, not one excepted, were liberated, on the same day and hour. Each received a small sum of money, according to his necessities, in order to travel to the place to which he belonged.

The Japanese are neither very superstitious, nor are they over religious. They do not pray either in the morning or the evening, nor before nor after meat, nor on any fixed hours of the day. The most religious scarcely go to the pagoda more than once a month. They are sometimes heard to utter the word *Nammanda*; which is the name of one of their principal deities.

The priests generally hold forth three times in a year; those who are members of the sect to which the priest belongs, assemble in the pagoda to hear him. The members of a certain sect, when they are afflicted with serious or protracted diseases, send for a conjuror, who continues with them for twenty-four hours, reading all the time, or rather making an unintelligible noise; for all that relates either to their religious worship or to medicine and other sciences, is written in a learned and secret language, which is only known to those who are initiated.

At the same time the number of pagodas in Japan is incredibly large. The priests reside in them, from two to twenty in a community, according to the size of the buildings.

“The priests have their heads shaved. The usual dress of their order has a great resemblance to the linen frocks which the common people of South Holland wear. Upon festivals, however, they wear silk clothes, the upper part of which they throw over the arm, like the slips of a cloak.”

Their occupation consists in reading prayers before the idols, burying the dead, or being present at the burning of the bodies and the interment of the ashes: this takes place with much ceremony.

“The feast of the deceased, called *Bom*, is celebrated very nearly in the same manner as the festival of All Souls in the Roman Catholic countries. The priests perform the service every year on an appointed day, each in their rank, and in their own pagodas. They go in a row, one after another, in procession, round a covered grave, chanting of litanies and a sort of service for the departed.

“Tombs are erected round the pagodas, and consist of a stone-wall round the grave of one or two feet in height. Those who visit them from time to time strew them with flowers, or with green branches, and pour a little water into a hole, which is made in one of the stones for that purpose, to which they put unboiled rice, which either the poor people, or the birds soon take away. Upon some graves is erected a stone post or pillar, with an inscription, commemorating the name and rank of the person who lies buried there; but this is only the case with respect to the graves of people of some consideration or wealth.”

There are twelve different religious sects amongst the Japanese, out of which there are eleven of whom the priests eat nothing that has received the breath of life, or have any carnal connection with women. If any one of them transgresses this rule, and is legally

legally convicted thereof, he is buried with half his body out of the ground in the high road; and every passenger, who is not one of the nobility, is obliged to give him one cut with a saw across his neck. This half-interred sufferer may thus be three or four days before his torments are ended.

"Although the priests are not allowed to have any communication with women, they keep catamites; and this they do openly, without its being considered as wrong."

The twelfth sect is the one that is held in the greatest respect, and is the most celebrated by the learning of its members. The priests that belong to it are married. They may eat whatever has had life, whether land or water animals. Jeko is the name by which this sect is distinguished. It abounds more in superstitious practices than the others. The chief priests and heads of the pagodas belonging to this sect receive no less honour than Kings. When the members of the sect meet them, either on foot or in a sedan, they fall down on their knees, and worship them.

"The Great Dairo fills, amongst all these priests, the same station as the Pope of Rome does with respect to the Roman Catholic clergy in the Christian world. It is on this account that the Emperor is obliged to pay a visit to him every three years*, at Miaco, and to pay homage to him by the offering of costly presents. In this visit the Dairo hands a beaker of wine to the Emperor, who, after drinking the wine, breaks the vessel, and joins the pieces again together; which is considered as a symbol of subjection."

This sect has more sumptuous pagodas and richer priests than any of the others. Some of the clergy derive their incomes from lands appropriated to that purpose, either by the Emperor himself, or by the lords of the places where the pagodas stand. Others are maintained by the people. In the same manner as in Roman Catholic countries, every one has his own confessor, and a convent to which he directs his alms; so has each Japanese his particular pagoda, and favourite priest, in whom he places especial confidence, and who experiences, above all others, his charity. It is in this, that their religion principally consists; their alms or benevolence flow in no other channel; they are ignorant of any other religious merit.

The opinions and ceremonies of all these twelve religious sects are different. Some believe that man is endowed with an immortal soul; that the body returns to earth, but that the soul at some future time is to return to this world, in order to lead either a happy or a wretched future life, according to its deserts, in having conducted itself well or ill in its pre-existent state. The doctrine of the destruction of the world is unknown to them. Some believe that the world has existed from all eternity, and will continue eternally to exist. Some maintain that man does not possess any soul, that is, not an immortal spirit, and that he has therefore only to fear a worldly judge.

The principal and wealthiest members of these sects make use of their pagodas mostly as places of entertainment and delight. As they are generally erected in the most agreeable situations, on pleasant eminences, and surrounded by refreshing shades, they make choice of them whenever they are desirous of enjoying an excursion or a party of pleasure. They indulge in all manner of excesses in the presence of their idols, and under the eye of their priests, who are not more sparing in eating and drinking than their guests. Debauches of every kind are practised; and a number of courtezans are sent for, whom they make use of in the presence of the priests, who, in their turn, being forbidden the use of women, have recourse to unnatural practices.

* In a former place it was said every seven years; this is Hagenaar's account, the other was Caron's. S. H. W.

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The Japanese are never heard to enter into any religious disputes. Nor do the members of one sect ever seek to make converts amongst the others. Each remains in his own persuasion, without troubling others, or being troubled himself on points of faith.

“ Hagenaar relates, that he saw men wearing ropes with knots in them, slung over their shoulders, whose eyes turned round in their heads, and who were called jamma-boos, signifying as much as conjurors, or exorcists. Any one who has laboured for a long time under a disease, sends for one of the most celebrated jamma-boos, who, after having spoken in a loud and vehement manner for a considerable time, appears to receive an answer in another voice, which all the persons present hear without perceiving whence it proceeds, saying, ‘ Why do you torment and vex me so long? I am not he that does it, but such or such a one, your enemy, who sent me to cause this evil to come upon you. Appear to him, and I will depart.’ ”

“ He further observes that, though he has travelled in many parts, he never saw such magnificent idols as amongst the Chinese, who always put three together, painted most gaudily, and adorned like Kings with crowns; with always a black one amongst them. They also put the images of three beautiful women together, of a fair complexion, and well-shaped limbs, most elegantly sculptured.

“ On the outside of the city Ofacha, Hagenaar saw six pagodas, before which were placed three images of gigantic stature, with chests to receive offerings beside them, into which some of the people cast pieces of copper money. Through the middle of the smallest of these pagodas ran a rapid rivulet, which afterwards sank into the earth. A few poor old women were observed throwing into the brook pieces of paper upon which something was written; they muttered some prayers at the same time, in the same manner as the old women do at Rome, when they ascend the consecrated steps.

“ At such places, as barks and other vessels must pass close by, in their passage round the coasts and bays, the abode of a priest is erected on the points of land, or close to the water, resembling a peasant's cottage, or rather, perhaps, a pigstye, which is hung round with bits of painted paper, and looks like a little book-stall, or picture-shop in Holland.

“ In a cove about half a league from the Dutch lodge at Firando stands a little wooden house, scarcely an ell high and an ell broad. Pregnant women go thither in pilgrimage, and pray in these words: ‘ Give me a son, and I will make you an offering.’ By way of earnest in bespeaking the good offices of the power they worship, they leave a little rice as an offering. These little houses have a great conformity with the niches which the Roman Catholic Christians make in the walls along the high roads, or at the corners of streets, for the reception of images, to which in like manner they pray and make vows.”

All the priests and some of the nobility are strongly attached to unnatural lusts; they do not make any sin of this propensity, and neither feel shame or remorse on account of it.

The Christian religion was formerly very much detested in this country. This is evident from the various very severe persecutions which the professors of it have suffered. At first, the believers in Christ were only beheaded, and afterwards attached to a cross; which was considered as a sufficiently heavy punishment. But when many of them were seen to die with emotions of joy and pleasure, some even to go singing to the place of execution; and when, although thirty, and sometimes one hundred were put to death at a time, it was found that their numbers did not appear to diminish, it was then

then determined to use every exertion to change their joy into grief, and their songs into tears and groans of misery.

To effect this, they were tied to stakes and burnt alive; were broiled on wooden gridirons, and thousands were thus wretchedly destroyed. But as the number of the Christians was not perceptibly lessened by these cruel punishments, they became tired of putting them to death, and attempts were then made to make the Christians abandon their faith, by the infliction of the most dreadful torments which the most diabolical invention could suggest.

The women and girls were stripped naked, and compelled to crawl on all-fours through the streets; after which they were violated in public by ruffians, and at length were thrown into tubs full of snakes, who were taught to insinuate themselves into their bodies. One's heart shrinks to hear of the many other abominable and inhuman cruelties which were committed, and the pen refuses to record them.

The Japanese Christians, however, endured these persecutions with a great degree of steadiness and courage; very few, in comparison with those who remained steadfast in the faith, were the number of those who fainted under their trials, and abjured their religion. It is true, these people possess, on such occasions, a Stoicism and intrepidity of which no examples are to be met with in the bulk of other nations. Neither men or women are afraid of death. Yet an uncommon steadfastness in the faith must, at the same time, be requisite to continue unsubdued in these trying circumstances.

Once a year a general and strict search is made throughout all the territories of the empire. All the inhabitants are assembled in the pagodas, where they must sign with their blood, that they are true Japanese, and not Christians; or, if they are Christians, they must abjure their faith. But this measure has not produced the effects which the Emperor expected from it; as not one year elapses, in which several hundred Christians are not put to death.

All these persecutions and massacres have, in fact, considerably reduced the number of Christians; and the court has directed, in order to discover those that remain, that, if any one was found to be a Christian, he should be relieved from the punishment to which he would otherwise be liable, upon making a discovery of a fellow-Christian; or, if he could or would not point out another, that then he should suffer the penalty affixed to the profession of his religion, namely, to be hung up with the head downwards. It is generally supposed, that this measure will be more efficacious for the extirpation of Christianity, than all the punishments that have hitherto been devised.

An accurate register is kept of those Christians who have saved their lives by treachery of this kind; and the strictest measures of precaution are observed that they may not abscond. They are consequently all known; it is known where they are; and they can be forthcoming as often as they may be desired to appear.

Japanese, who were well informed, and experienced in affairs of state, assured Mr. Caron, that there was no doubt, but the court had in view to destroy all the Christians in one day, without sparing one individual, as soon as an assurance could be obtained that none others were to be found in the empire; in the hopes, in that case, of preventing Christianity from ever again rearing its head.

All the houses in Japan are built of wood, and nothing but wood and charcoal is burnt in the fire-places. Hence fires are very frequent, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for entire cities to be consumed by the flames. How large soever the quantity be of timber and wood which is requisite for these various purposes in a country so thickly inhabited, yet no scarcity is ever experienced of the article; a proof that it is a country abounding in forests and in trees.

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Each house has a kind of magazine or warehouse belonging to it, which is constructed so as to be proof against fire: articles of the greatest value are stored or kept in them. All the houses are elevated four feet from the ground, and are floored with deals, which are covered by mats closely joined together. The Japanese generally live in the lower apartments; the upper story is principally used as a storehouse for provisions, and for many other articles of inferior value. The parlours or state-rooms, in which they receive their friends, are very neat and handsome.

"Tubs or vessels full of water are placed on the top of most of the houses, in order to serve, in case of need, to extinguish fires. All kinds of variegated woods, such as red, marbled, or flowered, and camphor-wood, abound in this country, and are in common use."

The houses of the nobles and of the military are separated into two divisions. On one side of the entrance are the apartments of the women, who are never seen, and who never make their appearance. On the other, are the apartments of the husband; some of which are rooms in which he receives his friends and others, such as are devoted to the occupations which his profession, or office, require.

The wives of the citizens and merchants appear in public; together with their daughters and female slaves they attend to the domestic duties of the family. They are, however, never addressed but with great respect and politeness; and long or free conversations with them are very carefully avoided. Both the man who addressed and the woman who permitted such would be dishonoured, nay, perhaps, considered guilty of a crime.

Their principal articles of furniture are screens, strongly gilt and handsomely painted with various figures and devices. The walls are often covered with various representations, or are neatly pasted with gilt or marbled paper, so artfully done as to seem as if the whole room was made of paper. All round runs a black varnished border.

There are some small rooms or closets, which are only separated from each other by very light sliding-doors, also covered with paper, which may be taken away at pleasure; and then the several small rooms make only one large saloon.

At the upper end of the saloon is a painting, before which stands a vase of flowers; for flowers are in season here almost throughout the whole year. At the lower end is a gallery leading down into a neat garden, adorned with artificial rocks and evergreen trees. The room in which company is usually received looks into the garden.

They do not set off their houses with japanned ware, boxes, or chests; these are placed in an interior apartment, to which none but their most familiar friends and relations have access. Tea-equipages, paintings, elegant writing in frames, and scimeters of beautiful workmanship, are the articles of furniture in which they take most delight, and on which they expend most.

Both nobles and citizens receive their visitors with great civility. They offer them seats, and present them with tobacco and tea. People of wealth and consideration are entertained with wine, served out in a varnished beaker. Politeness requires that the visitors should partake of the refreshment set before them.

Banquets are always enlivened by songs, and the sound of stringed instruments. It is a fortunate circumstance that, in this country, no quarrels, and much less any fighting, takes place amongst those who have drunk too much. Whenever any one finds himself overcome by excess of drinking, he leaves the company as well as he can to sleep away the effects of his intoxication.

Drinking parties are never held in the public taverns in Japan; they always take place in private houses. Inns and taverns are indeed numerous, but they are only

appropriated for travellers and strangers, who take up their temporary residence in them.

“What is called wine amongst the Japanese is a decoction of rice, sweetened with honey or sugar, and fermented. It is very heating, and occasions the head-ache; it has much affinity to mead. Tea is in great estimation here. The great people keep it in vases with narrow necks, and well closed with bladders or other coverings, in order to preserve its strength and fragrancy. The tea-leaves are ground in a little mill into a fine powder; and as much of it as can lie upon the point of a knife is put into a pot with boiling water. The infusion is drank very hot, and is reckoned to be very wholesome. The common people have a proverbial saying, the purport of which is, ‘That man cannot but be healthy; he drinks much tea.’”

Courtship between young people before marriage is here unknown. Marriages are concluded between the fathers, or, if there be none alive, between the nearest relations. If, however, a man does not like his wife, he may send her away, upon observing the necessary solemnities, and giving her a bill of divorce.

The men are unblushingly permitted to resort to public prostitutes; and they are likewise allowed to take several concubines. But the women, as has been already observed, must expiate the smallest familiarity with a man by death.

What has been just said, however, with respect to divorces, only relates to the citizens, the merchants, and the lowest rank of the military, but by no means either to the higher or the inferior orders of nobility. On account of the respect which they bear for the noble parentage of their wives, they are restrained from giving them a bill of divorce; and although they do not please them, they do not therefore cease of maintaining them as their wives. It follows, however, in such cases, of course, that the concubines whom they keep are the objects of their affection, and engross their cares. It sometimes happens that, when the Japanese husbands are tired of their concubines, they return to their wives; but this is not often the case. The women are thus completely subjected to the will of the men, and can possess no property; whilst the men enjoy perfect liberty in that respect, and do as they please. Hence, the women, in order to prevent the men from taking up any aversion to them, strive by the strictest attention to acquire a knowledge of their humour and temper, to do whatever is pleasing to them, and by that means to obtain their love and affection. Wives and concubines exert their powers of pleasing in emulation of each other, but it too often happens that the latter are victorious in this warfare of female allurements.

Public stews, and public prostitutes are permitted here. The women who derive their subsistence from this shameful source, are considered as the slaves of those in whose service they are. The reason alledged for the allowance of this, is, that each may have the means of satisfying his carnal desires, without being led into the temptation of attempting the seduction of the wife or daughter of his neighbour. It is on account of the easy means thus applied to the satisfaction of animal desire, that those who pursue unlawful ways, meet with no mercy, but are killed without remorse.

The children are educated with a great deal of tenderness and indulgence. They are very seldom beat, and some parents never make use of the rod. When they cry, or hurt themselves, or even when their fractiousness continues a whole night, they are always spoken to in a soothing manner, and no one has the heart to beat them, or even to scold them. The Japanese allege, that they do not yet possess sufficient judgment to receive any benefit from chastisement, that the period ought to be waited for, when the increase of years make their understandings open, and that they attain sufficient

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cient experience to profit by such severe remedies ; and that, in the mean time, lessons and exhortations ought to be the only means employed.

It is certainly a very pleasing sight to observe the modesty and the sense with which children of twelve years old, and even such as are only seven, conduct themselves. They act, speak, and answer as if they were already full grown, and wholly otherwise than European children do. They are never sent to school before they are six, seven, or eight years of age ; and their size and strength are criteria by which their fitness for school is judged. It is alledged, that at an earlier period, they are incapable of being taught ; and that schools are then, with respect to them, not places where they assemble to imbibe learning, but to play, to hurt one another, and to impede each other in their learning ; to teach each other their evil customs ; and to acquire new and bad habits, which they would not otherwise have gained.

When the period arrives when it is customary to send them to school, their instruction is commenced, not so much by force as by friendly advice. They are not taught to write till they shew an inclination to learn that art ; nothing is done either to compel them to it, or to overcome any repugnance they may shew for it. In every respect, it is endeavoured to inspire them with emulation, or a laudable ambition. Examples are laid before them. They are told that such or such a one had, by his improvements in learning, acquired much esteem and celebrity, and had advanced his family in the world.

It is certain, that in children educated in this mode, the instructions given them sink into their very marrow and blood, and that they naturally become virtuous, and attentive to the fulfilment of their duties ; much more so than those who are taught by the degrading influence of the rod and the ferula. But it must also be observed, that the Japanese are naturally obstinate ; force would have little effect to make them abandon their natural inclination. It is not even uncommon that schoolmasters who have had recourse to castigation to teach their scholars their duty, have been murdered by their pupils.

“ Children are never either swathed, or dandled about in Japan ; immediately after a child is born, the midwife rubs its hands and feet with a kind of oil, and lays it down on the ground. The children of the country people are often seen stark naked in the coldest weather, crawling about upon their hands and feet.”

When the father or mother of a family becomes old, and their children have attained years of maturity, the father divests himself of the management of the family, gives up his occupation, shop, or trade, and commits the whole of his affairs to his eldest son, to whom he at the same time gives up the principal apartment in his house, and conveys to him the greatest part of his property ; or if they happen to be wealthy people, he goes to reside in another house. The property which he does not convey to his eldest son is retained for his other children.

Young women do not bring any portions with them in marriage. Rich people generally send, upon the wedding-day of their daughters, a sum of money, according to their rank, to the bridegroom ; but he sends the money back again, with many expressions of gratitude. This is ordered so, that the women may not pride themselves upon their dowers, or assume any authority in consequence. Common people, or those who are not very rich, sometimes retain such a present of money. It is a saying in this country, that a woman lives all her life under another's roof ; for, in her youth, she resides with her parents ; in her married state, with her husband ; and in her old age, with her children.

The Japanefe nation enjoy the reputation of being extremely honourable. The principle of their fidelity arifes from their love of fame, upon which they are fet above all things, and to which all their efforts are directed. None but thofe who are loft to every fenfe of character, do any thing to prejudice or hurt another. To preferve their honour they willingly lay down their lives. Numerous examples may be produced of this. The following may ferve for one.

At the time when the guardian of Fideri, as has been before related, declared againft him, the latter Prince had in his power as hoftages, a queen, the wife of the King of Cocora, and her children, together with feveral other queens, and the wives of noblemen. The King of Cocora, who was then with Ongoffchio, chofe his fide. Fideri having learnt this, gave orders that the queen and her children fhould, for greater fecurity, be conveyed into the caftle. The queen fought to prevent this, faying to Fideri in the moft refpectful manner; "My Lord, I am a woman placed under the power and authority of the King my husband, in the fame manner as he is under your power and authority. Tranfmit your orders unto him, in order that he may fend his to me, and thereby enable me to pay obedience to your commands." As ſhe was one of the moft eminent ladies in the empire, it was a point of honour for her not to go out of her own houfe, which would even have reflected difgrace upon the King her husband. Fideri, however, highly offended at her prefumption, fend word to her, that ſhe muft remove if ſhe did not choofe to be forcibly dragged from her home. Upon receiving this menace, and to avoid the difgrace a compliance with the Prince's order would have brought upon her, ſhe came to the determination of rather facrificing her life than ſubmit to the infamy which etiquette would have attached to her in the contrary caſe. Perceiving that her oppoſition did not produce the defired effect, ſhe entered into an apartment, together with her children, her nurſe, and her attendant women, who had alfo refolved to accompany her to death; ſhe cauſed a great quantity of firewood to be brought into the room, and the floor to be ſtrewed with gunpowder. She then wrote, with her own hand, her will, and ſome elegiac verſes, which ſhe put into the hands of a faithful ſervant, whom ſhe commanded as ſoon as he ſaw the flames burſt out of her room to haften away, and convey the writings ſhe had committed to his care to the King her lord and husband. She then ſet fire to the apartment, and burnt herſelf with all her attendants, whiſt the ſervant acquitted himſelf of the duty laid upon him.

In another point of view they poſſeſs great fidelity and honour. When any one commits himſelf to their protection, ſoliciting them to defend his life and honour, they do ſo moſt honourably, and ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in fulfilling this truſt, without regarding their perſonal intereſt or ſafety, or that of their wives or children. The point of honour in this reſpect is ſo ſtrictly adhered to, and they carry their generoſity ſo far to aſſiſt a friend in need upon his ſolicitations that they never ſwerve from it, how great ſoever the danger be that may hang over them, how much ſoever their lives may be expoſed, or how viſible ſoever the imminent peril be which they encounter.

When ſeveral perſons are guilty of a mutual crime, and one of them is diſcovered and convicted, he willingly ſuffers himſelf to be tortured, and will rather die under the moſt exoruciating torments than betray his aſſociates. The tortures that are inflicted are at the ſame time moſt cruel; no one is ever ſpared, and they do not terminate but with the life of the ſufferer. All, however, does not prevent him from remaining firm, and from enduring every anguiſh rather than break the promiſes he has made, and occaſion the death of his friends. The heavielt and moſt heart-rending evils are conſidered as nothing, in compariſon with a ſtain upon their honour.

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Almost all the trade of Japan is carried on by foreigners. Little can be disposed of to the grandees, for the land yields in abundance, to them, all they want.

The foreign nations who carry on trade here, and who bring their merchandize to the annual fairs, are, in the first place, the Chinese, who have, as is well known, from time immemorial, or rather from the period that Japan was first inhabited, traded hither. It is about one hundred years ago, that is, a little before the middle of the fifteenth century, that the Spaniards and Portuguese first traded to these parts. The English have also had a slight commercial intercourse with Japan; but it continued for a very few years. The profits they derived from it were not adequate to their expectations. The natives of Siam and Cambodia likewise made their appearance here with their junks, but of late their trade has been materially reduced. Finally the Dutch got access hither, about forty years ago, that is to say, shortly after the establishment of the Dutch East India Company: their trade has never been interrupted.

All foreign articles of merchandize as well as a great many of those of home production, are sent to the great city of Miaco, which is an emporium for all kinds of goods. Merchants, brokers, factors, and agents from every quarter of the empire, resort hither to dispose of, or purchase, the various articles in which they deal. Goods are sent thither from distances of two and three hundred leagues; and others again are forwarded thence to those remote places. Horses are employed for the conveyance of them, who must at times travel over mountains of difficult ascent, and through vallies intersected by rocks and rivers.

“It was earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century that the Portuguese became acquainted with Japan, through the means of the Siamese, Cambodians, and Chinese. They experienced much satisfaction in trading thither, as they found a genial climate, a healthy air, a fertile country, and as much, if not more, money, than in any other known quarter of the East Indies. They likewise found a great degree of conformity in the public celebration of religion, with the ceremonies in use in the Romish Church. They hence laid themselves out, with very fortunate effect, not only to extend their commerce, but likewise to increase the dominion of their religion. They had built very handsome churches in the province of Nangarame; but the arrogance of the Castilian and Portuguese character soon drew down upon them the aversion of the natives. Their ships were seized and burnt, and their persons were destroyed by the most dreadful massacres. In the year 1636 the Portuguese who had ventured to settle there again, were again expelled with their families, and interdicted from residing in the country in future. The occasion of this was their being in the habit of annually sending over a number of priests from Zemuar.”

Trade is carried on in Japan not only in all kinds of articles of necessity, but also such as are only conducive to luxury and pleasure. The foreign merchants import annually into the country between four and five thousand peculs of raw silk, and an innumerable quantity of silk stuffs; full two hundred thousand deer-skins, and upwards of one hundred thousand other furs; a large quantity of flax, lincus, red wool, long dresses, tutenague, quicksilver, medicinal drugs, cloves, pepper, musk, sapanwood, sugar, china, camphor, borax, elephants' teeth, red coral, and a great variety of small articles, chiefly of Chinese manufacture.

It is here believed, that the Japanese were in the habit of travelling to China from the very earliest times that the country became inhabited; that they were in alliance with the sovereign of that empire, and that the Emperors of Japan and China used to send annually ambassadors to each other. But the Japanese, who were familiarly received in China in great numbers, having at one time excited a disturbance, it rose to
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such a pitch that they destroyed an entire city, plundering it, ravishing the women, killing a great part of the men, and committing all manner of excesses. The Chinese, however, recovering from their dismay, took such measures of revenge, and observed their time so well, that they richly retaliated upon the Japanese by putting them all to the sword. The Emperor of China taking into consideration that a comparatively small number of Japanese had been able to commit so bold an outrage, and that in the midst of his dominions, was no less alarmed than astonished. In consequence he came to the determination to expel every Japanese from his empire, and to prohibit their entering it again for ever; causing at the same time a stone monument to be erected in commemoration of their wicked conduct, and upon which the sentence of their perpetual interdiction was engraven in letters of gold. Besides this, he caused a proclamation to be issued by which all his subjects were prohibited, upon pain of death, from navigating to Japan. In the commencement this order was more strictly observed than it is at present; although, even then, as usually happens in such cases, the Chinese found means to elude the edict, by making false clearances, and pretending that they were bound to some other place. The contravention of this law was not only punishable by the death of the offender, but also by the confiscation of both vessels and cargoes. At this time, however, these things are not narrowly looked into in China.

Notwithstanding this severe measure of the Chinese Emperor, the sovereigns of Japan have never interdicted the Chinese from entering into their territories. They declared, that they would not return evil for evil, and that in fact the Japanese were to blame, and had given occasion to the resolutions that had been entered into in China.

"Intelligent Japanese affirmed to Hagenaar that the inhabitants of Japan were in reality descendants of Chinese who had been banished from their country, and had repaired to the islands which they now inhabit. That the occasion hereof was, that many of the nobles of the court of the Emperor of China, having entered into a conspiracy against him, it was discovered, and several of the principal conspirators were seized and put to death; but as an immense number of people had taken part in this combination, the Emperor was satisfied with the banishment of the inferior classes; and that these exiles, together with such of the chiefs as had saved themselves by flight, took refuge and settled in these fertile and pleasant islands."

"It was added that, after they had regulated their society, they considered of the means of obliterating the memory of their origin, and of the occasion of their contrained emigration to their present abode; that they desired not that the world should know that they came from China, and had been expelled thence on account of their misdeeds. With this view, therefore, they changed their dress, language, and mode of writing, and accustomed themselves to almost every thing that was the reverse of what was customary in China. That this is the origin of the distinction that is observable between them and the Chinese, and indeed between them and almost all other people in an innumerable variety of peculiarities; as well as of their deviation from certain customs which are common to all nations excepting the Japanese. It is hence that it is said they differ, in particular, from the Chinese in the mode of wearing the hair; which the latter wear very long, never cutting it, and tying it together at the top of the head; whilst the Japanese shave the crown of their head quite bare till a little above the ears, tying the remainder of the hair round the neck, with a strip of white paper."

After the Japanese were banished from China, they navigated to Taiovan (Formosa), whither the Chinese brought their goods to trade with them. But a report of this intercourse having been made to the Emperor of China, their admittance at Taiovan was equally prohibited.

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About a hundred years after that prohibition, the Japanese began anew to frequent that island. They used to sail with seven passports, from their Emperor permitting them to trade respectively to Taiövan, Tunquin, Cambodia, Siam, and other places. These passports likewise included directions, according to which those who visited foreign parts were to regulate themselves, in order to prevent the recurrence of events similar to that which had taken place in China.

New circumstances and other views afterwards induced the Emperor to withdraw these passports, and to prohibit all his subjects from undertaking any foreign voyage. Pride is supposed to have formed the basis of this determination of the court. The honour and reputation of the Emperor are objects of so tender a nature, and he is so strenuously devoted to maintain them, that he cannot bear any thing from foreigners that seems to throw the least appearance of tarnish upon them. From a principle of justice, besides, he would not suffer his subjects to commit any act in a foreign land that might displease the government there; as in fact happened about that time and afterwards, both at Taiövan and in the dominions of the King of Siam, who had taken upon himself to punish the delinquents.

Another reason of this prohibition is, that the Emperor will not allow any arms to be exported out of his dominions, nor that navigators should use them to hurt or annoy the inhabitants of the places where they touch, whilst it is scarcely possible for voyages to take place without such instances. So very strict is the prohibition against the exportation of arms, that, whilst Mr. Caron was in Japan, two Chinese, father and son, were crucified, because the father had only attempted to infringe this law; and five Japanese who had sold the arms to him, without, however, having any knowledge of the intention of the Chinese, were beheaded.

But another, and the most powerful, motive for prohibiting sea-voyages, is the jealous apprehension, that those Japanese who resort to foreign countries, may acquire some inclination for the Christian religion, and may cause it to make its appearance again in the empire.

The Japanese have, therefore, no foreign relations; and excepting their former embassies to China, have never sent any ambassadors to other potentates. The King of Spain, the Pope of Rome, and the King of Siam, have, more than once, sent splendid embassies to Japan, which have been received in a very friendly way; but the Emperor of Japan has never yet been able to resolve upon answering these civilities by reciprocal demonstrations of friendship.

Neither the Emperor nor any of the nobles derive any advantage from the operations of commerce, the profits of which belong solely to the merchants who are engaged in it. Their profits are, however, but small, excepting it happens that a sudden rise takes place in the price of any article of which they may happen to be holders. The empire being very extensive, and exceedingly populous, there are great numbers who lie in wait to take every advantage, and when there is therefore a penny to be got, there are at least ten hands stretched out to catch it.

All the necessaries and the luxuries of life are produced in the empire. It yields gold, silver, copper, and lead in abundance; and furnishes also cotton cloth, cotton, goatkins, an annual quantity of full one hundred thousand peculs of silk, and of between three and four hundred thousand peculs of silk-cotton*, a great many deerkins, timber, and all kinds of provisions in much greater abundance than is requisite for the subsistence of the inhabitants.

* The produce of the *Bombax pentandrum*,

“ The sea-weed which grows upon the rocks, is a favourite article of food with them. It adheres to them in the manner of oysters; and is collected at low water. The hills abound in a great variety of herbs; and the fields with very beautiful flowers, of which the great people make a good deal of work. They are likewise very fond of birding. There are some very experienced physicians, who can tell the nature of a disease by feeling the pulse. Most medicines are administered in pills. The properties and the use of the bark are very well known. But they have very little knowledge of the treatment of wounds.”

Only one language prevails throughout the whole empire of Japan; only one mode of dress; one kind of weight; and one species of coin; of the last, however, it is only the gold and silver coin that are uniform. The Casics, which are current in many different kingdoms throughout the Indies, are of various value. The variation in their currency induced the government to buy up all the casics, and to issue in their stead other pieces of copper coin which are all equal in nominal value. They acted with perfect equity on this occasion, as on many others, as they bought up this base coin above its nominal value, and by that means made every one eager to exchange it.

It has already been stated that Japan possesses a great abundance of horses, bulls and cows, for they are never castrated; also deer and swine, together with other quadrupeds, both wild and tame, and all kinds of fowl.

There are very excellent and salubrious mineral springs and baths; impregnated with cupreous, nitrous, sulphureous, ferruginous, and stannary particles; some are brackish and others fresh. Amongst others there is one which rises in a hole upon a high mountain. This cavity is ten feet in diameter at its mouth, and appears very dark on account of its depth. Within, as far as the eye can reach, it appears studded with sharp points jutting out and resembling elephant's teeth.

Another of these springs bursts out at the foot of a mountain, not far from the sea-shore. The water does not rise in it without intermission, but at intervals, and at regular times, that is to say, generally twice in twenty-four hours, when it continues rising for an hour at a time. Yet when a warm easterly wind blows, it rises three, and sometimes four times in that period, and then likewise flows an hour at a time. When the hour of its rising approaches, a sound is heard as of a strong wind, which appears to force the water upwards with such violence that the heavy stones which lie at the mouth of the spring shake with the force. The water gushes up three or four fathoms into the air with a report as loud as that of a great gun. The heat of this water is very great; it exceeds that of boiling water. The basin into which it falls has been surrounded by a wall. It is conducted through this wall by spouts into the buildings erected for the curing of patients who resort to this spring.

Although the language as well as the form of the letters or characters is widely different in China, Japan, Corea, and Tunquin, there is nevertheless a particular language and mode of writing, used by scientific men, which is learnt and understood by many in all these four extensive countries.

The Japanese write with painting-brushes, and do it very expeditiously. A little time suffices to commit to writing whatever they command or desire. They possess a peculiar promptness in expressing a great deal in a few lines. Their petitions, letters, and other writings, especially those which are destined to come into the hands of the magistrates and the nobles, are uncommonly short, but convey the meaning of the writers, accurately and fully.

Though they do not keep accounts in the same manner as we do, yet they are very exact in their statements of receipt and expenditure. They are very ready in calculating, which

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which they do upon boards, by means of a little stick, to the end of which a piece of chalk is fastened.

There are likewise libraries in Japan, but they are not so frequently met with as in Europe; for the inferior classes read very little. The chronicles and annals of the empire are preserved in the palace of the Dairo, where they are continued. The Dairo himself, his nobles, and their wives, do not disdain to commit to writing the events that occur in their time.

A COPY OF THE JAPAN DIARY:

Received per a Danish Ship, July 18, 1674, and given to Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL
by Sir NATHANAEL HEARNE*.

Sunday, June 29, Anno Dom. 1673, aboard the Ship Return.

THIS day we had rainy weather, and the wind southerly. In the morning about eleven of the clock, coming before Nangafacque, there came off to us two or three boats, one with Japan, the other with Dutch colours; they hailed us in Portugueze, asking us who we were, and from whence we came? We answered them in English and Dutch, and told them we were English from Bantam; they would not come aboard us, but from the Japan boat they wished us to come to an anchor, to forbear sounding of trumpets, and firing of guns, which we complying with, they returned ashore.

About two hours after there came nine boats from the shore towards us, in which were two principal men, one being called the governor and the other the secretary, accompanied with one interpreter that spoke Portugueze, and four others that spoke Dutch, and several other persons to the number of fourteen, whom we entertained in the great cabin; being seated, the governor, by his interpreter, asked me several questions; first, whether we were English? I told them yes, and that we came with licence from the King of England, for the East India Company to trade and have commerce with them, as we had several years before, now forty-nine years ago; and that we brought letters from our King of England, and the Honourable East India Company, for His Imperial Majesty of Japan; and also tendered them a copy of the articles, or privileges, granted to us, at our first entrance here, by the Emperor, in the Japan character, which they perused, and read, and could understand, asking very much for the original or grant itself, with the Emperor's chop or seal, which I said we had not, by reason it was delivered to the Emperor's council at our departure from Firando; they kept it, saying, they would deliver it to me again very suddenly: then they asked if we had peace with Portugal and Spain, and how long our King had been married to the daughter of Por-

* From Kempfer's History of Japan.

tugal, and what children she had? To all which I answered, that we had peace with all nations, that our King had been married about eleven years, that he had no children by the Queen, that it is customary in our parts for Kings to marry with their equals to strengthen their alliance, and for other reasons of state, and not with their own subjects; also I acquainted them of some presents we had for His Imperial Majesty, which seemed to please them: they asked what religion we had: I told them the Christian as the Dutch, not Papists; they asked what goods we brought; I told them in general terms, wherewith they seemed content and went ashore.

Two hours after they came again, and said, that if we would be content to trade as the Dutch, we should, but we must, according to the Japan custom and manner, deliver our guns, and all other ammunition into their hands to be carried ashore, with our two boats; that nothing should be diminished; that they would send to the Emperor, and upon receipt of his answer, we should come ashore and have a house; they brought boats to ride by us as guards, a-head and stern, and on both sides (a small distance from the ship), full of soldiers; then they took the names of every man aboard, and viewed every man; they brought a Dutchman with them to see if we were English, asking every man if he were not a Portugal, or if he could not speak that language. After taking an account of the quantity of bales of goods we had brought, and their several qualities, they asked what ships came with us out of England, and concerning our stay at Pehoe and at Bantam? I told them one went for Tonqueen, the other returned for Bantam; they demanded our ammunition, which was delivered them in part, as much as they could well carry; so taking our two boats with them they went on shore.

June 30th. Came on board the governor, secretary, and bonjoyfcs, with the interpreters, and said, since it was forty-nine years since we had been there, what was the reason of our so long absence? I answered, that we had for about twenty years civil wars in England, and twice wars with the Dutch, and that it was no small matter to resolve upon so long a voyage, it being very difficult and dangerous. They asked if we had any that had been here before aboard our ships? I told them not a man; then they said how could you find the way into the harbour? I answered them we had sea-draughts for our assistance, which seemed to content them. This morning they brought off boats with them, wherein they took the rest of our powder and shot, with every particular man's arms, leaving nothing of that nature aboard, and viewing a double barrel gun, and some small pistols sent for presents by our honourable employers, they were well pleased with them and took them ashore, saying they would shew them the governor, who would write to the Emperor the particulars of the curiosities we had brought. They wrote down exactly every thing they took ashore, and compared their accounts together in the great cabin before the secretary; who approving thereof, with much courtesy took his leave, promising that with all speed we should have an answer from Jedo, and admittance to trade: I gave them thanks, and said we no ways questioned their honourable performance; they said they would not take our great guns ashore, but leave them aboard for our conveniency.

July 1st. The governor and the interpreters came aboard again and examined me concerning the affairs of Tywan; to which I answered, that our interpreters there had told me, that in regard the governor of Nangasacke this last year had put a price upon their goods, they intended not to come this year with any juncks. Being asked whether they intended to set out their juncks and rob upon the coast of China, I answered that I knew of no such intent: but the Dutchman that came with them the first day, told them

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them I had said they did intend to rob at sea, which I told them was an untruth, for I had said no such matter. Then they examined all our men over again by their names, to know their age and office, which they took; and desired against next day they might have a particular account of every particular man's goods he had to sell; how many pieces of each sort; and likewise desired the contents of the Honourable Company's bales, which I promised I would endeavour to get ready. They took the dimensions of the ship, and masts, yards, &c.; and said if we wanted any thing from the shore we should make a waft; and in case of the death of any person we should not throw them overboard, but put out two wafts, and that they would come aboard with an interpreter; and again told us, they had sent to the Emperor, and wished us to be cheerful and contented, and so departed.

2d. In the morning came aboard the interpreters with some gentlemen of the Emperor's, and desired an account of the news we brought; I told them we had peace with all nations at home and abroad; that being in Bantam we had news from Surat, from the chief of our nation; that there were seventeen French ships upon or about the coast of Malabar; that it was supposed there might be a war between them and the Dutch, but the certainty we knew not. Then they desired me to read a Dutch letter brought in our ship for the Dutch Chief here, from Tywan, which I did, and told them the contents were, that they had been a long time prisoners, and were in great want, and desired the Dutch Chief to intercede for their liberty to the Emperor of Japan, the next treaty there might be betwixt the Chinese and this empire; for they understood, as to matter of commerce, all was for the present laid by. They asked if the letter did not mention they would not send any juncks this year to trade; I told them nothing to that purpose; and what I had told them, I had from our jurybasses, but was certain of nothing, all being but reports of the people; with this they departed.

This afternoon they came off and brought us some fresh fish, peaches, plums, eggs, radish, cucumbers, melons, gourds, six hens, a hundred small loaves of bread, bought by the Dutch commodore, and rated all at a copang and a half, which was extraordinary dear, yet we paid them with many thanks. I asked them leave to wear our colours, and sound our trumpets, which they said we might do; and at their departure we founded; I desired them to lose no time in sending up to the Emperor; they told me they had sent away two days before, and that we might rest contented; they made no doubt but we should have a kind reception, and with all speed possible. We daily went to prayers, with singing of psalms publickly upon the quarter deck.

Note, That all questions they put to us they did it in the Portugal language, and were answered in the same, or Spanish, and then put the same in Dutch again; and thus they constantly did, asking one thing five or six times over, and every time had their answer for their more certain understanding; so that all persons in these parts should have one, if not both these languages.

4th. We made a waft, thinking they would have come from the shore aboard us, but they came not, we suppose they understood not the manner of our waft.

6th. This afternoon came aboard in two boats a bonjoyce with some others, and about six interpreters; they inquired of me concerning the Portugal religion, whether they were not called *Catbolico Romano*: I told them yes, that they so termed themselves; they asked if they had not a woman-image, or print, called Sta. Maria and a man Sto. Christo, and whether they had not their images in reverence? and what other saints they had? I said I had heard they had images of these too, which they worshipped, but how many others they had I knew not, as not being of their religion;

they asked what religion we had ; I told them the reformed religion, so called in England, and in Dutch Ghereformert ; they asking, whether we had any images as the Portugals had, I told them we had none ; then asking what worship we had, I told them by words, praying to God Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, above in the heavens, filling the world with his presence ; but that we had no images of him. They asked, who that St. Christo was ? I told them the Son of God ; Who was Sancta Maria ? I told them we called her the Virgin Mary ; and that we made no addreeses to her : They asked how the Dutch did worship God ; I told them as we who were Ghereformert ; and asking how the Dutch called God and Christ ? I said Godt and Christus : they asked how we called the Portugal religion ? I told them Roman Catholicks ; by what name we termed those that were of that religion ? I told them papists or popishly affected ; how the Dutch called them ? *Papisten and Rooms-Catholicken, and Rooms Gesinde* : and what other names they gave them ? I told them I was no Dutchman ; but without question they had other names for them, but all were to this effect : then asking what the Portugals called us ? I told them Hereyes, in English hereticks, in Dutch the same. It being Sunday we put our colours with St. George's cross ; they asked why we put out our colours to-day, not having spread them before since our coming ? I said this was our Sunday, which came every seventh day, and it was our custom so to do : they asked again what way we worshipped God ? I said by prayer every morning and even unto the great God of Heaven above ; Whether the Dutch did the like ? I told them I believed they did ; with all which they seemed satisfied, and having asked these questions six or seven times over, they wrote them down, together with my answers, and gave them me to sign, which I did, although I understood not their character ; all the interpreters signed the same, and put their seals to it, and said upon their words it was as they had asked me ; then wishing us not to throw any thing overboard by night, to keep our men sober, and not to give them leave to go into the water to swim, and to forbear fighting ; I told them we had no arms aboard ; they said not with knives ; I replied it was not our custom. I desired them to send us some hogs, Sisket, salt, fish, radishes, turnips, or other salleting, with one barrel of sackee, (having formerly made a waft, and none came off to us, they said they had not seen our waft), and promising to send us the next day what we wanted, they departed, not saying any thing against our usual colours, having been aboard five hours and very troublesome. The same evening, about an hour after, they returned aboard again, and said that in our colours we now put abroad there was a cross, how it came, that when we first entered the colours we then wore had no cross in them, only stripes white and red ? I answered, the colours we came in with, were new colours of silk made at Tywan, red and white without a cross ; because the Chinese had told us, they were great enemies to the cross for the Portugals sake, and that it would be better taken not to wear the cross at our first entrance. They asked to see the colours we came with : I said it being a rainy day at our entrance, those new colours were spoiled and were taken in pieces ; yet they desired to see them, which being brought, they were satisfied : then I said these colours that we now wear were the right English colours, and had been worn by the English nation for several hundred years ; and that when we were last at Firando they were worn by our English ships ; and that the Dutch knew very well they were our colours, whom I desired them to ask for their satisfaction ; they said one of the interpreter's father had been interpreter to the English, and that he was still living, and that they would inquire of him : moreover I said, we did not wear the cross as in worship or superstition, but as being worn by

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the English different from Portugal or been subjected by us time and that out of Portuga writing and promising to from some two sail we 7th. They proved Du with one h they came we put ou their entran and they to not advise cross, the other colour ters advised the govern friendship a provisions and quality twenty day accommod board again examining which was made war and that th Dutch : th years since came to pa Roman C and at our they now to for the fam news from by Mr. Ma news to be there was and his me Japan's cou the like pap

the English nation for distinction, and that the Portugal's colours and crosses were much different from ours; they asked if ever England had been under the government of Portugal or Spain, and had received this cross from them? I told them we never had been subject to either of them; but that it being so long since our first using them, I could not tell them certainly what was the cause of our first wearing them, being used by us time out of mind, and according as I read in history above six hundred years, and that our King was a monarch of three great nations, and far greater than the King of Portugal; with all which they seemed satisfied; all questions and answers were put in writing and signed by me; having been here some three hours they departed, promising to send us some provisions to-morrow. This morning early we heard five shot from some shipping at sea; the Dutch boats went out but could not get to the ships; two sail were seen; we hoped they might be English.

7th. This morning about six of the clock entered the two ships that were off, they proved Dutch, each about two hundred tons, square sterned, manned, as they tell us, with one hundred and forty men between them, which is more than they usually carry; they came from Batavia about forty days since; news we could not learn any as yet: we put out our English colours with the crosses in them, flag, ancient, and jack, at their entrance; about ten of the clock came aboard the interpreters with two chief men, and they told us that for the future, until other orders came from Jedo, they would not advise us to wear our colours with the crosses in them, it being so nigh the Portugal cross, the generality of the people would take our crosses to be the Portugal crosses; any other colours we might wear, but not in the form of a cross: this the interpreters advised us to observe from them as our friends, not that it was the command of the governor or Emperor, and by this means we might be assured of the Japanners' friendship and of a trade; they promised us that to-morrow we should have the fresh provisions we had desired; and taking a particular account of all goods for quantity and quality we had aboard, they went ashore, telling us again that they expected within twenty days an answer from Jedo, and then we should have an house and all other accommodation necessary provided to our content. About eight at night there came on board again two chief secretaries, and seven interpreters, and told me they had been examining the Dutch Chief concerning the news these two ships brought from Batavia, which was (as they were informed) that the English and French were joined together and made war against the Hollanders, who had taken a ship about Batavia from the English, and that the English had taken one about Ceylon, or the coast of Malabar, from the Dutch: then asking me (that since the Hollanders and we had made peace five or six years since, and promised to assist each other, and were both of one religion) how it came to pass that we fell out with the Dutch, and joined with the French, that was a Roman Catholick; I answered, that when we came from England all was in peace, and at our being at Bantam the like, and that we knew of no wars, more than what they now told me these two ships brought advice of, much less could I give any reason for the same, and that I did not believe what the Dutch reported, unless there came news from England or Bantam, to confirm it. Then they shewed me a paper signed by Mr. Martinus Caesar, chief for the Dutch here, wherein he declared the above-said news to be true, and hath promised the governor of this place, that notwithstanding there was war between the two nations, that in this port both by water and land he and his men should live peaceably with us, as likewise in any part of the Emperor of Japan's country, for such were his commands; and therefore required of me to sign the like paper, with promises that I and our nation should live peaceably with the Dutch,
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and not put any affronts upon them, which if we did as they desired, they told us, the Emperor would protect us (though but new comers into his country) as much as he should the Dutch; for which I returned him thanks, and made him the same promises, and signed to a paper in the Japan character according to their custom. This they several times repeated, that we should have the same friendship as the Dutch, although they had been here so many years, and we but newly come; but they expected our peaceable living both here and upon their coast; and that as soon as the Emperor's answer came from Jedo, they would provide all things ashore for our convenience and security. They required me to promise, that when the other ships came that we expected, they should do the like, which I did. I also proposed to them, that since there was war between both nations, they would let our ships depart first out of their ports, for the Dutch were like to be double the number of ships to us, and in case they went out first, in all probability they would lie in wait for us, and fight us at our going to sea; which proposition they said was but reason, and that upon receiving the Emperor's orders for our reception, we might propose that, or any thing else judged necessary. They staid aboard till midnight and so departed.

8th. This day they brought us from on shore some fresh provisions, viz. three small hogs rated to enty four tayle, some salt and fresh fish, some bisket, and one tub of sackee, containing four gallons, at 2½ tayle; all our provisions amounting to 6½ copangs, which we paid with thanks; every thing being excessive dear, contrary to what we were informed at Tiwan of this place; but we find the price of every small thing to be put down in writing by order of the government; and it being not fitting for us to refuse any thing they bring us for our relief, until we have admittance to trade, and a house ashore, we pay for every thing at the rates they put them at for compliance sake. The interpreters tells us that the Dutch pay the same rates.

10th. We made a waft, and soon after came off by our ship side in a small boat two interpreters; we desired them to come aboard, but they would not; we requested some hens and water, with some herbs and roots, which they promised we should have the next day. We enquired what news they had learnt from the Dutch ships concerning the engagements there had been, but could not get any satisfactory answer; they told us that upon arrival of the Dutch admiral they should know more; they told us likewise that there were but three Dutch ships more expected here this year, and so departed.

11th. They brought us some water and hens, with some radishes, cucumbers, &c. We paid three copangs for all, according to their account: as yet we could not receive any certain news of the ships that had been taken.

13th. These two last nights we had much wind and rain, and so excessive violent, that it was rather a tuffon than a storm, coming from the mountains in such violent gusts upon us, that although we ride with our best and small bower in the river where no sea goes, it being a mile round, both our anchors came home, and we were forced to let go our sheet anchor, the wind veering from the S. to the S. S. E. and S. E. but blessed be God we suffered no damage.

19th. Arrived a junk from Batavia, wanting from thence fifty days; the men were all Chinese, and colours Chinese; her lading being pepper, sugar, several sorts of calicoes, allejaes, &c. for account of particular Chinamen here at Nanguasacque. We enquired, but could not be informed, of certain news of the difference between us and Holland; they reported we might expect the Dutch Chief with three or four ships more in a few days from Batavia; they said they had spoken with two China junks of Tywan, but heard of no war.

28th. Chiefeffere us. that t our being former fri our King admit us t pleasure, likewise fa it was imp days we de able. Th and seeme expres th times allec that we ha again, th could mak we must l Portugal, &c. again. 31st. V water, wo fore desire English cle and offer, to have rel Our cor all standi men to be clear our our men t our voyag promises t mutiny, e our men f any advan we deprive Cod in hi Aug. 20 we should us from l bring us v had occasi 6th. I expecte v us the par with them make 164

28th. In the morning about ten o' clock came on board our ship with three boats, the chief secretaries, and their banjoise, with seven interpreters, and our attendants. They told us that they had received letters from the Emperor, whom they had acquainted with our being here, and with the intent of our coming to trade, upon account of our former friendship (all which as they were advised had been considered), but in regard our King was married with the daughter of Portugal, their enemy, they could not admit us to have any trade, and for no other reason. This they said was the Emperor's pleasure, and express order, and therefore they could make no alteration in it: they likewise said we must be gone with the first wind, nay, within twenty days. I replied, it was impossible for us to go until the monsoons changed. They asked how many days we desired. I replied forty-five days hence; I supposed the winds might be favourable. They said, what provisions we wanted to supply our occasions we should have, and seemed to give consent to our staying until the monsoons changed. They did express themselves to be very sorry that we could not be admitted to trade. I several times alledged, that we had licence by our last articles to come here and trade, and that we had been nigh two years upon this voyage; wherefore I desired again and again, that we might be admitted to sell this ship's lading of goods. They said they could make no alteration in what the Emperor had commanded; that his will was, that we must be gone, and come thither no more for by reason of our alliance with Portugal, they would not admit of us. They told us we should have our ammunition, &c. again, and so departed.

31st. We made a waft, the interpreters came to us; we desired several provisions, as water, wood, rice, wheat, hogs &c. We told them we had no more money, and therefore desired them to take payment for the provision we wanted in goods, offering English cloth, or China silks, such as they best liked. They took notice of our request and offer, and promised to return next day, and bring us several things; so we hoped to have relief, which God grant.

Our commander summoned his officers, and at a consultation it was agreed, that all standing cabins between decks should be taken down; as also bulk heads, and two men to be reduced to one chest, and other provisions and runnages to be made to clear our ship, against the day of engagement with an enemy; also finding several of our men to be discontented for want of provisions, which we could not procure, and our voyage proving extremely long, we were fain to give them good words and large promises to make them amends, when we came where it was to be had, to prevent a mutiny, especially in our condition; for we might not (by the Japanners orders) strike our men for any crime, which we were more ready to observe, lest they should take any advantage against us: our lives, with ship and goods being in their power, and we deprived of all means to help ourselves: we were full of troubles in our minds: God in his infinite mercy deliver us out of their hands.

Aug. 2d. Came aboard the interpreters again, and desired a particular account of what we should want weekly, during our stay here, and for six weeks provisions to carry us from hence to Bantam, all which we put down in writing, and they promised to bring us weekly what we desired; and for payment they would take what goods they had occasion of that were China goods, but English goods they would have none.

6th. In the morning about ten o' clock came aboard the interpreters (whom we had expected with many a longing look, in regard of our want of provisions), and brought us the particulars we had desired; this being the first week we entered upon account with them, amounting in all to 111 tail 1 mals, which being reduced into copangs, make 16½ and 6 mals, accounting each copang at 6 tail 8 mals. I firmed a paper to

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pay them in such goods as we had on board, when the governor should desire the same. They promised to bring us weekly the like quantity, during our stay here, and to provide for us according to our desire, at our departure. They told us there was a ship seen at sea some twenty leagues off, but they knew not what she was, so we parted with much friendship and content. About two o' clock in the afternoon entered the ship they told us of, which we all made, at a distance, both seamen and others, to be the Experiment belonging to our honourable employers, and dispatched by us from Tywan for Bantam the 19th of November last. To our great grief and discontent we saw our companion a prisoner, God knows what they have done with the ship's company, but to our apprehension she was no ways damnified, so that the parting from us in time of peace, we judge her to have been surpris'd; the truth God knows, who we hope will keep us out of their hands.

8th. In the afternoon entered two Holland ships, or great fly-boats, about three hundred tons each, the first with a flag on the main-top, which she kept aboard until she came within sight of the ship that wore the flag here before riding in the harbour. We put out a waft all this day, intending to desire a boat of water, but none came a board of us.

9th. Our waft being out, the interpreters came by our side in a boat. I desired some water, pumpkins, and gamons, which they promised us speedily. They asked us if we knew that English ship that the Dutch had brought in. I answered them she was our companion out of England, and we had dispatched her for Tywan. They said all her men were prisoners at Batavia; that Samuel Barron and the junk were taken and carried to Batavia. Also they said they had hanged some of our men at Batavia; that they had taken two English ships more at or near Ceylon, and four French ships; that now all the Dutch were come for this year, and so returned. God deliver us out of the hand of our enemies.

14th. Came all the interpreters, bonjoyces, desiring to know what rarities we had aboard, and said they would willingly buy them, not by order from the governor, but as from themselves. Particular men shewed them what was at hand; but they put a small price and esteem upon every thing, and bought nothing; they spake of several of the Chinese goods, which they desired to be brought to hand against to-morrow, and they would return to see them, so departed.

15th. Came off in the morning the chief magistrate of Nanguafacque and two secretaries of state, attended with six of the Dutch interpreters, and two other interpreters, that told me, they had formerly been interpreters to the Dutch; both of them spoke and understood Dutch better than any of the other. They took a view of most of the rarities we had aboard, provided by our honourable employers, and belonging to particular persons, and of all our China goods: after which they examined me concerning the state of Europe, our King and his alliance, especially by marriage and descent, concerning the course of the sun, and moon, and stars, and tides, &c. with many other questions they had formerly put, and about the paper I formerly gave them in the Japan character, and whether any in England could write that, or the China character; to all which I answered the truth, and informed them of affairs, as briefly as I could. They told me that the English, French, and Bishop (meaning, as I suppose, of Munster) had taken three of the seven provinces under the States-General, asking me whether I knew what places or castles they had taken. I answered, we knew nothing but what we heard from them; and that they very well knew, we having been nigh two years out of England. They took several rarities ashore to shew the governor, and promised to return them. The two interpreters told me that it was for our good

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they came aboard; so that we hope some good may come of this examination extraordinary. In the afternoon came aboard our weekly provisions of food and water: the interpreters told us that Mr. Baron was not hanged, nor any English at Batavia, as had formerly been reported. They said that there had been a fight between the Dutch and the English, and that we had taken and sunk ten or twelve ships, and beaten the Dutch home again. We were glad to hear from our country, not having had any letters since our departure.

19th. The wind came easterly with gusts and rains, for five weeks of our time here. Generally we had southerly winds, fair weather, and very much heat; we now expect (it being the moon's wane) alteration of weather.

22d. In the morning came in a fly-boat, about three hundred and fifty tons, from Batavia, wanting from thence forty-one days: they report, that there was no other news from Holland than what formerly they brought. They said Coxinga of Tywan's juncks were roving upon the coast of China, taking what they could.

25th. Came off the interpreters, and acquainted us, the wind being northerly, we must make ready to be gone within one or two days, and desired to know what we wanted, which we told them, and fitted our ship for sail.

26th. In the morning came aboard two secretaries of state, and the magistrate of Nanguacacque, with the usual interpreters. They brought in several boats all the provisions of wood, water, rice, &c. that we wanted. We made up all our accounts, and agreed and signed them an acquittance in full for what we delivered them; and having adjusted accounts, the secretaries examined me again, with several questions formerly answered, concerning our country and King, Holland and France, &c. But they asked now one question more than formerly, which was; since it was forty-nine years since our being here, caused, as I had told them, by the civil wars, which we had nigh for twenty years, and twice wars with the Dutch, and in all that time having trade with Bantam, why we did not come for Japan, as well as for Bantam? I answered, that the trade between England and Bantam was chiefly continued for pepper, which was bought yearly with what was sent out of England, and returns made immediately, which could be done with a small stock; but the trade for Japan could not be carried on from England directly, but required a settlement in several places in India, as Tonqueen, Siam, Cambodia, and Tywan, which several factories required a stock of twenty tons of gold, which our Honourable employers had resolved to set apart, to furnish the trade with such commodities as were proper for this market; which being so considerable a sum (besides the employment of many ships,) it was no small matter to resolve upon so great an adventure, which required time, and peace, and other matters for their encouragement, which until now they had not found convenient; and these, I supposed, were the reasons inducing our Company now to prosecute this voyage: they seemed contented with this answer. After they told me, the wind being come fair, and they having furnished us with what we required for our maintenance of life, and for the carrying on our voyage for Bantam, which was according to the Japan courtesy, we must be gone from hence the next day. We should have our boats sent us, and all our ammunition, and we must depart peaceably without shooting off any guns in the jurisdiction of the Japan Emperor, which I promised we would perform. I asked whether we might wear our colours. They said we might wear any colours that had no cross in them, our cross being offensive to them for being nigh the Portugal cross. Then asking, whether we might return hither after the death of our Queen? they answered, possibly we might, if

the Dutch and several Chinese did satisfy the Emperor, that we were not in amity with Portugal; but he could not assure us we should have admision; our surest way was not to come; for this Emperor's commands (according to the Japan saying) were like unto sweat that goeth out of a man's hands and body, which never returned in again; the Emperor's commands admit of no alteration. They asked, why we of the reformed religion did admit of marriages with the Romanists, because the female usually draws the inclination of her husband to her religion. I answered, it was usual in Europe, and each party adhered to their opinions, without any alteration as to the generality of the nation. I desired some answer in writing, to shew our Honourable employers in England, for their satisfaction. They answered, they had no order from the Emperor to give any, and that it was sufficient what we had received verbally. They asked, if our agent at Bantam had the power of the Dutch general at Batavia; and what his name was; and how many English were usually in Bantam? I answered, that over the English at Bantam the agent had the chief command; and as to the number of English, they were more or less as shipping came in; that the Dutch usually made wars in India with several nations, and fortified themselves in all parts; that we were peaceable, and came chiefly for trade. They promised me, that none of those six Dutch ships should stir out of port these two months, and they hoped we should in less time be at Bantam; and that we should miss our enemies; and wished us a happy voyage; and many years of life; so giving them many thanks for their continual favours, wishing them long life and happiness, we parted, with much outward courtesy and seeming reluctance, for our not being admitted by the Emperor to settle a trade here. God grant us protection wheresoever we shall be forced to go from hence, for the security of the Honourable Company's estates, our lives and liberties. We have had a troublesome life here under the severe commands of this people.

27th. In the morning, about seven o'clock, came aboard the old secretary, whom they now called the second person, with another great man, and several interpreters; with them came all our ammunition and boats. They told me, the wind being fair, we must be gone; and said, we should have our boats and all things restored to us, which they ordered to be delivered, excepting our powder, and that we should have when we were out of the harbour; saying, the Dutch and Chinese had their arms all delivered them without, but we should have all but the powder delivered to us presently, for our better satisfaction and dispatch. They told me, I should give order immediately to weigh our anchors, which I did, and about ten o'clock we were under sail; they charged us not to shoot any guns off, neither in harbour nor at sea, so long as we were upon the Japan coast; and, in case the wind came contrary, and we were forced back, we should endeavour to come for Nanguafacque, and at our entrance to fire no guns; if we did, we must expect they would treat us as enemies, and all the country had order to esteem us as such, in case we fired any guns. I promised to comply with their commands, and returned them many thanks for all their favours and assistance we had received, and that being got out we would stand for the coast of China; then wishing us a good voyage, they returned to their own boats, and said, they would see us out of their port. The wind being but little, we could not get out, which they seeing, they sent for Japan boats, and towed us out with about forty boats. We put out a pennant from the main-top of red and white, and no other colours. About three o'clock we were got some four miles from Nanguafacque; the wind being contrary, they told us we might come to an anchor, as the Dutch did, and when the wind came fair, we must be sure to be gone immediately; they would leave our powder in boats with two interpreters,

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interpreters, and a guard to see us out at sea ; and then again wishing us a good voyage, they returned, taking the most part of their boats and guards with them, which were very numerous, being, by estimate, at least five thousand men, besides spectators, that came out of the country and town to see us depart.

28th. In the morning, about two o'clock, came aboard the interpreters, and told us the wind was fair, and we must be gone. We told them we were ready, and would weigh anchor by break of day, but being strangers, desired we might have day before us ; they delivered us our powder, and we were under sail about five o'clock, with a small gale at north-east. We took our leaves ; and, God be praised, got out of their clutches, to our great joy and content of mind, having been three months in their port, in continual fears.

During the time we were in port (by what they told us) there came this year twelve junks in all, viz. eight from Batavia, two from Siam, one from Canton, one from Cambodia, and six Dutch ships of the Company's. They had not any from Tywan, by reason the year before they put the price upon their sugar and skins ; and so they intend to do with all other people, for whatsoever goods shall be brought to their port ; which if they do, few will seek after their commodities upon such unequal terms.

SIMON DELBOE.
HAMOND GIBBEN.
WILLIAM RAMSDEN.

THE HISTORY OF JAPAN.

By ENGELBERT KEMPFER, M.D.

Physician to the Dutch Embassy to the Emperor's Court ;

And translated from his original Manuscript, in the German Language, never before published,

By J. G. SCHEUCHZER, F.R.S.

And a Member of the College of Physicians, London *.

CHAP. I. — *Of the Empire of Japan in general, as to its Situation, and the Largeness of its several Islands.*

THIS empire is, by the Europeans, called Japan. The natives give it several names and characters. The most common, and most frequently used in their writings and conversation, is Nipon, which is sometimes in a more elegant manner, and particular to this nation, pronounced Nison, and by the inhabitants of Nankin, and the southern parts of China, Sijppon. It signifies "the foundation of the sun;" being derived from *ni*, "fire," and in a more sublime sense, "the sun," and *pon*, the "ground, or foundation of a thing."

There are still some other names and epithets, which are seldom mentioned in conversation, but occur more frequently in their writings. Such are for instance ; 1. Tenka, that is, "the subcelestial empire;" as if it were the only one existing under heaven. Hence the Emperor is called Tenkafama, "the subcelestial Monarch." In former times, this name was peculiar to the empire of Japan alone; but since commerce hath made known to them several other countries, they now condescend to honour them also with the same epithet, particularly such whose inhabitants are admitted and tolerated among them. Thus they call the empire of China, To Sin Tenka; the United Provinces of the Netherlands, known to them by the name of Holland, Hollanda Tenka. 2. Fino Motto, is much the same with Nipon, and signifies, properly speaking, "the root of the sun," *fi*, being the sun, and *motto*, a root; *no*, is only a particle, by which these two words are combined together. 3. Awadissima, is the original name of this country, and is as much as to say, a "terrestrial Scum Island;" *awa*, signifying scum, *ssi*, the earth, and *Sima*, an island. This name is grounded upon the following fabulous tradition, recorded in their histories, of the origin and first creation of the several islands, which compose this mighty empire; which in former times, for want of communication with other countries, was looked upon by the natives, as the only inhabited part of the globe. In the beginning of the creation, the supreme of the seven first celestial spirits, (of which more in the seventh chapter of this book,) stirred the then chaos, or confused mass of the earth with a staff, which, as he took out, there dropped from it a muddy scum, which running together, formed the Japanese islands; one of which, of the fourth magnitude, still retains this name, being particularly called Awadissima. 4. D Sin Koki, or Camino Kuni, "the Country or Habita-

* Our author's account being often prolix and tedious, only the most intersting portions are extracted, and arranged in a sequence of chapters.

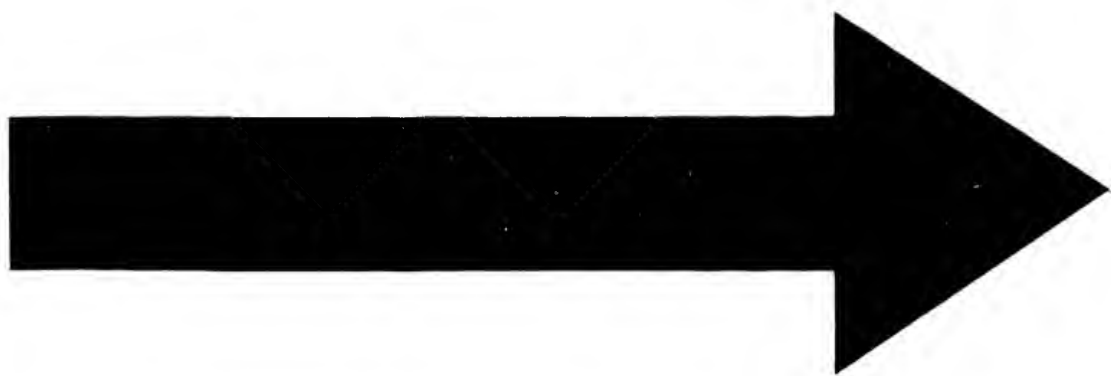
tion of the Gods." For by *Sin* and *Cami* are denoted the gods which were particularly and originally worshipped in Japan; and both *kokf* and *kuni* signify a country. 5. *Akitfima*, or according to the common pronunciation, *Akitfuffima*, is another name given to this country of old, and frequently to be met with in their chronicles and legends. 6. *Tontfio*, "the true morning." 7. *Sio*, all, viz. all the several islands subject to the Emperor of Japan. 8. *Jamatto*, which name is also given to one of its provinces. Several others, as *Afijwara*, *Afijwara Kokf*, *Qua*, or *Wa*, and some more I forbear mentioning, to avoid being too tedious on so trifling a subject.

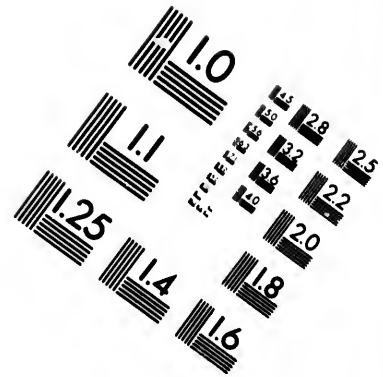
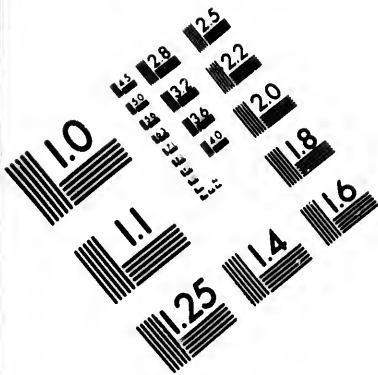
The empire of Japan lieth between 31 and 42 degrees of northern latitude. The Jesuits, in a late map of China, made and corrected by their astronomical observations, place it between 157° and 175° 30' of longitude. It extends to north-east and east-north-east, being irregularly broad, though in the main, pretty narrow in comparison to its length, which from one end of the province *Fifen*, to the extremity of the province *Ofiu*, is supposed to be two hundred German miles in a straight line, all the further the coast and islands, though subject to the Japanese Emperor, not reckoned.

It may, in several respects, be compared to the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; being, after the same manner, though in a more eminent degree, divided and broke through by bays and forelands, arms of the sea, great bays and inlets, running deep into the country, and forming several islands, peninsulas, gulfs, and harbours. Besides, as the King of Great Britain is sovereign of three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland, so likewise the Japanese Emperor hath the supreme jurisdiction of three separate large islands. The first and largest is called *Nipon*, from the name of the whole empire. It runs lengthways, from east to west in the form of a jaw-bone, whose crooked part is turned to the north. A narrow channel, or streight, full of rocks and islands, some inhabited, some uninhabited, parts it from the second, which is next to it in largeness, and which, from its situation, lying to the south-west of *Nipon*, is called *Saikokf*, that is, "the Western Country." It is also called *Kiufiu*, or, "the Country of Nine;" being divided into nine large provinces. It hath one hundred and forty-eight German miles in circumference; and, according to the Japanese, it hath one hundred and forty of their own miles in length, and between forty and fifty in breadth. The third island lies between the first and second. It is near of a square figure; and being divided into four provinces, the Japanese call it *Sikokf*, that is, "the Country of Four," viz. provinces. These three large islands are encompassed with an almost inconceivable number of others, some of which are small, rocky, and barren, others large, rich, and fruitful enough to be governed by petty Princes, as will appear more fully by the next chapter, wherein I propose to lay down a more accurate geographical description of this empire.

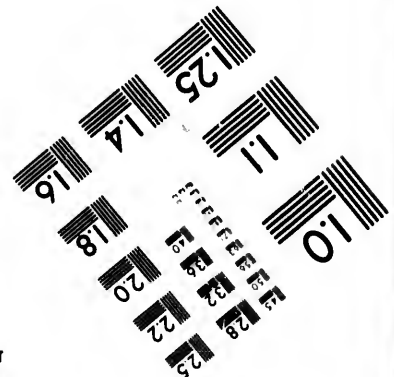
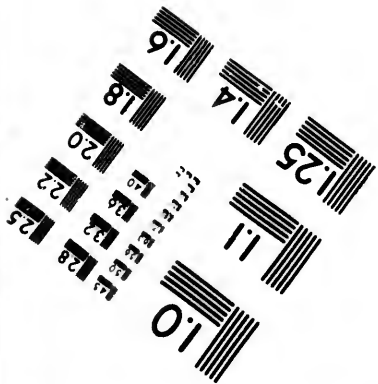
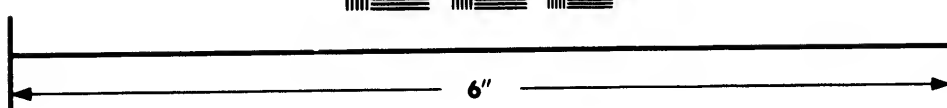
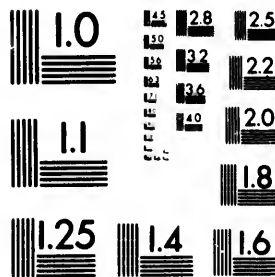
All these several islands and dominions, composing the mighty empire of Japan, have been, by the ecclesiastical hereditary monarch *Siufiun*, divided into *Gokifitfido*, as they are called by the Japanese, or seven large tracts of land, in the year of Christ 590. Many years after, in the year of Christ 681, *Ten Mu* divided the seven chief tracts into sixty-six provinces, appointing so many lords of his court to command and govern them, as Princes, or his lieutenants. Two more islands, *Iki* and *Tfuffima*, formerly belonging to the kingdom of *Corea*, having been conquered in the last century, and added to the empire of Japan, there are now in all sixty-eight provinces. Both these divisions of the Japanese empire, though they subsist till now, yet through the misery of time its sixty-eight provinces have been since their first constitution torn into six hundred and four lesser districts. In the first and happiest ages of the Japanese monarchy, every

Prince





**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
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WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
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Prince enjoyed the government of the province, which he was entrusted with by the Emperor, in peace and tranquillity. The miseries of ensuing times, the frequent quarrels and contentions, which arose among the chief branches of the Imperial Family about the succession to the throne, by degrees involved the whole empire into blood and confusion. Its Princes espoused different parties, and no sooner were arms introduced among them, as the most powerful and surest means to make up their dissensions, but every one endeavoured thereby to maintain himself in the possession of those lands, whose government he was owing entirely to the Imperial bounty: such as had not been provided for by the Emperor took care to provide for themselves. The Princes divided their hereditary dominions among their sons, who, though possessed of but one portion of their father's estate, would not be behind them in grandeur and magnificence. What wonder then, if the number of principedoms and dominions went on perpetually increasing. The Emperors of the now reigning family, usurpers themselves of the throne of which they are possessed, think this great division of the provinces of the empire no ways detrimental to their government, but rather conducive to make them the better acquainted with the true state of their riches and revenues; therefore, far from reducing them to their former standard, they still tear and divide them more and more, as they please, or as their interest requires, of which there are some late instances. The province of Tsikufen was not long ago divided into two governments, Janagawa and Kurume, and the Prince of Tsikungo had orders from court to surrender part of his dominions to the Prince of the two islands above-mentioned, Iki and Tsussima, who till then had nothing in possession upon the continent of Japan.

The borders of this empire are its rocky, mountainous coasts, and a tempestuous sea, which by reason of its shallowness admits none but small vessels, and even those not without imminent danger, the depth of most of its gulfs and harbours being not yet known, and others, which the pilots of the country are better acquainted withal, unfit for harbouring of ships of any considerable bulk. Indeed, it seems Nature purposely designed these islands to be a sort of a little world, separate and independent of the rest, by making them of so difficult an access, and by endowing them plentifully, with whatever is requisite to make the lives of their inhabitants both delightful and pleasant, and to enable them to subsist without a commerce with foreign nations.

Besides the several islands and provinces already mentioned, there are some further distant countries, which do not, properly speaking, belong to the empire of Japan; but either acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor, or live under his protection. Of these I think it necessary to give some preliminary account before I proceed to a more particular description of the Japanese empire itself. They are, 1. The islands of Riuku, or Liquejo, the inhabitants of which style themselves subjects, not of the Emperor of Japan, but of the Prince of Satsuma, by whom they were subdued and conquered. 2. Tsiosin, is the third and lowest part of the peninsula of Corea, which is governed, in the name of His Imperial Majesty, by the Prince of Iki and Tsussima. 3. The island Jeso, which is governed for the Emperor by the Prince of Matsumai, whose own dominions make part of the great province Osju.

I. The Liquejo islands, as they are set down in our maps, or the islands of Riuku, as they are called by the inhabitants, must not be confounded with the *Insula Leuconia*, or the Philippine Islands. They lie to the south-west of the province Satzuma, which is situate upon the continent of Saikokk, and the neighbouring island Tana, or Tanagasma, and according to our maps, reach down almost to the 26° of northern latitude. If we believe the Japanese, they are so fruitful as to yield the rice-harvest twice a year. The inhabitants, which are for the most part either husbandmen or fishermen, are a good.

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good-natured, merry sort of people, leading an agreeable contented life, diverting themselves after their work is done with a glass of rice-beer, and playing upon their musical instruments, which they for this purpose carry out with them into the fields. They appear, by their language, to be of Chinese extraction. In the late great revolution in China, when the Tartars invaded and possessed themselves of that mighty empire, the natives retired in great numbers, and were dispersed all over the East Indies. Not a few fled to these islands, where they applied themselves chiefly to trade, being well skilled in navigation, and well acquainted with those seas. Accordingly, they still carry on a commerce with Satzuma, and go there once a year. Some centuries ago, these islands were invaded and conquered by the Prince of Satzuma, whose successors still keep them in awe by their bugios, or lieutenants, and strong garrisons, though otherwise, by reason of their remoteness from Satzuma, the inhabitants are treated with much regard and kindness; for they are obliged to give their Sovereign only one-fifth part of the produce of their country, whilst his own natural subjects, the Satzumese, are taxed at two-thirds. But besides what they pay to the Prince of Satzuma, they raise a contribution among themselves, to be sent by way of a present, once a year, to the Tartarian Monarch of China, in token of loyalty and submission. They have, like the Tunquinese and Japanese, a Dairi of their own, or an ecclesiastical hereditary Monarch, to whom they pay great respect, supposing him to be lineally descended from the gods of their country. He resides at Jajama, one of the chief of these islands, situate not far from the island Osima, which is of the second magnitude.

II. Corey, or Corœa, is a peninsula, which stands out from Tartary, running towards Japan, opposite to the coasts of China. It hath been, as the Japanese relate, divided of old into three provinces. That which is lowest, and nearest to Japan, is by the Japanese called Tsiotsjin; the second, which makes up the middle part of the whole peninsula, Corey, and the third and uppermost, which confines upon Tartary, Fakkufai. Sometimes the name of either of these provinces is given to the whole peninsula. The natives, according to the account of the Japanese, are of Chinese extraction. They served often and under different masters. Their neighbours, the Tartars, sometimes entered into alliances with them, at other times, they invaded and subdued them. Mikaddo Tsiuu Ai, Emperor of Japan, persecuted them with war; but he dying before he could put an end to this enterprize, Dsin Gu, his relict, a Princess of great parts and personal bravery, pursued it with the utmost vigour, wearing the arms of the deceased Emperor, her husband, till, at last, she made them tributary to Japan, about the year of Christ 201. Sometime after they entered into fresh alliances with their neighbours, the Tartars, and so continued unmolested by the Japanese, till Taiko possessed himself of the secular throne of Japan. This valiant Prince, reading the histories of his empire, found it recorded, that the Coreans had been subdued by one of his predecessors, and made tributary to Japan: as in the meantime he was but lately come to the throne, he doubted not, but that he should get time fully to settle and to secure himself in the possession thereof, if he could send some of the most powerful Princes of the empire abroad upon some such military expedition, and by this means remove them from court and country. He, therefore, gladly seized this opportunity, and resolved to renew and support his pretensions to the kingdom of Corea, and through this kingdom, as he gave out his main design was, to open to himself a way to the conquest of the great empire of China itself. Accordingly he sent over some ambassadors to Corey, to desire the natives to acknowledge the supremacy of the Japanese Emperor, and to give tokens of their loyalty and submission. But the Coreans, instead of an answer, killing the Emperor's ambassador, by this hostile act gave him just reason to prosecute them
with

with war. Accordingly a numerous army was sent over, without further delay, under the command of such of the Princes of the empire, whose presence he had the most reason to be apprehensive of. This war lasted seven years, during which time his generals, with much ado, broke at last through the strong opposition made by the natives, and their allies the Tartars, and, after a brave defence, made the country again tributary to Japan. Taiko dying about that time, and the army returning, Iejas his successor, ordered that they should, once in three years, send an embassy to court, to acknowledge his sovereignty. Since that time, they relapsed by degrees under the domination of the Tartars, and drove the garrisons left by the Japanese down to the very coasts of the province Tsiosijn, the only thing they have now remaining of all their conquests in Corea. As things now stand, the Emperor of Japan seems to be satisfied, for the security of his own dominions, to be master of the coasts, the care and government whereof he committed to the Prince of the islands Iki and Tsushima, who keeps there a garrison only of fifty men, under the command of a captain, or bugjo, as they are here called. And the inhabitants are ordered to send an embassy to court, and to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy only once at the beginning of every new Emperor's reign. The coasts of Corea are about forty-eight Japanese water leagues, or sixteen German miles, distant from the island of Tsushima, and this as much from the continent of Japan. Numbers of rocks and small islands lie between them, which though they be for the most part uninhabited, yet the Japanese keep strong garrisons in some of the chief, to watch what ships sail by, and to oblige them to shew what commodities they have on board, as claiming the sovereignty of those seas. The commodities brought from Tsiosijn are the best cod, and other fish, pickled; walnuts, scarce medicinal plants, flowers and roots, particularly the ninfeng, so famous for its excellent virtues, which grows in great plenty in the provinces of Corea and Fakufai, as also in Siamfai, a province of the neighbouring Tartary; this plant, though it be found elsewhere, yet that growing in the provinces aforesaid, is believed far to excel others in goodness and virtues. The natives have also some few manufactures. Among the rest, a certain sort of earthen pots, made in Japij and Niuke, two Tartarian provinces, were brought over from thence by the Coreans, which were much esteemed by the Japanese, and bought very dear. But of late, it was ordered by the Emperor, that there should be no more imported for the future. The boats made use of by the Tsioneese are very bad indifferent structures, which one scarce would go any further than Tsushima.

III. Jeso, or Jesogafima, that is, "the Island of Jesso," is the most northern island the Japanese have in possession out of their own empire. It was invaded and conquered, as I was informed in Japan, by Joritomo, the first Kubo, or secular monarch, who left it to the Prince of Matsumai, (a neighbouring island belonging to the great province Osu,) to be by him governed and taken care of. Sometime after, the inhabitants, weary of a foreign government, fell upon the garrison the Prince of Matsumai left there, and killed them all to a man. This act of hostility no sooner reached that Prince's ears, but he sent over a good army, with three hundred horse, to demand, and, in case of refusal, to take ample satisfaction, and to chastise the rebels. But the Prince of Jeso, to prevent further mischievous consequences, sent over an embassy to Matsumai; and, to take off all suspicion of his having had any intelligence or hand in the affair, he delivered up twenty of the ringleaders, which were executed, and their heads impaled, upon the coasts of Jeso. This act of submission entirely reconciled him to his superiors, but the natives being ever since looked upon as a stubborn and tumultuous people, strong garrisons are constantly kept upon the southern coasts of this island, to put it out of their power ever to attempt the like; and the Prince is obliged to send once a

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year an embassy to Matsumai, with presents to the value of one mangokf. This island lies in 42 degrees of northern latitude, to the north-north-east, right opposite to the great province Oosiu, where its two promontories Sugaar and Taajafaki, running out very far into the sea, form a large gulf, which directly faces it. The passage over to this island is said to be of one day, and it is not to be made at all times, by reason of the currents, which run strongly, sometimes to the east and sometimes to the west, though otherwise it be but forty Japanese water leagues, and in some places not above five or six German miles distant from the coast of Japan. It is said to be as large as the island Kiufu, but so thoroughly full of woods and forests, that it produces nothing which might be of use to the Japanese, besides some pelts and furs, which even the inhabitants of the southern parts of Japan have no occasion for. Nor do the Jesoans bring over any thing else but that, and the famous fish karafaki, which is caught in great plenty about the island, and which the Japanese reckon a great dainty, boiling and eating it like cod. As to its figure, I could not gather any thing positive, neither from the accounts I had from the Japanese, nor from the maps I met with in the country, they differing much from each other. Some represent it very near round, others make it of a very irregular figure, with large promontories, gulphs, and bays, the sea running in several places so far up into the country, that one might be easily induced to believe it composed of several different islands. I am apt to believe, that the country discovered by de Vries, to the north of Japan, was part of this island. I took notice that in some of the Japanese maps, the south-west and larger part is called Matfuki; but it was, generally speaking, so indifferently drawn, that I should be at a loss to determine, whether it be an island by itself, or joined to the rest. According to the account the Japanese give of the inhabitants, they are a strong but savage people, wearing long hair and beards, well skilled in the management of bows and arrows, as also in fishing; the greatest part living almost wholly on fish. They describe them further, as very dirty and nasty, but the truth of this accusation is not so strictly to be relied on, since they, the Japanese themselves, are so extremely nice and superstitious in frequently washing and cleaning their bodies, as to have found the very same fault with the Dutch. The language of Jedso is said to have something of that which is spoke in Coræa.

Behind this island, to the north, lies the continent of Okujeso, as it is called by the Japanese, that is, Upper or High Jeso. That there is such a country is not in the least questioned among geographers; but they have not as yet been able to determine, whether it confines on Tartary or America, consequently where they are to place the Streight of Anian, or the so long wished-for passage out of the North Sea into the great Indian Ocean, supposed that there be such a one, or whether it is closely joined either to Tartary or America, without any intermediate streight or passage at all. I made it my business, both in my travels through Muscovy and Persia, and during my stay in Japan, to enquire with all the diligence I was capable of, into the true state of those northern countries, though, in the main, to very little purpose, having hardly met with any thing worth the notice of the public. At Moscow, and at Astrakan, I spoke to several people, which either in their travels through Siberia and Kataya into China, or during their stay in Siberia, whither they had been banished by the Czar, and lived many years, picked up what few and uncertain information they could, but could learn nothing farther, but that the Great Tartary is by an isthmus, or neck of land, joined to a neighbouring continent, which they supposed to be America; and from thence concluded that, in all probability, there is no such thing as a communication between the Icy Sea and the Indian Ocean. In a map of Siberia, which was made and cut upon wood, by one who was banished thither, and the names of the places

marked in Sclavonian characters, there were several considerable promontories, which from the eastern coasts stood out into the sea, one of which, too great to be brought upon the table, was cut off at the edge. He that shewed me this map, told me at the same time, that according to the accounts which could be procured from the Tartars living in those parts, this very promontory is nothing but an isthmus, which runs towards a neighbouring large continent, on which it confines, but that it is composed of high, rough, and almost inaccessible mountains, and that in his opinion, if ever there hath been a passage there, for the first inhabitants of the world to get over into America, and to people that continent, such another undertaking would be at present utterly impossible. This map of Siberia, such as it was, is extremely ill done, and without any scale of distances, or degrees of longitude or latitude, was yet the first which could give the Czar of Muscovy some, though very imperfect, notions of the great extent of his Tartarian dominions to the north. And it is from the same, my particular friend, the ingenious Mr. Winius, who was by the Czar appointed inspector-general over the apothecaries and druggists shops in Muscovy, made the first rude sketch of his map of Russia and Tartary, which he afterwards considerably corrected and augmented by several accounts procured from different parts, and withal reduced to the necessary degrees of longitude and latitude. He was not a little assisted in this undertaking by Mr. Spithary, Greek and Latin interpreter at the court at Muscovy. This learned and industrious man was, by the then reigning monarch of Russia, sent his ambassador to the Emperor of China, with secret orders and instructions to spare neither trouble nor expences, to get himself acquainted with the true state, situation, and extent of the Czar's dominions. Accordingly he went to Peking through the northern parts of Russia and Tartary, and having dispatched his business at the court of China, returned through the southern provinces, and came back to Moscow about the year 1680. During my stay at the court of Moscow it so happened, that he was to be our interpreter. which brought me much acquainted with him, and fed me with no small hopes of learning somewhat new and more particular, than was hitherto known, about the state of those countries; but I found him too distrustful and secret, and very unwilling to communicate what observations he had made upon his journey. The late illustrious Nicolaus Witsen, L. I. D. and Burghermaster at Amsterdam, a person to whom the public is greatly indebted, met with much better success in his own enquiries, for in his last embassy to the court of Muscovy he did, by his extraordinary good conduct, great learning and affability, insinuate himself so far into the favour of the Czar, and the grandees of his court, that whatever accounts they had procured from all parts of Russia, were without reserve communicated to him, which enabled him to compose that excellent and accurate map of all the Russian empire, and the Great Tartary, with its mountains, rivers, lakes, cities and provinces, for the most part till then unknown; a work which by reason of its great usefulness could not but highly oblige the curious. But however accurate this map of Doctor Witsen's was, which afterwards proved very useful to Mr. Isbrand Ides, in his journey by land to China, where he went ambassador, yet the full extent of the eastern coasts of Siberia, and the Great Tartary, remains as yet undetermined, and we are still in the dark, as to what relation they bear to the neighbouring continent, which is probably that of Oku Jeso.

The Japanese on their side are so little acquainted with the state and extent of that country, which lies behind the island Jeso Gasima, and which is by them called Oku Jeso, that they say it is only 300 Japanese miles long; but what authority they have to support this assertion, I cannot tell. A ship having some years ago been accidentally cast upon the coasts of that continent, they met among the rude and

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savage inhabitants probably conjured or Tartary which was having been experience having been satisfactory nately, so one, which Daats, so the north. countries. incommo covered a good harl without a it run fur to be at n little the them in d Nagasaki, all repre itself behi than the e neighbour marked v and Aman loses itself are very the name writing, characters, be depend countries Before must not north-east as the Ja sounding called Gi They keep, thereof. in that p lands, w out a ver unsuccessful They fit

savage inhabitants, some persons clad in fine Chinese silk, by which may be very probably conjectured some communication the natives have with the neighbouring Daats, or Tartary; at least that these countries are not very remote from each other. A jonk, which was sent thither on purpose upon discovery, about the year 1684, returned after having been three months upon her voyage, and brought the very same account. An experienced Japanese pilot, who was well acquainted with the seas about Japan, as having been every where round this empire, upon my enquiry could give me no other satisfactory answer, but that between Japan and Jefogafima, the currents run alternately, sometimes east, sometimes west, and that behind Jefogafima, there is only one, which runs constantly, and directly north, whence he concluded, that near Daats, so they call Tartary, there must be some communication with another sea to the north. A few years ago another imperial jonk was sent out in quest of those countries. They sailed from the eastern coasts of Japan, and after many troubles and incommodities endured between 40 and 50 degrees of northern latitude, they discovered a very large continent, supposed to be America, where having met with a good harbour, they staid there during the winter, and so returned the next year, without any the least account of that country, or its inhabitants, excepting only, that it run further to the north-west. Since that time it was resolved at the court of Japan to be at no further pain or expence, about the discovery of those countries. I was little the better for consulting the Japanese maps of those seas, though I saw several of them in different places, as at Jedo, in the palace of Tuffimano Cami, governor of Nagasaki, in the temple of Symmios near Ofacca, and in several other temples. They all represent a large continent, which stands out from the Great Tartary, and extends itself behind the island Jefogafima, reaching about 15 degrees of longitude further east than the eastern coasts of Japan. A large space is left empty between it and the neighbouring America. The country itself is divided into the following provinces, marked with their common writing characters, Kabersari, Orankai, Sitsij, Ferofan; and Amarisi. Between the two last provinces is marked a considerable river, which loses itself into the sea behind the island Jeso, to the south-east. But as all their maps are very indifferently done, without any scale of distances or degrees, and as besides the names of the provinces above-mentioned are only in their canna, or common writing, and not, as other more authentick records, in their sifi, or significant characters, I shall leave to the reader's own judgment to determine, how much there is to be depended upon them. And this is all I could learn in Japan about the state of those countries which lie to the north of this empire.

Before I leave off this general geographical description of the Japanese empire, I must not forget to mention two other islands, which lie further off to the east, or east-north-east, of the coasts of Osiu, at least at one hundred and fifty miles distance, but as the Japanese pretend, belong to their empire. They have given them very high sounding names, the smaller, more northern, and more remote from Japan, being called Ginsima, the Silver Island; the larger, and nearer Kinsima, the Gold Island. They keep their state and situation very secret from all foreigners, chiefly the Europeans, for as much as their rich names have already tempted them to go in quest thereof. The King of Spain having been informed that they lie westward of America, in that part of the world, which by the Pope's division was assigned to him, as all those lands, which should be discovered from the east, were to the King of Portugal, sent out a very expert pilot to look for them about the year 1620. But this voyage proved unsuccessful. The Dutch attempted the same at different times with no better success. They fitted out one ship for that purpose at Batavia in 1639, and two others in 1643,

which had order to go further, and to attempt the discovery of the coasts of Tartary and America. The voyage of these two ships, one of which was called *Bresken*, the other the *Castrecoom*, proved very unfortunate. For besides that they suffered much by storms, the captain of the *Bresken* having hazarded himself on shore, with some of his ship's company, in a port of Japan lying under the 40 degree of northern latitude, they were all seized upon, put in irons, carried prisoners to Jedo, and so barbarously treated, as if their intention had been to betray or to invade the empire.

About the year 1675, the Japanese accidentally discovered a very large island, one of their barks having been forced there in a storm from the island *Fatsifio*, from which they computed it to be three hundred miles distant towards the east. They met with no inhabitants, but found it to be a very pleasant and fruitful country, well supplied with fresh water, and furnished with plenty of plants and trees, particularly the arrack-tree, which however might give room to conjecture, that the island lay rather to the south of Japan, than to the east, these trees growing only in hot countries. They called it *Bunefuma*, or the island *Bune*, and because they found no inhabitants upon it, they marked it with the character of an uninhabited island. On the shores they found an incredible quantity of fish and crabs, some of which were from four to six feet long.

Fatsifio, I just now had occasion to mention, or *Fatsifio Gasima*, which is as much as to say, the Eighty Fathom Island, is the most remote island the Japanese have in possession southward. It lies under the same meridian with Jedo, and is reckoned to be about eighty Japanese water leagues distant from the continent of Japan, being the furthestmost of a long row of small islands, almost contiguous to each other. It is the chief island, where the great men of the Emperor's court, when out of favour, are usually confined, pursuant to a very ancient custom, and kept prisoners on a rocky coast, from the extraordinary height of which the whole island hath borrowed its name. As long as they continue on this island, they must work for their livelihood. Their chief amusement is weaving, and some of the silk stuffs wrought by them, as they are generally men of ingenuity and good understanding, are so imitably fine, that the Emperor hath forbid under severe penalties, to export or to sell them to foreigners. This island, besides it being washed by a rough tempestuous sea, is so well guarded by nature itself, than when there is some provision of the common necessaries of life, or some new prisoners to be brought in, or the guard to be relieved, the whole boat, with all the lading, must be drawn up, and again let down by a crane, the coasts being so steep and rocky, as to admit of no other access.

CHAP. II. — *The Division and Sub-division of the Empire of Japan into its several Provinces; as also of its Revenue and Government.*

In the general geographical description of Japan, which I have laid down in the preceding chapter, I took notice that this empire hath been divided into seven great tracts of land, which were again sub-divided into sixty-eight considerable provinces, and these into 604 smaller districts, or counties, as one might call them. I proceed now more particularly to consider the largeness, extent, fertility, produce and revenues of each province, as I found them in a Japanese description of this empire, published in Japan, by the title of *Sitzi Joffu*.

But before I proceed to a particular consideration of the seven large tracts of land, which the Empire of Japan hath been divided into, and of their several provinces, I shall take notice of the *Gokinai*, or *Gokinai goka Kokf*, that is the five provinces of the Imperial revenues, so called, because all the revenue of these five provinces is particularly

particular amount that all contains province length from towns and Otokuni or Wosj former, compass, fifteen di Okuno Jamman in length Tukajatz and Tan Its length by the sea fish by the though b Idsunie, journey a large gul abound r this coun It is divid Jatfan, Si I proceed divided is I. That the r sixty-eight hundred sixty-eight and east a ridge of some pla Iga, and south to with an Afaki, S Watakei travel ac sea supp districts, entirely p, and south to

particularly appropriated for the support and maintenance of the Imperial court. They amount to 148 mans, and 1200 kokis of rice. The reader is desired to observe in general, that all the revenues in this country are reduced to these two measures in rice. A man contains 10,000 kokf, and a kokf 3000 bales or bags of rice. These five Imperial provinces are, 1. Jamasjro, otherwise Sansju: it is a large and fruitful country. Its length from south to north is a hundred Japanese miles; and there are several good towns and other places of note within its compass. It is divided into eight districts, Otokuni, Kadono, Okongi, Kij, Udſi, Kuſſe, Sakanaka, and Tfukugi. 2. Jamatto, or Woſju, is likewise a very good country, and much of the same length with the former, going from south to north. It had formerly several places of note within its compass, which are at present reduced to a very small number. It is divided into fifteen districts, Soono Cami, Soonosimo, Feguri, Firole, Katzu-Dſiau, Katſunge, Okuno Umi, Utz, Joſino, Uda, Sikino Simo, Sikino Cami, Takaiidz, Tooidz, and Jammanobe. 3. Kawatzij, or Kafu, a tolerably good country, about two days journey in length, and divided into fifteen districts. Niſtori, Iſikawa, Fukaitz, Jaſkabe, Ookake, Tukajatz, Kawatz, Sarara, Umbarada, Katanno, Wakaje, Sibukaja, Sick, Tanbokf, and Tannan. 4. Idſumi, or Senſju, is a very large country, but indifferently fruitful. Its length is an hundred Japanese miles from south to west. It is bordered on one ſide by the ſea, on the other by a ridge of high mountains. It is plentifully ſupplied with fiſh by the neighbouring ſea: it produces alſo ſome buck-wheat, rice, peafe and beans, though but few, and not of the beſt ſort. It hath but three ſmaller diſtricts, Ootori, Idſume, and Fine. 5. Sitzu, otherwise Tinokuni, and Siſju. It hath two days journey and a half in circumference. It is the furthermoſt country weſtwards on a large gulph. The ſouthern parts of it are very warm, but the northern colder, and abound more in what they call gokokf, which are the five chief ſorts of peafe eat in this country. It affords alſo ſome fiſh, and ſalt, and is in the main a very good country. It is divided into thirteen diſtricts, Sij Joſ, or Symmios, Katatz, Fingafſnai, Niſijnari, Jatſan, Simaſimo, Simakami, Teſijma, Kawanobe, Muko, Awara, Arima, and Noſje.

I proceed now to the ſeven large traſts of land, which the Japanese empire hath been divided into by the Emperor Siuſun.

I. The firſt is Tookaido, that is, the ſouth-eaſtern traſt. I have obſerved above, that the ſaid ſeven large traſts have been by the Emperor Tenmu further divided into ſixty-eight provinces, the five provinces above mentioned included, to which ſome hundred years after two more were added. The Tookaido conſiſts of fifteen of theſe ſixty-eight provinces, which are 1. Iga, otherwiſe Iſju, which is limited on the ſouth, and eaſt by the ſea. To the north it is ſeparated from the neighbouring provinces by a ridge of high mountains. It is a hot country, but indifferently fruitful, producing ſome plants, trees, and bamboos. It is divided into four diſtricts, Aije, Namanda, Iga, and Nabari. 2. Iſie, otherwiſe Sesju, is three days journey long, going from ſouth to north. It is almoſt wholly encompaſſed by the ſea, but extremely fruitful, with an agreeable variety of hills and plains. It is divided into fifteen diſtricts, Quana, Afaki, Sufuka, Iſſii, Aanki, Taato, Niſikiffima, Goſaſuma, Inabe, Mije, Ano, Itaka, Watakei, Ino, and Taki. 3. Sſima or, Sifio, is but a ſmall province, which one may travel acroſs in half a day's time. It is a very barren country, but the neighbouring ſea ſupplies it plentifully with fiſh, oyſters, ſhells, and the like. It hath but three diſtricts, Toofij, Ako, and Kameſima. 4. Owari, otherwiſe Biſu, is an inland country, entirely ſeparate from the ſea, but one of the moſt fruitful provinces of the whole empire, and richly ſtocked with inhabitants. It is three days journey long, going from ſouth to north, and divided into nine diſtricts, Amabe, Nakafſuma, Kaquuri, Nirva, Kaſſungale,

Kassungale, Jamada, Aitsi, Tsitta, and Toofijnossima. 5. Mikawa, otherwise Misiu, is a very barren and poor country, with too many shallow rivers and ponds, which are very prejudicial to the growth of the gokokf. It is one day's journey and a half long, going from east to west, and divided into eight districts, Awouni, Kamo, Nukada, Batz, Fori, Jana, Tsitarra, and Akumi. 6. Tootomi, otherwise Jensju, a very good and fruitful country, and one of the pleafantest provinces for a curious variety of hills, rivers, fertile plains, towns and villages. Its length is supposed to be two days journey and a half, going from east to west, and it is divided into fourteen districts, Fammana, Futz, Fuufa, Aratama, Nangakami, Nagassimo, Sutz, Jammana, Kikoo, Faifara, Tojota, Jamiaka, Sanno, and Jwata. 7. Surunga, or Siusju, deserves likewise to be commended for the variety of its towns, villages, hills, and fruitful plains. It is of the same length with Tootomi, going from east to west, and divided into seven districts, Tita, Mafafu, Udo, Itabe, Rofarra, Fufij and Suringa. 8. Kai, otherwise Kaiifu, and Ksjoohu, is a flat country, and abounds in rice, fields and pasturage, plants and trees. It breeds also some cattle, chiefly horses. It is two days journey long from south to north, and divided into four districts, Jamanassiro, Jaatzsiro, Coma, and Tfur. 9. Idsu, or Toosju, a long peninsula, being almost surrounded by the sea. It affords a large quantity of salt, and all sorts of fish, and is reckoned in the main a tolerable good country. It is pretty mountainous, with some flat ground, and some few rice-fields. It hath but three districts upon the continent of Nipon, Takato, Naka, and Camo, whereto are added two neighbouring islands, Oosima, and Firkafima. 10. Sangami or Soosju, is three days journey long; a flat and barren country, which affords hardly any thing for the sustentance of human life, but tortoises, fish and crabs from the sea, besides a good quantity of timber out of its large woods. It is divided into eight districts, Afikaranno Cami, Afikaranno Simu, Oosimi, Juringi, Ajikoo Takangi, Camakura, Mijura, and Jefima. 11. Mufasi, or Busiu, a very large province, having five days journey and a half, in circumference. It is a flat country, without woods and mountains, but very fruitful, abounding in rice, gokokf, garden-fruits, and plants. It is divided into twenty-one districts, which are Kuraggi, Tfukuki, Tama, Tatfinbana, Kaikura, Iruma, Tefma, Fijki, Jokomi, Saitama, Kodama, Tfibu Sima, Fabara, Fafifawa, Naka, Kami, Adats, Tfifubu, Jebara, Totesima, and Oofato. 12. Awa, otherwise Fooosju, a middling good country, with mountains, hills, rivers, and plains, affording both rice and corn; it is tolerably well inhabited and plentifully supplied by the neighbouring sea with fish and oysters, whose shells the inhabitants make use of to manure their ground. It is one day's journey and a half long from south to north, and divided into four districts, Fekuri, Awa, Afaima, and Nakaba. 13. Kadfusa, otherwise Kooosju, is three days journey long, going from south to north, a tolerable good country, though not without high rough mountains: great numbers of the inhabitants get their livelihood by weaving of cannib, or hempstuffs, which they understand very well. It is divided into eleven districts, Sfuffu, Amafa, Ifuwara, Umingami, Foiko, Mooki, Ifimi, Farinib, Nagawa, Jammanobe, and Muffa. 14. Simoofa, otherwise Seosju, is said to be three day's journey long going from south to north, a mountainous country, indifferently fruitful, but abounding in fowls and cattle. It is divided into twelve districts, Kaddofika, Tfibba, Imba, Sooma, Sasjuma, Iuuki, Tooda, Kooofa, Unagani, Katori, Fannibu, and Okanda. 15. Fitats, or Sjuo, a very large province; my author makes it almost square, and says that it is three days' journey long on each side. It is but a middling country, as to its fruitfulness, but produces a great quantity of silk-worms and silk, of which there are several manufactures established there, as there are also some other things, the inhabitants being a

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very industrious people. They likewise carry on a trade with cattle. It hath eleven districts, Nijbari, Makaije, Tfuukkumba, Kawaats, Sfida, Umbaraki, Namingata, Naka, Kusfi, Taka, and Iengoko. Iengoko signifies a distant country, by which is probably meant some neighbouring island. The revenues of these fifteen provinces of the first large tract called Tookaido, amount in all to 494 mankokf.

II. Toofando, that is, the Eastern mountainous tract, hath eight large provinces within its compass, which are 1. Oomi, an extraordinary good and fruitful country, with variety of mountains, hills, rivers, and fruitful fields, producing both rice and corn, and affording to the labourer a thousand fold reward, (according to my Japanese author's way of expressing the fruitfulness of this country.) It hath three days journey and a half in circumference, and is divided into thirteen districts, Singa, Karinotto, Ius, Cammoo, Kanfaki, Inungami, Sakatta, Jetz, the upper and lower Assai, Imito, Takafima, Kooka, and Joositzumi. 2. Mino, or Diosiu, is not inferior to the former, neither in an agreeable variety of hills and plains, nor in fertility, producing plenty of rice, corn, and gokokf, and other necessaries of life. It is three days journey long from south to north, and divided into eighteen districts, Isijntfu, Fufa, Awadsi, Ikenda, Oono, Mottos, Mussijroda, Katakata, Atsumi, Kakuni, Iamangata, Muggi, Guundsjo, Camo, Cako, Tokki, Jenna, and Taki. 3. Fida, otherwise Fisju, falls far short of the two former, both in largeness, and fertility. Its utmost extent from south to north doth not exceed two days travelling. It abounds in woods and forests, and yields a great quantity of fire-wood, and timber for buildings. It hath but four districts, Ofarra, Masjinda, Ammano, and Araki. 4. Sinano, otherwise Sinsju, a very cold country. Salt and fish are very scarce here, because of its great remoteness from the sea; and it is not well provided with cattle, by reason of its few pastures. It is otherwise tolerably fruitful, and produces a good quantity of mulberry-trees, silk, and cannib, of which there are several good manufactures established there. It is said to be five days journey long from south to north, and is divided into eleven districts, Midfutz, Takaij, Fannissina, Tsisagatta, Sacku, Iua, Sfuwa, Tfikunuma, Atsumi, Sara, and Sijna. 5. Koodsuke, otherwise Dsiosju, is four days journey long, going from east to west, a warm and tolerable good country, producing plenty of mulberry trees, though the silk they yield, is not of the best sort, and the stuffs brought from thence but coarse. It is divided into fourteen districts, Uffui, Aassa, Sfikanne, Sfetta, Sai, Nitta, Kattaoka, Soora, Gumma, Kanva, Tago, Midorino, Naba, and Jammada. 6. Sinoodfuke, or Jasju, is three days journey and a half long, going from east to west, a tolerable good country, not very mountainous, but rather flat, with abundance of pasture-ground and rice-fields, which plentifully supply it with grass, rice, corn, and the gokokf. It hath nine districts, Askara, Janada, Afo, Tfuuga, Taka, Sawingawa, Suwooja, Nafu, and Mukabe. 7. Mutfu, or Oosju, is by much the largest province in Japan, being full sixteen days journey long from south to north. It is an extraordinary good and fruitful country, and wants nothing for the support of human life. This whole province was formerly subject to one prince, together with the neighbouring province Dewa, of which more hereafter. It is divided into fifty-four (and according to others fifty-five) districts, Sijrakawa, Kurokawa, Juwasi, Mijaki, Aitz, Nama, Oda, Afaka, Adatz, Sibatta, Karida, Tooda, Natori, Sinnobu, Kikkunda, Sibanne, Assonusa, Namingata, Iwadewaga, Kawatz, Fitzungi, Takano, Wattari, Tamadfukuri, Oonato, Kami, Sfida, Kuriwara, Jefan, Jeki, Misawa, Nagaooka, Tojone, Monowara, Oosika, Gunki, Kaddono, Fafikani, Tfungaru, Uda, Iku, Motojes, Ibara, Taidfi, Sikamma, Inaga, Siwa, Iwafaki, Kimbara, Kadfinda, Datte, Socka, Fei, and Kifen. 8. Dewa, otherwise Usju, is five days journey long, a very good country, abounding in good pasture-

pasture-ground, plants, and trees. It is said to have the Spring fifteen days earlier than other provinces. It belonged formerly to Osju, but is now a separate province, divided into twelve districts, Akumi, Kawanobe, Murajama, Oitama, Ookatz, Firaka, Tangaira, Diwa, Akindatauri, Senboku, Mogumi, and Jamamottu. All the revenues of these eight provinces amount to 563 mangokf, according to the old rentals, but at present they are considerably improved.

III. Foku Rokkudo, that is, the northern tract, hath seven provinces within its compass: 1. Wackasa, otherwise Siakusju, is one day's journey and a half long, going from south to north. It is limited to the north by the sea, which plentifully supplies it with fish, crabs, tortoises, and the like. It hath some iron-mines, and is divided into three districts, Oonibu, Ooi, and Micatta. 2. Jettisten, otherwise Jeetsju. Its length, from south to north, is of three days travelling. It is very mountainous towards the south, but more flat and fruitful to the north, with abundance of good pasture-ground, where the inhabitants breed plenty of cattle. It produces also cannib, mulberry-trees and silk, and the gokokf very plentifully. It is divided into twelve districts, Tsuruga, Nibu, Imadats, Asijba, Oono, Sakai, Kuroda, Ikingami, Takakida, Joosfidata, Sakagita, and Naandsjo. 3. Kaga, otherwise Kasju, is two days journey and a half long, going from east to west, a tolerable good country, yielding as much of the gokokf as is necessary for the sustenance of the inhabitants. Some silk manufactures are carried on here, and it affords the best vinegar, sacki, and soja, which are exported into other provinces. It hath four districts, Jenne, Nomi, Isikawa, and Kanga, to which some add Kaboku. 4. Noto, otherwise Seosju, is a sort of a peninsula, almost wholly encompassed by the sea, and on this account plentifully supplied with fish and crabs. It hath several iron-mines, but not much good ground, and the gokokf ripen considerably later than in other provinces. It is two days journey and a half long, going from east to west, and is divided into four districts, Bagui, Noto, Fukeefund, and Sfus. 5. Jeetsju, otherwise Jaetsju, hath three days journey in circumference, a tolerable good country, pretty well supplied with gokokf. A particular sort of earthen pots is made here. It affords also some wood, which is made use of particularly for bridges. It is divided into four districts, Tonami, Imidfu, Mebu, and Nijkawa. 6. Jettingo, otherwise Jeetsju, a large province, having six days journey in circumference. It is very mountainous to the south, otherwise tolerably fruitful, producing silk, cannib, and the gokokf, though not of the best sort. It is divided into seven districts, Kabiki, Kof, Missima, Iwoodsi, Cambara, Nutari, and Iwafune. 7. Sado, or Sasju, a pretty large island of three days journey and a half in circumference, situate to the north of Japan, just over against the two provinces Jeetsju and Jettingo. It is a very fruitful island, plentifully supplied with corn, rice, and gokokf. It hath also some woods and good pasture-ground. The sea affords fish, and crabs. It is divided into three districts, Umo, Soota, and Camo. The yearly revenue of these seven provinces amounts to 243 mangokf.

IV. Sanindo, that is, the "Northern Mountainous, or Cold Tract," consists of eight provinces: 1. Tanba, otherwise Tansju, is two days journey long, a middling good country, producing plenty of rice, besides several sorts of pease and pulse. It affords also some fire-wood, and is divided into six districts, Kuwada, Funaji, Taki, Amada, Fingami, and Ikarunga. 2. Tango, otherwise Tansju, is one day's journey and a half broad, going from south to north, likewise a middling good country, where silk and cannib may be had at a very easy rate. It is plentifully supplied by the sea with fish, crabs, and the like. It is divided into five districts, Kaki, Joki, Tango, Katano, and Kumano. 3. Tafina, otherwise Tansju, is two days journey long, going from

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east to west, a middling good country, much like the two former, and divided into eight districts, Afami, Jabu, Idfu, Ketta, Kinnofaki, P'langaka, Sitzumi, and Mikummi. 4. Imaba, otherwise Insju, is much of the same length and degree of fruitfulness with Tafima. It is limited to the north by the sea, and on the south by a ridge of mountains. It hath several manufactures of coarse silk stuffs, and is divided into seven provinces, Togomi, Jagami, T'fidu, Oomi, Takaguso, Ketta, and Konno. 5. Fooki, otherwise Fakusju, is two days journey and a half long, going from south to north, a middling good country, producing plenty of gokokf, cannib, and silk, of which last there are several good manufactures carried on here. It is divided into six districts, Kawamura, Kume, Jawata, Aneri, Oomi, and Fino. 6. Idfumo, otherwise Unsju, is two days journey and a half broad, going from east to west, almost wholly encompassed by the Corean sea, after the manner of a peninsula. It is a very fruitful country, producing variety of trees, grafs, and plants. It hath also some manufactures of coarse silk stuffs. It is divided into ten districts, Iju, Nomi, Semane, Akifika, Tattenni, Jadfumo, Kanto, Ijis, Ninda, and Oofara. 7. Iwami, otherwise Sekisju, is two days journey long, going from south to north, a middling good country, producing plenty of cannib, and affording some salt. The inhabitants give twice as much a year to their Prince as they do in other provinces. It is divided into five districts, T'fikama, Naka, Oots, Mino, and Canoab. 8. Oki, otherwise Insju, an island erected into a province, and situate in the Corean sea, opposite to the coasts of that peninsula. It is a very barren country, producing a few gokokf. It hath two days journey in circumference, and is divided into five districts. All the yearly revenues of these eight provinces amount to 123 mangokf.

V. Sanjodo, that is, "the southern mountainous, or warm tract," is composed of eight provinces, which are, 1. Farima, otherwise Bansju, hath three days journey and a half in circumference, a very fruitful country, producing in plenty all manner of necessaries. It hath several manufactures of silk-stuffs, paper, and cloth. It is divided into fourteen districts, Akas, Kata, Kamo, Inami, Sikama, Iwo, Akato, Saijo, Sitz, Kansaki, Taka, Mitzubo, Issai, and Itto. 2. Mimafaka, otherwise Sakusju, is three days journey long, going from east to west, a middling good country, affording as much fruits, plants, victuals, and cloth, as is necessary for the support of its inhabitants. It is observed as somewhat remarkable, that this province is less subject to winds than any other in the empire. It is divided into seven districts, Aida, Katzunda, Tomanifi, Tomafigafi, Khume, Ooba, and Mafuma. 3. Bidfen, or Bisju, hath three days journey in circumference, a middling good country, producing plenty of silk. Its soil is pretty warm, and the produce of the fields and gardens are observed to ripen earlier than in other provinces. It is divided into eleven districts, Kofuma, Waki, Iwanafi, Ooku, Akofaka, Kandatz, Minne, Ooas, T'itaka, T'ingosima, and Kamofima. 4. Bitsju, otherwise Fisin, is one day's journey and a half long, going from east to west, a very good country, plentifully supplied with all the necessaries of life. The gokokf and cannib in particular are extremely cheap here. It is divided into nine districts, Utz, Kaboja, Kaija, Simomitz, Assanguts, Oda, Sitzuki, Teta, and Fanga, to which are added two islands, Saburofima, and Jorifima. 5. Bingo, otherwise Fisju, is somewhat more than two days journey long, going from south to north, a middling good country, plentifully supplied with rice and gokokf, which are likewise observed to ripen here much earlier than they do elsewhere. It is divided into fourteen districts, Abe, Futsitz, Kamijsi, Afuka, Nunafimi, Bonitz, Afijda, Kooni, Mikami, Camidami, Mitfuki, Jesso, Sirra, and Mijwara. 6. Aki, other Gesju, is two days journey and a half long, going from south to north, a mountainous and barren country. Upon the coasts they make salt. Corn, rice, and gokokf will hardly grow here, but it abounds with woods and

forests, which afford plenty of mushrooms. It is divided into eight districts, Numada, Takatta, Tojoda, Sada, Cammo, Sabaku, Aki, Takamija, and Iku Kuffima; which last is the name of a place particularly famous in this province. 7. Suwo, or Seosju, is three days journey long, going from east to west, a middling good country, abounding chiefly in plants and good pasture ground. The coasts afford as much fish, crabs, shells, and other submarine substances as any other province whatever. It is divided into six districts, Oosima, Kuka, Kumade, Tiino, Sawa, and Joofki. 8. Nagata, otherwise Tfosju, is two days journey and a half long, from east to west, a middling good country, limited to the south and west by the sea, to the north by a ridge of mountains. It produces gokokf, fish, crabs, and other necessaries, twice as much as there is requisite for the maintenance of the inhabitants. It is divided into six districts, Atfa, Tojora, Mine, Ootz, Amu, and Misijma. The whole yearly revenue of these eight provinces amounts to 270 mangokf.

All the several tracts of land, provinces and districts, hitherto mentioned, belong to the great island Nipon. I proceed now to the second island, which is next to Nipon in largeness, and which is by the Japanese called Kiusju, the Western Country, and Saikokf, the Country of Nine. This offers to our view the

VI. Great tract of land, called Saikaido, that is, the Western Coast Tract. It is composed of nine large provinces: 1. Tfikudfen, otherwise Tfikufiu, is from south to north four days journey long, a middling good country, producing both corn and rice. It hath several Chinaware manufactures, and is divided into twenty-four districts, Sima, Kama, Jassijka, Nofima, Mikafa, Monagatta, Onka, Musiroda, Fonami, Sara, Naka, Cassija, Siaka, Musima, Ito, Musijro, Vutz, Kurande, Nokosima, Sinotz, Kafakura, Kamitzkafakura, Kokuf, and Tassai. 2. Tfikungo, otherwise Tfikusju, is from south to north, five days journey long, a tolerable good country, producing corn, rice, and pease in great plenty; the coasts afford fish, crabs, and shells. A great deal of sweetmeat is made here, and exported into other provinces. It is divided into ten districts, Mijwara, Mij, Ikwa, Mi, Mike, Kandfima, Simodfima, Jammacando, Jammafeta, and Takeno. 3. Budfen, or Foosju, is four days journey long from south to north, a tolerable good country, particularly famous for producing extraordinary good medicinal plants. Great numbers of silk manufactures are carried on in this province, some of which the Prince takes in part of payment for his revenue. It is divided into eight districts, Tangawa, Sakku, Mijako, Nakatz, Tfuiki, Kamitzki, Simotzki, and Ufa. 4. Bungo, otherwise Foosju, is three days journey long, middling fruitful. It affords silk from its mulberry-trees, cloth, hemp, gokokf, and some scarce medicinal plants. It is divided into eight districts, Fita, Kees, Nawori, Oono, Amabe, Ookata, Fajjami, and Kunifaki. 5. Fidsen, otherwise Fisju, is from south to north full five days journey long, a good and middling fruitful country, besides the produce of corn and rice, plentifully stored with fish and fowls. It hath also some cloth manufactures, and is divided into 11 districts, Kickij, Jabu, Mine, Ooki, Kansoki, Saaga, Maatsura, Kiffima, Fufitz, Kadfuraki, and Takaku. 6. Figo, otherwise Fisju, hath about five days journeys in circumference, a middling fruitful country, affording plenty of firewood, and wood for building, as also corn, peale, fish, crabs, and other necessaries, as much as will supply the want of the inhabitants. It is divided into fourteen districts, Tamana, Jamaga, Jamamoto, Kikutz, Afo, Takunia, Kuma, Aida, Mafiki, Udo, Jaadfiro, Koos, Amakufa, and Afskita. 7. Fiugo, otherwise Nisju, is about three days journey long, a poor country, mountainous, and producing hardly what corn, rice, and fruits are necessary for the sustenance of its inhabitants; some few mulberry-trees grow there. It is divided into five districts, Ulki, Koiju, Naka, Mijafaka, and Morokata. 8. Oofumi, otherwise Gusju, is from east to west two days journey long, a small but

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fruitful province, plentifully supplied with all the necessaries of life, particularly such as the sea affords. There is a great quantity of paper made here, and some few silk stuffs. It is divided into eight districts, Oofumi, Fisingari, Kuwabara, Soo, Sijra, Kimodfuki, Komadsij, and Kumagge, to which is added the neighbouring island Tanegafima. 9. Satzuma, or Satzju, is much of the same length with the former, middling fruitful, producing chiefly mulberry-trees and hemp. It hath a few cloth manufactures, but the cloth is very good. It can furnish other provinces with hemp. It is divided into fourteen districts, Idfumi, Takaki, Satzuma, Feki, Isa, Ala, Kawanobe, Jene, Juumaki, Fire, Fani, Jamma, Okinokosima, and Kofskifima. The yearly revenue of these nine provinces amounts to 344 mangokf.

An island of the third magnitude, which lies between the two former, and is by the Japanese called Sikokf, that is, the Country of Four, viz. Provinces, together with the neighbouring island Awadsi, situate to the north-east of Sikokf, and the great province Kijnokuni, which stands out from the continent of Nipon, make up the seventh large tract of land, which is by the Japanese called

VII. Nankaido, that is, the Tract of the Southern Coasts. It is composed of the six following provinces: 1. Kijnokuni, otherwise Kisju, is four days journey and a half long, going from south to north, a flat and barren country, washed by the sea on three sides, and producing neither corn and rice, nor pease and pulse. It is divided into seven districts, Ito, Naka, Nagufa, Amabe, Arida, Fitaka, and Muro. 2. Awadsi, an island of about a day's journey in length, in the main, very barren, affording however, cloth, fish, and salt, as much as there is necessary for the maintenance of the inhabitants. It hath but two districts, Tsina and Mijwara, to which are added two of the chief neighbouring islands, Muslima and Jesima. 3. Awa, otherwise Asju, is two days journey long, a middling good country, somewhat mountainous, and plentifully stored with cattle, fowl, fish, crabs, and shells. It is divided into nine districts, Miosi, Ojen, Nafingasi, Nanisi, Katfura, Naka, Itano, Awa, and Mima. 4. Sanuki, otherwise Sansju, is three days journey long, going from east to west, a middling good and fruitful country, with variety of rivers, mountains, and fields, producing rice, corn, pease, and pulse. The sea affords plenty of fish and crabs. This province is famous for having given birth to several great and eminent men. It is divided into eleven districts, Owutsi, Samingawa, Miki, Mino, Jamada, Kanda, Ano, Uta, i, Naka, Tado, and Kako. 5. Ijo, otherwise Josju, is two days journey long, a middling good country, mountainous in some parts, flat in others, some of the fields being sandy, others producing rice, hemp, mulberry-trees, grass, and plants. Some salt is made upon the coasts. It is divided into fourteen districts, Nij, Sucki, Kuwamira, Ootz, Kafafaja, Nooma, Tsike, Otsuni, Kume, Fuke, Jio, Kita, Uwa, and Uma. 6. Tofa, otherwise Tosju, is two days journey long, going from east to west, a middling good country, supplied with plenty of pease and pulse, wood, fruits, and several other necessaries of life. It is divided into seven provinces, Tofa, Agawa, Taka, Oka, Fata, Nanaoka, Katafima and Kami. The yearly revenue of these six provinces amounts to 140 mangokf.

There remain still two other islands not hitherto mentioned, which were conquered, and annexed to the empire of Japan, in the late war with the inhabitants of Corea. They are called Iki Tzufuma, both their names being put together, and have now a Prince of their own, having been formerly subject to the Prince, or petty King of Satzuma. The first of these two islands is Iki, otherwise Isju; it is a days journey long, and hath two districts, Iki, and Isijda. The second island is Tzufuma, otherwise Taisju; this is somewhat larger than the former, and likewise divided into two districts, Akata, and Simoakata, that is, Upper and Lower Akata. The fruitfulness of these islands is said not to be very considerable, but they say that some foreign curiosities are to be seen there

there, and the number of idols worshipped by the inhabitants is much talked of. The yearly revenue of these two islands amounts to 3 man, and 5000 kokf.

The whole revenue of all the islands and provinces belonging to the great empire of Japan makes up in all a yearly sum of 2328 man, and 6200 kokf, according to the account above given. My Japanese author, however, puts it only at 2257 mangokf.

Though it be not a proper place here to enter into particulars concerning the government of the Japanese empire, its provinces, and districts, yet for the better understanding of my history, it seems necessary, that, before I proceed any further, somewhat should be said on this head. The whole empire, in general, is governed by the Emperor, with an absolute and monarchical power; and so is every province in particular, by the Prince who, under the Emperor, enjoys the government thereof. The present Kubo, or secular Monarch, is Tsinajos, fourth successor, and great grandson of Jeassama, first Emperor of the now reigning family, who usurped the throne upon the lawful heir, and reigned about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Tsinajos hath the character of a severe but just and prudent monarch. He inherited from his ancestors, along with the crown, an absolute and unlimited power over all his subjects, from the meanest extraction up to the highest rank. Even the greatest Princes and lords of the empire, are so far his vassals, that he can disgrace, exile, and deprive them of their lives and dominions, as he pleases, or as he thinks the peace and welfare of the empire requires, or their crimes deserve.

Particular provinces are governed by hereditary Princes, called Daimio, which signifies "high-named;" that is, Princes and lords of the highest rank. Some of these have found means by force of arms to enlarge their dominions. Thus, the Prince of Satzuma made himself master of the two neighbouring provinces, Oofumi and Fiugo, and the Prince of Canga of the neighbouring province Noto; on which account, these two Princes are said to be the most powerful in the empire.

The lords of smaller districts are called Siomio, "well named," lords of an inferior rank. Their dominions, whether they be islands, as Goto, Firando, Amakusa, Matfaki, and several others, or situate upon the continent of the three chief islands composing the empire of Japan, are mentioned in the list of the sixty-six great provinces, each under that province whereto they belong, or in which they lie. All the Siomio are so far subject to the Emperor, that they are allowed but six months stay in their hereditary dominions. The other half year they must spend in the Imperial capital, Jedo, where their wives and families are kept all the year round, as hostages of their fidelity.

Some of these smaller districts are imperial demesne, or crown lands, either, because they have been appropriated of old for the support of the crown, or because in success of time, as occasion offered, they were taken from their hereditary possessors by way of punishment, and annexed thereunto, it having been always one of the chief political maxims followed by the Emperors of Japan, to maintain themselves in peaceable possession of the throne, by splitting large dominions into several small ones, and by endeavouring, by all possible means, to weaken the power and authority of the Princes of the empire. The largest of these crown lands are governed by what they call, bugios, acting in the nature of lieutenants, the smaller ones by daiquans, as they are called, or stewards. All the revenues must be brought into the Emperor's exchequer.

CHAP. III.—*The Author's Opinion of the true Origin and Descent of the Japanese.*

IT hath been the constant opinion of most European geographers, that the Japanese are originally of Chinese extraction, descended from the inhabitants of that mighty empire. This opinion is grounded upon the following two stories, which were brought

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out of the East by European travellers. The first is: It once happened in China that several families conspired against the Emperor. Upon discovery of the plot, it was ordered, that all those who had any hand in it, should be put to death without mercy. The number of accomplices being so extensive, that at last the executioners themselves grew weary of shedding so much blood; the affair was again laid before the Emperor, who thereupon resolved, that their sentence of death should be converted into transportation and banishment into the neighbouring, then rude and uninhabited, islands of Japan, which they peopled, and thereby became the progenitors of that numerous and powerful nation they are now inhabited by. The second story hath been reported as follows: One of the Emperors of China unwilling to part with his empire, and all that grandeur and power he was possessed of, within the short term human life is limited to, endeavoured to find out, if possible, some universal medicine, which could make him immortal; on this account, he sent expert and able men into all parts of the world. Among the rest, one of his chief physicians persuaded him, that the proper ingredients for such a medicine were, to his knowledge, to be met with in the neighbouring islands of Japan; but that they were of so tender and singular a structure, that they would wither, and lose their virtues, if touched by any other but chaste and pure hands. And, the better to execute this design, he proposed that three hundred young men, and so many young women, all of a strong and healthful constitution, should be carried over thither, which accordingly he did himself, though far from having any real intention to satisfy his Sovereign, but rather out of a desire to escape his tyranny, to settle in happier climes, and to people these then uninhabited islands. As to the first of these two stories, Linschoot is the author of it; but he not acquainting his reader, what authority he had for it, or how he came by it, and there being not the least mention made, neither in Chinese nor Japanese histories, of any such conspiracy, it deserves no credit, but ought to be entirely rejected as forged and fabulous. But as to the second, the coming over of a Chinese physician, with so many young men and young women, the same is not at all denied by the Japanese; nay, far from it, they still shew a place upon Kumano, (so they call the southern coasts of the provinces,) Kijnokuni, and some neighbouring provinces, where he landed and afterwards settled with his gallant colony; and the remains of a temple, which was there erected to his memory, for having brought over to them from China good manners, and useful arts and sciences. As to the occasion of his coming over, it is recorded in Japanese histories, that there was great search made after an universal medicine, during the reign of the Emperor Si, or Sikwo, or, as the vulgar pronounce it, Sino Sikwo. This Emperor was one of the three Chinese Neros, Sinofko, Ketzuwo, and Thuwo, whose memory will be for ever abhorred. He not only governed his empire with unparalleled tyranny, but lived with the greatest pride, and most profuse magnificence imaginable, of which there are several remarkable instances mentioned in the history of his life. He caused once a large spot of ground to be dug up for a lake, and having ordered it to be filled with Chinese beer, he sailed over it in stately barges. He caused a stately palace, named Kojaku, to be built for his residence, the floors whereof were paved with gold and silver, and the whole building of such an extent, that the Emperor Kooll, who usurped the throne upon his grandson, whom he put to death, with all the Imperial family, having set it on fire, it burnt in the ashes for the space of three months; which memorable event gave birth to a proverb, whereby the Japanese express the sudden changes, and short duration, human grandeur and happiness are liable to. It was this Emperor who, out of a strong desire for ever to enjoy the empire, ordered that great search should be made after a medicine, which could render him immortal. If it be therefore under his reign,

reign, the above said physician went over into Japan with his colony, it must be granted to the Japanese, that they came by much too late to be the progenitors of their nation, which was then already governed by Koken, their eighth monarch; for the arrival of the Chinese was in the seventh year of the reign of Koken, 453 years after Synmu, first Emperor of Japan, and 209 before the birth of our Saviour, the very same year in which Sinofikwo died in the fiftieth year of his age. Since therefore these two stories are by no means a sufficient proof, that the Japanese nation is descended from the Chinese, it will not be amiss to enquire, whether it be not possible to assign it another more probable origin.

It is unquestionably true, that languages, and their proprieties, are as sure and certain marks, as perhaps it is possible to produce, whereby to discern, and trace out, not only the true origin of a nation, but likewise to find out, how in process of time it increased, by being, as it were, incorporated with other nations. Of this most European nations afford us evident proofs. Thus, for instance, we may easily find by the language alone, that the Polanders, Bohemians, and Muscovites, are of Slavonian extraction; that the Italians, French and Spaniards descend from the Romans; that the Germans, Low Dutch, Danes, and Swedes, are the offspring of the ancient Goths. Nay, we may go still further, and assert, that the languages alone of several nations, and proper considerations thereupon, will qualify and enable us to form probable conjectures, what revolutions happened among them, whether, and what neighbouring nations they were conquered by, as also, whether, and how from time to time they increased by fresh supplies and colonies from foreign parts: for it may be laid down as a constant rule, that in proportion to the number of strangers who come to settle and live in a country, words of the tongue spoke by them will be brought into the language of that country, and by degrees, as it were, naturalized, and become so familiar to the natives, as if they had been of their own growth. The number of German, French, and Danish words, in the English language, doth it not evidently prove, that England was successively conquered by the Danes, Lower Saxons and French. Not even the Latin tongue was able to preserve its purity, but Greek words were freely, and in great number, adopted into it, after the Romans became master of that country, then the seat of learning and politeness. The language now spoke in Transylvania hath a considerable mixture both of the Latin and neighbouring Hungarian. The language of the inhabitants of Semigallia, (a small country near Russia,) is composed of the Lettish, Slavonian and Latin. The same observation holds true in other parts of the world, as well as in Europe. John de Barros in his Decades, and Flaccourt in his History of Madagascar, assure us that the language spoke by the inhabitants of that large African island, is full of Javan and Malagan words, as remaining proofs of the trade and commerce which these two nations, about two thousand years ago the richest and most powerful of Asia, had carried on with Madagascar, where they settled in great numbers. The language spoke in the peninsula Crinea, or Taurica Chersonesus, in Asia, still retains many German words, brought thither, as is supposed, by a colony of Goths, who went to settle there about eight hundred and fifty years after the deluge. The late Mr. Busbeq, who had been imperial ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, collected and published a great number of these words in his fourth letter; and in my own travels through that country I took notice of many more. If we were better acquainted with the languages of the Javans, Ceylonese, Malabarians, Siamites, and other Indian nations, they would doubtless enable us to trace out their origin, mixture with their neighbours, and the revolutions that happened among them. But to apply what hath been said nearer to our purpose, I may venture to affirm, that if the Japanese language was to be thoroughly, and

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most rigorously examined into, we would find it entirely pure, and free from all mixture with the languages of their neighbours, at least to such a degree, as would give room to conjecture an original descent from them. By their neighbours I mean chiefly the Chinese, who inhabit the eastern maritime provinces of that empire, and carry on a commerce to Japan. They speak three different languages, according to the three chief provinces they belong to, which are Nanking, Tsiaktsju, and Foktsju. Now a native of Japan doth not understand one word of either of these languages, excepting the names of a few things which were brought by the Chinese into Japan along with the things themselves, and which conclude no more for an original descent of the Japanese from China, than some few Portuguese words, as pan, palma, bolan, cappa, fracco, bidou, tante, and a few more, still left there, would be allowed a sufficient proof, of the Japanese being originally descended from the Portuguese. Nor was the number of Chinese, who came from time to time to settle in Japan, ever considerable enough to occasion any remarkable alteration in the mother-tongue of the Japanese, though they could and actually did communicate and introduce among them the arts and sciences, which had long before flourished in China, nay even the knowledge of the learned and significant character-language of that country, which is likewise received in Corea, Tunquin, and other neighbouring kingdoms, much after the same manner as the Latin is in most European countries. But besides, there are two other essential proprieties of a language, I mean the construction and pronunciation, in the Japanese language so entirely different from that of the Chinese, that there is no room left to think that these two nations gave birth to each other. And first as to the construction and way of writing, the Chinese set their characters one below another in a row, without any intermediate particles to connect them: the Japanese indeed do the same; but the genius of their language requires besides, that the words and characters should be sometimes transposed, sometimes joined together by other words and particles, particularly invented for this purpose, and which are so absolutely necessary, that even in reprinting the books of the Chinese, they must be added, to enable their people to read and to understand them. And as to the pronunciation, that also is vastly different in both languages, whether we consider it in general, or with regard to particular letters, and this difference is so remarkable, that it seems the very instruments of voice are differently formed in the Japanese, than they are in the Chinese. The pronunciation of the Japanese language, in general, is pure, articulate and distinct, there being seldom more than two or three letters (according to our alphabet) combined together in one syllable; that of the Chinese on the contrary, is nothing but a confused noise of many consonants pronounced with a sort of a singing accent, very disagreeable to the ear. The same difference appears with regard to particular letters. Thus, the Chinese pronounce our letter H. very distinctly, but the Japanese can give it no other sound, but that of an F. Again, the Japanese pronounce the letters R and D, very distinctly, of which the Chinese, particularly those of Nanking, always make an L, even such as are otherwise well skilled in the European languages. I could give several other instances of this kind, and further shew, that, what hath been observed of the difference between the Chinese and Japanese languages, holds equally true with regard to the languages spoken in Corea and Jedso, compared with that of the natives of Japan; but it is needless to give the reader, and myself, so much trouble, the rather, since nobody ever pretended to draw the original descent of the Japanese from either of these two nations.

Another argument against the descent of the Japanese from the Chinese, I could draw from the difference of the religion of both nations. If the Japanese were a colony of the Chinese, they would have doubtless brought over from thence, into the uninhabited

habited islands of Japan, the religion and worship of their ancestors, and propagated the same upon their posterity. But this appears quite otherwise. The old, and probably, original religion of the Japanese, which is by them called Sintos, and the gods and idols, worshipped by its adherents, Sin, and Came, is peculiar only to this empire, nor hath it ever been admitted of, nor their gods acknowledged and worshipped, nor the religious way of life of the Japanese followed by the Chinese, or indeed any other heathen nation. It was besides the only one established in Japan during a succession of many ages. For the foreign pagan doctrine of Siaka, which the Japanese now call Bupo, or Budôdo, and the gods, which it commands to worship, Buds and Fotoge, though ever since its early beginnings it met with uncommon success, and speedily spread over the best part of Asia, yet it was not introduced into Japan till sixty-six years after our Saviour's nativity, under the reign of the Emperor Synnin, when it was brought over from Corea. And although afterwards, through the connivance of the Japanese monarchs, it was successfully propagated by several missionaries, who came over from China, and the neighbouring kingdoms, and speedily spread all over the empire, yet it never could prevail so far, as to banish the respect and veneration for the old religion of their ancestors out of the minds of a constant and steadfast nation. On the contrary, the more the Bupo doctrine got ground, the more pains were taken for the preservation of the Sintos worship, by embellishing the same with new gods, temples, festivals and fables.

What hath been inferred from the difference of religion against the original descent of the Japanese from China, could be further supported by the wide difference there is between the characters anciently used by both nations, I mean the gross and rude common characters, as they call them, of the Japanese, and the simple and plain images of the Chinese. But this being an argument of less moment, I will not insist upon it, and only mention in a few words two other remarkable differences.

And first I could plainly shew that the Japanese greatly differ from the Chinese, in their civil customs and way of life, as to eating, drinking, sleeping, dressing, shaving of the head, saluting, sitting, and many more. Secondly, the very inclinations of the mind are remarkably different in both nations. The Chinese are peaceable, modest, great lovers of a sedate, speculative, and philosophical way of life, but withal very much given to fraud and usury. The Japanese on the contrary are warlike, inclined to rebellions and a dissolute life, mistrustful, ambitious, and always bent on high designs.

By what hath been hitherto observed, it appears plainly, that the Japanese are an original nation, at least that they are not descended of the Chinese. The difficulty now remaining to be cleared up, is, how, and from what parts of the world, to trace out their true original descent. In order to this we must go up higher, and perhaps it is not inconsistent with reason and the nature of things, to assert, that they are descended of the first inhabitants of Babylon, and that the Japanese language is one of those, which sacred writs mention, that the all-wise providence hath thought fit, by way of punishment and confusion, to infuse into the minds of the vain builders of the Babylonian tower. This at least seems to be the most probable conjecture, whatever way they went into Japan, or whatever time they spent upon this their first peregrination. Nay, considering the purity of the Japanese language, I may pursue my conjectures, and further affirm, that they cannot have spent much time on their first journey to Japan, forasmuch as we cannot suppose, that they made any considerable stay in any one country, or with any one people then existing, without granting at the same time, that in all probability they would have adopted some words of the language of that nation into their own, of which yet it would be found upon examination to be entirely free, contrary to what

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We find in all European and most Eastern languages, known to us, which seem to have been from their very beginning so thoroughly mixed and confounded, that there is scarce any, but what hath some words of another, though never so remote. If then our Japanese colony did reach that part of the world, which divine Providence assigned for their future abode, as soon as the Chinese, Tunquinese, and other neighbouring nations did theirs, it must be supposed that they fortunately fell in with such a road, as could with safety and speed bring them to the eastern extremities of Asia, from whence there is but a short passage over to Japan. In order therefore to trace out what road it is probable they took, we must consider the first Babylonians in the condition they were in, after that dreadful confusion of languages, wholly disappointed from going on with their vain design, and brought to the fatal necessity to part with each other, and to be dispersed all over the world. And in order to this let us suppose, first, That among the different parties there arose in all likelihood a strong emulation to chuse for their future abode such countries as were not only fruitful and delightful, but thought to be less exposed to the invasion of other parties, either because of their commodious situation towards the sea, or between large rivers, and high mountains, or by reason of their great distance. And in this regard it is highly probable, that such countries, as were very remote, but situate under a temperate climate, became not the last inhabited. This seems to be the case of the empire of Japan, whose remoteness, as well as its fruitfulness, and pleasant situation, between 30 and 40 degrees of northern latitude, could fully answer all the expectations of a first colony. But, secondly, let us suppose, that the chief care of these first colonies, in their search for a country fit for their habitation, must needs have been to follow such roads, and tracts of land, where in the mean time, they could be provided with the necessaries of life. This intention could scarce be answered more effectually than by travelling, either along the sea-coasts, or, and with more probability, along great rivers and lakes, where they could be supplied with fish for their own nourishment, with sweet water to quench their thirst, and where they were like to meet with good pasture ground for their cattle, till at last they alighted at a country, where they thought they could settle with safety and convenience.

If, therefore, the dreadful confusion of tongues at Babylon, brought its inhabitants, as indeed it must have done, to an indispensable necessity to part one with another, and to be dispersed all over the world, such parties as spoke the same language, keeping together, and settling in what country they best liked, we may take it for granted, that not a few went towards the neighbouring Black and Caspian Seas, and that by this means the country of Hircania, which is situate between the Caucasus and Caspian shores, as the best and most delightful spot of Persia, became first inhabited, as did soon after the neighbouring fruitful countries, situate between the Black and Caspian Seas. Such as intended, or thought it expedient, to pursue their journey further, met here with two different ways, one up the rivers Tanais and Wolga to the north, the other along the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea into Asia. It is foreign to my present purpose to shew what became of the former. And as to those that went along the eastern Caspian coasts, they must have at least reached to the mouth of the great river Oxus, or Dniehuun, where it discharges itself into the Caspian Sea, and if we suppose that they followed that river up to its source, it was then no very difficult matter for them to penetrate into the very midst of India, where they must have soon met with the source of the rivers Indus and Ganges, and going down the different branches of it, got into Indostan, Bengala, Pegu, Siam, and other neighbouring kingdoms, much easier and safer, than if they had been obliged to travel over the barren, and still uninhabited Maharoumian mountains, or to cross the large deserts of Siftuun and Saabestuun.

Even to this day, travellers going from Ispahan to Candahar chuse rather to go through Meshed, a journey of 375 miles, than to take the shortest road, which is but 250 miles, across these wild and dangerous deserts. But to return to the Caspian Sea, before I carry off our Japanese Colony from thence on their journey to Japan, I must beg leave to make a short digression in favour of a famous and valiant nation of the Turks, or Turcomans and Usbeks, as they are now called, which settled upon its eastern and north-eastern coasts. Turk signifies a shepherd, and Turkestaan, a shepherd's country. Jusbeek is as much as to say, hundred lords, which seems to imply, that the country of Usbeck was once governed by so many Princes. Both nations have the same language, the same religion, the same manners and customs, and must therefore be looked upon as originally one, on which we may deservedly bestow the glorious epithets of being a mother of many nations, a nurse of illustrious heroes, and a stem of mighty monarchs. They spread from the north-eastern coasts of the Caspian Sea, between 40 and 50 degrees of northern latitude, as far as the borders of Kitaija. Their way of life answered to their name; for during many centuries they lived together in hordes, and small common-wealths, wandering from place to place with their cattle, wherein their chief riches consisted. Of these Turks, or Turcomans, are descended the Dagestaan and Nagajan Tartars, the Tartarian inhabitants of the kingdom of Casan, the Boscarian Tartars, the inhabitants of the province of Mogeestan in Persia, and some other Tartars, which dwell in that kingdom under tents. The Kisilbacs, or noblemen, and great families in Persia, value themselves mightily upon their being of Turcoman extraction. There are likewise descended of them the Crim Tartars, which live between the Dniپر and Danube, upon the coasts of the Black Sea, as also those Tartars, whom the great conqueror Sinchischam (a Prince, who well deserved a Plutarch, or Quintus Curtius, to write the history of his life, conquests and heroic actions) sent out upon an expedition into Poland, and who, not meeting with all the expected success, chose rather to stay, and to people the then as yet uninhabited Pontus, than to return without honour and victory. I must silently pass over many other branches of the same race, which fell by degrees under the dominion of some neighbouring, chiefly northern, nations with whom they were in success of time so thoroughly mixed and incorporated, that even the very footsteps of their original descent would have been lost, were it not for some few remains of their former language. I will only add, that the famous Tamerlan was an Usbekian Scythe, and that the Ottoman Emperor, the great Mogul, and the King of Sopra, are all of Turcoman extraction. Thus much of the Turks and Usbecks. In order now to come nearer to our purpose, I will avoid speaking of those companies, which went along the river Inike, or from the source of the river Obij down the same towards the Tartarian Ocean, and became the first progenitors of the Tartarian nations living in those parts. Nor will I pretend at present to determine, what way the Chinese colony took in their journey to China. It is only six months travelling from the coasts of the Caspian Sea to the borders of China. Jagen Andafen in his voyage to China in 1647, did not stay longer. Two Tartarian merchants, whom I conversed with at Astracan, and who had been several times in China, gave me the following account of their journey thither. They went from Astracan over the Caspian Sea, (which they took to be 200 miles long, and 150 broad), to Seratsjik, in 15 days, from thence by land to Urgentz, the residence of an Usbekian Prince, in 5 days, from thence to Bochau in 15 days, travelling through a wild large desert: from Bochau there are two different ways, whereof travellers may chuse which they please. The one going over Chafger was then infested with rovers, so they took to the other, which across a well-inhabited country brought them to Taaskend in 14 days, thence to Oxiend in 7 days, thence to Kaaster the capital of Turkistaan, and the

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chief town between Buchara and Katal, in [this number was omitted in the original] days, thence to Tsutjik the first frontier town of Kattai in 30 days, thence to Hamtsjik in 5 days, thence to the great wall of Kattai, Chatai, or China, in 60 days, travelling through a well-inhabited country, and lastly from the great wall to Cambalu, or Peking, the capital of China, and residence of the Chinese Emperor, in 10 days, completing the whole journey within six months time. A Calmuckian merchant of the retinue of a Calmuckian Prince's ambassador to the King of Persia, whom I knew at Ispahan, where he offered me for sale the root taichuun, that is great yellow root, or rhubarb, which he had brought himself out of China, gave me the journal of his voyage from Mienkifilaag to the great wall of China, thus. He went from Mienkifilaag to Dsiem in 20 days, from thence to Gilgaas, where they cross a large river, in 15 days, from thence to Torkai in a few days, thence to Milantsij in 10 days, thence to Toktan in 10 days, thence to Tsienrehfu in 5 days, thence to Isijel in 10 days, thence to Kalah in 4 days, thence to Balane in 6 days, thence to Karbokatai in 10 days, thence to the great wall of China in 9 days, travelling through a desert and uninhabited country, where he met only a few Tartarian shepherds dwelling under black tents. Mienkifilaag signifies, in the country language, hundred winter-quarters, or resting places. It is an island situate on the eastern coasts of the Caspian Sea, near 45 degrees of northern latitude, and the residence of Ajukeh, the Prince of the Calmuckian Tartars living in those parts, who expelled the Turks, or Turcomans, out of their country, and forced them to depart even from the Caspian shores. After all I think it no ways probable, that the first Chinese went into China through such desert and barren countries, where travellers are oftentimes necessitated to carry the necessary provisions of water and victuals along with them. I am more inclined to believe, that their journey was more to the south, and perhaps along the north side of the Imaasian mountains, where the country is very fruitful, with rich pastures, and plenty of sweet water, and fish, and other necessaries of life, and where they were like to meet either the source, or else some of the branches, of the large river Croceus, which could conveniently and safely bring them into the very heart of China.

But now, at last, it is high time to make a step backwards, and to fetch the first Japanese colony from the Caspian shores, where we left them above, on their journey to Japan. If we suppose, that for some time they travelled along the east, and north-eastern coasts of the Caspian Sea, till they came to the island Mienkifilaag, and that thence they followed up some of the rivers, which there discharge themselves into the said sea, we will find, that by this means they got into a large and fruitful country, extending itself far eastwards, and very proper, by reason of its happy situation and great fertility, for the leisurely and easily pursuing of their journey. Considering this it will not appear improbable further to suppose, that having once met with so good and pleasant a country, where there was no want of provision for them and their cattle, they resolved to keep to it, avoiding to enter the hot, desert, and barren provinces, now inhabited by the Turkesteans, on one, or on the other side to go down the rivers Istifi, Jenesi, Silinga, and others, which arise thereabouts, and would have brought them to the less agreeable and cold northern countries. Thus, moving on insensibly eastward, they perhaps discovered in time the lake of Arguun, whence arises a large river of that name, and continuing their journey along the said river, for very near an hundred German miles, they must have necessarily met there another much more considerable river, called Amuur, which runs E. S. E. and could, in a journey of about 200 German miles, bring them to the eastern coasts of Asia into the then uninhabited peninsula Corea, where the said river loses itself to the eastern ocean. Per-

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haps also, if our travellers went down the river Jenisi, for about 150 German miles, to 55 degrees of northern latitude, they might have there discovered a much more commodious and pleasant way to the river Amuur, which hath been of late very advantageously followed by the Muscovites in their journeys to China. But as to the whole plan of this journey, I must refer the reader to the accurate and excellent map of Russia, and the great Tartary, which the late illustrious Nicholas Witzén, LL. D. Burgher-master at Amsterdam, and sometimes the States Ambassador to the Russian court, published in 1687, and thereby so highly obliged the curious, that he justly deserves the honours due to discoverers of unknown worlds. This map was afterwards corrected in some places, and abridged by Mr. Isbrand Ydes, who prefixed it to the account he imparted to the world of his journey through Tartary into China.

Having once brought our Japanese colony as far as the peninsula Corea, it will be no difficult matter, considering the nearness of Nagatto, the furthestmost province, lying westwards on the continent of the great island Nipon, to bring them over thither, and this the rather, because of the several islands which lie between Corea and Nagatto, in an almost continued row, particularly the two larger ones, Iki and Tsushima: for it is but reasonable to suppose, that a colony, which had courage enough to venture so far upon their first peregrination, and which had been often necessitated not only to have recourse to lakes and rivers, but frequently to cross the same, had natural curiosity enough left, in still and fair weather, to go out in canoes or boats, such as then probably they made use of, upon discovery of the state and extent of the Corean Sea and the neighbouring islands; and that having by this means discovered the continent of Nipon, they resolved to go over thither, which they might easily do, even in ordinary fishing-boats, and to choose that country for their future abode. Now, if any body knows how to bring them hither through the Eastern Tartary and the country of Jeso, (which way perhaps the American colonies went), safer and speedier, I am very willing to submit. Meanwhile I do not think it probable, that our Japanese colony made any considerable stay upon these western coasts of Nipon. Their innate curiosity and travelling humour, and perhaps also the fear of being followed and disturbed by other parties, must needs have prompted them to travel up the country, till they came to its southern extremities, and particularly into the province Isje, which by reason of its fruitfulness, good air, and remoteness from the western coasts, fully answered all the expectations of a secure and pleasant abode. I am the more inclined to believe, that they first settled in this province, since their posterity still look upon it as the place where their ancestors dwelled, and as such honour it with frequent pilgrimages and other acts of devotion. Thus far my conjectures, for as such only I deliver them, concerning the true original descent of the Japanese nation.

Before I put an end to this chapter, it will not be amiss to say something of the increase of this first Japanese colony, after they had once taken the resolution to stay, and to people the country, where doubtless for several ages, before any considerable improvements were made in agriculture, and other arts and sciences, they led a simple and indigent life, living on their cattle, on what the earth produced of plants, roots, and fruits, and the sea afforded of fish and crabs. It was unquestionably and chiefly owing to themselves, that in process of time they became so numerous and powerful a nation, and the present inhabitants of Japan must be looked upon in general, as descendants of those, who, after the confusion of languages at Babel, came over and settled in these islands. But on the other hand it cannot be denied, but that from time to time new colonies were sent over thither, chiefly from China and Corea, and perhaps also from some other neighbouring countries. The Japanese themselves make frequent

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mention in their histories of learned Chinese, who brought over into Japan their books, and the knowledge of useful arts and sciences, though not till the latter ages, when the Japanese monarchy was already become a powerful empire. And indeed since so few foreign words have been brought into the Japanese language, that it is hardly visible, that there hath been any alteration at all made in it, and since the religion and old customs subsist till now, it appears plainly, that whatever foreign colonies did from time to time voluntarily, or by chance, come over into Japan, their number must have been very inconsiderable with regard to the bulk of the Japanese nation.

Considering further, that the islands of Japan are encompassed with a dangerous and stormy sea, it is highly probable, that from time to time ships coming from foreign countries stranded upon the Japanese coasts, and that, if any of the ship's company were fortunate enough to save their lives, they chose rather to stay in Japan, and to settle among the natives, than to trust themselves again to the mercy of the sea, and to run the hazard of a perilous return into their own country. Though navigation by this time be highly improved, yet the like accidents still happen very frequently, and there is hardly a year but some ships are forced upon the coasts of Japan, coming sometimes from countries either so remote, or so entirely unknown, that scarce any conjectures can be made about them, neither by the shape, nor the language and customs of the ship's company. Several remarkable instances of such accidents are recorded in Japanese histories. The Japanese having some centuries ago accidentally discovered the island Genkaisima, situate to the north of Japan, found it inhabited, as their histories relate, by Oni, that is, black devils, which they prosecuted with war, and having purged the island from this vermin, as they call it, they peopled it with a colony of their own. It is highly probable, that these blacks had been forced upon the coasts of this (then uninhabited) island in a storm. It is further observed in the history of this war, that they wore long hairs spread over their shoulders, and that they had a strange sort of household goods, as among the rest high European hats. As to the Japanese calling them devils, we need not in the least wonder at it, considering either their black colour, or the natural pride of the Japanese nation, which so far despises all other countries, as to call them Umakoki, that is, the countries of devils. Otherwise, what countrymen these blacks had been, is not very difficult to conjecture, by their wearing long hair, by their furniture, and some other circumstances; and I don't believe to impose upon any body, if I assert that they have been Malagans. It is well known, that the Malagans to this day are extremely fond of their own hair, and delighted with wearing it of a considerable length, beyond any other of the black nations of Asia. Besides, they had in former times by much the greatest trade in the Indies, and frequented with their merchant ships, not only all the coasts of Asia, but ventured over even to the coasts of Africa, particularly to the great island of Madagascar. The title, which the King of the Malagans assumed to himself, of Lord of the winds and seas to the east and to the west, is an evident proof of this, but much more the Malagan language, which spread most all over the east, much after the same manner, as formerly the Latin, and of late the French, did all over Europe. The high hats, which were found among the household-goods of these blacks, must have been brought out of Europe, they having never been fabricated any where else. It was an ancient custom of most eastern Princes (which subsists till now in the kingdoms of Cambodia, Siam, Pegu, and some others) to present their prime ministers of state, and chief favourites with such hats, as tokens of their particular favour, and they alone had the privilege of wearing them, as singular badges of honour. They were formerly brought out of Europe by land to Ormus, and from thence exported all over the east by the Malagans, Armenians, and other trading

trading nations; but after the Portugueze had discovered a new way to the Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope, they exported them from Europe (where they are now out of fashion) directly by sea. Now, whether there was not among these black inhabitants of Genkaisima, some great man, who received these hats from his Prince, or whether they fell by some other accident into their hands, is not material to enquire. There is also mention made in Japanese histories of black inhabitants, who were found in some of the islands lying to the south of Japan, and who in all probability must have been, either Malagan merchants, or else inhabitants of some of the Molucca islands, who having been forced thither in a storm, and finding them uninhabited, resolved to stay and to people them. Not long before my arrival, and during my stay in Japan, several ships stranded upon the coasts coming from remote and unknown countries. In this case all the ship's company, as well those that remain alive, as the bodies of such as are drowned, when thrown on shore, and all the ship's tackle, and the boat, if any, must be brought up to Nagasaki, as the place appointed for a general inquiry into maritime affairs. The governors of this place examine into all the most minute circumstances of the unhappy accident, with that care and jealous circumspection, which is peculiar only to this nation, and in order to discover, if possible, what country the ship came from, and what language those that saved their lives speak, this examination is sometimes made in presence of the Dutch resident, who did me the favour, upon these occasions, to carry me along with him. It is a duty incumbent on every Prince of the empire, to take care, in case any ships strand upon the coasts of his province, that they be sent up, as aforesaid, to Nagasaki, which is commonly, out of respect for the Emperor, done with great expence. Not long ago a jonk coming from Manilhas, on board which were some Topassians, a sort of black Christians, was wrecked upon the coasts of Satzuma. Most of the ship's company were drowned, some died on shore, and only three were brought up alive to Nagasaki, the last of whom died there in prison, after having taken some physic, ordered him by a Japanese physician. Of another ship, which stranded upon the same coasts, only three black sailors were saved, which could not pronounce one distinct word, besides that of tobacco; after having lain for some time in prison, they were delivered to us, to be transported on board our ships. Another ship was brought to Nagasaki, which had been forced upon the northern coasts of Japan, without any body on board. The odd uncommon structure of this vessel, and the remains of three Chinese characters upon the stern, made the Japanese conjecture, that it came from the extremities of Jesso. Not long ago another ship perished upon the coasts of the island Riuku, and only two of the company were saved, which were brought first to Satzuma, and from thence to Nagasaki, with a convoy of eight barges, which must have put the Prince of Satzuma at the expence of some thousand rixdollars. They were well shaped comely persons, and had their heads shaved much after the manner of the Polanders, no beards, and three holes in each ear. They shewed by their decent and civil behaviour, and free, but modest, appearance, a tolerable education, and a good clear understanding, by endeavouring to give the Japanese some notions of the number, situation and largeness of the islands, from whence they came, which they did by putting stones of different sizes upon a table, call'd *tan*, each by its name; among the rest, that island, where they lived themselves, was by them call'd Patan. We had reason to apprehend, that the good understanding and quick apprehension they shewed, when under examination, would be the occasion of their imprisonment for life at Nagasaki. If we believe the Japanese, there is another unknown nation, and very different from theirs, as to their customs, shape and language, which inhabit the island Kubitesima, one of the most northern islands belonging to Japan.

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They describe them as Pygmies, and from thence call the whole island the Pygmy Island. What extraction they be of, and how they came to inhabit this island, I will leave to themselves to determine. I will only add on this head, that the first European ship which came into Japan, was a Portugueze merchant-ship, forced thither accidentally in a storm.

Upon the whole, the wide difference which is still observed between the Japanese inhabitants of several provinces, as to their shape, seems to argue strongly, that from time to time, different and new branches were grafted into the original tree of this nation. For although the Japanese in the main, particularly the common people of Nipon, be of very ugly appearance, short-sized, strong, thick-legged, tawny, with flattish noses, and thick eye-lids, (though the eyes stand not so deep in the forehead as in the Chinese,) yet the descendants of the eldest and noblest families, of the Princes and lords of the empire, have somewhat more majestic in their shape and countenance, being more like the Europeans. The inhabitants of the provinces Satzuma, Oosijima, and Fuga, are of a middle size, strong, courageous, and manly, otherwise civil and polite. The same is observed of the inhabitants of some of the northern provinces in the great island Nipon, excepting those of the great province Osju, who are said to be beyond others cruel and unmerciful. The inhabitants of some provinces of Saikokf, particularly of Fifen, are short, slender, but well shaped, of a good handsome appearance, and extremely polite. The inhabitants of the great island Nipon, particularly of its eastern provinces, are known from others by their big heads, flat noses, and mis-culous fleshy complexion.

Now, to close this chapter, and to sum up in a few words what hath been therein largely dwelt on; it appears, that in the first ages of the world, not long after the deluge, when the confusion of languages at Babel obliged the Babylonians to draw their design of building a tower of uncommon height, and occasioned their being dispersed all over the world, when the Greeks, Goths, and Sclavonians departed for Europe, others for Asia and Africa, others for America, that then the Japanese also set out on their journey: that in all probability, after many years travelling, and many incommodities endured, they alighted at this remote part of the world; that, being well pleased with its situation and fruitfulness, they resolved to chuse it for the place of their abode; that in all likelihood they spent many centuries in a polyarchical way of life, such as is led to this day by the Tartars, living in hordes, and wandering with their cattle and families up and down the country; that being insensibly, and by degrees, grown to be a numerous and powerful nation, they thought it expedient for the good of the country, and for their own safety, to deliver up the government into the hands of one Prince, and chuse for their first monarch the valiant Dsin Mu Ten Oo; that consequently they are an original nation, no ways indebted to the Chinese for their descent and existence, and that, though they received from them several useful arts and sciences, as the Latins did from the Greeks, yet they were never made subject, and conquered, neither by them, nor by any other neighbouring nation.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the Origin of the Japanese, according to their own fabulous Opinion.*

THE Japanese fancy themselves highly affronted by the endeavours of some, who busy themselves to draw the original descent of their nation from the Chinese, or others of their neighbours. They pretend, that they arose within the compass of their own empire, though not out of the earth, like mice and worms, as the proud Athenians, for that

that same reason, were upbraided with, by that cynic Diogenes. They claim a birth much higher and nobler, and esteem themselves no less than offsprings of their very deities, whom otherwise they do not look upon as eternal; but suppose that in the first motion of the chaos, out of which all things were formed, their Gods also were brought forth by its invisible power. They have two differing genealogies of their deities. The first is a succession of celestial spirits, of beings absolutely free from all manner of mixture with corporeal substances, who ruled the Japanese world during an undetermined and incomprehensible series of centuries. The second is a race of terrestrial spirits, or god-men, who were not possessed of that pure being peculiar only to their predecessors. They governed the Japanese empire by a lineal succession, each a long but limited number of years, till at last they begot that third race of men, which Japan is now inhabited by, and who have nothing left of the purity and perfections of their divine progenitors. It will not be amiss, as a further proof of what I advance, here to insert the names of these two successions of deities, taken out of their own writings. The names of the first succession are purely metaphorical, and the only thing mentioned of it in their historical books, for there is no account given, neither of their lives and actions, nor of their government. They succeeded each other in the following order.

Ten d Sin Sitsi Dai, that is, the succession of the seven great spiritual gods.

1. Kuni toko dat sij no Mikotto.
2. Kuni Satfu Tsi no Mikotto.
3. Tojo Kun Nan no Mikotto.

These three gods had no wives; but the four following of the same succession were married, and begot each his successor by his wife, though in a manner far beyond the reach of human understanding. These were,

4. Utsij Nino Mikotto, - and his wife, Sufitsi Nino Mikotto.
5. Oo Tono Tfino Mikotto, - - - Oo Toma fe no Mikotto.
6. Oo mo Tarno Mikotto, - - - Oo si Wote no Mikotto.
7. Ifanagi no Mikotto, - - - Ifanami no Mikotto.

These seven gods are by them represented as beings purely spiritual, and the histories of their lives and governments as dreams. The real existence of such a time, when such spiritual beings governed the Japanese world, is what they religiously believe, though, at the same time they own, that it is far above their understanding to conceive how it happened, and entirely out of their power to determine how long their government lasted.

The last of the first succession, Ifanagi Mikotto, and his wife Ifanami Mikotto, are held in peculiar veneration by the Japanese, as being the progenitors of the second succession of god-men, of whom issued the third race of the now existing inhabitants of Nipon. (Mikotto is an epithet peculiar only to the first succession of spiritual gods, and signifies the incomprehensible bliss and happiness of these first monarchs of Japan: sometimes, however, they will bestow it on such of the inferior gods, for whom they have a peculiar veneration.) Those of the Japanese who turned Christians, called them their Adam and Eve. They are said to have lived in the province Isje, though it is not known in what particular part of that province they were born, lived, or died. They observe only, that this preadamitical Adam, (if I may have the leave thus to call him), was the first, who, taught by the example of the bird sekire, or according to the vulgar, Ifitaki, lay with his wife in a carnal manner, and begot by her sons and daughters of a nature excellent indeed, and far superior to ours, but greatly below that of the divine beings,

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beings, of which they sprung. Iſanami's first-born ſon, and the first of the second ſucceſſion of god-men, is ſuppoſed by the very law of primogeniture to have been entitled to a ſuperiority over his brothers and ſiſters, upon which, and a lineal deſcent from him, is grounded the right the Dairis, or Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor's eldeſt ſons, claim to the crown of Japan, upon their father's deſiſe. The ſecond ſucceſſion is called Di Sin Go Dai; that is, the "ſucceſſion of five terreſtrial gods or god-men;" who are

1. Tenſio Dai Dſin, in the language of the learned, and Ama Teru Oon Gami, in that of the vulgar. The characters whereby this name is expreſſed ſignify, "a great ſpirit ſtreaming out celeftial rays." He is the first-born ſon of Iſanagi, and the only one that left children behind him. For it was his poſterity, creatures not of a mean extraction, but of an excellent and almoſt divine nature, who inhabited the country for many millions of years, till they begot the third race of its preſent ſhort living inhabitants. All the Japaneſe, without exception, look upon themſelves as immediate deſcendants of Tenſio Dai Dſin; becauſe they ſay, that all his younger brothers left the world without iſſue. But particularly the Eccleſiaſtical Hereditary Emperor grounds his right to the empire, (which is of late gone over into ſecular hands, he himſelf having preſerved nothing but his title, and a ſhadow of his former power and grandeur,) upon a lineal deſcent from Tenſio Dai Dſin's first-born ſon, and ſo down. Tenſio Dai Dſin committed not only during his reign many noble and heroic actions, but even after he left this world, as is recorded in Japaneſe histories, he ſufficiently proved by many miracles, and manifeſted himſelf to be the moſt powerful of all the Gods of the country, the very life, ſoul, light, and ſupreme Monarch of nature. For this reaſon, he is devoutly worſhipped by all the faithful adherents of the old-Japaneſe religion, as it was of old eſtabliſhed in Japan. And the adherents of all other ſects, even their greateſt philoſophers, and atheiſts, ſhew a particular regard and veneration for his name and memory, as that of their first parent. Devout pilgrimages are made yearly by the Japaneſe of all ranks and qualities, to the province where he lived, and where there is a temple erected to his memory. Nor is there any province or town throughout the empire; but what has at leaſt one temple, where Tenſio Dai Dſin is worſhipped; and, in hopes of obtaining by his power and aſſiſtance great temporal bleſſings, worſhipped with much more aſſiduity and devotion than any other of their gods. There is otherwiſe no mention made in Japaneſe histories of his wife, nor of the wives of his ſucceſſors, and their names are entirely loſt to poſterity. After ſome hundred thouſands of years, Tenſio Dai Dſi was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon,

2. Ooſiwo ni no Mikotto, or with his full title, Maſſai Ja ſu Katz Katz fai ja ſi Amani Ooſi woni no Mikotto. His ſucceſſor was

3. Ninikino Mikotto, or with his full title, Amatsu fiko fiko Fono ni Niniki no Mikotto. He was ſucceeded by

4. De mi no Mikotto, or with his full title, Fikoſoo ſoo De mi no Mikotto. He was ſucceeded by

5. Awate Dſu no Mikotto, or with his full title, Tuki Magiſa Take Ugei Jakuſſa fuki awadſi Dſumo Mikotto. With him ends this ſecond, or ſilver age, as one might call it, of the Japaneſe world. Something more ſhall be ſaid on this head in the first chapter of the ſecond book. The names of the five terreſtrial Gods of this ſecond ſucceſſion are expreſſed in Tab. xvi.

Theſe are the two ſucceſſions of divine and half divine Beings, from whence the Japaneſe draw the original deſcent of their nation. The account they give how theſe gods were created, and how they begot each other, is no leſs chimerical and fabulous. The first of the ſeven great celeftial ſpirits, they ſay, was the very first thing that aroſe

out of the chaos, being its purest and invifible part and power. His fon and heir went out of him in a manner beyond the reach of human understanding, or as fome pretend to explain it, and to make it intelligible, by the motion and active power of the heavens and sub-celestial elements. Thus were begot the feven great celestial fpirits of the first fucceffion. It was the laft of them who, knowing his wife in a carnal manner, begot the fecond fucceffion of god-men, of beings half divine and half human. Thefe, though they fell far fhort of the perfection of their progenitors, yet by virtue of thofe divine qualities, they had ftill left them, they preferved their lives, and continued the fucceffion of their government unto their pofterity, which they begot in a more comprehenfible manner, for an immemorial time, far exceeding the term human life is now limited to. At laft, all expired in the perfon of Awafe Dfuno, the laft of this fecond race, who himfelf became the firft parent of the third, the now living inhabitants of Japan. To thofe of this third race, who defend lineally from the firft-born fon of Awafe Dfuno Mikotto, from his firft-born, and fo down, or their iffue wanting to their next heirs, is by the Japanefe attributed to a fupernatural, almoft divine power, and an unlimited authority over their fellow-creatures. This is in fome meafure expreffed by the great titles and high founded epithets, they give to this whole family, but particularly to its Head and Prince. Such are Oodai, the great generation: Mikaddo, Emperor, (Mikotto being peculiar only to the firft and fecond fucceffion of gods and god-men :) Tenoo, Heavenly Prince; Tensu, Son of Heaven; Tee, Prince; and Dairi; by which laft name is frequently denoted the whole court of the Ecclefiaftical Hereditary Emperor.

Thus far the common tradition of the Japanefe about the original defcent of their nation, which is efteemed as facred among them, as the authority of holy fcriptures is among Chriftians. It were needlefs to refute it, it being of itfelf fo weak a nature, that it will not bear the inquiry of even the moft common understanding. Some people, perhaps, will think it not unlikely, that, under thefe two fucceffions of gods and god-men, is allegorically couched an obfcure account of the Gold and Silver Age of Greek writers, or of the firft ages of the world before and after the deluge. But then, how will they reconcile that infinite time, during which the Japanefe pretend, that thefe two fucceffions of fpiritual beings governed the world, to that fhort number of years which paffed fince the creation, according to the divine account delivered to us in holy writs. The Japanefe, it feems, would not be behind hand with the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Bramines, and others of their neighbours in the Eaft; who all, purfuant to that pride and vanity which is natural to eaftern nations, dated their origin as high as they could, and efteemed it glorious to fhew a long ferie of Monarchs that ruled over them. But what they feem to have more particularly aimed at, is to outdo their neighbours the Chinefe; for they make Tensio Dai Dfuu, the firft progenitor of the Japanefe nation, in their historical writings, many thoufand years anterior to the firft and fictitious, as they call him, founder of the Chinefe nation, Sinkwofi, or, according to the Chinefe pronunciation, Tien Hoamtij. And left even this fhould not be fufficient to clear them of all fufpicion of being any ways defcended from the Chinefe, they prefix the fucceffion of the firft great celestial fpirits, which they derive from the very beginning of the creation. They are, however, at a lofs what to answer, when asked, how it came about, that Awafe Dfuno, the laft of their terreftrial gods, a being endowed with fo many excellent and fupernatural qualities, as they afcribe to him, begot fo poor and miserable a race, as that of the prefent inhabitants of Japan. They have as little to fay concerning the ftate of their country, and the hiftory of their anceftors before the time of Sinmu, their firft monarch. For this reafon, feveral of their own writers have ventured to call Japan, Atarafikokf, and Sinkokf, that is, New Country; as if it had

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been newly found out and peopled under the reign of their first Emperor. Thus much is true, that the genuine Japanese history begins but with the reign of this first Monarch, who lived about 660 years before Christ. And herein the Chinese are gone far beyond them, for they began to write the history of their country at least 2000 years before; and they can shew, what, I believe, no other nation can boast of, a succession of monarchs, with an account of their lives, government, and remarkable actions, down to this time, for now upwards of 4000 years. It must be owned, however, that the Japanese nation must needs have existed, and lived in the country, a considerable time before their first Odai, Mikaddo, or Emperor; since when he was raised to the throne, they were then already grown very numerous, and since, not long after, as is recorded in their histories, great wars arose among them, and many thousands perished by plague and famine; unless one would bring them over at once from another country, or out of the earth like mushrooms, which is either impertinent or improbable. I am more inclined to believe, that, from the time of their ancestors coming into the country, they led for many ages a wandering life, erring from place to place, with their families and cattle, which the very disposition of the country, divided by mountains, seas, and rivers, seems to have required; till the happy Ninus Dsin Mu Ten Oo, civilized and brought them into better order, and became himself, whether by force or choice, their first monarch. Since that time they have been accurate and faithful in writing the history of their country, and the lives and reigns of their monarchs. To conclude, as Dadsjino Mikotto is by them believed to have been the greatest of the first succession of celestial spirits, and Ten sio Dai Dsin, that of the second of god-men, so they look upon Sin Mu Ten Oo, as the greatest of the third race of the now living inhabitants; in whose family the hereditary right to the crown, with a more than human authority, was continued down to Kinfan Kiwotei, the present one hundred and fourteenth Mikaddo, that is, two thousand three hundred and sixty years, computing to the year of Christ 1700. I say, the hereditary right to the crown; for the government of the empire itself is of late gone over into secular hands, as will be shewn more particularly in another place.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Climate of Japan, and its Produce as to Minerals.*

JAPAN boasts of a happy and healthful climate. The air is very inconstant and subject to frequent changes, in the winter loaded with snow, and liable to sharp frosts, in the summer, on the contrary, particularly during the dog-days, intolerably hot. It rains frequently throughout the whole year; but with the greatest profusion in the months of June and July, which are for this reason called Satfuki, that is, Water-months. However, the rainy season in Japan is far from coming up to that regularity which is observed in other and hotter parts of the East Indies. Thunder and lightning happen very frequently.

The sea, which encompasses the islands of Japan, is very rough and stormy; which, with the many rocks, cliffs, and shoals, above and under water, make its navigation very dangerous. It hath two remarkable and dangerous whirlpools. The one is called Faifaki, and lies near Simabara, below Amakufa. It is dangerous, chiefly when the tide turns; for in high water it becomes even with the surface of the sea, but as soon as the tide begins to go out, it also, after some violent turnings, falls in of a sudden, as I was informed, to the depth of fifteen fathom, swallowing up with great force what ships, boats, and other things happen at that fatal juncture to come within its reach, which are dashed to pieces against the rocks at the bottom. The shattered pieces sometimes

remain under water, sometimes they are thrown out again at some German miles distance. The other whirlpool lies near the coasts of the province Kijnokuni. It is called Narrotto; and from the neighbourhood of the province of Awa, Awano Narrotto, which signifies, "the rushing of Awa," because it rushes with a great boisterous noise about a small rocky island, which is by the violence of the motion kept in perpetual trembling. This, though of a formidable aspect, is yet esteemed less dangerous than the other, because its noise being heard at a considerable distance, it may be easily avoided. Japanese authors, especially poets, frequently allude in their writings to the wonderful nature and motion of this Narrotto, as do also the priests in the pulpit.

Water-spouts also are frequently observed to rise in the Japanese seas, and to turn towards the coasts. The Japanese fancy, that they are a kind of water dragons, with a long watery tail, flying up into the air with a swift and violent motion, for which reason they are by them called Tatfsmaki, that is, "spouting dragons."

The soil of Japan in itself is, for the major part, mountainous, rocky, and barren, but through the indefatigable care and industry of the natives, it hath been made fruitful enough to supply them with all manner of necessaries, besides what the neighbouring sea affords of fish, crabs, and shells. Even the most rocky and uncultivated places yield their plants, fruits, and roots for the sustenance of the inhabitants, which their indigent ancestors by experience learned to dress and to prepare, so as not only to make them fit for food, but likewise pleasing and agreeable to the taste. Considering this, and the frugal way of living of the Japanese in general, we need not wonder, that this vast and populous empire is so abundantly provided with all the necessaries of human life, that as a particular world, which Nature seems purposely to have separated from the rest of the globe, by encompassing it with a rocky and tempestuous sea, it easily can subsist of itself without any assistance from foreign countries, as long as arts and agriculture are followed and improved by the natives.

The country besides is plentifully supplied with fresh water, there being very many fountains, lakes, and rivers up and down the empire. Some of the rivers in particular, are so large and rapid, by reason either of the steep high mountains and rocks, where they arise, or because of the profuse showers of rain, which fall frequently, that they are not to be passed over without danger, the rather, since some are so impetuous as to bear no bridges. Some of the most famous rivers are, 1. Ujingava, that is, the River Ujin. It is about a quarter of a German mile (or an English mile and a half) broad, and there being no bridge laid over it, it must be forded through. The force and rapidity with which this river falls down from the mountains is such, that even when the water is low, and scarce knee-deep, five strong men, well acquainted with the bed of it, must be employed to ford a horse through; which with the many large stones lying at the bottom, makes the passage equally difficult and dangerous. The people, whose business it is to ford passengers through this and other such like rivers, lest they should not take due care, are, by the laws of the country, made answerable for their lives. This is the reason, why there are but few unlucky accidents happen. 2. The river Oomi is famous for its surprizing beginning; for it is recorded in Japanese histories, that it sprung up of a sudden in one night in the year before Christ 285. It borrowed its name from the province where it arises. 3. The river Askagava is remarkable, for that the depth of its bed alters perpetually, on which account it is frequently alluded to by Japanese authors, chiefly poets.

Japan is very much subject to earthquakes, which happen so frequently, that the natives dread them no more than we Europeans do an ordinary storm of thunder and lightning. They are of opinion, that the cause of earthquakes is a huge large whale's creeping

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under ground, and that they signify nothing. Sometimes, however, the shakes are so violent, and last so long, that whole cities are thereby destroyed, and many thousands of the inhabitants buried under the ruins. Such a dreadful accident happened, as Father Lewis de Froes relateth (*in opere de Rebus Japonicis collecto a Job. Hayo.*) in the year 1586, he himself being then in Japan *. The like accidents happened frequently since that time. In 1704, I had a letter from Batavia, from a friend of mine, then lately arrived from Japan, wherein among other things, he gave me an account of such a violent shock, which happened there in 1703, whereby, and by a great fire which broke out at the same time, almost the whole city of Jedo, and the imperial palace itself, were destroyed and laid in ashes, and upwards of 200,000 inhabitants buried under the ruins. It is remarkable, that some particular places in Japan are observed to be free from all manner of succussions. The Japanese reason variously upon this phenomenon. Some attribute it to the holiness and sanctity of the place, and to the powerful protection of its genius, or tutelar god. Others are of opinion, that these places are not shook, because they immediately repose upon the unmoved center of the earth. The fact itself is not called in question; and there are noted for having this singular privilege, the islands of Gocho; the small island Sikubusima, on which stands a most stately temple of Bonzes, being one of the first that was built in the country; the large mountain Kojasan near Miaco, famous for the number of its convents, monasteries, and monks, besides some few others.

The greatest riches of the Japanese soil, and those wherein this empire exceeds most known countries, consist in all sorts of minerals and metals, particularly in gold, silver, and copper. The many hot wells in several parts of the empire, and the several smoking and burning mountains, shew what a stock of sulphur, which is the mother and main ingredient of mineral and metallic bodies, is hid in the bowels of the earth, besides the vast quantities of this substance dug up in several places. Not far from Firando, where we had our factories and warehouses, before we removed to Nagasaki, lies a small rocky island, (one of those which, by reason of their great number; are called by the Japanese Kiukiu Sima, that is, the Ninety-nine Islands,) which, though never so small, and encompassed by the sea, hath been burning and trembling for many centuries. Another small island opposite to Satsuma, which is by the Japanese called Fuogo, which name they borrowed from the Portuguese, and retained ever since,

* The effects of this earthquake were so stupendous and dreadful, that I could not forbear, with the reader's leave, to insert at length, the account which F. Lewis de Froes gives of it, in a letter dated at Simonofeki, in the province Nagatta, October 15, 1586. His words are: "In the year of Christ 1586, Japan was shook by such dreadful earthquakes, that the like was never known before. From the province Sacaja, as far as Miaco, the earth trembled for forty days successively. In the town of Sacaja sixty houses were thrown down. At Nagafama, a small town of about a thousand houses, in the kingdom Oomi, the earth gaped and swallowed up one half of that place; the other half was destroyed by a fire. Another place in the province Facata, much frequented by merchants, and likewise called Nagafama by the natives, after it had been violently shook for some days, was at last swallowed up by the sea; the waters rising so high that they overflowed the coasts, washed away the houses, and whatever they met with, drowned the inhabitants, and left no footstep of that once rich and populous town, but the place on which the castle stood, and even that under water. A strong castle in the kingdom of Mino, built at the top of a high hill, after several violent shocks, sunk down and disappeared on a sudden, the earth gaping, that not the least footstep remained, a lake quickly filling the place where the foundations of the castle had been. Another accident of this kind happened in the province Ikeja. Many more gaps and openings were observed up and down the empire, some of which were so wide and deep, that guns being fired into them, the balls could not be heard to reach the other end, and such a stench and smoke issued out of them, that people would not venture to travel that way. Quabacundono (who was afterwards called Taicofama) resided at Sacomot, in the castle Achec, when these earthquakes began, but they growing too thick and violent, he retired hastily to Osacca. His palaces were strongly shook, but not thrown down."

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and which is marked in our maps by the name of Vulcanus, hath an ignivomous mountain, which hath been likewise burning, at different intervals, for many ages. At the top of a mountain, in the province Figo, is to be seen a large cavern, formerly the mouth of a volcano, but the flame ceased of late, probably for want of combustible matter. In the same province there is another place called Aso; famous for a temple called Afa no Gongen, or the " Temple of the jealous God of Aso," not far from which there is an almost perpetual flame issuing out of the top of a mountain, and more visible in the night than it is in the day-time. Another burning mountain lies in the province Tsi-kusen, not far from a place called Kujanosse. It was formerly a coal-mine, which through the carelessness of the miners accidentally took fire, and continued burning ever since. Sometimes a black stench and smoke is observed to issue out of the top of the famous mountain Fesi, in the province Suruga, which in height is surpassed by the only Pic of Teneriffe, but in shape and beauty hath, I think, not its equal; the top of it is covered with everlasting snow, which, being, as it frequently is, blown up into flocks by the violence of the wind, and dispersed about, represents, as it were, a smoking hat. The Japanese histories mention, that formerly the top of it burnt, but that upon a new opening which was made by the violence of the fire at the side of the mountain, the flame ceased soon after. Unsen is a deformed, large, but not very high mountain, near Simabara. At all times the top of it is bare, whitish from the colour of the sulphur, and withal resembling a *caput mortuum*, or burnt out mass. It smokes little; however, I could discern the smoke arising from it at three miles distance. Its soil is burning hot in several places, and besides so loose and spongy, that a few spots of ground excepted, on which stand some trees, one cannot walk over it without continual fear, for the craking, hollow noise, perceived under foot. Its sulphurous smell is so strong, that for many miles round there is not a bird to be seen; when it rains, the water bubbles up, and the whole mountain seems then as it were boiling. Many cold springs and hot baths arise on and about it. Among others, there is a famous hot bath, which they believe to be an infallible cure for the venereal disease, if the patient for several days together, goes in but for a few moments a day and washes himself in it. He must begin the cure with another hot bath, not quite so strong, called Obama, situate a few leagues off; and all the while he uses the waters, he must keep to a hot warming diet, and, as soon as he comes out of the bath, go to bed, and, covering himself very well, endeavour to sweat. Not far from this hot bath is a monastery of the sect of Tendai. The monks of this place have given peculiar names to each of the hot springs arising in the neighbourhood, borrowed from their quality, from the nature of the froth a-top, or the sediment at bottom, and from the noise they make as they come out of the ground; and they have assigned them as purgatories for several sorts of tradesmen and handicraftsmen, whose professions seem to bear some relation to any of the qualities above-mentioned. Thus, for instance, they lodge the deceitful beer and sackbrewers at the bottom of a deep muddy spring; the cooks and pastry-cooks in another, which is remarkable for its white froth; wranglers and quarrelsome people in another, which rushes out of the ground with a frightful murmuring noise, and so on. After this manner imposing upon the blind and superstitious vulgar, they squeeze large sums of money out of them, making them believe that by their prayers and intercession they may be delivered from these places of torment after death. In that dreadful persecution, which was raised in Japan against the Christian religion, and which hath not its equal in history, amongst innumerable other torments inflicted on the new converts to make them abandon their newly embraced faith, and return to the Paganism of their fathers, they were brought hither and tortured with the hot waters of this place. Of

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other hot baths in Japan, that called Obamma, is one of the most eminent, and most efficacious. It lies to the west of the mountain Usen, about three miles off, and is said to have extraordinary virtues in curing several external and internal distempers, as among others, by bathing and sweating, the pox, which however is observed frequently to return, probably because they are not skilful enough to manage this distemper, or by reason of their not understanding the right use of baths in general. The province Figo hath several hot springs, about which grow, as I was informed, camphire trees of an uncommon size, hollow and full of water. The chief and most eminent for its virtues is a hot bath not far from the above-mentioned temple Afano Gongen. There are also several hot springs in the province Fisen, one for instance in the village Takijo, another in the village Urifino. Both would prove very beneficial in curing several distempers, if the natives did but know how to use them. I observed it in all Asiatic countries which I passed through in my travels, that the natives use the hot baths seldom more than three or at furthest eight days, by which probably enough, they will find some benefit and relief, which they are too apt to mistake for an actual cure, and in case of a relapse to lay all the fault on the waters.

The greatest quantity of sulphur is brought from the province Satzuma. It is dug up in a small neighbouring island, which from the great plenty it affords of this substance, is called Iwogafima, or the Sulphur Island. It is not above a hundred years since they first ventured thither. It was thought before that time to be wholly inaccessible, and by reason of the thick smoke, which was observed continually to arise from it, and of the several spectres, and other frightful uncommon apparitions, people fancied to see there chiefly in the night, it was believed to be a dwelling place of devils, till at last a resolute and courageous man offered himself, and obtained leave accordingly, to go and to examine the state and situation of it. He chose fifty resolute fellows for this expedition, who upon going on shore found neither hell nor devils, but a large flat spot of ground at the top, which was so thoroughly covered with sulphur, that wherever they walked, a thick smoke issued from under their feet. Ever since that time this island brings in to the Prince of Satzuma about 20 chests of silver per annum, arising only from the sulphur dug up there, besides what he gets by the trees and timber growing along the shore. The country of Simabara, particularly about the hot baths above-mentioned, affords also a fine pure native sulphur, which however the inhabitants dare not venture to dig up, for fear of offending the tutelar genius of the place, they having found upon trial, that he was not willing to spare it. I pass over in silence several other places, for want of a thorough information.

Gold, the richest of all metals, is dug up in several provinces of the Japanese Empire. The greatest quantity of it is melted out of its own ore. Some they wash out of gold sand. Some small quantity also is contained in the copper. The Emperor claims the supreme jurisdiction of all the gold mines, and indeed all other mines in the Empire, none of which may be opened, and worked, without his express leave and consent. Of the produce of all the mines, which are worked, he claims two-thirds, and one-third is left to the Lord of the Province, in which the mine lies, the latter however, as they reside upon the spot, know how to improve their third parts so as to share pretty equally with the Emperor. The richest gold ore and which yields the finest gold, is dug up in Sado, one of the northern provinces in the great island Nipon. Some of the veins there were formerly so rich, that one Catti of the ore yielded one, and sometimes two-thirds of gold. But of late, as I was informed, the veins there, and in most other mines, not only run scarcer, but yield not near the quantity of gold they did formerly, which we were told, was the occasion, amongst other reasons, of the late strict orders

orders relating to the trade and commerce with us, and the Chinese. There is also a very rich gold sand in the same province, which the Prince causes to be washed for his own benefit, without so much as giving notice of it, much less part of the profit, to the court at Jedo. After the gold mines of Sado, those of Surunga were always esteemed the richest, for besides that this province yielded at all times a great quantity of gold ore, there is some gold contained even in the copper dug up there. Among the gold-mines of the province Satzuma, there was one so rich, that a catti of the ore was found upon trial to yield from four to six thails of gold, for which reason the Emperor hath given strict orders, not to work it, for fear so great a treasure should be exhausted too soon. A mountain on the Gulf Ookus, in the district of Omura, which had leaned on one side for a considerable time, happened some years ago to fall over into the sea, and there was found at the bottom of the place where it stood, so rich a gold sand, that, as I was credibly informed, it yielded one half of pure gold. It lay somewhat deep, and was to be fetched up by divers. But this rich harvest lasted not long, for a few years after, in a great storm and extraordinary high tide, the sea overflowed all that spot of ground, and covered at once these inestimable riches with mud and clay to the depth of some fathoms. The poor people in the neighbourhood still busy themselves, washing the sand about this mountain, which contains some gold, but in so inconsiderable a quantity, that they can hardly get a livelihood by it. There is another gold-mine in the province Tsikungo, not far from a village called Tosino, but so full of water, that they can not go on with working it. However, the situation of the mine is such, that by cutting the rock, and making an opening beneath the mouth of the mine, the water might be easily drawn off. This was attempted accordingly, but as they went to work, there arose of a sudden such a violent storm of thunder and lightning, that the workmen were obliged to desist and to fly for shelter, which made the superstitious vulgar believe, that the tutelar god and protector of the place, unwilling to have the bowels of the earth committed to his trust thus risled, raised this storm purposely to make them sensible how much he was displeas'd at this undertaking. Nor was there any further attempt made since, for fear of provoking his anger and wrath still more. Such another accident, and which had the same effect, happened at the opening of a gold-mine in the island Amakusa, for it was so suddenly filled with water, which broke out of the mountain, and destroyed all the works, that the miners had scarce time to escape and to save their lives.

There are some silver-mines in the province Bingo. Others, and these much richer, at a place called Kattani, in one of the northern provinces: others in other places, which I forbear mentioning, for want of sufficient information. The two islands Gimsima and Kinsima, that is, gold and silver islands, which lie to the east of Japan, and which I had occasion to speak of in the fourth chapter of this book, deserve a place here, if it be true, what the Japanese boast, and what their very names and characters seem to imply, of their wealth and riches.

Copper is the most common of all metals dug up in Japan, and the produce of copper mines enriches several provinces of this empire. It is at present dug up chiefly in the provinces of Suruga, Atsingo, and Kijnokuni. That of Kijnokuni is the finest, most malleable and fittest for work of any in the world. That of Atsingo is coarse, and seventy cattis of it must be mixed with thirty cattis of the Kijnese to make it malleable and fit for use. That of Suruga is only exceedingly fine and without faults, but charged with a considerable quantity of gold, which the Japanese at present separate and refine, much better than they did formerly, which occasions great complaints among the refiners and Brahmines upon the coasts of Cormandel. There are also some copper-

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mines in the province of Satzuma, which the Emperor very lately gave leave to work. All the copper is brought to Saccai, one of the five imperial towns, where it is refined and cast into small cylinders, about a span and a half long, and a finger thick. As many of these cylinders as amount to one pickel or 125lbs. weight, are packed up into square wooden boxes, and sold to the Dutch for twelve to thirteen maas the pickel. It is one of the cheapest commodities the Dutch buy in Japan, and they carry on a great trade with it. There is besides a sort of coarser copper, which is cast into large flat roundish lumps, or cakes, and is bought a great deal cheaper than the other, as it is also much inferior in goodness and beauty. Brass is very scarce in Japan, and much dearer than copper, the calamine-stone being imported from Tunquin in flat cakes, and sold at a very good price.

The province of Bungo affords a small quantity of tin, which is so exceedingly fine and white, that it almost comes up to silver. There is but little use made of this metal in the country.

Iron is dug up only upon the confines of three provinces, Mimafaca, Bitsju, and Bifen; but it is found there in very large quantities. It is refined upon the spot, and cast into staves, or cylinders, two spans long. Japanese merchants buy it at the place, and export it all over the empire. It is much of a price with copper, iron tools being full as dear or rather dearer than those of copper and brass. Such household-goods, hooks, cramp-irons in buildings and ships, and other instruments, as are in other countries made of iron, are made in Japan, of copper or brass. They do not dress their victuals in brass pans, but have a particular sort of kettles or pans which are made of a composition of iron, and are pretty thin. The old ones of this sort are very much esteemed, and bought at a great rate, they having somewhat particular in their shape and make, which at present they have lost the art to imitate.

They have no want of coals in Japan, they being dug up in great quantity in the province Tsikusen about Kujanisse, and in most northern provinces.

Salt is made of sea-water in several maritime provinces. They make it thus. They close in a spot of ground, and fill it with fine loose sand, then they pour the sea-water upon it, and let it dry. This they repeat several times, till they think the sand is sufficiently saturated with salt. Then they take it out and put it into a large trough, with holes at the bottom, and putting fresh sea-water upon it, let it filtrate through the sand. The lye is boiled to a good consistence, and the salt thus obtained is calcined in earthen pots, till it becomes white, and fit for use and sale.

Agates, of several sorts, some extraordinary fine, of a bluish colour not unlike sapphires, as also some cornelians and jaspers, are brought from the mountain Tfugaar, upon the northern extremities of the great province Osju, opposite to the country of Jedo.

Pearls, by the Japanese called kainotamma, which is as much as to say, shell-jewels, or jewels taken out of shells, are found almost every where about Saikokf in oysters, and several other sea-shells. Every body is at liberty to fish them. Formerly the natives had little or no value for them, till they were apprised of it by the Chinese, who would pay good prices for them, the Chinese women being very proud of wearing necklaces, and other ornaments of pearls. The largest and finest pearls are found in a small sort of oyster, called akoja, which is not unlike the Persian pearl-shell, much of the same shape, both valves shutting close, about a hand broad, exceeding thin and brittle, black, smooth, and shining on the out-side, within pretty rough and unequal, of a whitish colour, and glittering like mother of pearl. These pearl-shells are found only in the seas about Satzuma, and in the gulf of Omura. Some of the pearls weigh from four to five condonins, and these are sold for a hundred colans a-piece. The inhabitants

of the Riuku islands buy most of those, which are found about Satzuma; they trading to that province. Those on the contrary which are found in the gulf of Omura, are sold chiefly to the Chinese and Tonquinese, and it is computed that they buy for about 3000 thails a year. This great profit occasioned the strict orders which were made not long ago by the Princes both of Satzuma and Omura, importing, that for the future there should be no more of these oysters sold in the market with other oysters, as had been done formerly. I procured some in private from Omura, not without great difficulty. I was told a very extraordinary thing of this sort of pearls, and strongly assured of the truth of the fact, which is, that they have somewhat of a prolific quality, by virtue of which, when some of the largest are put into a box full of a peculiar Japanese cheek varnish, made of another shell called Takaragai (which I shall describe in another place) one or two young pearls will grow on the sides, and when come to maturity, which they do in about three years time, drop off. These pearls, by reason of their scarcity, are kept in private families, and the possessors seldom part with them, unless upon urgent necessity. All this, however, I deliver only upon hearsay, having myself seen none of this sort of pearl. There is another shell, which sometimes yields pearls, found plentifully upon all the Japanese coasts, and called by the natives awabi. It is an univalve, in shape almost oval, pretty deep, open on one side, where it sticks to the rocks and to the bottom of the sea, with a row of holes, which grow bigger, the nearer they come to the circumference of the shell; rough and limy on its outward surface, frequently with corals, sea-plants and other shells sticking to it; on the inside of an exquisite mother of pearl's glimmering, sometimes raised into whitish pearly excrescences, which are likewise observed in the common Persian pearl-shell. A great lump of flesh fills the cavity of this shell, for which sole reason they are looked for by fishermen, being a very good commodity for the market. They have an instrument made on purpose to pull them off from the sides of the rocks, to which they stick close. Another shell, the name of which I could not learn, yields a very large pearl, which sometimes weighs from five to six condonins, but they are of a dirty yellow colour, ill shaped, and worth but little. A pretty good sort of pearl is sometimes observed to grow in the very flesh of a shell, which is called by the natives tairaggi, and is found in the gulf of Arima, between Janagava and Isafaje. It is a flat sort of a shell, oblong, almost triangular, a little crooked on each side, about a span and a half long, and a span broad; where broadest, thin, transparent, smooth, and polished like horn, but very brittle.

Naphta, of a reddish colour, by the Japanese called tsufono abra, which signifies red earth, is found in a river of the province Jettingo. It is taken up in such places where the water hath little or no run, and the natives burn it in lamps, instead of oil.

Some ambergris is found upon the coasts of Satzuma, and of the Riuku islands. A much greater quantity comes from the coasts of Khumano, as they call them, whereby must be understood the southern coasts of Kijnokuni, Isje, and some neighbouring provinces. It is found chiefly in the intestines of a whale, which is caught frequently upon the Japanese coasts, and is by the natives called siakiro, that is, the hundred-fathom fish, because of the length of its intestines, which is supposed to equal that number of fathoms. It is found, as I observed, in the intestines of this whale, particularly in the lower guts, mixed with chalky limy excrements, almost as hard as stone, and it is from the hardness of these excrements, they conjecture upon dissecting, whether or no they are like to meet with ambergris. The natives have given a very despicable name to this precious commodity, a name however becoming the meanness of its origin, for they call it kufuranofu, that is, the excrement of whales. The ambergris, as

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it is tore off by the waves from the bottom of the sea, and thrown upon the coasts, before it is swallowed by the whales, is a deformed, flat,ummy substance, not unlike a cow-turd, and withal of a very disagreeable ungrateful smell. People that find it thus floating on the surface of the water, or lying upon the coasts, take several small pieces, squeeze and press them close together, into the form of a round ball, which as it grows dry, becomes also more solid and weighty. Others mix and knead it with meal, or flower of rice-husks, by which means they not only increase the quantity, but heighten and better the colour. However, the ambergris thus adulterated is easily known; for if you take any quantity and burn it, there will remain a coal, proportionable to the quantity of the stuff mixed with it. It is observed, besides, that the worms get quickly into this spurious sort of ambergris. Others adulterate it, by mixing it with a certain powdered rosin of a very agreeable scent, but this cheat also is easily discovered, for upon burning a piece of it, the mixture of rosin will evidently appear by the very colour, smell, and quality of the smoke. The Chinese have another way of trying whether it be genuine; they scrape some of it very fine upon hot boiling tea-water; if genuine, it will dissolve and diffuse equally, which the adulterated sort doth not. The natives use it no otherwise but as an ingredient of other well-scented species, in order, as they say, to fix their volatile smell. In the main they value it but little, and it is owing entirely to the Dutch and Chinese, who would buy it up at any rate, that they have now learnt to prize it. And yet every body is at liberty to take it up, where he finds it, and to sell it as his own property. During my stay in Japan, there was a piece to be sold of 140 cattis weight, and of a greyish colour. It was too large for any single person to purchase, for which reason they sold it by retail, from sixty to seventy thails a catti. I bought myself for about thirty thails of that which was blackest. (A more particular account of the ambergris is inserted in the Appendix.)

All sorts of submarine plants, shrubs, corals, stones, mushrooms, sea-fans, corallines, fuci, algæ, and the like, as also shells of all kinds, are found plentifully in the Japanese seas, no ways inferior in beauty to those found about Amboina, and the spice islands. But the natives value them so little, that they won't be at the trouble of looking for them, and if by chance they happen to fish them up amongst other things, their way is to carry them to the next temple, or chapel of Jesus, who is the Neptune of the country, thinking that it is not an unpleasing offering to this god, whom they look upon, and worship, as the protector of sea-faring people.

It remains to say something of the minerals and mineral substances, which have not as yet been found in Japan, and are imported from beyond sea. Antimony and sal armoniac are absolutely wanted, nor are their qualities and uses in the least known to the natives. Quicksilver and borax are imported by the Chinese. I met, however, with two sorts of borax, growing naturally in Japan, but they are so thoroughly mixed with heterogeneous substances, that the inhabitants don't think it worth their while to pick them up. Sublimate mercury is very much asked for by some private people, who will give an extravagant price for it. They use it as the chief ingredient of a mercurial water, which is in great vogue among them for the cure of ulcers, cancers, and other cutaneous diseases. Native cinnabar is by them given inwardly, in several distempers. The artificial cinnabar they make use of for a colour. Both are imported from China. The buying and selling of this commodity is in the hands of private merchants, who monopolize it by virtue of letters patents from the Emperor. The native cinnabar in general is of a beautiful red colour, but some of it is so exquisitely fine, that it is sold for more than its weight in silver.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Fertility of the Country, as to Plants.*

IT is not in the least surprizing, considering either the peculiar happiness of the Japanese climate, or the industry of its laborious inhabitants, that the country affords so large a stock, and such an infinite variety of plants and fruits, both wild and cultivated, as it may deservedly boast of. Most of these their forefathers, indigent and frugal as they were, used for their food and sustenance. In succeeding ages, as wealth and riches increased, the taste also became more refined, and their tables more sumptuous and magnificent. In this present chapter I will take notice only of such plants as are of a more extensive use, and as to the rest refer the more curious reader to my *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, wherein I have given a catalogue, and begun a more accurate and botanical description of them.

Among the trees the mulberry-tree deservedly claims the first place; for although its fruits, both black and white, be altogether insipid, and not fit for eating, yet this defect is sufficiently made good by the extensive usefulness of its leaves, which are the common food of silk-worms. It grows in most parts of Japan, but in great plenty in the northern provinces, where many cities and villages subsist almost wholly upon the silk manufactures, though the silk wove there be not of the finest. The best and most curious stuffs are made by the banished grandees in the island Fatsinsio, weaving being their chief amusement; but they make them of fine foreign silk. The kadsî, or paper-tree, is of the mulberry kind: though it grows wild in the country, yet they transplant and cultivate it in several places, by reason of its great usefulness. It is observed to grow with surprizing quickness, and to spread its branches very far. It affords a great quantity of bark, out of which they make paper, as also ropes, matches, stuffs, cloth, and several other things. This tree also, and the way of making paper out of its bark, which is very laborious and tedious, I have more fully described in my *Amœnitates Exoticæ*. (The account which the author here mentions hath been inserted in the Appendix.)

The urufi or varnish-tree, is another of the noblest and most useful trees of this country. It affords a milky juice, which the Japanese make use of to varnish, and as we call it, to japan all their household-goods, dishes, and plates of wood, and this from the Emperor down to the meanest peasant. For even at court, and at the imperial table, services of lackered ware are preferred to those of gold and silver. Another kind of varnish-tree, with narrow leaves, is called faasi: it grows wild on hills and mountains. It affords a small quantity of milk, and that too of a very bad sort, and therefore the natives think it hardly worth their while to gather it. The true urufi is of a kind peculiar to this country. It grows in the provinces Figo and Tfikoku; but that which grows in Jamatto is reckoned the fittest for use, and to yield a better sort of varnish than it doth any where else out of this province. The Indian varnish-tree, which I take to be the true anacardinus, is a tree quite different from the urufi of the Japanese. At Siam it is called rack-tree. It grows and bears fruits in most eastern countries, but is observed to afford none of its milky juice to the west of the river Ganges, whether, because of the barrenness of the soil, or through the carelessness and ignorance of the natives, who do not know how to manage its culture. The greatest quantity of the milk of this Indian varnish-tree is brought from the kingdoms of Siam and Cambodia, and sold very cheap all over the East Indies. It is imported even into Japan, where the natives use it to lacker things of little value, and also as an ingredient of their scarcer and better sort of varnish. (The Japanese varnish-tree is described and figured in the *Amœnitates*, pag. 792.)

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Lawri, or bay-trees, of several kinds grow in Japan. That which bears red berries is a *cannelifera spuria*, or rather, by reason of its viscosity, a *cassia lignea*. It resembles exactly the cinnamon-tree, both in its shape, and in the figure and substance of its leaves. But the bark falls far short of that agreeable sweetness, which is peculiar only to the bark of the true cinnamon, and it hath more of the aromatic sharpness of a *costus*. This imperfection I take to be owing entirely to the quality of the soil wherein it grows; for I observed also, that the bark of the Malabarian, Sumatran, and Javan cinnamon-trees, (which latter is wholly neglected), hath not near that eminent degree of sharpness and agreeableness to the taste, which the true Ceylonese cinnamon is so much and so deservedly esteemed for; that besides it is apt either to lose its aromatic quality in a short time, or that its sharp pungent particles are so wrapt up in a viscous substance, as to make it altogether unworthy of bearing the very name of cinnamon, a substance, which is supposed to yield a fine, pleasant, fragrant oil, which no *cassia lignea* ever will. (Vide *Amœnit. Exot. p. 772.*)

The *kus*, or camphire tree, is also of the laurel-kind. It bears black and purple berries. The camphire is prepared by the country-people in the province *Satzuma*, and the islands *Gotho*, by a simple decoction of the roots and wood cut into small pieces. It is extremely cheap, and 80 to 100 cattis of the Japanese boiled camphire may be had for one single catti of the true Bornean camphire, which is said to be a natural substance gathered on the stumps of old camphire-trees in the island of Borneo, upon incisions made between the bark and wood. (The Japanese camphire-tree is described and figured p. 770. et seq. of the *Amœnitates.*)

Tsianoki, that is the tea-shrub, is one of the most useful plants growing in Japan; and yet it is allowed no other room but round the borders of rice and corn fields, and in other barren places, unfit for the culture of other things. The common drink of the Japanese is brewed of the larger leaves of this shrub; but the young and tender leaves dried, powdered, and mixed in a cup of hot water into a sort of soup, are drank in houses of people of quality before and after their meals: And it is the custom of the country to present friends that come to visit them, with one or more dishes of tea, both when they come and go. (A complete description of this shrub, of its culture, growth, &c. hath been inserted in the Appendix.)

Sanfio is a middle-sized tree, with prickles. They make use of its bark and husks instead of pepper or ginger, and they eat the leaves by reason of their pleasant aromatic taste, as they do also the riches, which grow in the country. (Vide *Amœn. Ex. p. 892*, where this tree is described and figured.)

There are three different sorts of fig-trees growing in Japan. One is called *kaki*, if otherwise it may be called a fig-tree, it differing from it in several particulars. It grows very plentifully in all parts of the empire. It is a very ugly deformed sort of a tree to look at, much like a short old apple-tree. It hath long oval leaves, without notches. The fruit resembles a reddish apple, both in shape and colour, and its fleshy part hath the taste of a delicate fig. The seed is of a hard and almost stony substance, and not unlike gourd-seeds. It is no less commendable for its great fruitfulness, than it is for its extensive use, for the fruits of it dried afford a pleasant and agreeable food for rich and poor. The Chinese preserve them with sugar. The second sort of figs is not unlike that which grows with us in Europe, only it grows on a tree, with broad, oblong, rough leaves, without notches. Our European fig-tree makes up the third sort. It was brought into the country, and planted there by the Portuguese. It bears a very large fruit, bigger than ours, and I think better tasted. But it is very scarce. I need not mention here any thing of the *sycomorus*, or wild fig-tree, because its

fruits are not eat in the country, though it grows there very plentifully. (The two first sorts of the fig-tree are described and figured, p. 803, et seq. of the *Amœn. Exoticæ*.)

Chestnut-trees grow in great plenty in Japan, particularly in the province *Tsikusen* and they bear chestnuts much larger and better than ours. Apple-trees, such as we have them in Europe, they know nothing of. Nor have they more than one sort of pears, of that kind, which we call winter-pears. They grow in great plenty, and come to an extraordinary bigness, the least weighing seldom less than a pound: but they are not fit to be eat raw.

Walnut-trees grow chiefly in the northern provinces. In the same provinces grows a certain tall kind of *taxus*, called by the Japanese *kaja*, with oblong nuts, inclosed in a fleshy pulp, and not unlike, in bigness and shape, to the arrack-nut. These nuts are not very agreeable to the taste when fresh, though taken out of their pulp, for they have something astringent in them: they taste better when dried. They have a gentle purging quality, which is owing to their sweet oil, and are, for their many medicinal virtues, served at table along with the desert. The oils expressed out of these nuts, is very sweet and agreeable, and tastes not unlike the oil of sweet almonds. It is much commended for its medicinal virtues, and also made use of to dress victuals. The smoke of the kernels of these nuts is the chief ingredient of the best and dearest Japanese ink. (This kind of *taxus* is described and figured, p. 814. of the *Amœnit.*)

Another sort of nuts, called *Ginau*, as big as large pistaches, grow very plentifully almost every where in Japan, on a fine tall tree, the leaves of which are not unlike the large leaves of an *adanthum*. The Japanese call it *Itshonoki*. The nuts afford plenty of oil, which is also much commended for several uses. As to a more accurate description of this tree, I refer the reader to the *Amœnitates Exoticæ*. p. 812. There are two sorts of oaks grow in the country, both different from ours. The acorns of the larger sort are boiled and eat by the common people. The fruit of the *naafime*, or *palurus* of *Prosp. Alpinus*, as it grows in the country, is extraordinary good, and I think much larger than I saw it any where else. Pome-citron trees are to be seen only in the gardens of the curious. Oranges and lemons grow very plentifully, and of different sorts. That sort of lemons, which is reckoned the best, is called *mican*. It resembles a peach, both in shape and bigness, and hath an excellent aromatic flavour, but tastes somewhat sour. Another sort they call *kinkan*. It is much scarcer, in shape and bigness not unlike a nutmeg, and exceedingly sour. It grows on a shrub, rather than a tree, and is much used in dressing their victuals, and in what they call *atsiaer*. (Vide *Am. Exot.* p. 801.)

They plant but few vines, because they observe, that the grapes would not easily ripen. Bramble-berries and raspberries, are not very agreeable to the taste. Strawberries are entirely insipid and not eat. With peaches, apricots and plums they are plentifully supplied. Of plums, particularly, they have two sorts, both different from ours, one white, the other purple, both granulated like mulberries, and ingredients of what they call *atsiaer*. Cherry-trees, and the like, are kept only for the sake of the flowers, as are also by some the apricot and plum trees, which they improve much by culture, so that the flowers become as big as roses, and in the spring, when they are in full blossom, afford a most delightful sight about their temples, in their gardens and walks, the trees being thick covered with the flowers, as with snow.

Firs and cypress-trees are the most common trees in their woods and forests. There are several different sorts of both. Houses and ships are built of the wood, of which are made also all sorts of household-goods, as cabinets, trunks, boxes, tubs and the like. The branches, and what falls down, serve for fuel and fire-wood. The com-

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most people burn also the nuts and leaves, which fall down from the trees, and gathering the same daily they keep the ground and roads neat and clean. For ornament sake; they are planted in rows along the roads, and over the ridges of hills and mountains, which makes travelling very pleasant. The natives, as they improve every inch of ground, take care to plant them in sandy and barren places, which are good for nothing else. No firs nor cypress-trees may be cut down, without leave from the magistrate of the place; and lest the felling of them should in time too much prejudice their growth, they must always plant young ones instead of those they cut down.

Bamboos are very common, and of great use here, as every where in the Indies. Several sorts of household goods, baskets, matches, and other things are made of them, as are also gutters and spouts, and the walls of houses. A particular sort of bamboo grows in the province Oomi, which the Dutch export by the name of rattang and sell for walking canes. I shall explain elsewhere how they are fitted for sale. Both firs and bamboos are in great esteem among the Japanese, for their constant verdure; and the superstitious believe, that they have no small influence over the happy occurrences of human life. The temple-walks, and other holy places, are adorned with them, chiefly upon their festivals and other solemn days; and they make frequent allusions to them in their emblematical and poetical writings, particularly in congratulatory poems: for they are of opinion, that they will subsist a long while, that common bamboos will stand several hundred years, and that the common fir, which they call matznoki, will continue to the age of a thousand, that then it will bend down its branches towards the ground, as not being able to support itself any longer. And lest the truth of this assertion should be called in question, they shew up and down the country some firs and bamboos of an uncommon size indeed, and pretended long standing. I have seen some extraordinary large ones myself.

Hinoki, and suggi, are two sorts of cypress trees, yielding a beautiful light whitish wood, but nevertheless of a good substance, and remarkable for this singular quality, that it sucks in no water, and might well pass for cedar-wood. It hath been sometimes forbid by the Emperor to fell these trees for any use whatsoever. But little regard is had to orders of this kind, particularly in those provinces which are remote from court, unless there be a very severe punishment put upon transgression thereof. Kfamaki, that is, a stinking maki-tree; Hinoki, a sort of oak; and Jufnoki, that is, iron-tree, so called from the uncommon hardness of its wood, are all very common trees. Most houses are built of the wood of them. Fatznoki, a tree growing about the city of Jeleri, and the root of the camphire-tree, afford the best and scarcest wood for cabinets, chests of drawers, and such sort of work, by reason of the curious running of its grain.

Japan I think may vie with most, if not all, known countries, for a great variety of beautiful plants and flowers, wherewith kind nature hath most liberally and curiously adorned its fields, hills, woods and forests. Some of these they transplanted into gardens, and improved by assiduity and culture to the utmost, and indeed to a surprising degree of perfection. It is foreign to my present purpose to enumerate and to describe all those I met withal during my stay in the country. I reserve this for another work, and will here confine myself barely to mention some of the chief. Tsubacki is a pretty large shrub bearing flowers not unlike roses. It grows in woods and hedges. It hath many beautiful varieties, of which, in the Japanese language, copious as it is, there are 900 names; if it be true what the natives report. Saffuki is another shrub with lily-flowers. Of this the natives say, there are upwards of an hundred varieties to be met with in gardens. The two kinds, which grow wild, one with purple, the other with incarnate

incarnate flowers, are a great ornament to hills and fields in the proper season, affording a sight pleasing beyond expression. Sakanandzio is another shrub with lily-flowers, but much larger than the former. It is also much scarcer, and there are three varieties of it.

Momidzi is a kind of maple. It is so called from the purple colour of its leaves. There are two varieties of it, which differ one from another only in this particular, that the leaves of one turn purple in the spring, and of the other in autumn. Both afford to the eye a very curious sight. The fast-tree is also said to change the colour of its leaves into a fine purple in autumn.

There are numberless varieties of feverfews (*matricariæ*) and lilies growing in this country. The first (the flowers of which art and culture hath improved to the bigness of roses) are the chief ornament of houses and gardens, the others of desert and uncultivated places. Nor hath nature been less kind with regard to the narcissus, flower-de-lis, clove gilli-flowers, and the like. But one thing I cannot help observing, which is, that these several flowers fall as short of others of their kind, growing in other countries, in strength and agreeableness of smell, as they exceed them in the exquisite beauty of their colours. The same holds true with regard to most fruits growing in Japan, which are far from coming up to the pleasant aromatic taste of those which grow in China, and other eastern countries.

They cultivate as much hemp and cotton as they can spare ground in their fields. Sijro, or the wild hemp-nettle, grows plentifully in most uncultivated places. This plant makes good in some measure what want there is of hemp and cotton, for several sorts of stuffs, fine and coarse, are fabricated of it.

The seeds of the following plants afford their oil for several uses both physical and domestic. Kiri, is a very large but scarce tree. It hath leaves like burdock, flowers like the digitalis, set to a long stalk, and seeds resembling marshmallow seeds. The mikaddo, or ecclesiastical hereditary emperor, bears the leaf of this tree, with three flowering stalks, in his coat of arms. (It is described and figured, p. 859 of the *Amœn. Exot.*) Abrasin is a middle-sized tree, with the leaves of a platanus. Its flowers resemble roses in shape and bigness, and the seeds are like the seeds of the ricinus, which made me call it *ricinus arboreus folio alceæ*. The asadiracht avicennæ, the tsubaki, above-mentioned, as also the urusi, faasi, and kainoki trees. The cotton shrub and plant. Sesami of two kinds, with white and black seeds. Of all the oils expressed out of the seeds of these several plants, only that of the sesamum and kai, are made use of in the kitchen, and even these but sparingly, victuals being commonly dressed in this country without either butter or oil.

The Japanese are as good husbandmen, as perhaps any people in the world. Nor indeed is it very surprising, that they have made great improvements in agriculture, considering not only the extreme populousness of the country, but chiefly that the natives are denied all commerce and communication with foreigners, and must necessarily support themselves by their own labour and industry. Hence the laws on this head are very particular and severe. Not only the fields and flat country, which are seldom or never turned into meadows and pasture ground, but likewise the hills and mountains, afford corn, rice, pease, pulse, and numberless edible plants. Every inch of ground is improved to the best advantage, and it was not without great admiration, we beheld in our journies to and from court, hills and mountains, many inaccessible to cattle, which would lie wholly neglected in other countries, cultivated up to their tops. They are very dexterous and skilful in manuring their ground, which they do in various ways, and with many different substances, as I shall have occasion to shew

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in several places of this history. Flat low grounds are ploughed with oxen, steep and high ones by men and both manured with human dung. As to rice in particular, which is the main food of the natives, what ground they can conveniently spare, and will admit of its culture, is turned into rice-fields, particularly low flat land, which they can cut through by canals, and where they have a command of water, which surprisingly quickens the growth of this plant, it loving a wet muddy soil. The Japanese rice accordingly is esteemed the best of all Asia, particularly what grows in the northern provinces, which will keep many years, and which for this reason they chuse to fill their store-houses withal, having first washed it in muddy water and then dried it. All lands must be surveyed every year, before they are sown, by Kemme, as they call them, being sworn surveyors, who are very big of their skill in geometry, and have the privilege of wearing two swords, which is otherwise allowed to none but to the nobility and soldiers. When the harvest draws near they are surveyed once more, at which time it is computed what the whole crop is likely to amount to, which they do generally, indeed by guess, but yet with a surprising accuracy, and thereby prevent the tenants cheating their landlords. If the harvest is like to prove extraordinary good, they cause a square piece of ground to be cut and threshed, and thence infer as to the whole. The landlords claim Rokubu, six parts in ten, of all the produce of their land, whether rice, corn, wheat, pease, pulse, or other, and the tenant for his trouble and maintenance keeps sibu, or four parts in ten. Such as hold lands of the crown, give but four parts in ten to the Emperor's stewards, the remainder is for themselves. For encouragement's sake, such as cultivate untilled ground have the whole crop left them for the first two or three years. The ground in general is divided into three sorts. 1. Sfo, the best, 2. Tsju, middling, and 3. Ge, poor ground. But they admit likewise of Dfo no fio, next to the best, Dfo no Isju, next to the middling, and Dfo no Ge, next to the bad. Some regard is had, as to the sort, to the good or bad quality of the soil, and it varies also considerably in different provinces, but in the main it amounts to six parts in ten. Among many excellent laws, which relate to agriculture, they have one, by virtue of which, whoever doth not cultivate his ground for the term of one year, forfeits his title and possession.

The chief produce of the fields which contributes most to the sustenance of life, is by the Japanese comprehended under the name of gokokf, that is, "the five fruits of the fields." It is by their good or bad growth they estimate the value of the ground; the fruitfulness of the year, and the wealth of the possessor. They make up the chief dishes at their meals, and make good the want there is of flesh-meat, which custom and religion forbid them to eat. The gokokf are, 1. Kome, or rice. There are several varieties of rice grow in the country. The best sort hath not its equal in the Indies. It is perfectly white, like snow, and so nourishing and substantial, that foreigners who are not used to it, can eat but little of it at a time. Boiled to a good consistence, they eat it at their meals instead of bread. Out of what remains from their yearly provision they brew a sort of strong fat beer, called sacki, but no more than they think their families shall have occasion for. Foreigners can export no more rice, or beer than what the magistrate will allow them. 2. Oomuggi, which is as-much as to say, "great corn," is what we call barley. They feed their cattle and horses with it: some dress their victuals with the flour, and make cakes of it. There is a sort of barley grows in Japan, with purple-coloured ears, which, when ripe, are a curious ornament to the fields. 3. Koomuggi, that is, "small corn," is what we call wheat. It is extremely cheap, and I know of nothing they make of it, but a particular sort of cakes made of the flour, 4. Daidfu, that is, daidbeans, is a certain sort of beans about the bigness of Turkish pease, growing after the manner of lupins. They are next to the rice in use and esteem

esteem. Of the meal of these beans is made what they call midfu; a mealy pap, which they dress their victuals withal, as we do with butter. What they call soeju, is also made of it, which is a sort of an embamma, as they call it, which they eat at meals to get a good stomach. This soeju is exported by the Dutch, and brought even into Holland. I have described their way of making it in my *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, p. 839; where the the plant itself, bearing these beans, is figured and described. 5. Adfuki, or sodfu, that is, sobeans. They grow likewise after the manner of lupins, and are black, not unlike lentils, or the Indian cajan. The flour is baked with fugar into mansje and other cakes. Besides the several sorts of gokokf just mentioned, the following plants are comprehended under the same name: awa, Indian corn (*panicum Indicum Tabern.*): kibi; or *milium vulgare nostras*, millet: fije, or *panicum vulgare juba minore semine nigricante*: and in general, all sorts of corn, and mami, that is pease and pulse.

Turnips grow very plentifully in the country, and exceeding large ones. Of all the produce of the fields they perhaps contribute most to the sustenance of the natives. But the fields being manured with human dung, they smell so strong that foreigners, chiefly Europeans, cannot bear them. The natives eat them raw, boiled, or pickled. Horse-radishes, carrots, gourds, melons, cucumbers, mala insana, fennel, and some sorts of lettuce, which with us are cultivated in gardens, grow wild in Japan. The *pastinaca bortenfis*, or garden parsnip, is not to be met with. But wild parsnip grows plentifully every where. Parsley, cummin, succory, and our common European lettuce, are cultivated by the Dutch, as they were formerly by the Portuguese, and thrive extraordinary well.

Besides the plants I have hitherto mentioned, there are numberless others that grow in the fields, upon hills and mountains, in woods and forests, in morassy grounds, in barren and uncultivated places, along the sea-coasts, and, in short, every where. Of all these, there are very few but what afford their roots, leaves, flowers, and fruits, not only for the sustenance of the common people, but even for the delicious tables of people of quality. There is a great variety of mushrooms, most of which are eat. Some, indeed, are poisonous, and unlucky accidents happen frequently. The use of some other plants is often attended with the like dangerous consequences, the venomous being sometimes mistook for the wholesome by ignorant people. Some, indeed, they know how to deprive of their hurtful and venomous qualities. Thus, out of the konjakf, which is a poisonous sort of a dracunculus, they prepare a sweet mealy pap. In the like manner, by expressing the juice, by macerating and boiling the roots of the *warabi* or fern, of the ren, or *fabæ Egyptica*, called by some tarate flour, as also of what they call kafe, they make a fine sort of flour; which is of great use in dressing their victuals, and which they eat besides by itself, dissolved in water. Of all the soft submarine plants there is hardly one, but what the natives eat. Fishermen's wives wash, sort, and sell them; and they are likewise very dexterous in diving them up from the bottom of the sea in twenty to forty fathoms depth.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Plenty of the Country as to Beasts, Birds, Reptiles, and Insects.*

OF the animals of this country some are merely chimerical, not existing in nature, nor invented by the Japanese themselves, but borrowed from their neighbours the Chinese. Of these it will not be improper to give some account, before I proceed to describe those which really exist.

Kirin, according to the description and figure which the Japanese give of it, is a winged quadruped, of incredible swiftness, with two soft horns standing before the

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breast, and bent backwards, with the body of a horse, and claws of a deer, and a head which comes nearest to that of a dragon. The good-nature and holiness of this animal are so great, that they say it takes special care, even in walking, not to trample over any the least plant, nor to injure any the most inconsiderable worm or insect that might, by chance, come under its feet. Its conception and birth require a particular constellation in heaven, and the birth of a sesin upon earth. Sesin is a man, endowed by nature with an incomparable understanding, and a more than human penetration, a man capable to dive into the mysteries of divine and supernatural things, and withal so full of love towards mankind, as to reveal his discoveries for their common benefit. There are famous, as such, the two Chinese Emperors, Gio and Siun; the memory of whose excellent government, and the great discoveries they made in the knowledge and virtues of plants, will be always dear in that empire: Koosi and Moosi, two Chinese philosophers: Siaka, an Indian philosopher, and great discoverer of supernatural truths: Darma in China, and Sotoktais in Japan, both founders of particular sects, and persons of an unspotted holy life.

Besides the kirin, there are two other chimeras of the quadruped kind: one is called fuugu. It is not unlike a leopard as to its shape, but hath two soft horns before the breast, bent backwards. The other is called kaitfu, or kaifai. This hath something of the fox in its shape, two horns before the breast, another horn in the forehead, and a row of prickles, like the crocodile, along the back.

After the four-footed chimeras, the tats, dria, or dsja, as it is called by the Japanese, that is, the dragon, must be mentioned. The chronicles and histories of their gods and heroes are full of fabulous stories of this animal. They believe that it dwells at the bottom of the sea, as in its proper element. They represent it in their books, as a huge, long, four-footed snake, scaly all over the body, like the crocodile, with sharp prickles along the back, but the head is beyond the rest monstrous and terrible. The tail of the Japanese dragon ends as it were into a two-edged sword. Some of the Japanese Emperor's cloth, his arms, scimiters, knives, and the like, as also the furniture and hangings of the imperial palace, are adorned with figures of this dragon, holding a round jewel, or pearl, in the right fore-claw. The Japanese dragon hath but three claws on each foot, whereby it is distinguished from the Chinese imperial dragon, which is represented with five. Tatfimaki, is another dragon, with a long watery tail. It is believed, that this also lives at the bottom of the sea, and by flying up thence into the air, occasions by its violent turnings, what we call a water-spout; which phenomenon is very common on the Japanese seas, and observed frequently to break towards the coasts.

Foo is a chimerical but beautiful large bird of paradise, of a near kin to the phoenix of the ancients. It dwells in the high regions of the air, and it hath this, common with the kirin, that it never comes down from thence, as the Japanese religiously believe, to honour the earth with its blessed presence, but upon the birth of a sesin, or that of a great Emperor, or upon some such other extraordinary occasion. Thus far the chimerical animals. I proceed now to give an account of such as do really exist.

Considering the largeness and extent of the Japanese empire, it is but sparingly supplied with four-footed beasts, wild or tame. The former find but few desert places, where they could increase and multiply, and follow their usual shy way of life. The latter are bred up only for carriage and agriculture. Pythagoras's doctrine of the transmigration of the soul being received almost universally, the natives eat no flesh-meat, and living, as they do, chiefly upon vegetables, they know how to improve the ground to much better advantage, than by turning it into meadows and pastures for breeding of cattle. To begin with the tame beasts. There are horses in the country:

they are indeed little in the main, but some of them not inferior in shape, swiftness and dexterity to the Persian breed. They serve for state, for riding, for carriage and ploughing. The best horses come from the provinces Satzuma and Osju; and a certain breed of little horses from Kai, is very much esteemed. Oxen and cows serve only for ploughing and carriage. Of milk and butter they know nothing. They have a sort of large buffles, of a monstrous size, with bunches on the back, like camels, which serve for carriage and transport of goods only, in large cities. They know nothing of asses, mules, camels, and elephants. Sheep and goats were kept formerly by the Dutch and Portugueze at Firando, where the kind still subsists. They might be bred in the country to great advantage, if the natives were permitted to eat the flesh, or knew how to manage and manufacture the wool. They have but few swine, which were brought over from China, and are bred by the country people in Fisen, not indeed for their own use, which would be contrary to their superstitious notions, but to sell them to the Chinese; who come over for trade every year, and are great admirers of pork, though otherwise the doctrine of Pythagoras, about the transmigration of souls, hath found place likewise in China. Since the now reigning Emperor came to the throne, there are more dogs bred in Japan than, perhaps, in any one country whatever, and than there were before even in this empire. They have their masters, indeed, but lie about the streets, and are very troublesome to passengers and travellers. Every street must, by special command of the Emperor, keep a certain number of these animals, and provide them with victuals. There are huts built in every street, where they are taken care of when they fall sick. Those that die must be carried up to the tops of mountains and hills, as the usual burying-places, and very decently interred. Nobody may, under severe penalties, insult or abuse them, and to kill them is a capital crime, whatever mischief they do. In this case, notice of their misdemeanors must be given to their keepers, who are alone empowered to chastise and to punish them. This extraordinary care for the preservation of the dog-kind, is the effect of a superstitious fancy of the now reigning Emperor, who was born in the sign of the Dog, [The reader is desired to take notice, that the Dog is one of the twelve celestial signs of the Japanese, as shall be shewn hereafter in Book II. Chap. 2.] and hath for this reason so great an esteem for this animal, as the great Roman Emperor, Augustus Cæsar, is reported in histories to have had for rams. The natives tell a pleasant tale on this head: A Japanese, as he was carrying up the dead carcase of a dog to the top of a mountain, in order to its burial, grew impatient, grumbled, and cursed the Emperor's birth-day and whimsical commands. His companion, though sensible of the justice of his complaints, bid him hold his tongue and be quiet; and, instead of swearing and cursing, return thanks to the gods, that the Emperor was not born in the sign of the Horse, because, in that case, the load would have been much heavier. Greyhounds and spaniels are wanting. They hunt but little, and only with common dogs; this kind of diversion being not very proper for so populous a country, and where there is so little game. They have a particular kind of cats, which is a domestic animal with them, as with us. They are of a whitish colour, with large yellow and black spots, and a very short tail, as if it had been purposely cut off. They do not care for mousing, but love mightily to be carried about, and caressed, chiefly by women.

Of four-footed wild beasts the country produces deer, hares, and boars; all which, the adherents of some sects are permitted to eat at certain times of the year. The island Mijosima, or Akino Mijosima, so called from the neighbourhood of the province Aki, is famous for a particular breed of deer, which, they say, are very tame and familiar with the inhabitants. It is contrary to the laws of the country to chase and to kill them.

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them. The country-people take care to remove their dead carcases from their houses and fields, forasmuch as the governor of the island is empowered, by virtue of another law, to sentence those before whose doors or upon whose ground such carcases are found, to some days' work, either at the temples, or for the public. They have some few monkies, of a docile kind, with short tails, of a brownish dark colour, with naked red faces and backs. A mountebank shewed one about the country, which he pretended was one hundred and six years old, and which played several artful tricks with great dexterity. They have some few bears in the northern provinces, but of a small kind. Tanuki is a very singular kind of an animal, of a brownish dark colour, with a snout not unlike a fox's snout, and pretty small: it seems otherwise to be of the wolf's kind. They have likewise a sort of wild dogs, with large gaping snouts. Itutz is a small animal of a reddish colour. Another large sort of it is called tin: they both live in houses, and lodge themselves under the roofs, they are so tame, that they might be ranked among the domestic animals. They are very dexterous at catching of fowl, chiefly chickens, and fish. The whole country swarms with rats and mice. The rats are tamed by the natives, and taught to perform several tricks. Rats thus taught, are the common diversion of some poor people. The best of the kind, and which play with most dexterity, are to be seen at Osacca, as the place which mountebanks, jugglers, and rare-show people resort to from all parts of the empire. Foxes also are very common. The natives believe that they are animated by the devil; and their historical and sacred writings are full of strange accounts of several odd accidents which happened with, and with regard to foxes. The fox-hunters, however, are very expert in conjuring and stripping this animated devil; the hair and wool being very much coveted for their writing and painting-pencils. They make the same distinction between the kis, or fox, and oni, or devil, as they do in Sweden between faan and dieblen. Of tigers, panthers, lions, and such other voracious animals Japan is entirely free.

Thus much of the four-footed wild and tame beasts, which are to be met with in Japan. The insects of the reptile kind are next to be taken into consideration. Among these a mischievous small creature, known all over the East Indies by the name of white ant, claims the first place. It is a small slender worm, perfectly white like snow. They live together in commonalty, as our European ants do, from whom they do not much differ in shape and bigness. Their head and breast are of a brownish dark colour, and hard to the touch. The Japanese call them Do-toos, which is as much as to say, "piercers;" an epithet which they very well deserve; for they pierce and perforate whatever they meet with, stones only and ores excepted; and when once they get into a merchant's warehouse, they are able within a very short compass of time to ruin and destroy his best goods. Nothing hath been as yet found out, that will keep them off but salt, laid under the goods and spread about them. Our common European ants are their mortal enemies, and whatever place the one sort takes possession of, the others must necessarily quit it. They are no more able than moles to support the open air; and whenever they go out upon an expedition, they defend themselves by building arches or trenches all along their march, which they know how to tie fast to the ground. These arches are much of the same substance with that of wasp's-nests. I was told surprising and melancholy stories of their quick and mischievous marches and expeditions; but I will only relate what I was an eye-witness of myself. During my stay at Coylang, a Dutch fort upon the coasts of Malabar, I had an apartment assigned me in the governor's own house. One night I did not go to bed till about midnight, having been very busy. The next morning when I rose, I took notice of the marks of such arches upon my table, which were about the bigness

of my little finger, and, upon a more accurate inspection, I found that these animals had pierced a passage of that thickness up one foot of the table; then across the table (though, as good luck would have it, without any damage done to the papers and things I had left there,) and so down again through the middle of the other foot into the floor. All this was performed within a few hours time. Some attribute the cause of so quick and surprising a corrosion to the sharpness of their excrements, but wrongly, as I found upon examination; for I took notice, that their snouts were armed with four sharp crooked pincers, which, in my opinion, are instruments far more proper to do such quick execution, than any excrements how sharp and corrosive soever.

Mukadde, according to the common Japanese dialect, and gokō, in their significant or character-language, are not what we call aselli, or wood-lice, but the Indian millepedes, palmer-worms, or forty-legs; a worm of about two or three inches in length, slender, of a brown colour, having a great number of legs on both sides, from whence it hath borrowed its name. The Indian forty-legs are very venomous, and their bites are reckoned more dangerous and painful than those of the scorpion. There are but few in Japan, and those not very mischievous. The part which is stung, or bit, is dressed with spittle, and the bite seldom observed to be attended with ill consequences.

The lizards of this country do not differ from our common European lizards.

There are but few snakes in the country. One of the most famous is called fitakutz, and sibakari. It is of a green colour, with a flat head and sharp teeth. It hath borrowed its name from the length of the day, or the time the sun stays upon the horizon; because people bit by it, are said to die before sun-set. Soldiers are very fond of its flesh, which they eat, firmly believing that it hath the virtue of making them bold and courageous. This snake calcined in an earthen pot, hermetically sealed, gives that powder which they call gawatso, and which is very famous for its virtues in curing several internal distempers. This same powder put under the gutters of a house, is said, in a short time, to produce young snakes of the same kind. I met with this sort of snake no where else but upon the coasts of Malabar, where I was shewed some by the Bramines. Another sort of snakes of a monstrous size, called jamakagats, or, according to the common dialect, uwabami, and sometimes dsja, that is, "dragon," is found in waters and upon mountains. It is very scarce, and when taken, shewed about for money. From the reptiles I proceed to the birds.

Of tame fowl they keep chickens, and sometimes ducks, but being, as I took notice above, imbued with the superstitious notions of Pythagoras, the generality will not eat them, and they are killed and sold to such as do venture to eat them, only by persons of a mean extraction. When a man lies at the point of death, as also upon those days which are sacred to the memory of deceased persons, none of their relations and friends may kill any bird or beast whatever. In the mourning years for the death of an Emperor, and at any other time, when the Emperor thinks fit to order it, no living creature whatever may be killed or brought to market in any part of his dominions. The cocks oftener find pardon than hens, and are kept alive with great care, because they are held in great esteem, chiefly among the religious orders, by reason of their measuring the time, and foretelling future changes of the weather. Wild fowl, though naturally shy, are in this populous country grown so familiar, that many kinds of them might be ranked among the tame. The tsuri, or crane, is the chief of the wild birds of the country, and hath this particular imperial privilege, that nobody may shoot him without an express order from the Emperor, and only for the Emperor's own pleasure or use. In Saikokf, however, and in other provinces remote from court, a less strict regard is had to the like imperial commands. The cranes and tortoises are

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reckoned very happy animals in themselves, and thought to portend good luck to others and this by reason of their pretended long and fabulous life, of which there are several remarkable instances recorded in their historical writings. For this reason the imperial apartments, walls of temples, and other happy places are commonly adorned with figures of them, as also with figures of firs and bamboos, for the like reason. I never heard country people and carriers call this bird otherwise than, *O Tsurifama*, that is, "My great Lord Crane." There are two different kinds of them; one white as snow, the other grey or ash-coloured. There are several kinds of faggi, or herons, which differ in colour and size. The chief are *sijro faggi*, the white heron; *goi faggi*, the grey heron, both very common; and *awoi faggi*, a heron of a bluish colour, and almost as big as a crane. There are two different sorts of wild-geese, which couple each with their kind. One sort is as white as snow, only the extremities of the wings are black; the other is grey or ash-coloured. Both are very common in this country, particularly the grey ones, and so familiar, that they might be taken for tame, for they will not fly up, nor get out of the way at any body's approach. They do a great deal of mischief in the fields, and yet nobody may disturb or kill them, under pain of death, except those who have bought the privilege to shoot them in some tracts of ground. The country-people, to keep them off, surround their fields with nets, though to very little purpose; for they will fly over the nets, as I have seen myself, to get at their food.

Of ducks also there are several different kinds, and as tame as the geese. One kind particularly I cannot forbear mentioning, because of the surprising beauty of its male, called *kinmodsi*, which is so great, that, being shewed its picture in colours, I could hardly believe my own eyes, till I saw the bird itself, it being a very common one. Its feathers are wonderfully diversified with the finest colours imaginable, about the neck and breast chiefly they are red. The head is crowned with a most magnificent topping. The tail rising obliquely, and the wings standing up over the back in a very singular manner, afford to the eye a sight as curious as it is uncommon. There are also pheasants of uncommon beauty. One kind particularly is remarkable for the various colours and lustre of its feathers, and for the beauty of its tail, which equals half a man's length, and in a curious variety and mixture of the finest colours, chiefly blue and gold, is no ways inferior to that of a peacock. Woodcocks are a very common bird; they are eat by the adherents of some sects, as are also the pheasants, geese, and ducks. There is a sort of wild pigeons with black and blue feathers, though otherwise they are no great beauties. The natives will not suffer them to nest in their houses; because they found by experience, that their dung upon removal is very apt to take fire, and they say that many an unlucky accident happened thereby.

Storks stay in the country all the year round.

The best falcons are caught in the northern provinces, and are kept more for state than sport.

Hawks are common here as they are every where in the East Indies, and a very proud bird; as is also a kind of ravens, of a middling size, which was first brought over from China, as a present to the Emperor.

Another scarce bird was sent over from Corea, by way of present to the Emperor; and is thence called *Corzigaras*, that is, a "Corean raven."

Our common European crows, as also parrots, and some other Indian birds, are not to be met with in Japan.

Foken, or, according to the common dialect, *fototenis*, is a scarce night-bird, of an excellent and delicious taste, and a dish only for the tables of people of quality upon extraor-

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extraordinary occasions. The ashes of this bird calcined, and put into old four sacki, are said to restore it to its former taste and goodness.

Misago, or bisago, is a voracious sea-bird, of the hawk kind. It preys chiefly upon fish. It makes a hole in some rock upon the coasts, where it lays up its prey and provision, which is observed to keep as well as pickled fish, or atsiaar, and is thence called, bisagonofusi, or the "bisago's atsiaar." It tastes very salt, and is sold dear. Whoever knows such a cave can make a good deal of money of it, provided he doth not take out too much at a time.

Mews, sea-ravens, snipes, sea-pies, sparrows, swallows, and some other small birds are as common here as in Europe.

Larks sing much better here than they do in Europe.

The nightingales, if they have a good voice, are sold sometimes to curious people for 20 copangs a-piece. Thus far, what I had to observe concerning the birds of this country.

Of flying insects, the country hath bees, consequently some honey and wax, though but in a small quantity. Humble-bees, wasps, common flies, gnats, fire-flies, several sorts of beetles and bugs, as also locusts, and a great variety of other insects of this tribe, it hath common with Europe, besides some other particular and remarkable sorts; the chief of which I will here give a short account of.

Among the butterflies there is one very large sort, called jamina tso, or the mountain-butterfly. It is either entirely black, or party-coloured, and curiously diversified with white, black, and other spots, chiefly upon its forked wings. Komuri is a large, spotted, party-coloured, hairy, beautiful night-fly. The same name is given also to bats. Of beetles, they have several scarce and beautiful kinds. One, in particular, is very large, in shape not unlike the dung-fly, shining, black, with two crooked and branched horns, one larger, standing over the nose, after the manner of a rhinoceros's horn, the other smaller, standing out on one side from the shoulder. This animal cannot walk easily. It lives chiefly under ground. It is scarce, and the natives have as yet given it no name.

A certain kind of brown beetle, called febi, and sometimes femi, affords several curious and remarkable things to the attentive eye of an inquisitive naturalist. They are of three different kinds. The largest is called kuma febi. It resembles in shape and bigness that sort of flies, which with us in Europe are generally observed to fly about in the evening, but it hath no wings. In the spring they creep out of the ground (where they have lain in winter-quarters) in the night-time, and fasten themselves with their sharp hoary legs to trees, their branches, or leaves, or whatever in their march they can lay hold of. A little while after they burst, and split their back lengthways, to give room to another fly, not unlike a beetle, which was enclosed within it, though much bigger than the prison to which it was confined. Some hours after, this second fly flies away with a hurrying noise. This curious little animal hath been described by Gessner by the name of *Cicada*. Bursting open the shell in which it lay, and, at the same time, spreading out its four wings, it makes a sharp and loud noise, which, they say, may be heard (a thing almost incredible) very distinctly at full an English mile's distance. Woods and mountains are full of the noise these little creatures make. They disappear gradually in the dog-days; and it is said, that they creep into the ground again, in order to undergo a new metamorphosis or change, and to re-appear in the same state the next year. How far this agrees with truth, I am not able to determine, for want of proper observations. The name femmi, or febi, which they bear, is borrowed from their music, which begins slowly and upon a low tune,

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then increases gradually in swiftness and loudness, and again ends pretty low. This music, I thought, was not unlike the noise a button-maker's spindle makes in turning. They begin to sing with the rising-sun, and end about noon. The *exuvia*, called *semi no mukigara* are preserved for physical uses, and sold publicly in shops both in Japan and China. Another smaller kind is from its smallness called *kofebi*, or the small *sebi*. They appear later in the year, much about the time when the others disappear. They sing from noon to sun-set, and live till late in autumn. Their music is not near so loud as that of the first kind, and is by the common people called *tsuku tsukuboo*. The third kind differs from the second neither in shape nor bigness, only they sing from morning to night. The females of all the three kinds are mute, and have their breast shut: in all other respects they are like the males.

The cantharides, or Spanish flies, are of the same colour with our Spanish flies, but somewhat bigger and rounder, and very near as big as our common European beetles. Their use is entirely unknown in Japan. Another particular sort of Spanish flies is called *fanmio*. They are extremely caustic, and ranked among the poisons. They are found upon rice-ears, and are long, slender, and smaller than the Spanish flies, blue or gold-coloured, with scarlet or crimson spots and lines, which makes them look very beautiful. But the finest of all the flying tribe of insects, and which, by reason of its incomparable beauty, is kept by the ladies among their curiosities, is a peculiar and scarce night-fly, about a finger long, slender, round-bodied, with four wings, two of which are transparent and hid under a pair of others, which are shining, as it were polished, and most curiously adorned with blue and golden lines and spots. The following fable owes its origin to the unparalleled beauty of this little creature: They say that all other night-flies fall in love with it, and to get rid of their importunities it maliciously bids them (for a trial of their constancy) to go and to fetch fire. The blind lovers scruple not to obey commands, and, flying to the next fire or candle, they never fail to burn themselves to death. The female is not near so beautiful as the male, but grey, or ash-coloured and spotted.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of Fish and Shells.*

THE sea, and its productions, contribute full as much towards the sustenance of the natives as the growth of the country, rice only excepted. The sea all about Japan is plentifully stored with all sorts of submarine plants, fish, crabs, and shells; of all which there are very few, but what were eat by their indigent ancestors, and are so to this day. There are even many which, in these wealthy and refined ages appear upon the sumptuous tables of people of the highest quality. Both fish, crabs, and shells, are comprehended under one general name, *kiokai*, or *iwokai*. In this present chapter, which may be looked upon as an introduction to one of the following, wherein I intend to treat of their tables and kitchen, I will set down as many of them as came to my knowledge, along with their true Japanese names; though it must be observed in general, that several of them are found likewise in our European and other seas.

Of all the animal productions of the Japanese seas, I know none of so extensive an use, for rich and poor, as the *kudfuri*, or whale. It is caught frequently about Japan, but particularly in the sea *Khumano*, which washes the southern coasts of the great island *Nipon*, as also about the islands *Tsushima* and *Goto*, and upon the coasts of *Omura* and *Nomo*. The common way of catching them is with darts, or harping-irons, as they do in the Greenland-fishery, but the Japanese boats seem to be fitter for this purpose than ours, being small, narrow, tapering into a sharp point at one end with five

oars, or ten men each, who row them with incredible swiftness. About 1680, a rich fisherman in the province Omura, whose name was Gitaïjo, found out a new way of catching whales with nets made of strong ropes about two inches thick. This method was afterwards followed with good success by a countryman in the islands of Gotho, whose name was Iwonomo. They say, that as soon as the whale finds his head entangled in a net, he cannot, without great difficulty, swim further, and may be very easily killed with harpoon-irons after the common manner. The reason why this new method, which seemed to bid very fair for success, hath not been universally received is, because it requires a greater and much more expensive set of proper tackle, than common fishermen can afford. For whereas the expence of whale-fishing after the common manner, seldom exceeds 20 chests of silver, this cannot be so much as attempted with a less sum.

There are several sorts of whales, which differ in their names, shape, and bigness. 1. Sebïo is the chief, and indeed the largest fish of the whale-kind. It affords most train oil, and its flesh is very good and wholesome; so far that fishermen and the common people attribute their good state of health, amidst all the injuries of cold and weather, which they are continually exposed to, chiefly to their eating this flesh. 2. Awo fangi, commonly kokadûra, that is a small whale, is grey or ash-coloured, smaller than the sebïo, from which it also differs something in shape. 3. Nagasû, is commonly twenty to thirty fathoms long, and hath this particular, that he can stay under water for two or three hours, during which time he can travel a vast way, whereas other whales must continually come up to the surface of the water for fresh supplies of air. 4. Sotoo-kadûra, that is, the whale of blind people, so called from the figure of a bijwu, or a sort of a lute, which blind people in this country use to play upon, which is said to be naturally represented on its back. It is not a very large sort, and seldom exceeds ten fathoms in length. It is caught frequently about Japan, but the flesh is reckoned unwholesome food, being, as they say, too hot, and occasioning coughs, fevers, eruptions on the skin, and sometimes the small-pox. It is brought to market with other fish, and sold for the flesh of the sebïo, but those who know it will never buy it. 5. Mako never exceeds three or four fathoms in length. This same name is given to the young ones of the other kinds. That which I here speak of is caught frequently upon the eastern coasts of Japan, as also upon the coasts of Kijnokuni and Satzuna. Ambergris is found in the intestines of this whale. The head yields a small quantity of train-oil. 6. Iwasikura, that is, fardin's-eater, hath a tail and fins like common fish. We saw this sort when we went up to court, between Caminofeki and Simonofeki; and I took it to be that fish which the Dutch call noord caper. Of all these several kinds of whales nothing is thrown away as useless, excepting only the large shoulder-bone. The skin, which is black in most kinds; the flesh which is red and looks like beef; the intestines, which, from their remarkable length, are called siakûro, that is, "an hundred fathoms long;" and all the inward parts are eat, pickled, boiled, roasted, or fried. The fat, or blubber, is boiled into train-oil, and even the sediments of the second boiling are eat. The bones, such as are of a cartilaginous substance, are boiled when fresh, and eat, or scraped, cleaned and dried for the use of the kitchen. Out of the nervous and tendinous parts, both white and yellow, they make cords and ropes, chiefly for their cotton manufactures, as also for their musical instruments. Not even the garbage is thrown away, but kept for some use in the kitchen. Several little things are made of the jaw-bones, fins, and other bones, which are of a more solid substance; particularly their fine steelyards for weighing gold and silver are made of them, and have borrowed their name from thence.

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Satsfoko is a fish two, three, and sometimes five to six fathoms long, with two long teeth or tusks, standing out of the mouth upwards, which are sometimes, by way of ornament, put at the top of castles, temples, and public buildings. I was informed by fishermen, that this fish is a cunning and mortal enemy of whales, and that he kills them by creeping into the mouth, and devouring their tongues. He hath a way, as he creeps in, to put his head and teeth into such a posture, that they are no hindrance to him.

Iruku is a known fish, called tenje in the Indies: surube is another fish, not very large: the Dutch call him blazer, which signifies blower, because he can blow and swell himself up into the form of a round ball. He is ranked among the poisonous fish, and if eat whole, is said unavoidably to occasion death. There are three different sorts of it found in the Japanese seas, all in great plenty. The first sort called susume-buka is small, and seldom eat. The second is called niabuku, that is the true buku. This the Japanese reckon a very delicate fish, and they are very fond of it. But the head, guts, bones, and all the garbage must be thrown away, and the flesh carefully washed and cleaned before it is fit to eat. And yet many people die of it, for want, as they say, of thoroughly washing and cleaning it. People that by some long and tedious sickness are grown weary of their lives, or are otherwise under miserable circumstances, frequently chuse this poisonous fish, instead of a knife or halter, to make away with themselves. A neighbour of my servant at Nagasaki being so strongly infected with the pox, that his nose was ready to drop off, resolved to take this meal, in order to get rid at once both of his life and distemper. Accordingly he bought a good quantity of this poisonous fish, cut it into pieces, boiled it, and in order as he thought, to make the poison still stronger, he took foot from the thatched roof of his house, and mixed it with the rest. After dinner he laid himself down to die, and soon falling mortally sick, he brought up not only the poison he had taken, but a large quantity of viscid, sharp, nasty matter, probably not the least cause of his distemper, and by this means found life and health, in what he sought for death; for he recovered and was well afterwards. A few years ago five persons of Nagasaki having eat a dish of this fish, fainted soon after dinner, grew convulsive and delirious, and fell into such a violent spitting of blood, as made an end of their lives in a few days. And yet the Japanese would not deprive themselves of a dish so delicate in their opinion, for all they have so many instances of how fatal and dangerous a consequence it is to eat it. Soldiers only and military men, are by special command of the Emperor forbid to buy and to eat this fish. If any one dies of it, his son forfeits the succession to his father's post, which otherwise he would have been entitled to. It is sold much dearer than common fish, and not eat, but when fresh. The third sort is called Kitamakura, which signifies north cushion. I could not learn the reason of this appellation. The same name is given to a person that sleeps with his head turned to the north. The poison of this sort is absolutely mortal, no washing nor cleaning will take it off. It is therefore never asked for, but by those who intend to make away with themselves.

The sea-horse, or sea-dog, and, as the Germans call him, Wasserbauch, is a very singular fish, much about the length of a boy of ten years of age, without either scales or fins, with a large head, mouth and breast, a large thin belly like a bag, which will hold a large quantity of water. He hath thin sharp teeth in the chops much like a snake. The inner parts are so minute that they are scarce visible. He hath two flat cartilaginous feet with fingers, not unlike the hands of a child, under the belly, by the means of which, he creeps, in all likelihood, or walks at the bottom of the sea.

All his parts are eat, none excepted. He is caught frequently in the gulf of Jedo, between Kamiakura and that capital, where I saw him brought to market.

Tai, is what the Dutch in the Indies call steenbrasse. This is very much esteemed by the Japanese as the king of fish, and a peculiar emblem of happiness, partly because he is sacred to their Jebis, or Neptune, partly by reason of a beautiful variety of shining colours, which appear on him when under water. It is a very scarce fish, not unlike a carp, and finely variegated with red and white. The female hath some red spots. It is so scarce, that upon some great entertainment at court, or other extraordinary occasions, it is not to be had under a thousand cobangs. Another sort of this fish is called kharo tai, or black steenbrasse, from the colour. This is not near so much esteemed, and is caught frequently about Setokf.

Sufuki, is what the Germans call kahlkopf, that is, baldhead. Funa is a fish not unlike a carp, and much commended for its medicinal virtues, chiefly against worms. A larger kind of the same is called Najos. Mebaar is a red-coloured fish, in bigness and shape not unlike a carp, or steenbrasse, with the eyes standing out of the head like two balls. It is caught every where in great plenty, and is the common food of poor people. Koi is another sort of it, which also resembles a carp, and is sometimes one sack and a half long. This sort is caught in rivers, chiefly about water-falls, against which they endeavour to swim. They are so strong that two men can hardly hold them. They are exported all over the empire, fresh and pickled. They take some in the lake of Saifa, or Tensiu, which are four sakf long. Maar, the salmon, is taken in rivers and fresh water lakes. Itojori is a salmon, or small salmon. Makuts, is what the Dutch call harder. Sawara, a king's-fish. Fiuwo is what the Dutch call draatvis. Ara is what the Dutch in the Indies call Jacob's ewertz. Kufuna, a short nose. Kamas, a pike. Sufuki is the schaarvis of the Dutch, only a longer and narrower sort. Adsi is the maasbancker of the Dutch. Of this there are several different kinds, the chief and largest whereof is called oadsi. Taka is what the Dutch call a kaye. Kame, and takafame, are rays, of the hard skins of which they make cases and other curious things in Japan. The skin of this fish is imported also from Siam, where it is found much finer. Jeje is a broad flat fish, with a long tail. There is one sort of it, which hath a small horny or bony sting at the end of the tail, which the Dutch in the Indies call pijlstaart. The Japanese believe, that this sting taken from a live fish is an infallible remedy against the bite of snakes, rubbing the bitten part with it. For this reason they carry it along with them among other house medicines. Come, or jei, are soles, and karei, bots or bruts. Bora is a fish much like a pike, with a white and delicious flesh. Some call him songaats fish, because he is taken in the Songaats, or first month of the Japanese year. They pickle and smoke them, as they do pikes at Bremen. These and all pickled fish in general, are called karasumi. They export them from Nagasaki and Nomo, where they are frequently caught, and carry them to Jedo, and into several other parts of the empire, tied to straw-ropes, ten to a rope. They are exported by the Dutch and Chinese. Other fish made into Karasumi are valued but little by the natives. The best sort of the Katsumo fish is caught about Gotho. They cut this fish into four pieces, which they dry by degrees over the damp of hot boiling water, and bring it upon the table along with the liquors. The Dutch export it by the name of comblomaas, which however is not the true name. Managatfuwo is a flat fish, not unlike a but, with one eye on each side. Sake, perhaps a sort of cablian, is a pickled fish, not unlike cod. It is imported from the country of Ieso, and hath borrowed its name from its smell, which is not unlike the smell of their fake beer. Tara is a sort of cod, imported from the

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northern provinces; the best of the kind comes from Tfiofijn, whence it is called *tfiofijn tara*. *Sajori*, is what the inhabitants of Nagasaki call *fufumoio*, and the Dutch *naadelvifh*, which fignifies needle-fifh. It is a fmall fifh, not above a fpan long, thin, with a row of fharp, long prickles along the back. *Tobiwo* is what the Dutch call a *springer*, (flying-fifh) becaufe it leaps out of the water. The Japanefe one feldom exceeds a foot in length, and is very delicious, but rarely taken. *Iwas*, is the *fardin*; *kiffugo*, the *fmelt*, or *fand-fmelt*. *Jefo*, by the Dutch called *fandkruper*, is a middling fifh, between a *fmelt* and an eel. *Saba* are mackrels. *Ai*, or *ai-no-iwo*, by the Dutch called *modevifh*, is a frefh-water fifh, not above a fpan long, fwimming with furprifing fwiftnefs. *Sijroiwo*, is what the Dutch call *kleiner ftind*: they alfo call him *weiffvifh*, that is white fifh. He is caught in the fpring about the mouths of rivers. *Konofijro*, called by the Dutch *faffap*, is a fort of herring, not unlike the Swedifh *ftrohmlings*. *Kingjo*, the gold-fifh, is a fmall fifh, feldom exceeding a finger in length, red, with a beautiful fhining, yellow or gold-coloured tail, which in the young ones is rather black. In China and Japan, and almoft all over the Indies, this fifh is kept in ponds, and fed with flies before their wings come out. Another kind hath a filver-coloured tail. *Unagi* is the common eel. *Oounagi* is another fort of eels much larger than the common. *Jaatzme unagi*, that is, an eel with eight eyes, is what is called in Germany *neunaug*, that is, nine-eye, or an eel with nine eyes. *Doodsio* is by the Dutch called *puyt aal*. It is a fifh about a finger long, with a very large head in proportion to the body, found frequently in watery rice-fields and muddy ponds. They are of two different kinds, the one with, the other without a beard. They have a notion, that they may be brought forth artificially out of ftraw cut, and mixed with mud and dirt, and expofed to the heat of the fun early in the morning. *Fammo*, by the Dutch called *conger aal*, is larger than a common eel, which it refembles, when under water, but flenderer.

Ika is a common fea-qualm. Both the Chinefe and Japanefe efteem it a fcarce and delicate bit. Fifh alfo are eafier caught with the flefth of this qualm than with any other bait. *Jako* or *Sepia*, is another fea-qualm, with long tails or feet, at the end whereof are, as it were, fmall hooks, wherewith the creature faftens itfelf to rocks, or the bottom of the fea. It is a common foccano or fide-difh, and eat either frefh, boiled or pickled. There are two forts of *kuragge*, which is alfo of the fea-qualm kind. One is called *midfukurage*, that is, the white qualm. This is common in all feas, whitifh, transparent, watery, and not fit to eat. The other is fcarcer, flefhy, and eatable after it had been prepared and deprived of its fharpnefs. It is prepared after the following manner. They firft macerate them in a diffolution of alum for three days together, then they rub, wafh and clean it, till it grows transparent, which done, it is pickled and preferved for ufe. Before the infufion, the fkin is taken off, wafh'd, pickled, and kept by itfelf. Some of thefe fea-qualms are fo large, that two men can fcarce lift them up. Pickled, as they are brought upon the table, they are of the fame fubftance, colour and tafte with the edible birds nefts, (*Nidi aleyonum*) brought from China, and I have been credibly informed by Chinefe fifhermen, that thefe birds nefts are made of the very flefth of this animal.

Namako, by the Dutch at *Batavia* called *kafferkuil*, is edible. *Imori* is a fmall venomous water-lizard, black, with a red belly. *Takanomakura*, which is as much as to fay, the pillow of the fea-qualm *tako*, is the common fea-ftar, and is not eat.

Of all the footed animal produce of the water, the *ki*, or *came*, tortoifes, are moft efteemed by the Japanefe, being looked upon as peculiar emblems of happinefs, by reafon of the long life which is afcribed to them. That kind particularly, which hath
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a broad tail, much like a large round beard, and which in their learned language is called *mooké*, and by the common people *minogame*, for all it doth not exist in nature, is yet frequently to be seen among other emblematical figures, wherewith they adorn the walls of their temples, the sides of their altars, and the apartments of the Emperor and Princes of the empire. The most common tortoises are, *isicame*, or *sanki*, that is, the stone, or mountain tortoise, which is so called because found in these places, and is nothing else but the common land-tortoise. *Io game*, or *doo game*, that is, fishy, or water-tortoise, because of its living in the water. They say, that upon the southern and eastern coasts of Japan there are found tortoises large enough to cover a man from head to toe.

All sorts of crabs and shrimps both of fresh and salt water, are called in general *jebi*. The following particular kinds are come to my knowledge. *Jebifako* is the common small crab, which is found in great plenty upon the coasts of the Baltic. *Sako* signifies all sorts of small fish in general. *Si jebi* differ but little from the common crabs, no more than what they call *dakma jebi*, excepting only, that the latter are caught in fresh water, and will within a year turn black. *Kuruma jebi* is as much as to say wheel-crabs; they are so called from the figure of their tail. *Umi jebi*, that is, great crabs or lobsters, are commonly a foot long. They are boiled, then cut into small pieces, and brought upon the table, as a *foccana* or *side-dish*. Care must be taken not to eat their black tail, because it hath been observed, that it gives people the belly-ach, or throws them into a *cholera morbus*. *Siakwa* is a crab with a broad tail, which is caught frequently with other small fish. It hath but little flesh, and almost none at the time of the full moon. All the testaceous and crustaceous animals, which are found in these seas, and indeed every where in the Indian ocean beyond the eastern shores of the Ganges, are observed to be feshier and fuller at the time of the new moon, contrary to what happens in our European seas. *Gamina*, otherwise *koena*, is a crab, which lives in a beautiful shell, diversified with various colours; (this is what the English call *soldier crab*, fresh-water soldier, hermit crab, because they live in other people's quarters); *kani*, which signifies pocket crab, is our common European fresh-water crab. It bears the name of the whole tribe of the fresh-water crabs. *Kabutogani*, or *unki*, is a crab of a singular structure, with a sharp, long, serrated prickle or sword, standing out from the head, and a roundish, smooth back. *Gadsame* is no bigger than the common crab, with the upper shell tapering into a point on both sides. It hath four claws, two large ones before, and two behind, which are smaller. *Simagani*, that is a striated pocket crab. It might be called *wart-crab*, from the great number of warts and prickles, which cover the shell all over, the hind claws only excepted, which are smooth and almost cylindrical. They are caught frequently upon the eastern coasts, as also in the gulf of *Suruga*. Some of this sort are incredibly large. I bought one of the hind claws at *Suruga* in a cook-shop, which was as long, and full as big as a man's shin-bone.

All sorts of oysters, muscles and shells, of which there is a great plenty and surprising variety in the Japanese seas, are eat, none excepted, raw, pickled, salted, boiled, or fried. They are daily gathered on the coasts in low water. Divers dive for them to a considerable depth; others fish them with nets. The following sorts are the most common and best known: *awabi*, which I have already mentioned, when I spoke of the pearls of this country, is an open univalve, as big as a middle-sized Persian pearl-shell, but deeper. They lie deep under water, sticking fast to rocks, or to the bottom of the sea, from whence they are taken up by fishermen's wives, they being the best divers of the country. They go down armed with darts or long knives, to defend themselves against *kayes* and *porpoises*, and when they see an *awabi*, they pull it off

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suddenly before the animal is aware, because otherwise it would fasten itself to the rocks, or to the bottom of the sea, so strongly, that no force would be strong enough to tear it off. This shell is filled with a large piece of flesh of a yellowish or whitish colour, and a very tough substance, though without fibres. They say it was the common food of their necessitous ancestors, in memory whereof, when they entertain company at dinner, they always provide a dish of it. It is also become a custom with them, as well among the vulgar as among people of quality, that when they send one another presents of money, cloth, stuffs, fruits, or any thing else, a string, or at least a small bit, of the dried flesh of this shell is sent along with them, as a good omen, and in order to put them in mind of the indigency of their forefathers. The flesh is cut into thin slices or strings, which are extended on a board, and dried. A large pearl is found sometimes in this shell, but of an ugly yellowish colour, a deformed shape, and of no value. Tairagi is a flat, long, thin, and very large bivalve, almost transparent, near of a triangular figure, running from a large base tapering into a point. The animal is tied fast to both sides of the shell with a strong tendon. The best of the kind are found in the gulf of Arima, where it sometimes yields pearls. Akoja is a flat bivalve, about a hand broad, scaly on its outward surface, and of a very ugly appearance, within of an exquisite mother of pearl glimmering. The best of the kind, and which yield the finest pearls, are found in the gulf of Omura. Mirakai is the common black fresh water muscle, which is found also in our rivers and lakes in Germany. Famaguri, are bivalves much of the same shape and bigness, but thicker, smooth and white within, without of a brown or chestnut colour. Divers curious figures are painted on the inside, and they serve as an amusement to the court of the Dairi, or Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor, who play with them after the following manner. Large heaps are thrown on the ground, and every one of the company having taken his portion, he wins that can shew the most pairs. Every pair hath proper hooks, by the means of which they are easily known, and brought together, though never so much mixed. The best are gathered and in greatest plenty upon the coasts of Quano. Sidfimi is a small bivalve not unlike the Famaguri, but thinner, and is found slicking in mud. Katsi or utsikaki, are oysters. The oysters found about Japan are deformed, rough, stony, growing together, and to rocks. There are chiefly two sorts, one remarkably large, the other smaller. The best and largest are found in great plenty in the gulf of Kamakura. Kifa, or Akagai, is also a bivalve, white without, with deep furrows, running as it were parallel to each other, within of a reddish colour. They fix a handle to this shell, and use it in the kitchen instead of a spoon, or pail. Nakatagai is a large, ugly, roundish, striated and black shell. Afari, is a small thin shell, grey or ash coloured. Te or matee, is an oblong thin bivalve, gaping at both ends. The animal that lives within it is reckoned very delicious. Umi fuke is another bivalve, much of the same kind, about a span long, and so big, that one can scarce grasp it between the thumb and fore-finger. Its flesh is pickled and kept for use. This shell is found only upon the coasts of Tsikungo, where, by express order of the Prince of that country, it is forbid to fish them, till a sufficient quantity hath been provided for the Emperor's own table. Takaragai, called in the Indies covers, are brought from the Maldive and other islands, and imported into Bengala, Pegu, and Siam, where they go for current money. Those found about Japan are of different sorts. The best are brought from the Riuku Islands, and are the chief ingredient of their white check varnish. Sashi is a large, thick, odoriferous, turbinated univalve, white and prickled. Its mouth's shut close, with a flat, thick covering, of operculum, of a stony substance, rough, on the outside not unlike the lapis judaicus, only sharper and smooth. Nisi is an univalve

much of the same shape, but larger, and hath not near so good a flesh. Both can fasten themselves very close to rocks, and the bottom of the sea, like the awabi. Common people make use of the shell instead of pots to spit in. Tannifi are the common black land snails, gathered for food in muddy rice fields. They have their mouth shut with an oblong almost stony operculum. Bai is a snail in a common oblong, turbinated white shell. Ras or mina is another of the same kind, but black and smaller. Both are gathered on the shore in low water. Kabuto is a small, oval, not turbinated univalve. Another small turbinated univalve is called fugai.

CHAP. IX. — *Names of the Gods, Demi-Gods and Emperors, who are mentioned in the Japanese Histories, as the first Monarchs and Governors of that Empire.*

THE better to understand the opinion of the Japanese about the original state of their country (which formerly they looked upon as the only inhabited part of the earth,) and the succession of their Emperors and Monarchs down to this present time, I have thought fit to divide the history and chronology of this empire into three eras, a fabulous, a doubtful, and a certain.

The first and fabulous epocha of the Japanese government reaches far beyond the time of the creation, as fixed in sacred writs. Japan, they say, was during that period of time, governed by a succession (or rather evolution) of seven celestial spirits or gods, which are by them called Ten Dsin Sitzu Dai, that is, "the seven great celestial spirits," each of which reigned an immense, but undetermined number of years. The history of the Japanese gods is full of strange wonderful adventures, and great bloody wars, which are said to have happened in this first age of the Japanese world. The two chronological authors, whom I have followed in writing this history, barely mention their names, as also that the three first were not married, but that their four successors had each his wife, as a companion of his government, whose names are likewise set down. Of this first succession of gods, I have had already occasion to speak more amply in the seventh chapter of the first book, wherein I treated of the origin of the Japanese nation according to the opinion of the natives. I must therefore refer the reader to that chapter, and beg leave here to repeat, that the last of this first succession, Ispanagi Mikotto, having carnally known his wife and goddess Ispanami Mikotto, begot a second race of demi-gods or god-men, who succeeded the first in the government of Japan, and being five in number are thence called,

Dsi Sin Go Dai, that is, "the five great terrestrial gods," or monarchs. They reigned in the following order.

1. Ten Se O Dai Sin, eldest son and heir of Ispanagi Mikotto, for whose memory, and that of his brethren and posterity, the Japanese still possess a most profound respect and veneration. He is said to have reigned 250,000 years. China, they say, was during his reign governed by Ten Kwo Si, to whom they also attribute a long and fabulous government, and further mention, that three descendants of his family successively ruled the empire of China.

2. Osiwo Ni no Mikotto, lived and reigned in all 300,000 years. During his reign, and during the reign of his successor, to the beginning of that of the fourth Japanese Dsi Sin, Sat Teiki governed the empire of China.

3. Ni ni ki no Mikotto reigned 318,533 years. During his whole reign Saitei Ki was Emperor of China.

4. Fiko Oo Demi no Mikotto reigned 637,892 years. China was then governed by the Emperor Katsura Kaki, who was succeeded by five Princes of his family.

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5. The fifth and last of these demi-gods was Fuki Awa se dfu no Mikotto. He reigned 836,042 years, so that the whole space of time, during which this race of god-men governed Japan, takes in 2,342,467 years. This is all the Japanese know of the ancient state and government of their empire, a tradition, which some of the wiser people, even among them, are very sensible, is liable to great doubts and uncertainties, if not entirely fabulous and chimerical. However all, without exception, profess a peculiar veneration for Isanagi and his consort Isanami, as being the progenitors of their nation, and, if I may be allowed thus to express myself, their Adam and Eve. The right which the family of the Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperors claims to the crown and government of Japan, and which they have enjoyed free and undisturbed during a succession of many ages, is grounded upon a lineal descent from Ten Seo Dai Sin, Isanagi's first-born son and heir, from his eldest son, and so down. There is hardly a town, or village, throughout the empire but what hath one or more temples erected to his memory, and the place of his residence, which is said to have been in the province Isje, is held so sacred, that, at certain times of the year, people of all ranks and qualities resort thither in pilgrimage. Thus much of this first and fabulous epocha of the Japanese government, of which I have treated more at large in the above mentioned seventh chapter of the first book.

I proceed now to the second and doubtful æra. It is little known what was the state of these countries, and the way of life of the inhabitants, from the beginning of the creation (when, according to the description of that great law-giver Moses, the Supreme Being called this globe of our earth out of nothing, and formed it by his infinite power into a state altogether becoming his divine goodness and wisdom,) to the time of their first monarch Sin Mu Ten Oo, whose reign comes down pretty low, and within 660 years of our Saviour's nativity. It is highly probable, that in those early times they lived up and down the country dispersed in hordes, (as do to this day the Scythian inhabitants of the Great Tartary) separate from the rest of the world by a rocky tempestuous sea, which encompasses their islands, being as yet in a state of nature and freedom, without a settled form of government, and destitute of arts and sciences. The neighbouring empire of China was already grown very powerful, arts and sciences flourished there, and were by the Chinese brought over likewise into Japan. It was owing to this, that the Japanese became in time polite and civilized; and it is not unlikely, that, in imitation of their neighbours, by whom they were imbued with notions of a monarchical government, they submitted with more cheerfulness, when Sin Mu Ten Oo began to reign over them; the rather, as this Prince was descended of a family so much beloved, and esteemed so sacred among them. In the mean time, that so considerable a period of time should not remain empty in their chronological books, they have filled up the vacancy with the names of the most eminent monarchs who, after the demise of Katsurakuki, and the five descendants of his family, sat on the throne of China.

The first Chinese Emperor mentioned in this second æra is Fuki, and with his full title Tai Ko Fuki, (the Chinese pronounce it Fohi.) This Prince had, according to some, the body, and according to others, the head of a serpent, with a most sublime understanding. He discovered the motions of the heavens, and the twelve celestial signs, and divided the time into years and months. He invented, besides, many other useful arts and sciences, and communicated them to the world for the common benefit of mankind. The Chinese make him their first Emperor, and the founder of their monarchy; and many among them pretend, that from his reign down to this present age, they can shew an accurate history of their empire, and a true chronological succession of their Emperors, which before his time had been very doubtful and fabulous.

But if, according to one of my Japanese historians, he began to reign 20,446 years before Synmu, or 21,106 before Christ, that is, many thousand years before the creation, he cannot be allowed a place in this second æra, but ought to be rejected into the first and fabulous one. My other chronological author, with more probability, puts the beginning of his reign in the year before Synmu, 2928, which is the year before Christ 3588, or, according to Petavius, 396 years after the creation. He reigned, according to one author 110, and according to the other 115 years. I think it necessary here to acquaint the reader, that having found the latter author in many instances more accurate, I chose to follow him preferably to the first. The Rev. Father Couplet, in the Preface to his Chronological Tables, puts the beginning of the reign of Fohi in the year before Christ 2953, which comes 520 nearer our Saviour's nativity; being just that space of time during which Xinmu, and the seven descendants of his family, whom he omits, sat on the throne of China.

The second Chinese Emperor was Sin Noo, (the Chinese pronounce it Xin Num, or Sijnum,) and with his full title, Jen Tei Sin Noo Si. Some authors begin the chronology of the Chinese empire with the reign of this Emperor. He came to the throne in the year before Synmu, 2549, which is the year before Christ 3209, or, according to Petavius's chronology, 775 years after the creation. This illustrious Prince, like another Egyptian Serapis, taught mankind agriculture, and those arts which relate to the support of our life. For this reason, he is by some represented with the head of an ox; by others, only with two horns placed on his forehead. He also discovered the virtues of several plants, and communicated them to the world in a treatise he wrote on this subject, which was doubtless the first herbal that ever was written. His picture is held in high esteem among the Chinese. The physicians particularly have it hung up in one of the best apartments of their houses, with a plant or leaf in his mouth, on which he smells. He reigned 140 years, and was succeeded by seven descendants of his family, who reigned 380 years; so that the empire continued in this family 520 years.

After the demise of the last Emperor of the family of Xin Num, Kwo Tei, (or, according to the Chinese, Hoam Ti,) and with his full title Hon Tei Juu Hin Si, came to the crown. The Chinese historians unanimously agree, that this Prince reigned in China. Those who call the existence of the preceding reigns in question, begin the history and chronology of the Chinese empire with the reign of Hoam Ti. He began to reign in the year before Synmu 2029, before Christ 2689, or, according to Father Couplet, whom Dr. Mentzelius accurately follows, 2697. He was but eleven years old when he came to the crown. During his minority the empire was governed by wife and prudent councillors, who took great care to give the young monarch an education becoming so great a Prince, and to instruct him in all the useful arts and sciences then known. The Chinese stand indebted to this Emperor for the art of feeling the pulse, which he learnt himself from his tutors, and afterwards commanded that it should be published to the world. He reigned 100, and lived 111 years. He was succeeded by five descendants of his family, in which the empire continued 313 years.

Of the five Princes, Hoam Ti's successors, Tei Gio, or, according to the Chinese pronunciation, Ti Jao, was the most illustrious. He was a great sefin, that is, a man incomparably well versed in occult arts and sciences. He was also a very virtuous Prince, and a true father of his country. His death was universally lamented by all his subjects, who went into mourning for three years. He came to the crown in the year before Synmu 1697, before Christ 2357. He reigned 72 years, and died under the reign of his successor, in the 118th year of his age. Though he had twelve children,

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ten sons and two daughters, yet he delivered the crown and government of the empire to an honest and wife husbandman, to whom he married his two daughters.

Tei Sjun, otherwife Gu, and according to the Chinese, Ju Ti Sjun, or Ju Ti Xun, was Ti Jao's son-in-law and successor. He reigned eight-and-twenty years with Ti Jao, and thirty-three alone, in all sixty-one. My author puts the beginning of his reign in the year before Synmu, 1634, which is the year before Christ 2294. During his reign a great deluge happened in China, which overflowed many provinces, and drowned great numbers of the inhabitants. The country continued under water in some parts for several years after.

Uu, and with his full title, Katewu, that is, Emperor Uu, of the family Ka, or, as the Chinese pronounce it, Ju of the family Hia, reigned seventeen years with the Emperor Tei Sjun, and ten years after his death, in all twenty-seven years. He was crowned in the year before Synmu 1573, before Christ 2233. This Emperor caused canals and sluices to be cut, to convey the waters, which overflowed great part of China under the reign of his predecessor, down to the sea. By this means deep rivers arose, and the country was freed from the floods. He lived an hundred years, and was succeeded by eleven descendants of his family, who reigned 431 years, so that the crown remained in this family 458 years. The last of this family was famous for his uncommon strength; but he very much tyrannized his subjects, and lived with such a profuseness, that he caused a lake to be dug by two thousand men, and to be filled with Chinese beer. He is said also to have built a tower of gold and precious stones for one of his mistresses. He was deposed and banished in the fifty-second year of his age.

Sioo Sei Too, that is, King Too of the family of Sjo, or, as the Chinese pronounce it, King Tam of the family of Ksjam, came to the crown in the year before Synmu 1106, before Christ 1766, being then eighty-seven years old. He reigned thirteen years, and died in the hundredth year of his age. During his reign there was a great famine in China, which lasted seven years, like that famous Egyptian famine mentioned in holy writ. He was succeeded by twenty-seven Princes of his family, who reigned in all 631 years, so that the empire remained in this family for 644 years. The last Emperor of this family was a great tyrant, for which reason the Princes his subjects raised war and rebellion against him; and having reduced him to great straits, he set fire to his palace, and burnt himself with his family and domestics, leaving the empire to the conqueror.

Siu no Bu O, that is, Emperor Bu of the family of Siu, or, according to the Chinese, Uu Vam of the family Sjeu, who came to the crown 462 years before Synmu, and 1122 before Christ. He reigned seven years, and was succeeded by thirty-seven descendants of his family, in which the empire continued, according to the Japanese histories, 868 years, that is, to the year before Christ 255, and 206 years after Synmu. Under Soowoo, and according to the Chinese pronunciation, Sjoovam, the fourth Emperor of this family, in the twenty-second year of his reign, which was the year before Synmu 367, before Christ 1027, upon the eighth day of the fourth month, was born in India the great heathen prophet Siaka; who for his incomparable qualities was afterwards called Fo, or Fotoge, that is, "the God," and by the Chinese, Sitsjun, that is, "the great and perfect." His doctrine was soon spread by his disciples into several parts of the East Indies. He died seventy-nine years old, in the year before Synmu 289, before Christ 949. Thus far what I had to observe concerning the second, and doubtful era, of the Japanese.

CHAP. X. — *Of the Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperors of Japan in general ; of their Succession, Residence, and Court ; as also of the Chronology of the Japanesè.*

THE third and last epocha of the Japanesè monarchy, which is that of their Oo Dai Sin Oe, or Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperors, begins with the year before Christ 660 ; being the seventeenth year of the reign of the Chinese Emperor Kaiwo, or, as the Chinese pronounce it, Huivam, (who was the seventeenth Emperor of the family of Sjeu). From that time to the year of Christ 1693, one hundred and fourteen Emperors, all of the same family, sat successively on the throne of Japan. They value themselves extremely upon being the eldest branch of the family of Tensio Dai Sin, that most sacred founder of the Japanesè nation, and the lineal issue of his first-born son, and so down. Uncommon respect, and a more than human veneration, is, on this account, paid them by their subjects and countrymen. But before I proceed to the History of their succession, lives, and actions, it will not be amiss to give some preliminary account of their sacred persons, and court ; as also of the chronology of the empire, whereby the succession of the Emperors must be calculated.

And here it must be observed, in the first place, that the Ecclesiastical Hereditary Monarchs, though they are heirs of the throne and government of their divine predecessors, yet they have not inherited the title of Mikotto ; a title which is sacred only to the divine and half divine beings of the first and second succession. They are called Mikaddo, (which is a diminutive of Mikotto,) as also Dai, and Oo, and Kwo and Tai, all which signify an Emperor, a Prince, and great Lord. They are likewise called Tensin, that is, " Sons of Heaven ;" and many more titles of the like nature have been given them. In common conversation they are frequently called Dairi, which name properly denotes their whole court ; on which account also he is sometimes called Kintsiufama, that is, the Head, or Lord of the Ecclesiastical Court. When he speaks of himself he assumes the title of Tsin, and when he signs, that of Maro.

But to come nearer to our purpose. It was about the time mentioned above, that the Japanesè, who had been till then without any settled form of government, either monarchical or other, following a course of life not unlike that of the patriarchs, where the several families lived under the command and authority of their fathers, or else obeyed to the most prudent among themselves ; it was, I say, about that time, they agreed to submit to the government of one Prince. It is not improbable, but that the Chinese, who came over from time to time into Japan, as they were bred up themselves under a monarchical government, had no small share in persuading the Japanesè to prefer the same. In this posture of affairs, surely nobody had a better claim to the supreme power and authority, than a Prince lineally descended of the first-born issue of the family of Tensio Dai Sin, who, by the very law of primogeniture, seemed to be naturally entitled to the sovereignty ascribed to that founder of their nation, whose holiness and virtues he inherited besides.

Even to this day the Princes descended of this family, more particularly those who sit on the throne, are looked upon as persons most holy in themselves, and as Popes by birth. And, in order to preserve these advantageous notions in the minds of their subjects, they are obliged to take an uncommon care of their sacred persons, and to do such things, which, examined according to the customs of other nations, would be thought ridiculous and impertinent. It will not be improper to give a few instances of it. He thinks that it would be very prejudicial to his dignity and holiness to touch the ground with his feet ; for this reason, when he intends to go any where, he must

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be carried thither on men's shoulders. Much less will they suffer, that he should expose his sacred person to the open air, and the sun is not thought worthy to shine on his head. There is such a holiness ascribed to all the parts of his body, that he dares to cut off neither his hair, nor his beard, nor his nails. However, lest he should grow too dirty, they may clean him in the night when he is asleep; because, they say, that what is taken from his body at that time, hath been stolen from him, and that such a theft doth not prejudice his holiness or dignity. In ancient times, he was obliged to sit on the throne for some hours every morning, with the imperial crown on his head, but to sit altogether like a statue, without stirring either hands or feet, head or eyes, nor indeed any part of his body, because, by this means, it was thought that he could preserve peace and tranquillity in his empire; for if, unfortunately, he turned himself on one side or the other, or if he looked a good while towards any part of his dominions, it was apprehended that war, famine, fire, or some other great misfortune was near at hand to desolate the country. But it having been afterwards discovered, that the imperial crown was the palladium, which by its mobility could preserve peace in the empire, it was thought expedient to deliver his imperial person, consecrated only to idleness and pleasures, from this burthenful duty, and therefore the crown is at present placed on the throne for some hours every morning. His victuals must be dressed every time in new pots, and served at table in new dishes: both are very clean and neat, but made only of common clay; that without any considerable expence they may be laid aside, or broke, after they have served once. They are generally broke, for fear they should come into the hands of laymen; for they believe religiously, that if any layman should presume to eat his food out of these sacred dishes, it would swell and inflame his mouth and throat. The like ill effect is dreaded from the Dairi's sacred habits; for they believe that if a layman should wear them, without the Emperor's express leave or command, they would occasion swellings and pains in all parts of his body.

As soon as by the demise of a Mikaddo the throne becomes vacant, he is by the ministry of this ecclesiastical court put into the deceased's place, whom they think the nearest heir, without regard had to age or sex. Hence it is, that often Princes under age, or young unmarried Princesses ascend the throne, and there are also instances, that the deceased Emperor's relief succeeded her husband. If there be several pretenders to the crown, and it doth not appear plainly who it is that hath the nearest title, the difference is adjusted in an amicable way, according to equity, and the supreme power delivered successively to each of them for some years, in proportion to the degree of kindred they bore to the deceased Mikaddo. Sometimes the father resigns the crown successively to one or more of his children, that he, and their mothers, whilst yet alive, may have the pleasure to see them upon the throne, of which perhaps, after their demise, they would stand excluded. All this is done at court with as little trouble as possible; and a Mikaddo may die, or resign, and another be put into his place, without any body's but the court's knowing of it, till the affair is over. However it happened sometimes, that those of the imperial family who thought themselves entitled to the succession, but were excluded, maintained their right by force of arms, endeavouring to turn out the Dairi, whom they thought unlawfully possessed of the throne. Hence arose wars and dissensions very prejudicial to the empire. The Princes of the empire espoused different interests, and these quarrels seldom ended but with the entire destruction of one of the contending parties, followed by a cruel extirpation of whole families.

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The Dairi's whole court is of the family of Tensio Dai sin, and it is on account of a birth so eminent and noble, that they esteem themselves entitled to a far greater degree of respect and deference, than laymen could pretend to. Though they are all descended of one family, yet by degrees they spread out into different branches, and are at present many thousands in number. Some few are provided with abbies, and priories of rich monasteries, founded up and down the empire. But the greatest part of them remain at court, religiously attached to the Dairi's most holy person, of whom they must entirely depend as to their support and maintenance, each according to the office or dignity he is invested with.

At present the Secular Emperor grants the necessary subsidies for the maintenance of the Dairi, and his ecclesiastical court. He hath for this purpose assigned him the whole revenue of the city of Miaco, and all its appurtenances; but because they fell far short of balancing his expences, it hath been agreed, that the deficiencies should be made up out of the Secular Emperor's exchequer: but those allowances are so small, and besides so indifferently paid, that the court can hardly subsist by it; at least, that they cannot make that figure which they did formerly, when the Dairi was himself master of the empire, and had all the revenues at his own disposal. However, they still keep up their former grandeur and magnificence; and it can most truly be said of this court, that it is remarkable for a splendid poverty. The great ones run themselves in debt, and the inferior officers and servants, whose allowances are far from being sufficient to maintain them, must work for their livelihood. Accordingly they make and sell baskets made of straw, (see Chap. I. of the Vth Book,) tables, shoes for men and horses, and other mean things of this nature. The Mikaddo, indeed, though his revenues are but small, in comparison of what they were in former times, yet as he still hath them in his own management, he is sure, in the first place, to take care of himself, and to provide what is requisite to keep up his former splendor, and to satisfy his luxury and profuseness. He is the better able to do this; as one very considerable prerogative of the crown and supreme authority he once enjoyed, hath been still left him by the Secular Monarch, which is the granting of titles of honour to the great men of the empire, their children and relations, which brings in vast treasures into his exchequer. He follows the custom of his predecessors, keeping twelve wives, one of whom, being the mother of the Hereditary Prince or Princess, hath the title of Empress. It would be too tedious to relate all the splendid and pompous ceremonies which are observed upon his marriage; upon the lying-in of the Empress; upon the choosing of a nurse for the heir of the crown, and his education. It is enough to say, that they are great and magnificent beyond expression, and that did all the happiness and welfare of the empire entirely depend upon the birth of this Hereditary Prince, they could not be greater.

There are several eminent dignities that belong to this ecclesiastical court, and its nobility is composed of persons of different ranks and quality. The Mikaddo himself is the fountain of honour. There are, indeed, certain employments annexed to certain titles; but other honours are merely titular, and these are frequently conferred by the Mikaddo on secular persons, on the Princes of the empire, and men of note. This is done either at the recommendation of the Secular Monarch, or at their own desire, upon condition of paying a large sum of money. All the honours and titles are divided into six, I, as they call them, that is ranks or classes. The title of the first class is Dai Seo Dai Sin. The person who is honoured with this title is esteemed so great and sacred, that they believe that his soul becomes a Kami, or god, the moment of her departure from the body. For this reason the Mikaddo keeps it for himself, and

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seldom bestows it on any body. The dignity of Quanbuku belongs likewise to this first class. Quanbuku is the second person of the ecclesiastical court, and the Dairi's vicegerent and prime minister in all affairs relating to the empire. (This title is assumed by the Secular Monarch, or given to the presumptive heir of the crown, and is the same with that of Quabacondono, of which there is so frequent mention made in the letters of the Jesuits.) The following three titles belong to the second I, or rank, Sa Dai Sin, U Dai Sin, and Nai Dai Sin. They are never conferred on more than three persons at court. The Dai Nagon and Tfunagon make up the third rank. These two titles are always annexed to certain employments. The titles which belong to the fourth and fifth I, rank or class, are Seonagon, Tfunagon, Tfiuseo, Seosjo, and Sidfu. Both these classes are very numerous, and again subdivided into several differing ranks. The persons of this class are likewise called Tensio bito, that is, "a heavenly people;" and the whole ecclesiastical court in general assumes the title of Kuge, which signifies as much as Ecclesiastical Lords; and this they do by way of distinction from the Gege, under which name they comprehend all the laity and inferior sort of people, who are not of so holy and so honourable a descent. The titles of the sixth and last class are Tai U, Goi, and many more of less note. All titles and degrees of honour whatsoever are conferred, as I have already observed, by the Mikaddo, and by him alone. When the Secular Monarchs took the government of the empire into their hands, the Dairi reserved to himself, along with the supreme authority, this considerable branch of the imperial prerogatives. Hence, whatever titles the Secular Emperors intend to bestow on their favourites and prime ministers, must be obtained of the Mikaddo. There are chiefly two titles which the Secular Emperor, with the consent of the Dairi, can confer on his prime ministers, and the Princes of the empire, which are Maquandairo and Cami. The first was formerly hereditary, and signifies as much as a Duke or Earl; the second denotes a Knight. It must be observed in this place, that the character which denotes a deified soul, is likewise pronounced Cami, but then it is of a nature quite different from that which expresses the title and honour of knighthood. All the gods and idols of this country in general have the name and character of Cami.

The persons of this ecclesiastical court, among other marks of distinction are clad after a particular fashion, peculiar to themselves, and widely differing from the habits of secular persons, whom they scorn and despise, as being of a mean unholy extraction. There is so much difference even among themselves, as to their habits, that thereby alone it is easily known what rank they are of, or what employment they have at court. They wear long wide breeches and a large gown over them, which is very wide and made after a singular fashion, chiefly about the shoulders, and hath a long train, which they trail after them on the ground. They cover their heads with a black lackered cap, by the different shape and figure of which it is known, among other marks of distinction, what quality they are of, or what places they have at court. Some have a broad band of black crape or silk stitched to their caps, which is either tied up, or hangs down behind their shoulders. Others have a sort of lap, made after the fashion of a fan, standing out before their eyes. Some wear a sort of scarf, or a broad band, which hangs down forwards from their shoulders. The length of this scarf is again different, according to every one's quality or dignity; for it is the custom of this court, that nobody bows down lower, but to reach the floor with the end of his scarf. The women's dress at the court of the Dairi is also very particular and different from that of secular women. But chiefly the Dairi's twelve wives are dressed in as many sumptuous gowns, not lined, interwove with flowers of gold and silver, and withal so large
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and wide, that it is a matter of great difficulty for them to walk, when thus completely dressed.

Studies and learning are the chief amusement of this ecclesiastical court. Not only the Kuge, or courtiers, but even many of the fair sex, have acquired great reputation by their poetical, historical, and other writings. All the almanacks were formerly made at court: but now it is a learned citizen at Miaco that makes them. However they must be examined and approved of at court by persons commissioned for it, who take care that they be sent to Ise, as to a holy place, to be there printed. They are great lovers of music, particularly the women play with great dexterity upon all sorts of musical instruments. Young noblemen divert themselves with riding, running races, fighting, playing at tennis, and such other exercises becoming their quality. I did not enquire whether they act comedies and tragedies at court. But as the Japanese in general are very fond of plays, and will spend a great deal of money upon them, I am inclined to believe these ecclesiastical persons, their gravity and holiness notwithstanding, would not be willingly wanting so agreeable and entertaining, and withal so innocent a diversion.

In former times, when the Dairi was sole master of the country, he resided, with his court, wherever he pleased, honouring with his sacred presence, now this, then another town, or province of his empire, and it seldom happened, that two succeeding Emperors chose the same place to live at. Of late their residence hath been in a manner fixed to Miaco. They are possessed of the north-east part of this large capital, which well deserves the name of a separate town, not only by reason of its great extent, and the number of streets, palaces and houses built within its compass, but also because it is actually separate from Miaco, and defended against the sudden approach of an unexpected enemy, by ditches, walls, ramparts and gates. Mikaddo himself lives about the middle of it, in a large and spacious palace, known from others by the height and magnificence of its tower. His imperial consort lives with him in the same palace, and the palaces of his other wives stand next to his. A little way further are the houses of the lords of the Dairis bed-chamber, and of such other persons, whose offices require a constant and more immediate attendance on his sacred person. If a Mikaddo resigns, a separate palace is assigned to him, to his family and court, as is also another to the hereditary Prince, and to his court. The rest of the streets and houses are divided among the officers of this court, according to their rank and dignity. The Secular Monarch constantly keeps a strong guard of bugios and soldiers at the Dairis court, as it were, out of tenderness and care for the preservation and safety of his sacred person and family, but in fact to put it out of his power ever to attempt the recovery of the throne and the supreme authority which he took from him.

Thus much of the Dairi, his court and government in general. It now remains, before I proceed to the history and succession of the Ecclesiastical Emperors, to lay down some general observations tending to explain the chronology made use of in the same.

The Japanese have two principal æras, or epochas. The first, and also the more common, begins with the reign of their first Emperor Synmu in the year before Christ 660. Consequently the year of Christ 1693, which was the sixth year of Nengo Genrokf, was the 2353 from Synmu. This epoch is by them called Nin O, which properly speaking signifies, "a very great and powerful lord or monarch," and in a more sublime sense, "the very first."

The second epoch made use of in Japan, is called Nengo. It was invented by the Chinese for a greater certainty in chronology, than they thought their common epochs

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would admit of, and it was not introduced in Japan till the reign of the thirty-sixth Emperor. It takes in a period only of a few years, commonly less than twenty, seldom beyond this number. The beginning, as also the proper figure to express it, are determined by the Emperor, which is done commonly in memory of some remarkable accident, or of some considerable alteration in church or state. As the Emperor hath the sole power of instituting them, so he can continue them as long as he pleases. The Japanese character expressing the Nengo, then current, when I was in Japan, the sixth year of which falls in with the year of Christ 1693, was pronounced Genrok, which signifies the "Happiness of Nature and Art," whereby the then reigning Mikaddo alluded to the desirable happiness and tranquillity of a private life, which the late Emperor his father resolved to lead after his resignation of the crown. This epoch is made use of in their almanacks, orders, proclamations, journals, letters and writings. In their printed books, chiefly such as relate to history and chronology, the current year of the epoch Nin O is added to it. It must be observed, that a new Nengo begins always with a new year, though it was ordered and instituted several months before. Sometimes also it happens, that although a new Nengo hath been already begun, yet the years of the preceding Nengo are continued in the title pages of their books, their letters, journals, and so on. This, I take to be owing either to the people's not liking the character expressing the new Nengo, or to its not being as yet known, which is not impossible in an empire of so great an extent. Thus, for instance, the almanacks of the first and second year of the Nengo Genrok were printed with the fifth and the sixth year of the preceding Nengo, Dsiokio, though it was then already expired. In this case however care is taken, that no error, or confusion, should be occasioned in their chronology by such an inadvertency. And for this reason it was, that in the next almanack, which was that of the year of Christ 1695, the third year of the Nengo Genrok then current, was set down accordingly, without any mention made of the two first. The character of a Nengo is composed of two, seldom of more figures, which are, and must be taken out of a particular table composed for this purpose.

There remains still a third epoch, which is likewise made use of in the chronology of the Japanese. This consists of cycles or periods of sixty years, and the Japanese stand indebted for it to the Chinese, as they are also for their Nengos. These sixty years arise from a combination of the Jetta, which are the names of the twelve celestial signs, with the ten names of their elements. The characters of the celestial signs being combined with those of the ten elements five different times, or these six times with the former, there arise sixty compound figures or characters, each of which is taken for a year. When the sixty years are expired a new cyclus is begun, which runs again through all these several combinations. The Japanese use this period of sixty years, the better to ascertain the most remarkable occurrences in church and state, which are recorded in their histories, and are referred under the current year of the cyclus, as well as that of the two other epochs Nin O and Nengo, by which means also they obtain a perpetual harmony between their own history and chronology and that of the Chinese, which this difference however, that whereas the Chinese in their historical writings mention not only the year, but likewise the number of the cyclus wherein such or such things happened, the Japanese on the contrary set down only the year. The cycles of the Japanese are not numbered at all, the reason of which will appear plainly, if we consider the natural pride of this nation, and how far short they would fall, in this particular, of their neighbours the Chinese, who can shew a succession of cyclus's for many centuries before the very foundation of the Japanese monarchy. In the following history, which I propose to give of the succession of the Japanese monarchs, I shall avoid

troubling the reader with all these different epochs, though I thought it requisite to give some preliminary account of them.

The Jetta, or twelve Celestial Signs of the Japanese, are

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| 1. <i>Ne</i> , the Mouse. | 7. <i>Uma</i> , the Horse. |
| 2. <i>Us</i> , the Ox or Cow. | 8. <i>Tsifuse</i> , the Sheep. |
| 3. <i>Torra</i> , the Tiger. | 9. <i>Sar</i> , the Monkey. |
| 4. <i>Ow</i> , the Hare. | 10. <i>Torri</i> , the Cock, or Hen. |
| 5. <i>Tats</i> , the Dragon. | 11. <i>In</i> , the Dog. |
| 6. <i>Mi</i> , the Serpent. | 12. <i>I</i> , the Boar. |

The same names are given, and in the same order, to the twelve hours of the natural day, and to the twelve parts, which every hour is by them divided into, by which means they are able to mention in their histories, with great accuracy, not only what day the most remarkable occurrences happened, but also what hour, and what part of the hour. It must be observed, however, that what they call day, is that interval of time between sun-rise and sun-set, and that the same is divided into six equal parts or hours, as is also the night, from sun-set to sun-rise into six others. Hence it is, that their hours differ in length every day, that in the summer the hours of the day are much longer than those of the night, and shorter on the contrary in the winter.

As to their elements, there are properly speaking but five, and it is only by giving two different names and characters to each of them, that they have raised the number to ten, which was absolutely necessary, because by their combination with the twelve celestial signs, repeated five times, they were to obtain the cyclus of sixty years. The names of their ten elements are,

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| 1. <i>Kino Je</i> , Wood. | 2. <i>Kino To</i> , Wood. |
| 3. <i>Fino Je</i> , Fire. | 4. <i>Fino To</i> , Fire. |
| 5. <i>Tsufno Je</i> , Earth. | 6. <i>Tsufno To</i> , Earth. |
| 7. <i>Kanno Je</i> , Oar. | 8. <i>Kanno To</i> , Oar. |
| 9. <i>Midsno Je</i> , Water. | 10. <i>Midsno To</i> , Water. |

In Tab. XV. hereunto annexed, I have represented the characters of the twelve celestial signs, those of the ten elements, and those of the whole period of sixty years, as they arise from a combination of the former.

The beginning of the Japanese year falls in between the winter solstice and spring equinox, about the fifth of February. But as the Japanese are extremely superstitious in celebrating the day of the new moon, they commonly begin it with the new moon, which immediately precedes or follows the fifth of February. Thus the first year of the *Nengo Genrokf*, which in the cyclus is called *Tsufno Je Tats*, being the year of Christ 1688, began on the second of February, the second of *Genrokf*, in the cyclus *Tsufnoto Mi*, (of Christ 1689) on the twenty-first of January; the third of *Genrokf* in the cyclus *Kano Je Uma*, (of Christ 1690) on the ninth of February; the fourth of *Genrokf*, in the cyclus *Kanoto Tsufuse* (of Christ 1691) on the twenty-first of January; the fifth of *Genrokf*, in the cyclus *Midsno Je Sar*, (of Christ 1692) on the seventeenth of February; and the sixth of *Genrokf*, (of Christ 1693) on the fifth of February. The Japanese have a leap-year every other or third year, or seven leap-years in nineteen common years*.

* For the History of the Ecclesiastical Emperors the learned reader will consult the original work.

CHAP. XI. — *Of the Religions of this Empire in general, and of the Sintos Religion in particular.*

LIBERTY of conscience, so far as it doth not interfere with the interest of the secular government, or affect the peace and tranquillity of the empire, hath been at all times allowed in Japan, as it is in most other countries of Asia. Hence it is, that foreign religions were introduced with ease, and propagated with success, to the great prejudice of that, which was established in the country from remotest antiquity. In this last hundred years there were chiefly four religions, considerable for the number of their adherents, to wit.

1. Sinto, the old religion, or idol-worship, of the Japanese.
2. Buddo, the worship of foreign idols, which were brought over into Japan, from the kingdom of Siam, and the empire of China.
3. Siuto, the doctrine of their moralists and philosophers.
4. Deivus, or Kiristando, is as much as to say, the way of God and Christ, whereby must be understood the Christian religion.

It was owing to the commendable zeal, and the indefatigable care of the Spanish and Portugueze missionaries, particularly the Jesuits, that the Christian religion was first introduced into Japan, and propagated with a success infinitely beyond their expectation, inasmuch, that from the first arrival of the fathers of the society in the province Bongo, which was about the year of Christ 1549, (or six years after the first discovery of Japan,) to the year 1625, or very near 1630, it spread through most provinces of the empire, many of the Princes and Lords openly embracing the same. Considering what a vast progress it had made till then, even amidst the many storms and difficulties it had been exposed to, there was very good reason to hope, that within a short compass of time the whole empire would have been converted to the faith of our Saviour, had not the ambitious views, and impatient endeavours of these fathers, to reap the temporal as well as the spiritual fruits of their care and labour, so provoked the supreme majesty of the empire as to raise against themselves and their converts a persecution, which hath not its parallel in history, whereby the religion they preached, and all those that professed it, were in a few years time entirely exterminated.

Of the three chief religions which now flourish and are tolerated in Japan, the *Sintos* must be considered in the first place, more for its antiquity and long standing, than for the number of its adherents.

Sinto, which is also called Sinsju, and Kamimitsi, is the idol-worship, as of old established in the country. Sin and Kami denote the idols, which are the object of this worship. Jo and Mitsi, is as much as to say, the way or method of worshipping these idols. Siu signifies faith, or religion. Sinsja, and in the plural number Sinsju, are the persons who adhere to this religion.

The more immediate end which the followers of this religion propose to themselves, is a state of happiness in this world. They have indeed some though but obscure and imperfect notions of the immortality of our souls and a future state of bliss, or misery. And yet, as little mindful as they are of what will become of them in that future state, so great is their care and attention to worship those gods, whom they believe to have a peculiar share in the government and management of this world, with a more immediate influence, each according to his functions, over the occurrences and necessities of human life. And although indeed they acknowledge a Supreme Being, which, as they believe, dwells in the highest of heaven, and though they likewise admit of some inferior

gods, whom they place among the stars, yet they do not worship and adore them, nor have they any festival days sacred to them, thinking, *quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*, that beings, which are so much above us, will little concern themselves about our affairs. However, they swear by these superior gods, whose names are constantly inserted in the form of their oath: but they worship and invoke those gods, whom they believe to have the sovereign command of their country, and the supreme direction of its produce, of its elements, water, animals and other things, and who by virtue of this power, can more immediately affect their present condition, and make them either happy or miserable in this life. They are the more attentive in paying a due worship to these divinities, as they seem to be persuaded, that this alone is sufficient to cleanse and to purify their hearts, and that doubtless by their assistance and intercession, they will obtain in the future life rewards proportionable to their behaviour in this. This religion seems to be nearly as ancient as the nation itself. If it is any ways probable, that the first Japanese are descended of the Babylonians, and that, whilst at Babel, they acquired some notions of the true religion, of the creation of the world, and its state before that time, as they are delivered to us in sacred writs, we may upon as good grounds suppose, that by the alteration of their language, and by the troubles and fatigues of so long and tedious a journey, the same were almost entirely worn out of their minds; that upon their arrival in this extremity of the east, they deservedly bore a most profound respect to their leader, who had happily conducted them through so many dangers and difficulties; that after his death they deified him; that in succeeding ages other great men, who had well deserved of their country, either by their prudence and wisdom, or by their courage and heroic actions, were likewise related among their Kami, that is, among the immortal spirits worthy to have divine honours paid them, and that to perpetuate their memory, *mias*, or temples, were in time erected to them. (*Mia*, properly speaking, signifies the house, or dwelling-place of a living soul.) The respect due to these great men became in success of time so universal, that ever since it is thought to be a duty incumbent on every sincere lover of his country, whatever sect otherwise he adheres to, to give public proofs of his veneration and grateful remembrance of their virtues and signal services, by visiting their temples, and bowing to their images, either on such days as are more particularly consecrated to their memory, or on any other proper occasion; provided they be not in a state of impurity, and unfit to approach these holy places. Thus, what was at first intended as a simple act of respect and gratitude, turned by degrees into adoration and worship: superstition at last was carried so far, that the Mikaddos, or Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperors, being lineal descendants of these great heroes, and supposed heirs of their excellent qualities, are looked upon, as soon as they have taken possession of the throne, as true and living images of their Kamis or gods, as Kamis themselves, possessed of such an eminent degree of purity and holiness, that no *Gege* (*Gege* is a vile name, which the *Kuge*, that is, the members of the Emperor's ecclesiastical court give to their countrymen, who are not of the same noble and divine extraction) dare presume to appear in their presence; nay, what is still more, that all the other Kamis or gods of the country are under an obligation to visit him once a year, and to wait upon his sacred person, though in an invisible manner, during the tenth month. They are so far persuaded of the truth of this, that during the said month, which is by them called *Kaminatsuki*, that is, the month without gods, no festival days are celebrated, because the gods are supposed not to be at home in their temples, but at court waiting upon their *Dairi*. This Japanese pope assumes also to himself, the sole power and authority of deifying and canonizing others, if it appears to him that they deserve it, either by

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the apparitions of their souls after their death, or by some miracles wrought by them. In this case the Emperor confers an eminent title upon the new god, or saint, and orders a *mia*, or temple, to be built to his memory, which is done either at his own expence, or by the charitable contributions of pious, well-disposed persons. If afterwards it happens, that those who worship in this temple, and more particularly devote themselves to the new god, prosper in their undertakings, but much more if some extraordinary miracle hath been wrought, seemingly by his power and assistance, it will encourage other people to implore his protection, and by this means the number of his temples and worshippers will quickly encrease. Thus, the number of divinities is augmented every age. But besides all the illustrious men, who from time to time, for their heroic actions or singular piety, have been by the spiritual Emperors related among the divinities of the country, they have another series of gods, of a more ancient date. Of these two successions are mentioned. The first is the succession of the *Tenjin Sitzi Dai*, or seven great celestial spirits, who are said to have existed in the most ancient times of the sun, long before the existence of men and heaven, and to have inhabited the Japanese world (the only country in their opinion then existing) many millions of years. The seventh and last of these great celestial spirits, whose name was *Izanagi*, having carnally known his divine consort *Izanami*, in imitation of what he had observed of the bird *Istatadakki*, begot a second succession of divinities, inferior indeed to the first, but still superior to all those who existed since their time. This second succession is from the number of its chief heads called *Dsi Sin Go Dai*, or the succession of the five terrestrial divinities, who lived and governed the country of Japan a long but limited time. It is needless here to enlarge any further on this head; a full account of the ridiculous and fabulous notions of the Japanese, with regard to these two successions of divinities, having been already given in book I. ch. 7. and book II. ch. 1. I will only add, that the history of the second succession is full of strange and uncommon adventures, knights errant, defeats of giants, dragons and other monsters, which then desolated the country, to the great terror of its semi-divine inhabitants. Many cities and villages in the empire have borrowed their names from some such memorable action, which happened in the neighbourhood. They still preserve, in some of their temples, swords, arms and other warlike instruments, which they look upon as remains of that ancient time, and believe to be the very same which in the hands of these semi-divine heroes proved so destructive and fatal to the disturbers of the peace and tranquillity of the country. Uncommon respect is paid by the adherents of the *Sintos* religion to these sacred relics, which are by some still believed to be animated by the souls of their former possessors. In short, the whole system of the *Sintos* divinity is such a lanie ridiculous contexture of monstrous inconceivable fables, that even those, who have made it their business to study it, are ashamed to own, and to reveal all those impertinences to their own adherents, much less to the *Buddhoists*, and the adherents of other religions. And perhaps it would not have stood its ground so long, had it not been for its close connection with the civil customs, in the observation of which this nation is exceedingly nice and scrupulous. The temples of the *Sintoists* are not attended by priests and ecclesiastical persons, but by laymen, who are generally speaking entirely ignorant of the grounds and reasons of the religion they profess, and wholly unacquainted with the history of the gods whom they worship. Some few, however, there are among the *Sintosju*, or adherents of the *Sintos* religion, chiefly of the order of the *Canusis*, who will now and then make a sermon to the people, and be at some pains in instructing young children. During my stay in Japan, one of these *Canusis* came from *Miaco* to preach at the temple of *Tensj*, and afterwards at that of *Suwa*.
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He made a sermon every day, in order to explain the law, or commandment Nacottomi-notarrai, or Nacottamibarrai; but his sermons, at best, were ill-disposed, confused compositions of romantic and ridiculous stories of their gods and spirits. They will teach their system of divinity to others for a proper consideration, and under an obligation of secrecy; particularly when they come to the last article, which relates to the beginning of all things, they take special care not to reveal the same to their disciples, till he hath obliged himself with an oath signed with his hand and seal, not to profane such sacred and sublime mysteries, by discovering them to the ignorant and incredulous laity. The original text of this mysterious doctrine is contained in the following words taken out of a book, which they call Odaiki; "Kai fakuno fasmine Dsjufio Fuso Tatorjaba Jujono sui soni ukunga Gotosi Tentfjino utfjini lufi butfu wo seofu Katats Igeno gotosi fenquas ste sin to nar kuni toko datfno Mikotto to goos:" that is, "In the beginning of the opening of all things, a chaos floated, as fishes swim in the water for pleasure. Out of this chaos arose a thing like a prickle, moveable and transformable; this thing became a soul or spirit, and this spirit is called Kunitokodatfno Mikotto."

CHAP. XII. — *Of the Sintos Temples, Belief and Worship.*

THE Sinsju, that is, the adherents of the Sintos religion, call their temples, or churches, mia, which word, as I have observed, signifies dwelling places of immortal souls. They come nearest to the fana of the ancient Romans, as they are generally speaking so many lasting monuments erected to the memory of great men. They call them also jafjro, and sia, or finsja, which last takes in the whole court of the mia, with all other buildings and dependencies belonging to the same. The gods, who are the subject of their worship, they call Sin and Cami, which signifies souls or spirits. Sometimes also they honour them with the epithet of Miosin, sublime, illustrious, holy; and Gongen, just, severe, jealous. The adherents of other religions call the convents of their religious men, and the places of their worship, sifia tira, that is, temples, and the gods themselves, which they adore, Fotoge. All other foreign idols, the worship of whom was brought into Japan from beyond sea, are comprehended under one general name of Bofatz, or Budz. The mias, as indeed all convents and religious houses in general, as well of this, as of their other sects, are seated in the pleasantest parts of the country, on the best spots of ground, and commonly within or near great cities, towns, villages and other inhabited places. I will confine myself in this chapter only to the mias of the Sintoists. A broad and spacious walk, planted with rows of fine cypress trees, which grow in the country, and are a tall fine tree, leads strait to the mia, or else to the temple-court, on which there are sometimes several mias standing together, and in this case the walk aforesaid leads directly to that, which is reckoned the chief. The mias are, generally speaking, seated in a pleasant wood, or in the ascent of a fine green hill, and have neat stone stair-cases leading up to them. Next to the highway, at the entry of the walk, which leads to the temple, stands, for distinction's sake from common roads, a particular fashioned gate, called torij, and built either of stone or wood. The structure of these gates is but very mean and simple, they consisting of two perpendicular posts or pillars, with two beams laid across, the uppermost of which is, for ornament's sake, depressed in the middle, the two extremities standing upwards. Between the two cross beams is placed a square table, commonly of stone, whereon is engraved the name of the god, to whom the mia is consecrated, in golden characters. Sometimes such another gate stands before the mia itself, or before the temple-court, if there be several mias built together in one court.

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Not far from the mia is a basin, commonly of stone, and full of water for those who go to worship to wash themselves. Close to the mia stands a great wooden alms-chest. The mia itself is neither a splendid nor a magnificent building, but very mean and simple, commonly quadrangular, and built of wood, the beams being strong and neat. It seldom exceeds twice or thrice a man's height, and two or three fathoms in breadth. It is raised about a yard or upwards, from the ground, being supported by short wooden posts. There is a small walk, or gallery, to go round it, and a few steps lead up to this walk. The frontispiece of the mia is as simple as the rest, consisting only of one or two grated windows, for those that come to worship to look through, and to bow towards the chief place within. It is shut at all times, and often without any body to take care of it. Other mias are somewhat larger, sometimes with an anti-chamber, and two side-rooms, wherein the keepers of the mia sit, in honour of the Kami, richly clad in their fine ecclesiastical gowns. All these several rooms have grated windows and doors, and the floor is covered with curious mats. Generally speaking, three sides of the temple are shut with deal-boards, there being no opening left but in the front. The roof is covered with tiles of stone, or shavings of wood, and jets out on all sides to a considerable distance, to cover the walk, which goes round the temple. It differs from other buildings by its being curiously bent, and composed of several layers of fine wooden beams, which jetting out underneath make it look very singular. At the top of the roof there is sometimes a strong wooden beam, bigger than the rest, laid lengthways, at the extremities of which two other beams stand up, crossing each other; sometimes a third one is laid athwart behind them. This structure is in imitation as well as in memory of the first Isje temple, which though simple, was yet very ingeniously and almost imitantly contrived, so that the weight and connection of these several beams was to keep the whole building standing. Over the temple-door hangs sometimes a wide flat bell, and a strong, long, knotted rope, wherewith those that come to worship, strike the bell, as it were, to give notice to the gods of their presence. This custom, however, is not very ancient, nor did it originally belong to the Sintos religion, for it was borrowed from the Budfdo or foreign idol-worship. Within the temple is hung up white paper, cut into small bits, the intent of which is to make people sensible of the purity of the place. Sometimes a large looking-glass is placed in the middle, for the worshippers to behold themselves, and withal to consider, that as distinctly as the spots of their face appear in the looking-glass, so conspicuous are the secret spots and frauds of their hearts in the eyes of the immortal gods. These temples are very often without any idols, or images of the Kami, to whom they are consecrated. Nor indeed do they keep any images at all in their temples, unless they deserve it on a particular account, either for the reputation and holiness of the carver, or because of some extraordinary miracles wrought by them. In this case a particular box is contrived at the chief and upper end of the temple, opposite to its grated front, and it is called fongu, which is as much as to say, the real, true temple. In this box, which the worshippers bow to, the idol is locked up, and never taken out, but upon the great festival day of the Kami, whom it represents, which is celebrated but once in a hundred years. In the same shrine are likewise locked up what relics they have of the bones, habits, swords, or handy-works of the same god. The chief mia of every place hath one or more mikosi, as they call them, belonging to it, being square, or six, or eight cornered facells, or smaller temples, curiously lacquered, adorned without with gilt cornices, within with looking-glasses, cut white paper, and other ornaments, and hanging on two poles in order to be carried about upon proper occasions, which is done with great pomp and solemnity.

solemnity, when upon the Jennitz, that is, the chief festival-day of the god, to whom the mia itself is consecrated, the Canusi or officers of the temple celebrate the Matsuri, of which more in another place. Sometimes the idol of the Kami, to whom the mia is dedicated, or such of his relics as are there kept, are carried about in these mikosis upon the same solemn occasion. The chief of the Canusis takes them out of the shrine of the temple, where they are kept in curious white boxes, carries them upon his back to the mikosi, and places them backwards into the same, the people in the mean time retiring out of the way, as being too impure and unworthy a race to behold these sacred things. The outside of the mia, or the anti-chamber, and other rooms built close to it, are commonly hung with divers ornaments, scimiters curiously carved, models of ships, images of different sorts, or other uncommon curiosities, affording an agreeable amusement for the idle spectators, who come to view and to worship in these temples upon their holidays. These several ornaments are called jemma, and are generally speaking free gifts to the temple, given by the adherents of this religion, pursuant to vows, which they made, either for themselves, or for their relations and friends, when taken ill of some violent sickness, or labouring under some other misfortunes, and which they afterwards very scrupulously put in execution, both to shew the power of the gods, whose assistance they implored, and their own deep sense of gratitude for the blessings received from them. The same custom is likewise observed by the adherents of the Bosatz, or Budsto religion. Tab. XVII is a view of some of these Santos temples and Mikosi, copied from an original drawing of the Japanese. These mia, or Santos temples are not attended by spiritual persons, but by secular married men, who are called Negi, and Canusi, and Siannin, and are maintained, either by the legacies left by the founder of the mia, or by the subsidies granted them by the Mikaddo, or by the charitable contributions of pious well-disposed persons, who come to worship there. Mikaddo, according to the literal sense of the word, signifies the Sublime Port, Mi being the same with on, goo, oo, gio, high, mighty, illustrious, supreme, sublime, and kado, signifying a port, gate, or door. These Canusis, or secular priests, when they go abroad, are for distinction's sake, clad in large gowns, commonly white, sometimes yellow, sometimes of other colours, made much after the fashion of the Mikaddo's court. However, they wear their common secular dress under these gowns. They shave their beards, but let their hair grow. They wear a stiff, oblong, lacerated cap, in shape not unlike a ship, standing out over their forehead, and tied under their chins with twisted silk strings, from which hang down fringed knots, which are longer or shorter, according to the office or quality of the person that wears them, who is not obliged to bow down lower to persons of a superior rank, but to make the ends of these knots touch the floor. Their superiors have their hair twisted up under a black gauze, or crape, in a very particular manner, and they have their ears covered by a particular sort of a lap, about a span and a half long, and two or three inches broad, standing out by their cheeks, or hanging down, more or less according to the dignities, or honourable titles conferred upon them by the Mikaddo. In spiritual affairs, they are under the absolute jurisdiction of the Mikaddo; but in temporalities, they, and all other ecclesiastical persons in the empire, stand under the command of two Dsi Sin Bugios, as they call them, or imperial temple-judges, appointed by the secular monarch. They are haughty and proud, beyond expression, fancying themselves to be of a far better make, and nobler extraction than other people. When they appear in a secular dress, they wear two scimiters, after the fashion of the noblemen. Though secular persons themselves, yet they think it their duty, and becoming their station, to abstain religiously from all communication and intimacy with the common people. Nay, they carry their scrupulous conceits about

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their own purity and holiness so far, that they avoid conversing, for fear of injuring the same, even with other religious persons, who are not of the same sect. As to this their conduct, however, I must own, that something may be said on their behalf, for as much as this their uncommon carriage, and religious abstinence from all sort of communication with other people, seems to be the best means to conceal their gross ignorance, and the enormity and inconsistency of their system of divinity, which could not but be very much ridiculed, if in conversation the discourse should happen to fall upon religious affairs. For the whole Sintos religion is so mean and simple, that besides a heap of fabulous and romantic stories of their gods, demi-gods and heroes, inconsistent with reason and common sense, their divines have nothing, neither in their sacred books, nor by tradition, wherewithal to satisfy the inquiries of curious persons, about the nature and essence of their gods, about their power and government, about the future state of our soul, and such other essential points, whereof other heathen systems of divinity are not altogether silent. For this reason it was, that when the foreign Pagan Budfdo-religion came to be introduced in Japan, it spread not only quickly, and with surprising success, but soon occasioned a difference and schism even between those, who remained constant and faithful to the religion of their ancestors, by giving birth to two sects, which the Sintoists are now divided into. The first of these sects is called Juitz. The orthodox adherents of this, continued so firm and constant in the religion and customs of their ancestors, that they would not yield in any the least point, how insignificant soever; but they are so very inconsiderable in number, that the Canulis, or priests themselves make up the best part. The other sect is that of the Riobus; these are a sort of syncretists, who for their own satisfaction, and for the sake of a more extensive knowledge in religious matters, particularly with regard to the future state of our souls, endeavoured to reconcile, if possible, the foreign Pagan religion, with that of their ancestors. In order to this they suppose, that the soul of Amida, whom the Budfdoists adore as their Saviour, dwelt by transmigration in the greatest of their gods Ten Sio Dai Sin, the essence, as they call him of light and sun. Most Sintoists confess themselves to this sect. Even the Dairi, or the Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor's whole court, perhaps sensible enough of the falsity and inconsistency of the religion which they profess, and convinced how poor and weak their arguments are, whereby they endeavour to support the almost divine majesty and holiness, which their master arrogates to himself, seem to incline to this syncretism. Nay they have shewn not long ago, that they are no great enemies even to the foreign Pagan worship, for they conferred the arch-bishopric, and the two bishoprics of the Ikosiu, the richest and most numerous sect of the Budfdoists, upon Princes of the imperial blood. The Secular Monarch professes the religion of his forefathers, and pays his respect and duty once a year to the Mikaddo, though at present not in person, as was done formerly, but by a solemn embassy and rich presents. He visits in person the tombs of his imperial predecessors, and frequents also the chief temples, and religious houses, where they are worshipped. When I was in Japan myself, two stately temples were built by order of the Secular Monarch in honour of the Chinese philosopher Koosjuu, or as we call him Confutius, whose philosophy they believe, was communicated to him immediately from Heaven, which same opinion the Greeks formerly had of the philosophy of Socrates. One thing remains worth observing, which is, that many and perhaps the greatest part of those, who in their life-time constantly professed the Sintos religion, and even some of the Sintosjus, or moralists, recommend their souls on their death-bed to the care of the Budfdo clergy, desiring that the namanda might be sung for them, and their bodies burnt and buried, after the manner of the

Buddoists. The adherents of the Sintos religion do not believe the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, although almost universally received by the eastern nations. However, they abstain from killing and eating of those beasts which are serviceable to mankind, thinking it an act of cruelty and ungratefulness. They believe that the souls, after their departure from the bodies, transmigrate to a place of happiness, seated just beneath the thirty-three heavens and dwelling-places of their gods, which, on this account, they call Takamanofarra, which signifies, "high and subcelestial fields;" that the souls of those who have led a good life in this world are admitted without delay, but that the souls of the bad and impious are denied entrance and condemned to err, without a time sufficient to expiate their crimes. This is all they know of a future state of bliss. But besides these Elysian fields, these stations of happiness, they admit no hell, no places of torment, no Cimmerian darkness, no unfortunate state attending our souls in a world to come. Nor do they know of any other devil, but that which they suppose to animate the fox; a very mischievous animal in this country, and so much dreaded, that some are of opinion, that the impious after their death are transformed into foxes; which their priests call Ma, that is, evil spirits.

The chief points of the Sintos religion (and those, the observation whereof its adherents believe, makes them agreeable to the gods, and worthy to obtain from their divine mercy an immediate admission into the stations of happiness after their death, or, what is more commonly aimed at, a train of temporal blessings in this life,) are, 1. The inward purity of the heart. 2. A religious abstinence from whatever makes a man impure. 3. A diligent observation of the solemn festival and holy days. 4. Pilgrimages to the holy places at Ise. Of these, to which by some very religious people is added, 5. Chastising and mortifying their bodies; I proceed now to treat severally.

To begin, therefore, with the inward purity of the heart, the same consists in doing, or omitting those things which they are ordered to do, or to avoid; either by the law of nature, and the dictates of reason, or the more immediate and special command of civil magistrates. The law of external purity, of which more hereafter, is the only one, the observation of which is more strictly recommended to the followers of this religion. They have no other laws given them, neither by divine nor ecclesiastical authority, to direct and to regulate them in their outward behaviour. Hence, it would be but natural to think, that they should abandon themselves to all manner of voluptuousness, and sinful pleasures, and allow themselves without restraint, whatever can gratify their wishes and desires, as being free from fear of acting contrary to the will of the gods, and little apprehensive of the effects of their anger and displeasure. And this, perhaps, would be the miserable case of a nation in this condition, were it not for a more powerful ruler within their hearts, natural reason, which here exerts itself with full force, and is of itself capable enough to restrain from indulging their vices, and to win over to the dominion of virtue, all those that will but hearken to its dictates. But besides, the civil magistrates have taken sufficient care to supply what is wanting on this head; for, by their authority, there are very severe laws now in force against all sorts of crimes and misdemeanors. And certainly the Japanese nation, considered in the main, makes it evident, that the dictates of natural reason, and the laws of civil magistrates, are sure guides enough to all those that will lead a good and virtuous life, and preserve their hearts in a state of purity.

But as to the external purity, the observance whereof, though less material in itself, hath yet been more strictly commanded, it consists in abstaining from blood; from eating of flesh, and from dead bodies. Those who have rendered themselves impure by any of these things, are thereby disabled from going to the temples; from visiting holy places, and in general from appearing in presence of the gods. Whoever is stained with

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with his own, or other blood, is fusio for seven days, that is, impure and unfit to approach holy places. If, in building a mia, or temple, one of the workmen should happen to be hurt, so as to bleed in any part of his body, it is reckoned a very great misfortune, and such a one as makes him altogether incapable to work for the future that sacred building. If the same accident should happen in building or repairing any of the temples of Tenjo Dai Sin at Isje, the misfortune doth not affect the workman alone, but the temple itself must be pulled down, and rebuilt anew. No woman may come to the temple whilst she hath her monthly terms. It is commonly believed, that in their holy pilgrimages to Isje, the monthly terms do for that time entirely cease, which, if true, must be owing either to the fatigues of a long and tedious journey, or to their taking great pains to conceal it, for fear their labour and expences should thereby become usefess. Whoever eats the flesh of any four-footed beast, deer only excepted, is fusio for thirty days. On the contrary, whoever eats a fowl, wild or tame, water fowls, pheasants, and cranes excepted, is fusio but a Japanese hour, which is equal to two of ours. Whoever kills a beast, or is present at an execution, or attends a dying person, or comes into a house where a dead body lies, is fusio that day. But of all the things which makes us impure, none is reckoned so very contagious as the death of parents and near relations. The nearer you are related to the dead person, so much the greater the impurity is. All ceremonies which are to be observed on this occasion, the time of mourning, and the like, are determined by this rule. By not observing these precepts, people make themselves guilty of external impurity, which is detested by the gods, and become unfit to approach their temples. Over scrupulous people, who would be looked upon as great faints, strain things still further, and fancy that even the impurities of others will affect them in three different ways, viz. by the eyes, which see impure things; by the mouth, which speaks of them; and by the ears, which hear them. These three ways to sin and impurity are represented by the emblem of three monkies sitting at the feet of Dsjso, and shutting with their fore-feet, one both his eyes, the other his mouth, the third his ears. This emblem is to be seen in most temples of the Budsoists, of whom it hath been borrowed. We found it also in several places upon the highway. An acquaintance of mine at Nagafaki, was so exceedingly nice and scrupulous on this head, that when he received but a visit of one, whom he had reason to suspect of being a fusio, he caused his house to be washed and cleaned with water and salt from top to bottom, and yet, all this superstitious care notwithstanding, the wiser of his countrymen look upon him as a downright hypocrite.

CHAP. XIII. -- *Of the Sintos Rebi, that is, their fortunate Days and Holidays; and the Celebration thereof.*

THE celebration of solemn festivals and holidays, which is the third essential point of the Sintos religion, consists in what they call Majiru; that is, in going to the mias and temples of the gods and deceased great men. This may be done at any time, but ought not to be neglected on those days which are particularly consecrated to their worship, unless the faithful be in a state of impurity, and not duly qualified to appear in the presence of the immortal gods, who detest all uncleanness. Scrupulous adorers carry things still further, and think it unbecoming to appear in the presence of the gods, even when the thoughts, or memory of their misfortunes, possess their mind. For, as these immortal beings dwell in an uninterrupted state of bliss and happiness, such objects, it is thought, would be offensive and displeasing to them, as the addresses and supplications of people, whose hearts, the very inmost of which is laid open to their

penetrating sight, labour under deep sorrow and affliction. They perform their devotions at the temples in the following manner: the worshippers having first washed and cleaned themselves, put on the very best cloaths they have, with a kamifijino, as they call it, or a garment of ceremony, every one according to his ability. Thus clad, they walk with a composed and grave countenance to the temple-court, and in the first place, to the basin of water, there to wash their hands, if needful, for which purpose a pail is hung by the side of it; then casting down their eyes, they move on, with great reverence and submission, towards the mia itself; and having got up the few steps which lead to the mia round the temple, and are placed opposite to the grated windows of the mia, and the looking-glass within, they fall down upon their knees, bow their head quite to the ground, slowly and with great humility; then lift it up again, still kneeling and turning their eyes towards the looking-glass, make a short prayer, wherein they expose to the gods their desires and necessities, or say a takamano farokami jodomari, and then throw some putjes, or small pieces of money, by way of an offering to the gods and charity to the priests, either through the grates upon the floor of the mia, or into the *abura-ban*, which stands close by: all this being done, they strike thrice the bell, which is hung up over the door of the mia, for the diversion of the gods, whom they believe to be highly delighted with the sound of musical instruments; and so retire to divert themselves the remaining part of the day, with walking, exercising, eating or drinking, and treating one another in the very best manner they can. This plain and simple act of devotion, which may be repeated at any time, even when they are not clad in their best cloaths, is on the solemn festivals performed by all the Sintos worshippers, at the temples of one or more gods, whom they more peculiarly confide in, either for being the patrons of the profession they follow, or because otherwise they have it in their power to assist and to forward them in their private undertakings. They have no settled rites and church ceremonies; no beads, nor any stated forms of prayers. Every one is at liberty to set forth his necessities to the gods, in what words, and after what manner he pleases. Nay, there are among them, who think it needless to do it in any at all, upon a supposition, that the very inmost of their hearts, all their thoughts, wishes and desires, are so fully known to the immortal gods, as distinctly their faces are seen in the looking-glass. Nor is it in the least requisite, that, by any particular mortification of their bodies, or other act of devotion, they should prepare themselves worthily to celebrate their festival days, ordinary or extraordinary, or the days of commemoration of their deceased parents, or nearest relations. Even on those days which are more particularly consecrated to commemorate the death of their parents, and which they observe very religiously, they may eat or drink any thing they please, provided it be not otherwise contrary to the customs of the country. It is observable in general, that their festivals and holidays are days sacred rather to mutual compliments and civilities, than to acts of holiness and devotion; for which reason also they call them *rebis*, which implies as much as visiting-days. It is true, indeed, that they think it a duty incumbent on them, on those days, to go to the temple of *Tensio Daifin*, the first and principal object of their worship, and the temples of their other gods and deceased great men. And, although they are scrupulous enough in the observance of this duty, yet the best part of their time is spent with visiting and complimenting their superiors, friends and relations. Their feasts, weddings, audiences, great entertainments, and in general all manner of public and private rejoicings, are made on these days, preferably to others; not only because they are then more at leisure, but chiefly because they fancy that their gods themselves are very much delighted, when men allow themselves reasonable pleasures and diversions. All their

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rebi, or holidays in general, are unmoveable, and fixed to certain days. Some are monthly, others yearly; both which I proceed now more particularly to enumerate.

The monthly holidays are three in number. The first is called *Tsitatz*, and is the first day of each month. It deserves rather to be called a day of compliments and mutual civilities, than a church or Sunday. The Japanese on this day rise early in the morning, and pass their time going from house to house to see their superiors, friends, and relations; to pay their respects and compliments to them; and to wish them medito, or joy on the happy return of the new-moon. The remainder of the day is spent about the temples, and in other pleasant places where there is agreeable walking. Some divert themselves with drinking of *soccana*, a sort of liquor peculiar to this country. Others pass the afternoon in company with women. In short, every one follows that day what pleasures and diversion he likes best. And this custom is grown so universal, that not only the Sintoists, but the Japanese in general, of all ranks and religions, observe it as a custom derived down to them from their ancestors, and worthy, were it but on this sole account, that some regard should be paid to it.

The second monthly holiday is the fifteenth of each month, being the day of the full moon. The gods of the country have a greater share in the visits the Japanese make on this day, than their friends and relations.

Their third monthly holiday is the twenty-eighth of each month, being the day before the new moon, or the last day of the decreasing moon. Not near so much regard is had to this, than there is to either of the two former; and the Sintos temples are very little crowded on it. There is a greater concourse of people on this day at the *Buddo's* temples, it being one of the monthly holidays sacred to *Amida*.

They have five great yearly *rebi*, or *seki*, that is, festivals or holidays; which, from their number, are called *goseki*, that is, the five solemn festivals. They are purposely laid upon those days which, by reason of their imparity, are judged to be the most unfortunate; and they have also borrowed their names from thence. They are, 1. *Songuatz*, or the new-year's day. 2. *Sanguatz fannitz*, the third day of the third month. 3. *Goguatz gonitz*, the fifth day of the fifth month. 4. *Sitiguatz fanuka*, the seventh day of the seventh month; and, 5. *Kuguatz kunitz*, the ninth day of the ninth month.

These five great yearly festivals are again little else but *festa politica*, days of universal rejoicings. It hath been already observed, that they were by their ancestors purposely and prudently appointed to be celebrated on those days, which were judged by their imparity to be the most unfortunate; and this, in order to divert their camis, or gods, by their universal mirth, and by their wishing of joy and happiness to each other to decline and to avoid all unhappy accidents that might otherwise befall them: on this account also, and because of their being days sacred not so much to the worship of their gods as to joy and pleasure, they are celebrated indifferently, not only by the Sintoists, but by the generality of the Japanese, whatever sect or religion they otherwise adhere to.

But to take them into a more particular consideration, I will begin with the *Songuatz*, or new-year's-day, which is celebrated in Japan with the utmost solemnity, preferably to all other holidays. The main business of the day consists in visiting and complimenting each other on the happy beginning of the new year; in eating and drinking; and going to the temples, which some do to worship, but far the greater part for pleasure and diversion. Whoever is able to stir, gets up betimes in the morning, puts on his best cloaths, and repairs to the houses of his patrons, friends, and relations, to whom he makes, with a low bow, his medito, as they call it, or compliment suitable to the occasion,

occasion, and at the same time presents them with a box, wherein are contained two or three fans, with a piece of the dried flesh of the awabi, or *auris marina*, tied to them, and his name writ upon the box, for the information of the person to whom the present is made, in case he should not be at home, or not at leisure to receive company. The piece of the awabi flesh in particular, is intended to remind them of the frugality, as well as the poverty of their ancestors, who lived chiefly upon the flesh of this shell, and to make them sensible of their present happiness and plenty. In houses of people of quality, where a number of visitors on such days must needs be very considerable, they keep a man on purpose, waiting at the entry of the house, or in one of the lowermost apartments, to receive both the compliments and presents that are made that day; and to set down in writing the names of the persons who came to wait upon his master, and what presents they brought along with them. The forenoon being thus spent, and by repeated draughts of strong liquors, which they are presented with in several places, a good foundation laid for the ensuing frolic, they crown the solemnity of the day with a plentiful dinner, which is commonly provided by the head or chief of the family. This visiting and rambling about from place to place, lasts three days, but the eating and drinking, and treating one another, is not discontinued for the whole month. The first three or four days every thing is provided for in plenty, and every one clad as elegantly and handsomely as his abilities will allow. Even poor labouring people, on this occasion, wear a *camisjino*, as they call it, or a garment of ceremony, with a scimiter stuck in their girdle. If they have none of their own, they borrow them of other people, for fear of being excluded from honest companies, and deprived of their share in the universal mirth and pleasure. Some few go to perform their devotions at the temples, particularly that of *Tensio Dai Sin*.

The second *sekk*, or great yearly festival, is called *Sanguatz Sannitz*, because of its being celebrated on the third day of the third month. On this also, after the usual compliments and visits, which friends and relations pay one to another, and inferiors to their superiors, every one diverts himself in the best manner he can. The season of the year; the beginning of the spring; the trees, chiefly plum, cherry, and apricot-trees, which are then in full blossom, and loaded with numberless white and incarnate flowers, single and double, and no less remarkable for their largeness and plenty than for their singular beauty, invite every body to take the diversion of the country, and to behold Nature in her new and inimitable dress. But this same festival is besides a day of pleasure and diversion for young girls, for whose sake a great entertainment is commonly prepared by their parents, whereto they invite their nearest relations and friends. A large and spacious apartment is curiously adorned with puppets to a considerable value, which are to represent the court of the *Dairi*, or Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor, with the person of *Finakuge*. A table with Japanese victuals is placed before each puppet, and, among other things, cakes made of rice and the leaves of young mugwort. These victuals, and a dish of *faki*, the guests are presented with by the girls, for whose diversion the entertainment is intended, or, if they be too young, by their parents. The following story gave birth to this custom: A rich man, who lived near *Riufagava*, which is as much as to say the Bird-River, had a daughter called *Bunsjo*, who was married to one *Symmios Dai Miofin*. Not having any children by her husband for many years, she very earnestly addressed herself in her prayers to the *camis*, or gods of the country, and this with so much success, that soon after she found herself big, and was brought to bed of five hundred eggs. The poor woman extremely surpris'd at this extraordinary accident, and full of fear, that the eggs, if hatched, would produce monstrous animals, packed them all up into a box, and threw them

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into the river Riufagava, with this precaution however, that she wrote the word, fosjoro, upon the box. Sometime after an old fisherman, who lived a good way down the river, found this box floating, took it up, and having found it full of eggs, he carried them home to present them to his wife, who was of opinion that there could not be any thing extraordinary in them, and that certainly they had been thrown into the water for some good reason, and therefore she advised him to carry them back, where he found them. But the old man replied: "We are both old, (said he) my dear, and just on the brink of the grave, it will be a matter of very little consequence to us whatever comes out of the eggs, and therefore I have a mind to hatch them, and to see what they will produce." Accordingly he hatched them in an oven, in hot sand, and between cushions, as the way is in the Indies; and having afterwards opened them, they found in every one a child. To keep such a number of children proved a very heavy burthen for this old couple. However they made a shift, and bred them up with mugwort-leaves minced, and boiled rice. But in time they grew so big, that the old man and his wife could not maintain them any longer, so that they were necessitated to shift for themselves, as well as they could, and took to robbing on the highway. Among other projects, it was proposed to them to go up the river to the house of a rich man, who was very famous for his great wealth in that part of the country. As good luck would have it, this house proved to be that of their mother. Upon application made at the door, one of the servants asked what their names were; to which they answered, that they had no names; that they were a brood of five hundred eggs; that mere want and necessity had obliged them to call; and that they would go about their business, if they would be so charitable as to give them some victuals. The servant having brought the message in to his lady, she sent him back to enquire, whether there had not been something writ upon the box in which the eggs had been found; and being answered, that the word fosjoro was found writ upon it, she could then no longer doubt, but that they all were her children; and accordingly acknowledged and received them as such, and made a great entertainment, whereat every one of the guests was presented with a dish of sokana, cakes of mugwort and rice, and a branch of the apricot-tree. This is the reason they give, why, on this festival, branches of apricot-trees are laid over the kettle, and cakes made of mugwort and rice, which they call fufumotzi, that is, mugwort-cakes, and prepared after the following manner: the mugwort-leaves are soaked in water over night, then pressed, dried and reduced to powder, afterwards mixed with rice, which hath been boiled in water, then again reduced to powder and mixed with boiled rice and either black or red beans grossly powdered, and so baked into cakes. The mother of these children was afterwards related among the goddesses of the country, by the name of Fosjoro. They believe that she is waited upon in the happy regions of the earth, by her five hundred sons; and they worship her as the goddess of riches.

The third seku, or yearly festival, is Goguatz-Gonz, on the fifth day of the fifth month. It is also called Tangono Seku, and is much of the same nature with the last; with this difference only, that it is intended chiefly for the diversion of young boys, who in this, as well as in other countries, neglect no opportunity to make a holiday, and to play about. The inhabitants of Nagasaki divert themselves on the water on this and some following days, rowing up and down in their boats, which are for this purpose curiously adorned; and crying, according to the custom of the Chinese, Peiruun, Peiruun. Mugwort-leaves are put upon the roofs and over the doors of their houses. It is commonly believed, that the mugwort gathered about this time of the year, and particularly on these holidays, makes the best and strongest moxa, when three or four
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years old. This festival owes its origin to the history of Peiruun, a King of the island Manrigafima, of whom, and the tragical destruction of this once rich and flourishing island, I have given a large account in my *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, fasc. iii. sect. 13. whereto I refer the reader. (See the history of the Tea, in the Appendix.) It began to be celebrated at Nagasaki, by the Foktsui people, who introduced it at first among the young boys, and kept it for some time, before elderly and grave people would conform themselves to the custom. It is said, that at the place where the island stood, some remains of it do still appear in low-water. The very best earth for porcelain-ware is found at the same place, and sometimes entire vessels of a fine, thin, greenish, old China are taken up by the divers, which the Japanese have a very great value for, both for their antiquity and for the good quality, which it is said they have, not only to preserve tea a long while, but even to restore old tea which begins to decay, to its former strength and goodness.

The fourth great yearly festival is called Siffiguatz Nanuka, because of its being celebrated on the seventh day of the seventh month. They give it also the name of Siffeki Tanabatta, which implies as much, and Tanomunofeku, which is as much as to say an auxiliar festival. The usual pleasures and diversions consisting in visiting one another, in eating and drinking, are followed on this day with the same freedom as on other solemn days. The school-boys in particular, among various sorts of plays, erect poles or posts of bamboos, and tie verses of their own making to them, to shew their application and progress at school.

The fifth and last of the great yearly festivals is Kunitz, or Kuguatz Kokonok, so called because of its being celebrated on the ninth day of the ninth month. Drinking is the favourite diversion on this festival, though without prejudice to other their usual rejoicings. No expences are spared to provide victuals and good liquors in plenty, every one according to his ability. The joy and mirth is universal. Neighbours treat one another by turns that and some following days. Not even strangers and unknown persons are suffered to pass by without being invited to make merry with the company. In short, one would imagine that the Bacchanals of the Romans had been brought over into Japan, and established there. At Nagasaki the solemnity is so much the greater, as the festival of Suwa, formerly a renowned hunter, and now god and protector of hunting, luckily happens to fall upon this same day. All sorts of diversions and public shows, dancing, plays, processions, and the like, (which they call matsuri, or an offering, and matsurn, that is, making an offering,) so greatly divert and amuse the people, that many chuse rather to lose their dinner than to give over sauntering and staring about the streets till late at night.

But besides these five great yearly festivals, there are many more holidays observed in Japan, of less note indeed, and sacred to particular gods and idols, in whose honour they are celebrated, either universally and throughout the empire, or only in such particular places, which in a more peculiar manner acknowledge their favour and protection. It would be needless, and almost endless to mention them all: however, to give some satisfaction to my reader, I will confine myself to some of the most eminent. But before I proceed, I must beg leave to observe, that, for the major part, they are not of so great antiquity and long standing as the great yearly festivals mentioned above, but of a later date, and instituted at different times in honour and memory of some of their Emperors, and other great men, who had either in their lifetime done signal services to their country, or by their apparitions after their death, by extraordinary miracles wrought by them, and by their powerful assistance in private undertakings convinced their countrymen, that having been transported into the regions of immortal

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spirits, they had no small share in the government of this world, and were worthy on this account, to have divine worship paid them.

Tensio Dai Sin is the supreme of all the gods of the Japanese, and acknowledged as patron and protector of the whole empire. His annual festival falls upon the sixteenth day of the ninth month, and is celebrated in all cities and villages throughout the empire, among other things, with solemn matsumis, as they call them, or processions and public shows in honour, and often in presence of his idol and priests. It is a custom which obtains in all cities and villages, to have two such matsumis celebrated every year with great pomp and solemnity in honour of that god, to whose more particular care and protection they have devoted themselves. As to Tensio Dai Sin, besides his great yearly festival, which is on the sixteenth day of the ninth month, the sixteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-sixth days of every month are likewise sacred to him, but not celebrated with any great solemnity.

The ninth (common people add the nineteenth and twenty-ninth) of every month are sacred to Suwa. All lovers of hunting, and such persons as recommend themselves to Suwa's more immediate protection, never fail on these days to pay their duty and worship to him at his temples. His annual festival is celebrated with more than ordinary pomp and solemnity, on the ninth day of the sixth month. The canuiss on this day make all those that come to worship at Suwa's temples creep through a circle, or hoop, made of bamboos, and wound about with linen, in memory of a certain accident, which is said to have happened to the saint in his life-time. But the greatest of his yearly festivals is celebrated at Nagasaki on the ninth day of the ninth month. This city hath a particular veneration for Suwa; and the matsumis, and other public and private rejoicings made on this occasion, last three days successively.

Tensin hath two yearly festivals, one on the twenty-fifth day of the second month, the other on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month, which last is celebrated with much greater solemnity than the first. His chief temple is at Saif, the place of his banishment. He hath another at Miaco, where he manifested himself by many miracles. His adorers resort in pilgrimage to these two places from all parts of the empire, chiefly on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month. He hath also a private monthly holiday, every twenty-fifth day of the month.

The festival of Fatzman, a brother of Tensio Dai Sin, is likewise celebrated on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month. He was in his lifetime called Oofin, and was the sixteenth Emperor of Japan.

The festival of Mori Saki Dai Gongen, is on the eleventh day of the third month. Simios Dai Miofin. Sitenno.

Gotfutenno, or Giwon, hath his festival at Nangasaki, on the fifteenth day of the sixth month. His monthly holiday is the same with Fatzman's, but little regarded.

Inari Dai Miofin, is the great god of the foxes. His yearly festival is on the eighth day of the eleventh month, and his monthly holiday every eighth day of the month.

Idsumo no O Jafiro, that is, O Jafiro of the province Idsumo, is another god, for whom they have a great respect. Amongst several glorious exploits he killed a mischievous terrible dragon. He is called also Osjuwo ni no Mikotto.

Kassino Dai Miofin. She was Empress of Japan, and in her life-time called Singukoga. Bensaiten. Her festival is on the seventh day of the eighth month. The history of this goddess is amply described at the beginning of this chapter.

Kumano Gongen. Naniwa Takakuno Mai Kokfirano Dai Miofin was the seventeenth Emperor of Japan, and in his life time called Nintoku.

Atkanô Dai Miofin, was the twenty-seventh Emperor of Japan, and when alive called Kei Tei.

Kimbo Senno-Gogin, was in his life time called Ankan, and was the twenty-eighth Emperor of Japan.

The merchants worship and devote themselves in a more peculiar manner to the four following gods, as gods of fortune and prosperity. 1. Jebisu was Tensio Daifin's brother, but by him disgraced and banished into an uninhabited island. It is said of him, that he could live two or three days under water. He is, as it were, the Neptune of the country, and the protector of fishermen, and sea faring-people. They represent him sitting on a rock, with an angling-rod in one hand, or the celebrated fish tai, or steenbrassem in the other. 2. Daikoku, is said to have the power, that wherever he knocks with his hammer, he can fetch out from thence any thing he wants, as for instance, rice, victuals, cloth, money, &c. He is commonly represented sitting on a bale of rice, with his fortunate hammer in his right hand, and a bag laid by him, to put up what he knocks out. 3. Toffitoku, and by some called Kurokufi. The Japanese worship him at the beginning of the new year, in order to obtain from his assistance, success and prosperity in their undertakings. He is represented standing clad in a large gown with long sleeves, with a long beard, a huge monstrous forehead, and large ears, and a fan in his right hand. 4. Fottei, by some called Miroku, is represented with a great huge belly. His worshippers expect from his benevolent assistance, among other good things, health, riches, and children.

These are the greatest of their gods, and the festival-days sacred to them. There are many more fairs and great men, whose memory is celebrated on particular days, because of their noble actions, and great services done to their country. But as they are confined to particular places, being called the fairs of such or such a place, and besides, as they were never canonized by the Mikaddo, who alone can make fairs, nor honoured with an okurina, as they call it, or illustrious title, which is usually given to new gods and fairs, I did not think it worth while to make any enquiries about them.

— Thus far, what an attentive traveller can learn in the country, concerning the Sintos religion, and the gods, who are the objects of its worship. A more extensive and accurate account of both is contained in two Japanese books, one of which is called Nippon Odaiki, being an historical and chronological account of their Kintsju, or great men, and their memorable actions; the other Sin Dai Ki, that is, the history and actions of their great gods.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of the Sanga or Pilgrimage to Isje.*

THE Japanese are very much addicted to pilgrimages. They make several, and to different places. The first and chief goes to Isje, the second to the thirty-three chief Quanwon temples of the empire, the third to some of the most eminent Sin, or Kami, and Fotoge or Buds temples, famous for the great miracles wrought there, and the help and benefit pilgrims found by going to worship there; such are for instance, Nikotira, that is, the Temple of the Splendor of the Sun, in the province Osju, some temples of Fatzman, some temples of the great teacher Jakufi, and some more, whereof every one is at liberty to choose, which he likes best, or which it best suits his convenience to resort to. A true orthodox Sintoist visits no other temples in pilgrimage, but those of his own gods, and the temple Saif, in Tssikufen, where Tensin died. It may not be amiss to observe in general, that of the three several sorts of pilgrimages mentioned

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mentioned above, the last are made indifferently, by the Sintoists as well as the Bud-
doists, with this difference, however, that every one goes only to those temples, and
worships only those gods, whom his religion commands him to worship. The second,
which is the pilgrimage to the thirty three Quanwon temples, is peculiar to neither of
these two religions, but made indifferently by the adherents of both, and looked upon
by the generality of the Japanese as a sure means to obtain happiness in this world, and
bliss in that to come. But the first of all, which is made to Isje, I propose to take
into a more particular consideration in this chapter.

Sanga, in the literal sense of the word, is as much as to say, the Ascent, or going
up the temple, and must be understood only of this most eminent temple of Tensio
Dai Sin, or Tensio ko Dai Sin, that is according to the literal signification of these
words, The great Hereditary Imperial God of the Celestial Generation. This Tensio
Dai Sin, is the greatest of all the gods of the Japanese, and the first and chief object
of the Sintos worship, on which account also his temple is called Dai Singu, that is,
the Temple of the great God, for Dai signifies great Sin, and Cami, a god, a spirit, or
immortal soul, and Gu in conjunction with these words, a mia, that is, a temple, or
holy building erected in honour and memory of a god, or immortal spirit. The com-
mon people call it Isje Mia, or the temple of Isje, from a province of that name,
wherein it stands. A particular and extraordinary holiness is ascribed to this province,
because Tensio Dai Sin was born, lived and died there, whence also they derive the
name Isje.

This temple, according to the account of those that have been to see it, is seated in
a large plain, and is a sorry low building of wood, covered with a low, flatish, thatched
roof. Particular care is taken to preserve it as it was built originally, that it should
be a standing monument of the extreme poverty and indigence of their ancestors and
founders of the temple, or the first men, as they call them. In the middle of the
temple is nothing else but a looking-glass, cast of metal, and polished, according to the
fashion of the country, and some cut paper is hung round the walls; the looking-glass
is placed there, as an emblem of the all seeing eye of this great god, and the knowledge
he hath of what passes in the inmost heart of his worshippers; the white cut paper is
to represent the purity of the place, and to put his adorers in mind, that they ought
not to appear before him, but with a pure unspotted heart and clean body. This prin-
cipal temple is surrounded with near an hundred small chapels, built in honour of
other inferior gods, which have little else of a temple but the mere shape, being for
the greatest part so low and small, that a man can scarce stand upright in them. Each
of these chapels is attended by a Canusi, or secular priest of the Sintos religion. Next
to the temples and chapels live multitudes of Nege, Lords or officers of the Temple, and
Tajje, as they also style themselves, that is Evangelists or Messengers of the Gods, who
keep houses and lodgings to accommodate travellers and pilgrims. Not far off lies a town,
or rather a large borough, which bears the same name with the temple, and is inha-
bited by inn-keepers, printers, paper-makers, book-binders, cabinet-makers, joiners,
and such other workmen, whose business and profession are any ways related to the
holy trade carried on at this place.

Orthodox Sintoists go in pilgrimage to Isje once a year, or at least once in their life.
Nay, it is thought a duty incumbent on every true patriot, whatever sect or religion he
otherwise adheres to, and a public mark of respect and gratitude, which every one
ought to pay to Tensio Dai Sin, if not, as to the god and protector of the nation, at
least, as to its founder and first parent. But besides that they look upon it as a duty,
there are many considerable advantages, which, as they believe, accrue to those that

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visit in pilgrimage these holy places, such as for instance, absolution and delivery from sin, assurances of a happy state in the world to come, health, riches, dignities, children, and other temporal blessings in this life. To keep up the superstitious vulgar in these advantageous notions, every pilgrim is presented by the Canons, for a small consideration, with an ofarrai, as they call it, that is, a great purification, being as it were, a public and undoubted instrument of the absolution and remission of their sins, infused to themselves by his holy act. But as many people are not able to fetch them at Isje in person, by reason either of sickness, and old age, or because of their employments, attendance upon their Prince, or for some such other weighty cause, care is taken not to let them want so great and singular a benefit, but to provide them at home. Many of the Buddhoists resort in pilgrimage to this place, at least once, if not oftener, in their life, were it but in order to get the reputation of a true patriot amongst their countrymen. But still there are very many who stay at home, and think it sufficient for the ease and quietness of their conscience, besides the yearly indulgences of their own priests, to purchase the ofarrais from Isje, great quantities whereof are sent yearly to all parts of the empire.

This pilgrimage is made at all times of the year, but the greatest concourse of people is in the three first months (March, April, and May,) when the season of the year, and the good weather, make the journey very agreeable and pleasant. Persons of all ranks and qualities, rich and poor, old and young, men and women, resort thither, the lords only of the highest quality, and the most potent Princes of the empire excepted, who seldom appear there in person. An embassy from the Emperor is sent there once every year, in the first month, at which time also another with rich presents goes to Miaco, to the Ecclesiastical Hereditary Monarch. Most of the Princes of the empire follow the Emperor's example. As to the pilgrims, who go there in person, every one is at liberty to make the journey in what manner he pleases. Able people do it at their own expence in litters, or on horseback, with a retinue suitable to their quality. Poor people go a foot, living upon charity which they beg along the road. They carry their bed along with them upon their back, being a straw-mat rolled up, and have a pilgrim's staff in their hands, and a pail hung by their girdle, out of which they drink, and wherein they receive people's charity, pulling off their hats much after the European manner. Their hats are very large, twisted of split reeds. Generally speaking, their names, birth, and the place from whence they come, are writ upon their hats and pails, that in case sudden death, or any other accident, should befall them upon the road, it might be known who they are, and to whom they belong; those that can afford it, wear a short white coat without sleeves, over their usual dress, with their names stitched upon it before the breast and on the back. Multitudes of these pilgrims are seen daily on the road. It is scarce credible what numbers set out, only from the capital city of Jedo, and from the large province Osju. It is no uncommon thing at Jedo for children to run away from their parents, in order to go in pilgrimage to Isje. The like attempt would be more difficult in other places, where a traveller that is not provided with the necessary passports, would expose himself to no small trouble. As to those that return from Isje, they have the privilege, that the ofarrai, which they bring from thence, is allowed every where as a good passport.

After the pilgrim is set out on his journey to Isje, a rope with a bit of white paper twisted round it, is hung up over the door of his house, as a mark for all such as labour under an ima, as they call it, that is under a considerable degree of impurity, occasioned chiefly by the death of their parents or near relations, to avoid entering the same, it having been observed, that when by chance, or through inadvertency, such

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an impure person came into a pilgrim's house, the pilgrim at the same time found himself very much troubled with strange uneasy dreams, or exposed to some misfortunes. The like marks of purity are also hung up over the walks which lead to the mias, or temples.

But it is required besides, that the pilgrim himself, when he is about, or hath already undertaken this holy journey, should abstain religiously from what will make a man impure, as amongst other things from whoring, nay, lying with his own wife, not that otherwise it be thought an act of unholiness, and unpleasing to the gods to comply with the duties of married persons, but because they are apprehensive that doing it at a time when their minds should be wholly taken up with the holy action they are about to perform, would prove prejudicial to them. The Jammabos, that is, mountain priests (a certain religious order affecting a very austere life), in order to keep up these ridiculous notions in the minds of the superstitious, never fail to report about, and to make people believe strange stories of persons in this case, who were so firmly and closely joined one to another, that nothing but the power of their charms and magical ceremonies could bring them asunder. Should a Fusio, a person that labours under any degree of impurity, presume to undertake this holy journey, before he hath sufficiently purified himself, he would undoubtedly draw upon him and his family, the sinbatz, that is the displeasure and vengeance of the just and pure gods. The Siukkie, or priests of the Budfdo religion, stand excluded for ever from these holy places, because they follow an impure profession, and are obliged to attend sick people, and to bury the dead.

When the pilgrim is come to Isje, the desired end of his journey, which is done daily by great numbers, and upon some particular days by several thousands, he repairs forthwith to one of the Canusi, whom he is acquainted withal, or hath been addressed to, or by whom he hath been before furnished with ofarrais, and accosts him in a civil and humble manner, bowing his forehead quite down to the ground, according to the country fashion. The Canusi upon this, either conducts him himself, with other pilgrims that applied to him for the same purpose, or commands his servant to go along with them, to shew them the several temples, and to tell them the names of the gods, to whom they were built, which being done, he himself carries them before the chief temple of Tensio Dai Sin, where with great humility they prostrate themselves flat to the ground, and in this abject posture address their supplications to this powerful god, setting forth their wants and necessities, and praying for happiness, riches, health, long life, and the like. After this manner it is, that they discharge their duty towards Tensio Dai Sin, and compleat the end of their pilgrimage. They are entertained afterwards, as long as they stay at Isje, by the Canusi, who lodges them at his own house, if they are not able to bear the expence of a lodging at a public inn. The pilgrims, however, are generally so grateful, as to make the Canusi a handsome return for his civility, should it be even out of what they got by begging, and he hath complaisance enough not to refuse it.

Having performed all the acts of devotion this pilgrimage requires, the pilgrim is by the Canusi presented with an ofarrai, or indulgence. This ofarrai is a small oblong square box, about a span and a half long, two inches broad, an inch and half thick, made of small thin boards, and full of thin small sticks, some of which are wrapt up in bits of white paper, in order to remind the pilgrim to be pure and humble, these two virtues being the most pleasing to the gods. The name of the temple, Dai Singu, that is, the temple of the great god, printed in large characters, is pasted to the front
of.

of the box, and the name of the Canusi who gave the box (for there are great numbers that carry on this trade) on the opposite side, in a smaller character, with the noble title of Taiju, which is as much as to say, Messengers of the Gods, a title which all the officers of Mias assume to themselves.

This ofarrai, the pilgrims receive with great tokens of respect and humility, and immediately tie it under their hats, in order to keep it from the rain. They wear it just under their forehead, and balance it with another box, or a bundle of straw, much of the same weight, which they fasten to the opposite side of the hat. Those that travel on horseback have better conveniences to keep and hide it. When the pilgrims are got safe home, they take especial care for the preservation of this ofarrai, as being a reliick of very great moment and consequence to them. And although the effects and virtues of it be limited only to a year, yet after this term is expired, they allow it a very honourable place in one of the chief apartments of their houses, on a shelf made for this purpose, and raised above a man's height. In some places the custom is to keep the old ofarrais over the doors of their houses, underneath a small roof. Poor people, for want of a better place, keep them in hollow trees behind their houses. In like manner, the ofarrais of deceased people, and those that are dropped upon the road, when found, are put up carefully in the next hollow tree.

Large quantities of these ofarrais are sent by the Canusis every year into all parts of the empire, to supply those, who cannot conveniently, or are not willing to come and fetch them at Isje. These ofarrai merchants make it their business to resort to the principal and most populous towns towards the Sanguatz, as they call it, or New-year's-day, this being one of their most solemn festivals, and a day of great purification, and certainly the time when they are most likely to dispose of their merchandize quickly, and to advantage. They sell at the same time new almanacks, which are made by the command of the Mikaddo, or Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor, and cannot be printed any where else but at Isje. One may buy an ofarrai and an almanack together for a maas, or an itzebo. Able people will give more by way of charity. Those that buy them once, are sure to be called upon the next year, and to be presented with three things, to wit, a receipt from the Canusi, or rather a compliment of thanks to the buyer, a new ofarrai, and a new almanack. Such as pay handsomely, and more than is due, which common people seldom do, receive moreover a sakkant, or a varnished wooden cup, as a small return for their generosity.

The following account of the present state and situation of the temples at Isje, is taken out of Itznobe, a Japanese author. There are two temples at Isje, about the length of twelve streets distant from each other, both indifferent low structures. The ground whereon they stand hath not above six mats in compass, the place where the Canusis sit in honour of Tensio Dai Sin taken in. They are both covered with a thatched roof, and both built, which is very remarkable, without any one of the workmen's receiving the least hurt in any part of his body. Behind these two temples on a small eminence, stands the small, but true temple of Tensio Dai Sin, which is called Fongu, that is, the true Temple, and which hath been purposely built higher than the others, in like manner as the temple of Suwa is at Nangasaki: within this temple, there is nothing to be seen but a looking-glass, and bits of white paper.

The first of the temples mentioned above is called Geku; it hath several Canusis to attend it, and about fourscore massia or smaller temples around it, built in honour of inferior gods, each about four mats large, and guarded by a Canusi sitting within to receive people's charity, that being his perquisite for his attendance.

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The second Mia is called Naiku, and stands about the length of twelve streets further off. It hath likewise great numbers of Canusis, and forty Massia, or smaller temples round it, each with a Canusi as above. The Canusis of these smaller temples have a very singular title, being called Mia Dsufume, which signifies temple-sparrows.

Those who have a mind to see these temples, and what is remarkable in and about them, without being conducted by a Canusi, or his servants, must observe the following rules. They go, in the first place, to the river Mijangawa, which runs by the village Isje, opposite to the temples, there to wash and to clean themselves. Thence walking towards the houses of the Canusis, and other merchants, which are about the length of three or four streets distant from the banks of the river, and passing the said houses, they come to a broad gravelly walk, which leads them straight to the Geku Mia. Here they worship in the first place, and then go round to view the inferior temples, beginning on the right hand, and so going on till they come again to the said temple, from whence they proceed straight forward to the second, called Naiku, where they worship as before, and see the Massias round it. From this second temple they proceed further up a neighbouring hill, situate not far from the coasts, and having walked the length of about fifteen streets, they come to a small cavern, called Awano Matta; that, is the coast of heaven, which is not above twenty ikins distant from the sea. It was in this cavern the great Tensio Dai Sin hid himself, and thereby depriving the world, sun and stars, of their light, shewed, that he alone is the lord and fountain of light, and the supreme of all the gods. This cavern is about a mat and a half large, with a small temple or chapel, wherein they keep a cani or idol sitting on a cow, and called Dainitz no rai, that is the great representation of the sun. Hard by live some Canusis in two houses built upon the coasts, which are hereabouts very steep and rocky. The pilgrim performs his devotions also at this cavern and temple, and then presents the Canusis with a few Putjes, desiring them withal to plant a sugi-plant in memory of his having been there. From the top of this hill, a large island is seen at a distance, lying about a mile and a half off the coasts, which they say arose out of the ocean in the times of Tensio Dai Sin. These are the most remarkable things to be seen at Isje. Curious pilgrims before they return to Isje, go a couple of miles further to see a stately Budfido temple, called Asamadaki, where they worship a Quanwon, called Kokufobofatz.

CHAP. XV. — *Of the Jammabos, or Mountain-Priests, and other Religious Orders.*

THE superstitious Japanese are no less inclined to make religious vows, than they are to visit in pilgrimage holy places. Many among them, and those in particular, who aim at a quick unhindered passage into their Elysian Fields, or a more eminent place in these stations of happiness, devote themselves to enter into a certain religious order of hermits, called Jammabos in the country-language. Others, who labour under some temporal misfortune, or are upon the point to go about some affair of consequence, frequently make vow, that in case of delivery from present danger, or good success in their undertakings, they will, out of respect and gratitude to the gods, go to worship at certain temples, or keep to a rigorous abstinence on certain days, or build temples, or make valuable presents to the priests, and extensive charities to the poor, and the like.

Jammabos signifies properly speaking, a mountain soldier. The character indeed, whereby this word is expressed, doth not altogether answer to this signification, which depends more upon the rules of their order, and their original establishment, whereby all the individual members of this society are obliged, in case of need, to fight for the gods

gods and the religion of the country. They are a sort of hermits, who pretend to abandon the temporal for the sake of the spiritual and eternal; to exchange an easy and commodious way of life for an austere and rigorous one; pleasures for mortifications; spending most of their time in going up and down holy mountains, and frequently washing themselves in cold water, even in the midst of the winter. The richer among them, who are more at their ease, live in their own houses. The poorer go strolling and begging about the country, particularly in the province Syriga, in the neighbourhood of the high mountain Fusi Jamma; to the top whereof they are by the rules of their order obliged to climb every year, in the sixth month. Some few have mias, or temples, but, generally speaking, so ill provided for, that they can scarce get a livelihood by them.

The founder of this order was one Gienco Gioffa, who lived about 1100 years ago. They can give no manner of account of his birth, parents and relations. Nor had he any issue. He was the first that chose this solitary way of life for the mortification of his body. He spent all this time erring and wandering through desert, wild, and uninhabited places, which in the end proved no inconsiderable service to his country, inasmuch, as thereby he discovered the situation and nature of such places, which nobody before him ventured to view, or to pass through, because of their roughness and wild aspect, and by this means found out new, easier and shorter roads from places to places, to the great advantage of travellers. His followers, in success of time, split in two differing orders. One is called Tosanfa. Those who embrace this, must once a year climb up to the top of Fikoofan, a very high mountain in the province Busen, upon the confines of Tsikusen, a journey of no small difficulty and danger, by reason of the height and steepness of this mountain, and the many precipices all round it, but much more, because, as they pretend, it hath this singular quality, that all those who presume to ascend it, when fufios, that is, labouring under any degree of impurity, are by way of punishment for their impious rashness possessed with the fox (others would say, the devil) and turn stark mad. The second order is called, Fofanfa. Those who enter into this, must visit in pilgrimage, once a year, the grave of their founder at the top of a high mountain in the province Joltsijno, which by reason of its height is called Omine, that is, the top of the high mountain. It is said to be excessive cold at the top of this mountain, the steepness and precipices whereof make its ascent no less dangerous, than that of the other mentioned above. Should any one presume to undertake this journey, without having first duly purified and prepared himself for it, he would run the hazard of being thrown down the horrid precipices, and dashed to pieces, or at least by a lingering sickness, or some other considerable misfortune, pay for his folly, and the contempt of the just anger of the gods. And yet all these dangers and difficulties, notwithstanding, all persons, who enter into any of these two orders, must undertake this journey once a year. In order to this they qualify themselves by a previous mortification, by virtue whereof they must for some time abstain from lying with their wives, from impure food, and other things, by the use of which they might contract any degree of impurity, though never so small, not forgetting frequently to bathe and to wash themselves in cold water. As long as they are upon the journey, they must live only upon what roots and plants they find on the mountain.

If they return safe home from this hazardous pilgrimage, they repair forthwith, each to the general of his order, who resides at Miaco, make him a small present in money, which if poor, they must get by begging, and receive from him a more honourable title and higher dignity, which occasions some alteration in their dress, and increases the respect that must be shewn them by their brethren of the same order. So far is

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ambition from being banished out of these religious societies. For thus they rise by degrees, much after the same manner and in the same order as they do in the society of the blind, of which I shall have occasion to speak in the latter part of this chapter.

The religious of this order wear the common habit of secular persons, with some additional ornaments, directed by the statutes of the order, each of which hath a peculiar name and meaning : they are,

Wakifasi, a scimeter of Fudo, which they wear stuck in their girdle on the left side. It is somewhat shorter than a katanna, and kept in a flat sheath.

Sakkudfio, a small staff of the god Dfiso, with a copper head, to which are fastened four rings, likewise of copper. They rattle this staff in their prayers upon uttering certain words.

Foranokai, a large shell, which will hold about a pint of water, and is wound like a buccinum, or trumpet, smooth, white, with beautiful red spots and lines. It is found chiefly about Array, in low water. It hangs down from their girdle, and serves them in the nature of a trumpet ; having for this purpose a tube fastened to the end, through which they blow upon approach of travellers, to beg their charity. It sounds not unlike a cowherd's horn.

Dsufukake, a twisted band or scarf, with fringes at the end. They wear it about their neck. By the length of this scarf, as also by the shape and size of the fringes, it is known what titles and dignities they have been raised to by their superiors.

Foki, a cap or head-dress, which they wear on their forehead. It is peculiar only to some few among them.

Oji, a bag wherein they keep a book, some money, and cloth. They carry it upon their back.

Jatzuwono warandzie, are their shoes or sandals, which are twisted of straw, and the stalks of the tarate flower ; which plant is in a peculiar repute of holiness among them. They wear them chiefly in their penitential pilgrimages to the tops of the two holy mountains abovementioned.

Iza Taka no Dsiufu, is their rosary, or string of beads, by which they say their prayers. It is made of rough balls. The invention and use of it are of a later date than the institution of the order, accordingly there is no mention made of it in the statutes of the same. Kongo Dsiuje, a thick strong staff, a very useful instrument for their journey to the top of the mountains aforesaid.

The most eminent among them have the hair cut off short behind their heads. Others let it grow, and tie it together. Many shave themselves close, as do in particular the novices upon their entering the order, in imitation of the Budfido priests, of whom they have borrowed this custom.

These Sintos hermits are now very much degenerated from the austerity of their predecessors ; who, in imitation of their founder's example, and pursuant to the rules laid down by him, lived, from their first entering the order, upon nothing else but plants and roots, and exposed themselves to perpetual and very rigorous trials and mortifications, fasting, washing themselves in cold water, erring through woods and forests, desert and uninhabited places, and the like. In like manner they deviated very much from the simplicity of the religion they formerly professed, admitting the worship of such foreign idols as are thought by them to have the greatest power and influence over the occurrences of human life. They enlarged their system of divinity, and increased the number of superstitious ceremonies. Among other things, they betook themselves to a sort of trade, which proves very beneficial to them ; and to impose upon the vulgar, they give out that they are peculiarly versed in magical arts and

sciences, pretending by virtue of certain ceremonies, and mystical obscure words and charms, to command all the gods worshipped in the country, as well as the Sintoists as those of the Budsoists, the worship of whom was brought over from beyond sea; to conjure and drive out evil spirits; to do many things beyond the power of nature; to dive into secrets and mysteries; to recover stolen goods, and to discover the thieves; to foretell future events; to explain dreams; to cure desperate distempers; to find out the guilt or innocence of persons accused of crimes and misdemeanors, and the like.

I flatter myself the reader will not be displeas'd to receive some farther information about their way of proceeding in several of these particulars. To begin with the cure of distempers. The patient is to give the Jammabos as good an account as possibly he can of his distemper, and the condition he is in. The Jammabos, after a full hearing, writes some characters on a bit of paper, which characters, as he pretends, have a particular relation to the constitution of the patient, and the nature of his distemper. This done, he places the paper on an altar before his idols, performing many superstitious ceremonies, in order, as he gives out, to communicate a healing faculty to it, after which he makes it up into pills, whereof the patient is to take one every morning, drinking a large draught of water upon it, which again must be drawn up from the spring or river, not without some mystery, and towards such a corner of the world as the Jammabos directs. These character-pills are called goof. It must be observed however, that the Jammabos seldom administer and the patients still seldomer resolve to undergo this mysterious cure, till they are almost past all hopes of recovery. In less desperate cases recourse is had to more natural remedies.

The trials of the guilt or innocence of persons accused of crimes and misdemeanors are made in the presence of an idol called Fudo, sitting amidst fire and flames, not indeed in a judicial and public way, after the manner of the Brahmines, Siamites, and other heathens, nor by giving the question, as is often done in Europe, chiefly in cases of witchcraft, but privately in the house where the fact was committed, and in presence of the domestics, either by a simple conjuring and uttering certain words, or by fire, or by a draught of khumano goo. If the first, a simple conjuration, proves ineffectual, recourse is had to the second, a trial by fire; to be performed by making the suspected persons walk thrice over a coal-fire, about a fathom long, which if they can do without being burnt on the soles of their feet, they are acquitted. Some are brought to confession by a draught of khumano goo. Goo is a paper filled with characters and pictures of black birds, as ravens and others, and sealed with the seals of the Jammabos. It is pasted to the doors of houses to keep off evil spirits, and serves for several other superstitious purposes. It is made indifferently by all Jammabos, but the best come from Khumano, whence the name. A little bit tore off this paper, must be swallowed by the accused person in a draught of water; and it is said, that if he be guilty, it will work and trouble him most cruelly till he confesses. They talk very big of the surprising and wonderful virtues of their charms and conjurations, whereby they pretend to be able to manage and handle burning coals and red-hot iron, without receiving any the least hurt; suddenly to extinguish fires; to make cold water boiling hot and hot water ice-cold, in an instant; to keep people's swords and scimiters so fast in the sheath that no force is able to draw them out; to keep themselves from being hurt by these or other weapons; and to perform many more such uncommon and surprising things, which, if more nicely examined, would be found perhaps to be little else than juggler's tricks, and effects of natural causes. They call it jamassu, which signifies, conjuring strokes. These mighty strokes are nothing else but certain motions of their hands and fingers, whereby they pretend to represent crocodiles, tigers, and

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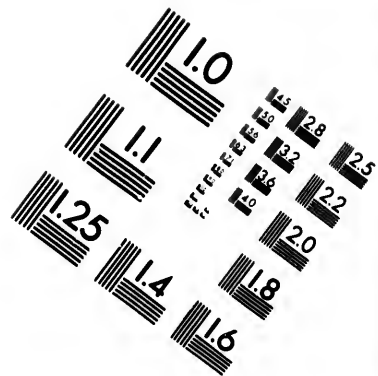
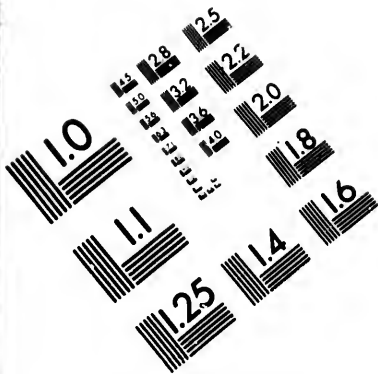
other monstrous animals, at the same time uttering certain obscure sounds. By this, and by frequently altering these positions and representations, as also by lifting up and letting fall their voice, they endeavour, they say, as with so many crows strokes, to come within reach of the object to be charmed, till at last having removed and cut through all obstacles and hindrances, they obtain their desired end.

One of their chief and most mysterious sin, as they call them, or charms, is, when holding up both hands, and twisting the fingers, as it were, one within another, they represent the Si Tenji O, that is, the four most powerful gods of the thirty-third and last heaven. The position which they put their fingers in is thus: they hold up the two middle fingers one against another almost perpendicular, and make the two next fingers, on each side, cross one another in such a manner, that they point towards four different corners of the world, in representation of these four gods, whom they call Tammonden, Takrokten, Sofioten, and Kamokten. The two middle fingers held up, as I observe, perpendicularly, serve them, as they pretend, for the nature of a spy-glass, whereby they spy out the spirits and disempers, to see the kind of fox, and the ma, or evil spirits, lodged in people's bodies, and to find out precisely what sort they be of, in order to apply to square their charms and ceremonious superstitions to the more effectual discharge of them out. But this same position of the middle fingers with regard to the religion represent besides Fudo mio wo, that is, the holy great Fudo, formerly a Giofia, a mighty devotee of their order, who, among other extraordinary mortifications, sat down daily in the midst of a large fire, though without receiving any hurt; and by whose powerful assistance they believe, on this account, to be able, not only to destroy the burning quality of fire when they please, but also to make it serve at command to what purposes they think fit. A lamp filled with an oil made of a certain black venomous water lizard, called inari, is kept continually burning before the idol of Fudo.

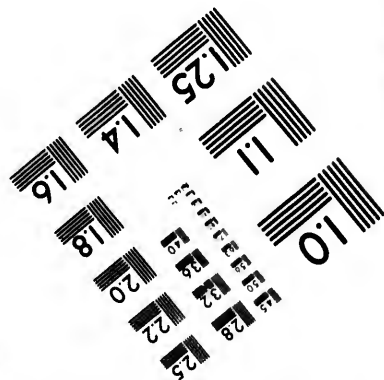
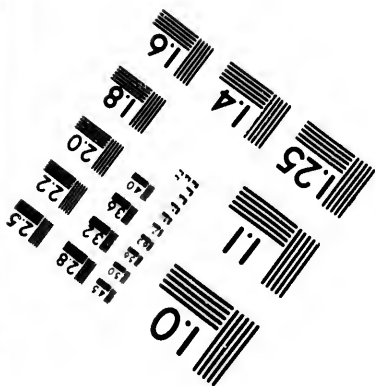
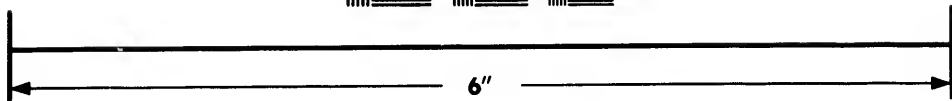
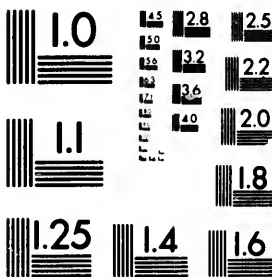
The Jammabos make a mighty secret of these charms and mysterious arts. However, for a handsome reward, they will communicate and teach them to other people, though under condition of secrecy. The account I have given in this chapter of this singular order, I had chiefly from a young Japanese, well versed in the affairs of his country, whom during my stay in Japan I taught physic and surgery, and who had been one of their scholars himself. He further told me, that before they would let him into the secret, they made him undergo a very rude noviciate. And, in the first place, he was to abstain from every thing that had life in it, and to subsist only upon rice and herbs for six days together. In the next place, they commanded him to wash himself seven times a day in cold water, and kneeling down on the ground, with his buttocks to his heels, and clapping his hands over his head, to lift himself up seven hundred and fourscore times every day. This last part of his trial he found also the rudest; for by getting up and down two or three hundred times, he brought himself all into a sweat, and grew so tired and weary, that he was often upon the point to run away from his masters; but being a young lusty fellow, shame rather than curiosity prevailed upon him to hold out to the last.

Thus hold of the Jammabos. There are still many more religious orders and societies established in this country, a particular account of which would swell this chapter to an unbecoming length. The superstitious veneration of the vulgar for their ecclesiastics; the ease and pleasures of a religious life, great as they are, it is no wonder that the number of costly temples, rich monasteries and convents, where, under the cloak of retirement and divine worship, the monks give themselves up to an uninterrupted pursuit of wantonness and luxury, is grown to an excess scarce credible. But





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there are also some particular societies not purely ecclesiastical, nor confined to the clergy alone, but rather of a mixed nature, with an alloy of secularity. Out of many, that of the blind is not unworthy of consideration; a singular, but very ancient and numerous body, composed of persons of all ranks and professions. Originally they made up but one society, but in process of time they split into two separate bodies; one of which is called Feekifado, or the Blind Feekis, the other Buffetz Sato, or the Blind Buffetz. It will not be amiss to enquire into the origin and constitutions of both. The Buffetz Sato must be considered first, as being of a more ancient standing. At present this society is composed only of ecclesiastical persons, whose rules and customs are not very different from those of the Jammabos. Their founder was Senmimar, the Emperor Jengino Mikaddo, his third (and according to some authors, his fourth) son, and the occasion of their institution is recorded in Japanese histories to have been as follows: Senmimar was a youth of incomparable beauty, and exceedingly beloved by all that came near him. It happened that a Princess of the imperial blood fell desperately in love with him: her beauty and virtues proved charms as irresistible to the young Prince as his graceful person and princely qualities had been to her. For some time the happy lovers enjoyed all the satisfaction and mutual returns of passion and friendship, when the death of the Princess intervening, Senmimar took it so much to heart, that not long after, through grief and sorrow he lost his sight. Upon this, to perpetuate the memory of his dearly beloved, and to make known to posterity what an unfortunate effect his unfeigned concern and sorrow for her loss had had upon himself, he resolved, with his father's leave, and under his imperial charter, to erect a society, whereinto none should be admitted, but such as had the misfortune to be blind by birth or accident. His design was put in execution accordingly. The new erected society prospered exceedingly, and flourished, and got into great repute at court, and in the empire. For some centuries they continued united in one body, till a new society of the Feki Blind, as they are now called, sprung up, which in a short time got so far the better of the former, many great men in the empire, who were blind, voluntarily entering into it, that by degrees they lost much of their reputation, and were reduced very low in number, none being left at last but ecclesiastical persons, to whom it remains now confined. Ever since their first institution, the Feki Blind continued in uninterrupted possession of all the esteem and authority the Buffetz had once enjoyed. Nay, being still more numerous, they are also much more considered in proportion. They owe their origin to the civil wars between the Fekis and Gendzis, both contending for the empire. Whole volumes have been wrote of the long and bloody dissensions between these two once considerable and powerful parties, and the manifold calamities which thence beset the empire. The cause of Feki and his adherents appearing more just to the then reigning Dairi than that of Gendzi, he thought himself bound in conscience to support; which he did so effectually, that Gendzi and his party were defeated and almost totally destroyed. The victorious Feki, as success is often followed by pride and ambition, soon forgot the obligations he lay under to the Dairi, and behaved himself with so much insolence and ungratefulness towards him, that he resolved to espouse the interest, though almost totally sunk, of Gendzi and his adherents; promising all manner of encouragement and assistance, if they would once more gather all their strength together, and take up arms against Feki and his party. Affairs upon this soon took another turn; victory in a decisive battle favoured the Gendzis; Feki himself was slain near Simonofeki, and his whole army defeated, but few escaping. Amongst those who escaped with their lives, was Kakekigo, a general very much renowned for his valour and supernatural strength, which, it was believed, he obtained from Quanwon, as a reward

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for his constant devotion to that god. This general fled in a small boat. Joritomo, general of the Gendzis, and himself a very resolute soldier, knew of what consequence it was to secure the person of Kakekigo; and till then thinking his victory incomplete, he caused him to be pursued and taken. However, when he was brought before him, he treated him kindly, and with all the respect due to a person of his rank and character, withal confining him so little, that Kakekigo found means several times to make his escape, but was as often retaken. The generous Joritomo had no thoughts of putting him to death, though his enemy and his prisoner. Nay, far from it, he put such a value upon the friendship and affection of a person of his note, as to think it worth his while to purchase it at any price. One day, when he was pressing him very close to enter into his service, upon whatever terms he pleased, the captive general returned him the following resolute answer: "I was once, (said he,) a faithful servant to a kind master. Now he is dead, no other shall boast of my faith and friendship. I own, that you have laid me under great obligations. I owe even my life to your clemency. And yet such is my misfortune, that I cannot set my eyes on you, but with a design, in revenge of him and me, to cut off your head. These, therefore, these designing instruments of mischief I will offer to you, as the only acknowledgment for your generous behaviour towards me, my unhappy condition will allow me to give you." This said, he plucks out both his eyes, and on a plate, presents them to Joritomo, undaunted like that bold Roman, who, in sight of Porsenna, burnt his right hand on the altar. Joritomo astonished at so much magnanimity and resolution, forthwith set the captive general at liberty, who thereupon retired into the province Fiuga, where he learnt to play upon the bywa, a particular musical instrument used in Japan, and gave birth to this society of the Feki Blind, of which he himself was the first Kengio or head. This is the account, Japanese histories give of the original institution of this society, which is since grown very numerous, being composed of persons of all ranks and professions. They shave their heads, as do also the Buffetz feto, or ecclesiastical blind. Otherwise, being secular persons, they wear also a secular habit, different however from the common dress of the Japanese, and different among themselves according to their rank and dignities. They do not live upon charity, but make a shift, in their several capacities, to get a livelihood for themselves, and to provide for the maintenance of their commonwealth, following divers professions, not altogether inconsistent with their unhappy condition. Many of them apply themselves to music, in which capacity they are employed at the courts of Princes and great men, as also upon public solemnities, festivals, processions, weddings, and the like. Whoever is once admitted a member of this society, must remain such for life. They are dispersed up and down the empire, but their general resides at Miaco, where the cash of the company is kept. He is called Osiokf, and hath 4300 thails a year allowed him for his maintenance by the Dairi. He governs the commonwealth, being assisted by ten counsellors called Siu Ro, which signifies elder-men, alder-men, of which he, the general, himself is the eldest. They reside at Miaco, and have, jointly with the general, power of life and death, with this restriction however, that no person can be executed, unless the sentence be approved of, and the dead-warrant signed by the Lord Chief Justice of Miaco. The council of ten appoint their inferior officers, who reside in the several provinces: some of these are called Kengio, as it were father provincials; being each in his province what the general is with regard to the whole society. The founder himself took only the title of Ken Gio. But the society being in process of time grown very numerous, it was thought necessary to alter the government, and to appoint a court superior to the Kengios. Every Kengio hath his Kotos, as they are called, to assist and advise him. The Kotos

sometimes govern particular districts by themselves. At Nagasaki there is a Kengio and two Kotos, under whose command stand all the blind of that town and adjacent country. The Kengios and Kotos have many other inferior officers subordinate to them, who are called Sijbun, and are again subordinate to one another. They differ from the common body of the blind by wearing long breeches. As they have different ranks and titles among themselves, so they are obliged every five years to purchase a new quan, that is, a new and higher title from their Kengio, for 20 to 50 thails. If they neglect, or are not able to do it, they are removed to a lower rank. The main body of the blind are comprehended under one general name of Mukwan. These wear no breeches, and are divided into four quans, ranks, or classes. Those of the fourth and last class are capable of being made Sijbuns, from which office they gradually rise to the dignity of Kota, Kengio, and so on. Sometimes, through money or favour, they rise very suddenly.

CHAP. XVI. — *Of the Budfdo, or Foreign Pagan Worship, and its Founder.*

FOREIGN idols, for distinction's sake from the Kami, or Sin, which were worshipped in the country in the most ancient times, are called Budfdo and Fotoke. The characters also, whereby these two words are expressed, differ from those of Sin and Kami. Budfdo, in the literal sense, signifies the way of foreign idols, that is, the way of worshipping foreign idols. The origin of this religion, which quickly spread through most Asiatic countries to the very extremities of the East (not unlike the Indian fig-tree, which propagates itself, and spreads far round, by sending down new roots from the extremities of its branches), must be looked for among the Brahmines. I have strong reasons to believe, both from the affinity of the name, and the very nature of this religion, that its author and founder is the very same person, whom the Brahmines called Budha, and believe to be an essential part of Withnu, or their Deity, who made its ninth appearance in the world under this name, and in the shape of this man. The Chinese and Japanese call him Buds and Siaka. These two names indeed became in success of time a common epithet of all gods and idols in general, the worship of whom was brought over from other countries: sometimes also they were given to the saints and great men who preached these new doctrines. The common people in Siam call him Prah Pudi Dfau, that is, the Holy Lord, and the same among them, in their pali, or holy language, Sammona Khodum. The Pegu call him Samman a Khutama.

His native country, according to the Japanese (with regard to whom he is chiefly considered in this place), is Magattakokf, or the province Magatta in the country Tensik. Tensik, in the literal sense, signifies a heavenly country, a country of heavens. The Japanese comprehend under this name the island of Ceylon, the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and in general all the countries of South Asia, the continent as well as the neighbouring islands, which are inhabited by Blacks, such as the peninsula of Malacca, the islands of Sumatra, Java, the kingdoms of Siam, Pegu, &c.

He was born in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the Chinese Emperor Soowo, who was fourth successor of the famous Suno Buo, on the eighth day of the fourth month. This was according to some the year before our Saviour's nativity, 1029, and according to others, 1027 (when I was in Siam, in 1690), the Siamites then told 2232 years from their Budha, who, if he be the same with the Siaka of the Japanese, his birth comes up no higher than 542 years before Christ. His father was king of Magattakokf, a powerful kingdom in the country Tensik. I conjecture this to be the island

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of Ceylon. The kingdom of Siam indeed is so called to this day by the common people in Japan.

Siaka, when he came to be nineteen years of age, quitted his palace, leaving his wife and an only son behind him, and voluntarily, of his own choice, became a disciple of Arara Sennin, then a hermit of great repute, who lived at the top of a mountain called Dandokf. Under the inspection of this holy man, he betook himself to a very austere life, wholly taken up with an almost uninterrupted contemplation of heavenly and divine things, in a posture very singular in itself, but reckoned very proper for this sublime way of thinking, to wit, sitting cross-legged, with his hands in the bosom placed so, that the extremities of both thumbs touched one another: a posture which is thought to engage one's mind into so profound a meditation, and to wrap it up so entirely within itself, that the body lies for a while as it were senseless, unattentive, and unmoved by any external objects whatsoever. This profound enthusiasm is by them called *safen*, and the divine truths revealed to such persons, *fatori*. As to Siaka himself, the force of his enthusiasm was so great, that by its means he penetrated into the most secret and important points of religion, discovering the existence and state of heaven and hell, as places of reward and punishment, the state of our souls in a life to come, the transmigration thereof, the way to eternal happiness, the divine power of the gods in the government of this world, and many more things beyond the reach of human understanding, which he afterwards freely communicated to the numerous crowds of his disciples, who, for the sake of his doctrine and instructions, followed him in flocks, embracing the same austere way of life which he led himself.

He lived seventy-nine years, and died on the fifteenth day of the second month, in the year before Christ 950.

The most essential points of his doctrine are as follows.

The souls of men and animals are immortal: both are of the same substance, and differ only according to the different objects they are placed in, whether human or animal.

The souls of men, after their departure from their bodies, are rewarded in a place of happiness or misery, according to their behaviour in this life.

The place of happiness is called Gokurakf, that is, a place of eternal pleasures. As the gods differ in their nature, and the souls of men in the merit of their past actions, so do likewise the degrees of pleasure and happiness in their Elysian fields, that every one may be rewarded as he deserves. However the whole place is so thoroughly filled with bliss and pleasure, that each happy inhabitant thinks his portion the best, and far from envying the happier state of others, wishes only for ever to enjoy his own.

Amida is the sovereign commander of these heavenly stations (for all his doctrine hath not been introduced by the Brahmines, till after our Saviour's glorious resurrection). He is looked upon as the general patron and protector of human souls, but more particularly as the god and father of those who happily transmigrate into these places of bliss. Through his and his sole mediation, men are to obtain absolution from their sins, and a portion of happiness in the future life.

Leading a virtuous life, and doing nothing that is contrary to the commandments of the law of Siaka, is the only way to become agreeable unto Amida, and worthy of eternal happiness.

The five commandments of the doctrine Siaka, which are the standing rule of the life and behaviour of all his faithful adherents, are called *Gokai*, which implies as much as the five cautions, or warnings: they are,

Se Seo, the law not to kill any thing that hath life in it.

Tsu To, the law not to steal.

Sjain, the law not to whore.

Mago, the law not to lie.

Onfu, the law not to drink strong liquors; a law which Siaka most earnestly recommended to his disciples, to be by them strictly observed.

Next to these five chief and general commandments, which contain in substance the whole law of Siaka, follow ten Sikkai, as they call them, that is, counsels or admonitions, being nothing else but the five first laws branched out, and applied to more particular actions, and tending to a stricter observance of virtue. For the sake of the learned, and such as aim at a more than ordinary state of virtue and perfection, even in this world, a still further subdivision hath been contrived into Gosiakkai, that is, five hundred counsels and admonitions, wherein are specified, and determined with the utmost exactness and particularity, whatever actions have, according to their notions, the least tendency to virtue and vice, and ought on this account to be done or omitted.

The number of these Gosiakkai being so very extensive, it is no wonder that those, who will oblige themselves to a strict observance thereof, are as few in proportion; the rather, since they tend to such a thorough mortification of their bodies, as to measure and prescribe the very minutest parts of their diet, allowing scarce so much as is necessary to keep them from starving. Nothing but the ambition of acquiring a great repute of perfection and sanctity in this world, and the desire of being raised to a more eminent station of happiness in the next, can prompt any body to undergo such a rude and severe discipline as is prescribed by the Gosiakkai, and few there are, even among the best part of their clergy, who, for the sake of a greater portion of happiness in a future world, would willingly renounce the very least pleasures of this.

All persons, secular or ecclesiastical, who by their sinful life and vicious actions, have rendered themselves unworthy of the pleasures prepared for the virtuous, are sent after their death to a place of misery, called Dsigoki, there to be confined and tormented, not indeed for ever, but only during a certain undetermined time. As the pleasures of the Elysian fields differ in degrees, so do likewise the torments in these infernal places. Justice requires that every one should be punished, according to the nature and number of his crimes, the number of years he lived in the world, the station he lived in, and the opportunities he had to be virtuous and good. Jemma, or with a more majestic character, Jemma O (by which same name he is known also to the Brahmines, Siamites, and Chinese), is the severe judge and sovereign commander of this place of darkness and misery. All the vicious actions of mankind appear to him in all their horror and heinousness, by the means of a large looking-glass, placed before him, and called Isofarino kagami, or the looking-glass of knowledge. The miseries of the poor unhappy souls confined to these prisons of darkness are not so considerable and lasting, but that great relief may be expected from the virtuous life and good actions of their family, friends, and relations, whom they left behind. But nothing is so conducive to this desirable end, as the prayers and offerings of the priests to the great and good Amida, who by his powerful intercession can prevail so far upon the almost inexorable judge of this infernal place, as to oblige him to remit from the severity of his sentence, to treat the unhappy imprisoned souls with kindness, at least so far as it is not inconsistent with his justice, and the punishment their crimes deserve, and last of all, to send them abroad into the world again as soon as possible.

When the miserable souls have been confined in these prisons of darkness a time sufficient to expiate their crimes, they are, by virtue of the sentence of Jemma O, sent back into the world, to animate, not indeed the bodies of men, but of such vile creatures

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whose natures and properties are nearly related to their former sinful inclinations; such as, for instance, serpents, toads, insects, birds, fishes, quadrupeds, and the like. From the vilest of these, transmigrating by degrees into others, and nobler, they at last are suffered again to enter human bodies, by which means it is put in their power, either by a good and virtuous life to render themselves worthy of a future uninterrupted state of happiness, or by a new course of vices to expose themselves once more to undergo all the miseries of confinement in a place of torment, succeeded by a new unhappy transmigration.

Thus far the most essential points of the doctrine of Siaka.

Among the disciples of Siaka arose several eminent men, who contributed greatly to the propagation of his doctrine, and were succeeded by others equally learned and zealous, inasmuch, that we need not wonder that his religion, within a very short compass of time, spread to the very extremities of the East, even all the difficulties they had to struggle with, notwithstanding.

The most eminent of his disciples were Annan and Kasia, or with their full titles, Annan Sonsja, and Kasia Sonsja. They collected his wise sentences, and what was found after his death, written with his own hands on the leaves of trees, into a book, which, for its peculiar excellency, is called Fokekio, that is, the book of fine flowers (in comparison with the holy Tarate-Flower), and sometimes also, by way of pre-eminence, Kio, the book, as being the most perfect performance in its kind, and the bible of all eastern nations beyond the Ganges, who embraced Siaka's doctrine. The two compilers of it, for their care and pains, were related among the saints, and are now worshipped jointly with Siaka, in whose temples, and upon whose altars, they are placed, one to his right, the other to his left hand.

Before the doctrine of Siaka was brought over into China, and from thence through Coræa into Japan, the old Sintos or Cami worship, mean and simple as it was, was yet the only one flourishing in this empire. They had but few temples, and few holidays, and the yearly pilgrimage to the temple of Tensio Dai Sin at Isje, was thought the best and surest way to happiness. 'Tis true, in success of time, the number of gods and saints encreased, their system of divinity was embellished with new fables, arts also and sciences were improved, chiefly since the time of Synmu Ten O, their first monarch. But still a certain simplicity prevailed, and people following the dictates of reason, aimed at nothing so much as to live morally well. The Chinese also, before that time, followed the illustrious examples and moral precepts of their two great emperors Tee Gio, that is the Emperor Gio, who, according to their chronological computation, lived 2359 years before Christ, and his successor Tee Siun, or the Emperor Siun, who though a peasant, was yet, for his prudence and honesty, made by Gio, first his co-partner in the government, and afterwards his successor, though in prejudice to his, Gio's, twelve children, viz. ten sons and two daughters. These two illustrious princes were the two first Sefins. Sefin is a philosopher, able to find out truth and wisdom, merely by the force of his own understanding and without being taught by others. By mistake, this same name hath been sometimes given to some of their most eminent divines. Some hundred years after the reign of these princes, the Pagan doctrine of Roos arose in China. This man was born in Sokokf, that is, the province So, on the fourth day of the ninth month, 346 years after the death of Siaka, or 604 before our Saviour's nativity. They say, that his mother had been big with child 81 years, for which reason, when she was brought to bed, they called him Roos, which implies as much as old son, or old child. They further add, that the soul of Kassobofatz, or the holy Kasso, the eldest disciple of Siaka, by transmigration dwelt in him, which made it easy to him to attain to such a high pitch

of knowledge about the nature of gods and spirits, the immortality of our souls, a future state, and such other important points as are highly conducive to the instruction of such as are desirous of learning, and fill the credulous vulgar with admiration. He lived eighty-four years.

Meanwhile the doctrine and philosophy of Roos got ground in China, another incomparable sésin appeared on the philosophical stage of that empire. This was Koofi, or as we Europeans call him, Confutius, born in the province Kok, on the fourth day of the eleventh month, 399 years after the death of Siaka, and 53 after the birth of Roofi, who was then as yet alive. His birth was in a manner miraculous, attended with no obscure signs of a future sésin. He had some natural marks on his head, like those of the emperor Gio, and his forehead was of the same shape with that of the emperor Siun. At the time of his birth a music was heard in heaven, and two dragons were observed to attend when the child was washed. His stature, when grown up, was very noble and majestic, of nine saku and nine suns, proportionable to the greatness of his genius. Passing over in silence what is fabulous and romantic, in the history of his life, it cannot be denied but that he had an incomparable understanding, and excellent sense, and was perhaps the greatest philosopher the East ever produced. His writings and philosophy maintained a constant uninterrupted reputation for now upwards of two hundred years, and are thought in China to have been brought down from heaven, as was formerly the philosophy of Socrates in Greece. A profound respect is shewn to his memory both in China and Japan, by public as well as private persons. Very lately the Emperor of Japan caused two temples to be built to him, in his capital Jedo, whither he repaired in person as soon as they were finished, and on this occasion set forth, in a handsome speech to his courtiers, the merits of this great man, and the peculiar excellency of the maxims of government laid down by him. His picture is allowed the most honourable place in the houses of philosophers, and all persons who apply themselves to studies and learning, never mention his name without particular tokens of respect. It is no wonder then, that the chimerical, and in several particulars, incomprehensible doctrine of Roofi was not able to stand its ground against the reasonable and pleasing moral of Confutius, but was, as it were, smothered in its infancy, and insensibly decreased, in proportion as the adherents of Confutius increased, of whom there was a concourse from all parts of the empire, almost beyond imagination. He died in the seventy-third year of his age, leaving behind him many able men, who propagated his doctrine and philosophy, not only by their teaching it to others, but gathered all his wise sentences and moral maxims, which he communicated to them in his life-time, into a book, which is called Siudo, that is, the philosophical way of life, or the way of life agreeable to philosophy, which ever since, for now upwards of two thousand years, hath been looked upon as a performance incomparable in its kind, and an excellent pattern of a good and virtuous life; a book extolled not only by the admirers of Confutius, but admired for its morals and political maxims, even by the adherents of the Buddiso and other religions, in the very same manner as the writings of the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers, which have escaped the common shipwreck of time, deservedly stand the admiration of all Europe, and a lasting monument of the excellent genius of their great authors.

While thus the doctrine and pleasing philosophy of Confutius began to flourish in China, and to spread to the neighbouring empire of Japan, the doctrine and religion of Siaka, which had then already penetrated to the kingdoms of Siam and Laos, was not like to meet with a favourable reception in this furthestmost part of the East. If we believe the Japanese historians, the first that taught this religion in China, came

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over thither about the year of Christ sixty-three, and obtained leave to build a temple, which is still called *Fakubasi*, that is, the temple of the white horse, because the *kio*, or holy book of *Siaka*, was brought over on a white horse. The greatest difficulty the preachers of this new doctrine had to struggle withal, was the philosophy of *Confutius*, then shining in its full lustre, and universally approved. And indeed it appears that for several hundred years the religion of *Siaka* made a very slow and insignificant progress, till about the year of Christ 518, one *Darma*, a great saint, and thirty-third successor on the holy see of *Siaka*, came over into China from *Seitenfiku*, as the Japanese writers explain it (that is from that part of the world which lies westward with regard to Japan), and laid, properly speaking, the first sure foundations of the *Budfclöism* in that mighty empire. The fame of his dignity and holiness, the austerity of his life, his ardent uninterrupted devotion, which was so strong, that he did not scruple, in the height of his zeal, to cut off his own eyelids, because they had once drawn him out of his enthusiastic meditations into a sleep, soon brought a crowd of admirers about him. But the most effectual and most persuasive arguments he made use of to induce people to the worship of the gods, were, the doctrine of the immortality of our souls, and the promises of a reward in a future life, which they should not fail to obtain, if they would but worship them, as his doctrine, religion, and example should direct. This new worship having once got ground in China, soon spread into *Fakkufai* (which was then the name given to the peninsula of *Coræa*, and is now that of one of its three provinces), where the first *Budz*, or idol of *Siaka*, was erected and worshipped in the year of Christ 543. Japan, whose inhabitants were then divided between the old religion of the country, and the philosophical doctrines communicated to them from China, could now hold out no longer, but soon admitted the religion of *Siaka*, following in that, as they had done in many other things, the example of the neighbouring countries. The first *Bukkio* was brought over into Japan, about the year of Christ 550. About 18 years after, according to Japanese writers, a curious carved idol of *Amida*, which had been some years before brought over from *Tenfiku* into *Fakufai*, appeared in a miraculous manner in the province *Tfino Cami*, all surrounded with sparkling rays, upon which a temple was built in *Sinano*, in memory of this remarkable event, which was called *Sanquosi*, and is still the chief and largest temple of that province. About that time *Kimmei* ruled over Japan, who was no enemy to this religion, and connived at its introduction and spreading. This was the same emperor who divided the time into *Nengos*, in imitation of the Chinese. The *nengo* then subsisting, when this temple was built, was called *Cengo*.

CHAP. XVII. — *Of the Siuto, that is, the Doctrine and Way of Life of their Moralists and Philosophers.*

SIUTO, in the literal sense, signifies the way or method of the Philosophers. *Siudosja*, or, in the plural number, *Siudosju*, are the philosophers, who follow this method. These people have, properly speaking, no religion at all, that is, they conform themselves to none of those forms of worshipping the gods, which are established in the country. They say that the greatest perfection and the supreme good, men are able to acquire, consist in that pleasure and delight which our minds find in a good and virtuous life. They admit of none but temporal rewards or punishments, and only such as are the necessary consequences of the practice of virtue or vice. They say, that we are obliged to be virtuous, because nature hath endowed us with reason, on purpose, that living according to the dictates of reason, we should shew our difference

and superiority over irrational brutes. Koofi, or Confutius, born in China 2243 years ago, computing from the 5th year of Genrok (of Christ 1692), was the first who taught that the supreme good consists in the practice of virtue, and must consequently be looked upon as the founder of this philosophical sect. It hath been observed above, how prejudicial the Siogakf, or the book wherein are contained his precepts and morals, proved to the then flourishing doctrine of Roofi. Moofi, one of Confutius's disciples, was very instrumental in establishing and propagating this philosophy, which he published in Sifio, or four Books, which are still held in great esteem, and read in all countries, where the learned language, wherein they were written, is understood.

This philosophy, so far as it relates to the practice of virtue and good morals, may be reduced to the following five points, which they call Dsin, Gi, Re, Tsi, and Sin. Dsin, teaches them to live virtuously: hence Dsinja, a virtuous man; Gi, to do right and justice to every body; Re, to be civil and polite; Tsi, sets forth the maxims of a good and prudent government; and Sin treats of a free conscience and uprightness of heart. They admit no transmigration of souls, but believe an *animam mundi*, an universal soul, spirit or power, diffused throughout the whole world, which animates all things, which re-assumes the departing souls (as the sea doth all rivers and waters that flow into it from all parts of the globe), as into a common receptacle, and lets them, as it were, flow out again indifferently to animate other creatures. This universal spirit they confound with the Supreme Being, attributing to one the same divine qualities which only belong to the other. They often make use of the word Ten, heaven or nature, in things which more immediately concern our life and actions. Thus, they thank heaven and nature for their victuals and the necessaries of life. Some among them, whom I conversed withal, admitted an intellectual or incorporeal being, but only as governor and director, not as the author of nature; nay, they pretended, that it is an effect of nature produced by In and Jo, heaven and earth, one active, the other passive; one the principle of generation, the other of corruption: after the same manner also they explained some other active powers of nature to be spiritual beings. They make the world eternal, and suppose men and animals to have been produced by In Jo, the heaven and five terrestrial elements. Admitting no gods, they have no temples, no forms of worship. Thus far, however, they conform themselves to the general custom of the country, in that they celebrate the memory of their deceased parents and relations, which is done by putting all sorts of victuals, raw and dressed, on a Biosju, as they call it, or table purposely made with this view, by burning candles before them, by bowing down to the ground as if they were yet alive, by monthly or anniversary dinners, whereto are invited the deceased's family and friends, who appear all in the best cloth, and wash and clean themselves by way of preparation for three days before, during which time they abstain from lying with their wives, and from all impure things, and by many other tokens of respect and gratitude. As to the burial of their dead, they do not burn them, but keep the corpse three days, and then lay it on the back into a coffin, after the European manner, with the head raised. Sometimes the coffin is filled with spices and sweet scented herbs, to preserve the body from corruption, and when every thing is ready, they accompany it to the grave, and bury it without any further ceremony.

These philosophers do not only admit of self-murder, but look upon it as a heroic and highly commendable action, and the only honourable means to avoid a shameful death, or to prevent falling into the hands of a victorious enemy.

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They celebrate no festivals, nor will they pay any respect to the gods of the country, any more than common civility and good manners require. The practice of virtue, free conscience, and a good and honest life, is all what they aim at. They were even suspected of secretly favouring the Christian religion; for which reason, after the said religion had been entirely abolished by cross and fire, and proper means taken to prevent its ever reviving again, they also were commanded to have each the idol, or, at least, the name of one of the gods worshipped in the country, put up in their houses, in a conspicuous and honourable place, with a flower-pot, and incensory before them. They commonly chuse Quanwon or Amida, whose idols they place behind the hearth, according to the country fashion. Some have besides, of their own free choice, the Biosiu in their houses, or else the name of some learned man. In their public schools is hung up the picture of Koosi or Confutius. Formerly this sect was very numerous. Arts and sciences were cultivated and improved among them, and the best part of the nation professed it. But that unparalleled persecution of the Christian religion weakened it very much, and it lost ground ever since; the extreme rigour of the imperial edicts made people cautious even as to reading their books, which formerly have been the delight and admiration of the nation, held in as great an esteem as the writings of Plato, Socrates and other heathen philosophers are in Europe.

About thirty years ago, the Prince of Sifen and Inaba, a great Studosia and patron of learned men, endeavoured to revive this philosophy, then almost extinct, in his dominions. In order to this, he founded an university, endowed it with great privileges, and settled handsome pensions upon able learned men, whom he sent for from all parts of the empire. The design of this undertaking was to open the eyes of his subjects, and to teach them, if possible, to make use of their reason, which they no sooner did, but they began to see through the impertinent and ridiculous fables of their priests, and discovering their cheats refused to grant them any further subsistence, whereby this numerous crew, which till then lived only upon the charity of credulous people, was reduced to a starving condition. Of so dangerous an innovation heavy complaints were made to both emperors, and the unhappy Prince was like to fall a sacrifice to his good intentions, had he not, by a voluntary resignation of his dominions to his son, prevented the fatal blow of the imperial disgrace ready to fall upon him and his family. His son, though of a more prudent and reserved behaviour, yet by his life and conduct leaves no room to doubt, but that his principles are nearly the same with those of his father, an instance whereof, though foreign to my present purpose, will not be improper to close this chapter.

On the Songuats, or New-year's-day, one of their greatest festivals, there was a numerous appearance at court of gentlemen and ladies, who came thither in their richest apparel, to compliment the Prince on the occasion of the day, and were by him entertained at dinner. Amongst other presents made to him that day, there happened to be a peacock and hen. Every one was delighted, and struck with admiration, by the uncommon beauty of these scarce foreign birds, whence the Prince took occasion to ask their opinion, which of the two they thought was the cock, and which the hen. The gentlemen, out of civility to the ladies, unanimously pitched upon the most beautiful to be the hen; the ladies, on the contrary, very modestly apprehended, that the finest of the two was the cock. "You are in the right," answered thereupon the Prince, "nature itself will have the man best clad; and, it seems to me incomprehensible, that the wife should have more pride, and go richer dressed than her husband,

who must be at the expence of maintaining her." An excellent New-year's sermon from a heathen Prince. *

CHAP. XVIII. — *Preparations for our Journey to the Emperor's Court at Jedo or Yedo, with a Description of the Manner of travelling in this Country.*

EVER since the time of Joritomo, the first secular monarch of Japan, who laid the foundation of the present form of government, it hath been a custom observed, not only by the governors of the Imperial cities, and lords lieutenants of the provinces, lands and demesnes, belonging to the crown, but likewise by all other Daimio, and Siomjo, as they are here called, that is, the lords of all ranks and qualities throughout this vast empire, to go to court once a year, and to pay their duties, the lords of a higher rank, who, for the extent of their power and dominions, could well be stiled Kings, or Princes, to the Emperor himself, the rest only to his prime ministers assembled in council. Both accompany their reverences with presents proportionable to their quality and riches, in token of their acknowledging the supremacy of the Emperor. The Dutch, when they came to settle in Japan, conformed themselves to this antient custom, as did also in their time the Portuguese. The resident of our East India Company, and chief director of our trade for the time being, makes this journey, with a physician, or surgeon, and one or two secretaries, and attended with numerous flocks of Japanese of different ranks and qualities, whom the governors of Nagasaki, as our magistrates in this country, whose instructions and orders we are to follow, appoint, as it were to honour and convoy us, as persons that are going to see the supreme Majesty of the empire, but in fact and chiefly, to guard and watch us, to keep a good eye over our conduct, to prevent us from having any suspicious and unlawful conversation and communication with the natives, from conveying secretly to them crosses, images, relicks, or any other things, which bear any relation to the Christian religion, from presenting them with other European rarities, or from selling the same to them in private, and more particularly to take care, that none of us should escape into the country, there either to attempt the reviving and propagating of the Christian faith, or otherwise to occasion tumults and disturbances, in prejudice of the tranquillity, now established in the empire. So important a trust being laid upon the Japanese companions of our journey, the reader may easily imagine, that none are chose but persons of known candour and fidelity, and who are otherwise employed in affairs relating to the inspection and regulation of our trade, besides some of the governors own domestics. Nay, far from relying merely on their faithfulness and sincerity, though perhaps never so often approved of, all those that are to go with us, from the leader down to the meanest servant, (those only excepted, who must look after the horses, and are frequently changed,) must, before they set out on this journey, oblige themselves by a solemn and dreadful oath, signed as usual with their blood, to give notice to the government at Nagasaki, of whatever they observe to be done, either by the Dutch, or by their own countrymen, contrary to the standing laws of the country, and the many particular instructions which are given them.

I went to the Emperor's court twice myself, to my very great satisfaction: the first time, in the year 1691, with Henry von Butenheim, a gentleman of great candour,

* The long account of the City of Nagasacki, and of the Dutch trade being now rather antiquated, are omitted. The reader will prefer the observations of Thunberg.

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affability, and generosity, and well versed in the customs and language of the Japanese, who, by his good conduct, knew how to keep up the reputation of his masters without prejudice to their interest; the second time, in 1692, with Cornelius van Outhoorn, brother to the Governor-general at Batavia, a gentleman of great learning, excellent sense, and well skilled in several languages, who, by his innate affability, found means particularly to ingratiate himself into the affection of this proud and jealous nation, and promoting the interest of his masters, so much as lay in his power, discharged all the duties of his office to the entire satisfaction both of those who sent him, and of those to whom he was sent. I will here give a particular account, by way of a journal, of what occurred to me remarkable in these two journies, having first premised some general observations, which seemed to me to be necessary to facilitate the understanding of what I shall lay down in the journals themselves, with all the sincerity I am capable of.

The preparations for our journey consist in the following particulars: The very first thing to be done, is to look out proper presents for His Imperial Majesty, for his privy councillors, and some other great officers at Jedo, Miako, and Osacca, the whole amounting as near as possible, to a certain sum, to fort them, and particularly to assign to whom they are to be delivered. Afterwards they must be put up into leather bags, which are carefully wrapt up in mats, in order to preserve them from all accidents in so long a journey, and for a farther security several seals are affixed unto them. It is the business of the governors of Nagasaki to judge and determine what might prove acceptable to the court. They take out of the goods laid up in our warehouses what they think proper, and give instructions to the departing director, about such things as should be sent over from Batavia the next year. Sometimes some of their own goods they have been presented with by the Chinese, are put in among these presents; because, by this means, they can dispose of them to the best advantage, either by obliging us to buy them at an excessive and their own price, or by exchanging them for other goods. Now and then some uncommon curiosities, either of nature or art, are brought over from Europe, and other parts of the world, on purpose to be presented to the Emperor. But it often happens, that they are not approved of by these rigid censors. Thus, for instance, there were brought over in my time, two brass fire-engines of the newest invention, but the governors did not think it proper that they should be presented to the Emperor, and so returned them to us, after they had first seen them tried and taken a pattern of them: another time the bird Casuar was sent over from Batavia, but likewise disliked and denied the honour of appearing before the Emperor; because they heard he was good for nothing but to devour a large quantity of victuals. After some time spent in chusing and getting ready these presents, they are brought on board a barge with necessary provisions, three or four weeks before our departure, and sent by water to Simonofeki, a small town, situate upon the extremity of the great island Nipon, where they wait our arrival by land. Formerly our ambassador, with his whole retinue, embarked at the same time, to go thither by water, whereby we saved a great deal of trouble and expence we must now be at in travelling by land, but a violent storm having once put the whole company into imminent danger, and the voyage having been often, by reason of the contrary winds, too long and too tedious, the Emperor had ordered, that for the future we should go thither by land. The barge, on board which the Imperial presents are carried to Simonofeki, is kept in the harbour of Nagasaki, at the expence of the company, for this sole purpose, and cannot be made use of for any other whatsoever. The presents for the Imperial court, and other heavy baggage, being sent before us, the

the rest of the time till our departure is spent upon such vast preparations for our journey, as if we designed some great expedition into a remote part of the world.

The first, and indeed the most essential part of these preparations, consists in nominating, and giving proper instructions, to the several officers, and the whole retinue that is to go with us to court. The governors appoint one of their Jorikis, or military officers of the first rank, to be Bugio, that is, head and commander in chief. He is to represent the authority of his masters, as a badge whereof he hath a pike carried after him. A Dofin or inferior military officer, is ordered to assist him in quality of his deputy. Both the joriki and dofin are taken from among the domesticks of one of the governors, who stays that year at Nagasaki. To these are added two beadles, by the name and in quality of Tsoofin, or town-messengers. Both the tsoofin and the dofin carry by virtue of their office a halter about them, to arrest and secure, at command or wink from the joriki, any person guilty, or only suspected to be guilty of any misdemeanor. All these persons, besides the officers attending the bugio, are looked upon as military men, and as such have the privilege of wearing two swords. It is from thence they are called Samurai, which signifies persons who wear two swords, or soldiers, all persons that are not either noblemen by birth, or in some military employment, being by a late imperial edict denied this privilege.

I have observed in the preceding book, that our interpreters are divided into two companies, the upper or superior, consisting of the eight chief interpreters, and the inferior including all the rest. The Ninban, or president for the time being, of each of these companies, is appointed of course to attend us in this journey. To these is now added a third, as an apprentice, whom they take along with them to qualify him for the succession, and to shew him betimes, and by proper experience, how for the future he must behave himself on the like occasion. All the chief officers, and all other persons that are able to do it, take some servants along with them, partly to wait upon them, partly for state. The bugio, or commander in chief, and the principal interpreter take as many as they please; the other officers, each two or three, as they are able, or as their office requires. The Dutch captain, or ambassador may take three, and every Dutchman of his retinue is allowed one. The interpreters commonly recommend their favourites to us, the more ignorant they are of the Dutch language, the better it answers their intention. Not to mention some other persons, who by order, or special leave of the governors and interpreters, make the journey in company with us, and indeed at our expence too, though otherwise they have no manner of business upon our account. All these future companions of our voyage, whom I have hitherto mentioned, have leave to make us some friendly visits at Desima, some time before our departure, in order to get before hand a little acquainted with us. There are many among them, who would willingly be more free and open with us, were it not for the solemn oath they must all take before their departure, but much more for the fear of being betrayed by others, since by virtue of the same oath, they are obliged, all and every one of them, to have a strict and watchful eye, not only over the Dutch, but also over the conduct of each other, particularly with regard to the Dutch.

Another essential branch of the necessary preparations for our journey, is the hiring of horses and porters, for us and our baggage. This is the chief interpreter's business, as keeper of our purse, who is also appointed to take care, that whatever is wanted during the whole journey, be provided for. It is he likewise that gives orders to keep every thing in readiness to march, the minute the bugio, as commander in chief, is pleased to set out.

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Two days before our departure from Nagasaki, every one must deliver his cloak-bag and portmante to proper people, to be bound up, so that in an instant they may be tied to the horses, and again untied. This is not done after our European manner, but after a particular one of their own, which deserves to be here described.

A plain wooden saddle, not unlike the pack-saddles of the Swedish post-horses, is girded on the horse with a poitral, or breast leather, and crupper. Two latches are laid upon the saddle, which hang down on both sides of the horse, in order to their being conveniently tied about two portmantles, which are put on each side, in that situation which is thought the most proper to keep them in a due balance. For when once tied together, they are barely laid on the horse's back, without any other thong or latchet to tie them faster, either to the saddle or to the horse. However, to fasten them in some measure, a small long box, or trunk, called by the Japanese adofski, is laid over both portmantles upon the horse's back, and tied fast to the saddle with thongs; over the whole is spread the traveller's covering and bedding, which are tied fast to the adofski and side-trunks, with broad lined sashes, the middle cavity between the two trunks, filled up with some soft stuff, is the traveller's seat, were he sits, as it were, upon a flat table, otherwise commodiously enough, and either cross-legged, or with his legs extended hanging down by the horse's neck, as he pleases, or finds it most convenient. Particular care must be taken to sit right in the middle, and not to lean too much on either side, which would either make the horse fall, or else the side-trunks and rider. In going up and down hills the footmen and stable grooms hold the two side trunks fast, for fear of such an accident. The traveller mounts the horse, and alights again, not one side as we Europeans do, but by the horse's breast, which is very troublesome for stiff legs. The horses are unsaddled and unladen in an instant; for having taken the bed cloths away, which they do first of all, they need but untie a latchet or two, which they are very dextrous at, and the whole baggage falls down at once. The latches, thongs, and girths, made use of for these several purposes are broad and strong, made of cotton, and withal very neatly worked, with small oblong, cylindrical pieces of wood at both ends, which are of great use to strain the latches, and to tie things hard.

The saddle is made of wood, very plain, with a cushion underneath, and a caparison behind, lying upon the horse's back, with the traveller's mark, or arms, stitched upon it. Another piece of cloth hangs down on each side, as a safeguard to the horse, to keep it from being daubed with dirt. These two pieces are tied together loosely under the horse's belly. The head is covered with a net-work of small but strong strings, to defend it, and particularly the eyes from flies, which are very troublesome to them. The neck, breast, and other parts, are hung with small bells.

The side-trunks or portmantles, which are filled only with light stuff, and sometimes only with straw, are a sort of a square trunk, made of stiff horse-leather, about five spans long, three broad, and three deep. The cover is made likewise of leather, somewhat larger, and so deep as to cover the lower part down to the bottom. Though they hold out rain very well, yet for a greater security they are wrapt up in mats, with strong ropes tied about them, for which reason, and because it requires some time to pack them up, they are seldom unpacked till you are come to the journey's end, and the things which are most wanted upon the road are kept in the adofski.

The adofski is a small thin trunk or case, about six spans in length, one broad and one deep. It contains one single drawer, much of the same length, breadth, and depth. It hath a little door, or opening on one side, which can be locked up, and by which you can come conveniently at the drawer, without untying the adofski. What

things are daily wanted upon the road must be kept in this trunk. It serves likewise to fasten the two portmantles, or side-trunks, which would otherwise require a fastener. It is made of thick strong grey paper, and further, to secure it against all accidents of long voyage, blue strings are tied about it in form of a net very neatly.

To complete our traveller's equipage, some other things are requisite, which are commonly tied to the portmantles. Such are,

A string with fenni, or puties, a brass money, with a hole in the middle; they being more proper to buy what necessaries are wanted on the road than silver money, which must be weighed. People that travel on horseback tie this string behind them to one of the fastens of their seats. Foot-travellers carry it in a basket upon their back.

A lanthorn of varnished and folded paper, with the possessor's arms painted upon its middle. This is carried before travellers by their footmen upon their shoulder, in travelling by night. It is tied behind one of the portmantles, put up in a net or bag, which again hath the possessor's arms, or marks, printed upon it, as have in general the clothes and all other moveables, travellers of all ranks and qualities carry along with them upon their journeys.

A brush made of horse's hairs, or black cock feathers, to dust your seat and cloths. It is put behind your seat on one side, more for show than use.

A water-pail, which is put on the other side of the seat opposite to the brush, or any where else.

Shoes or slippers for horses and footmen. These are twisted of straw, with ropes likewise of straw hanging down from them, whereby they are tied about the horse's feet, instead of our European iron horse-shoes, which are not used in this country. They are soon worn out in stony slippery roads, and must be often changed for new ones. For this purpose, the men that look after the horses, always carry a competent stock along with them, tied to the portmantles, though they are to be met with in every village, and even offered them to sale by poor children begging along the road. Hence it may be said, that this country hath more farriers than perhaps any other, though in fact it hath none at all.

I must beg leave to observe, that besides the several things hitherto mentioned, which travellers usually carry along with them in their journeys, I had for my own private use a very large Javan box, which I had brought with me from Batavia. In this box I privately kept a large mariner's compass, in order to measure the directions of the roads, mountains, and coasts; but openly, and exposed to every body's view, was an inkhorn, and I usually filled it with plants, flowers, and branches of trees, which I figured and described, (nay under this pretext, whatever occurred to me remarkable :) doing this, as I did it free and unhindered, to every body's knowledge, I should be wrongly accused to have done any thing which might have proved disadvantageous to the Company's trade in this country, or to have thereby thrown any ill suspicion upon our conduct from so jealous and circumspect a nation. Nay, far from it, I must own that from the very first day of our setting out, till our return to Nagasaki, all the Japanese companions of our voyage, and particularly the bugio, or commander in chief, were extremely forward to communicate to me, what uncommon plants they met with, together with their true names, characters and uses, which they diligently enquired into among the natives. The Japanese, a very reasonable and sensible people, and themselves great lovers of plants, look upon botany as a study both useful and innocent, which, pursuant to the very dictates of reason and the law of nature, ought to be encouraged by every body. Thus much I know by my own experience, that of all the nations I saw and conversed with in my long and tedious travels, those the least

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favoured botanical learning, who ought to have encouraged it most. Upon my return to Nagasaki, Tonnemon, secretary and chief counsellor to the governors, being once at Desima, sent for me, and made me, by the chief interpreter Siukobé, the following compliment: that he had heard with great pleasure from Afagina Sindaanofin, our late bugio, how agreeably I had spent my time, and what diversion I had taken upon our journey in that excellent and most commendable study of botany, whereof he, Tonnemon, himself, was a great lover and encourager. But I must confess likewise, that at the beginning of our journey, I took what pains, and tried what means I could to procure the friendship and assistance of my fellow travellers, obliging some with a submissive humble conduct, and ready assistance, as to the physic and physical advice, others with secret rewards for the very meanest services and favours I received from them.

A traveller must not forget to provide himself with a large cloak, against rainy weather. This is made of double varnished oiled paper, and withal so very large and wide, that it covers and shelters at once man, horse and baggage. It seems the Japanese have learnt the use of it, together with the name kappa, from the Portuguese. Foot travellers wear it in rainy weather, instead of cloaks or coats of the same stuff.

To keep off the heat of the sun travellers must be provided with a large hat, which is made of split bamboos, or straw, very neatly and artfully twisted, in form of an extended sombreiro, or umbrella. It is tied under the chin with broad silk bands, lined with cotton. It is transparent and exceedingly light, and yet, if once wet, will let no rain come through. Not only the men wear such hats upon their journeys, but also the women in cities and villages, at all times, and in all weather, and it gives them no disagreeable look.

The Japanese upon their journeys wear very wide breeches, tapering towards the end, to cover the legs, and slit on both sides to put in the ends of their large long gowns, which would otherwise be troublesome to them in walking or riding. Some wear a short coat or cloak over the breeches. Some instead of stockings tie a broad ribbon about their legs. Ordinary servants, chiefly Norimon men and pikebearers, wear no breeches at all, and for expedition sake tuck their gowns quite up to their belt, exposing their back and privy parts naked to every body's view, which they say, they have no reason at all to be ashamed of.

The Japanese of both sexes never go abroad without fans, as we Europeans seldom do without gloves. Upon their journeys they make use of a fan, which hath the roads printed upon it, and tells them how many miles they are to travel, what inns they are to go to, and what price victuals are at. Some instead of such a fan make use of a road book, which are offered them to sale by numbers of poor children begging along the road. The Dutch are not permitted, at least publickly, to buy any of these fans or road books.

After this manner travellers equip themselves for their journeys in this country. A Japanese on horse-back, tucked up after this fashion, makes a very odd comical figure at a distance. For besides that they are generally short-sized and thick, their large hat, wide breeches and cloaks, together with their sitting cross legged, make them appear broader than long. Upon the road they ride one by one. Merchants have their horses, with the heavy baggage, packed up in two or three trunks or bales, led before them. They follow sitting on horseback, after the manner above described. As to the bridle, the traveller hath nothing to do with that, the horse being led by it by one of his footmen, who walks at the horse's right side next by the head, and

together with his companions, sings some merry song or other, to divert themselves and to animate their horses.

The Japane'e look upon our European way of sitting on horseback, and holding the bridle one's self, as warlike, and properly becoming a soldier. For this very reason they seldom or never use it in their journies. It is more frequent among people of quality in cities, when they go a visiting one another. But even then the rider (who makes but a sorry appearance, when sitting after our manner,) holds the bridle merely for form; the horse being nevertheless led by one, and sometimes two footmen, who walk on each side of the head, holding it by the bit. The saddling of their horses differs but little from ours. Their saddles come nearer our German saddles, than those of any Asiatic nation. The stirrup-leathers or gambados, are very short. A broad round leather hangs down on both sides, after the fashion of the Tartars, for to defend the legs. The stirrup is made of iron, or sowaas, and withal very thick and heavy, not unlike the sole of a foot, and open on one side, for the rider to get his foot loose with ease in case of a fall. The stirrups are commonly of an exceeding neat workmanship, and inlaid with silver. The reins are not of leather, as ours but of silk, and fastened to the bit. Not to mention at present some other ornaments.

Besides going on horseback, there is another more stately and expensive way of travelling in this country, and that is, to be carried in norimons and cangos, or particular sorts of chairs, or litters. The same is usual likewise in cities. People of quality are carried about after this manner for state, and for ease and convenience. There is a wide difference between the litters men of quality go in, and those of ordinary people: the former are sumptuous and magnificent, according to every one's rank and riches; the latter are plain and simple. The former are commonly called norimons, the latter cangos. The vulgar (in all nations master of the language) have called them by two different names, though in fact they are but one thing. Norimon signifies, properly speaking, a thing to sit in; cangos, a basket or doffer. Both sorts rise through such a variety of degrees, from the lowest to the highest, from the plainest to the most curious, that a fine cangos is scarce to be distinguished from a plain and simple norimon, but by its pole. The pole of a cangos is plain, maffy, all of one piece, and smaller than that of a norimon, which is large, curiously adorned, and hollow. The pole of a norimon is made up of four thin boards, neatly joined together in form of a wide arch, and much lighter than it appears to be. The bigness and length of these poles hath been determined by the political laws of the empire, proportionable to every one's quality. Princes and great lords shew their rank and nobility, amongst other things particularly, by the length and largeness of the poles of their norimons. People, who fancy themselves to be of greater quality than they really are, are apt now and then to get the poles of their norimons or cangos made larger than they ought to have them. But then also, they are liable to be obliged by the magistrates, if they come to know of it, to reduce them to their former size, with a severe reprimand, if not a considerable fine into the bargain. This regulation however doth not concern the women; for they may, if they please, make use of larger poles than otherwise their own and their husband's quality would entitle them to. The norimon itself is a small room, of an oblong square figure, big enough for one person conveniently to sit or lie in, curiously twisted of fine thin split bamboos, sometimes japanned and finely painted, with a small folding door on each side, sometimes a small window before and behind. Sometimes it is fitted up for the

conveniency of sleeping in it. It ends in a small roof, which in rainy weather is covered with a covering of varnished paper. It is carried by two, four, eight, or more men, according to the quality of the person in it, who, if he be a Prince, or lord of a province, they carry the pole on the palms of their hands, otherwise they lay it upon their shoulders. All these norimon-men are clad in the same livery, with the coat of arms, or mark of their masters. They are every now and then relieved by others, who in the mean time walk by the norimon's side. But of this more in another place. The cangos are not near so fine, nor so well attended. They are much of the same figure, but smaller, with a square, solid, sometimes with a round pole, which is either fastened to the upper part of the roof, or put through it underneath. The cangos commonly made use of for travelling, chiefly for carrying people over mountains, are very poor and plain, and withal so small, that one cannot sit in them without very great inconveniency, bowing his head downward, and laying the legs across; for they are not unlike a basket with a round bottom, and flat roof, which one reaches with his head. In such cangos we are carried over the rocks and mountains, which are not easily to be passed on horseback. Three men are appointed for every cango, who indeed, for the heaviness of their burden, have enough to do.

CHAP. XIX. — *A general Description of the Way by Water and Land, from Nagasaki to Jedo, the Emperor's Residence.*

MANY centuries ago the empire of Japan hath been divided into seven great tracts of land, as I have shewn at large in the fifth chapter of the first book, wherein I laid down a general geographical description of it. To make travelling easy and convenient, every one of these tracts is bound by a highway, and because in success of time they have been again subdivided into several provinces, so there are particular ways leading to and from every one of these provinces, and all ending into the great highway, as small rivers loose themselves into great ones. They borrowed their names from that tract, or province, to which they lead. But of this more in another place.

These highways are so broad and large, that two companies, though never so great, can conveniently and without hindrance, pass by one another. In this case that company, which according to their way of speaking, goes up, that is, to Miaco, takes the left side of the way, and that which comes from Miaco, the right. All the highways are divided, for the instruction and satisfaction of travellers, into measured miles, which are all marked, and begin from the great bridge at Jedo, as the common centre of all highways. This bridge is by way of pre-eminence called Nipombas, that is, the bridge of Japan. By this means a traveller, in whatever part of the empire he be, may know at any time, how many Japanese miles it is from thence to Jedo, the imperial residence. The miles are marked by two small hills, thrown up one on each side of the way, opposite one to another, and planted at the top with one or more trees.

At the end of every tract, province, or smaller district, a wooden, or stone post; or pillar, is set up in the highway, with characters upon it, shewing what provinces, or lands they are, which there bound one upon another, and to whom they belong.

The like posts, or pillars, are erected at the entry of sideways, which turn off from the great highway, likewise with characters upon them, shewing what province, or dominion they lead to, and how many leagues the next remarkable place is from thence.

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In our journey to court we pass through two of these chief highways, and go by water from one to the other, so that our whole journey is divided into three parts. In the first place we set out from Nagasaki, to go by land across the island Kiusju, to the town of Kokura, where we arrive in five days time. From Kokura we pass the straits in small boats going over to Simonofeki, which is about two leagues off, where we find our above-mentioned barge, riding at anchor and waiting our arrival, this harbour being very convenient and secure. The way from Nagasaki to Kokura, is called by the Japanese Saikaido, which is as much as to say, the western grounds way. At Simonofeki we go on board our barge to proceed from thence to Osacca, where we arrive in eight days, more or less, according as the wind proves favourable or contrary; sometimes we go no farther with our barge, than Fiogo, because of the shallowness and unsafe riding at anchor in the harbour of Osacca. Osacca is a city very famous for the extent of its commerce, and the wealth of its inhabitants. It lies about thirteen Japanese water leagues from Fiogo, which we make in small boats, leaving our large barge at that place to wait our return. From Osacca we go again by land, over the continent of the great island Nipon, so far as Jedo, the Emperor's residence, where we arrive in about fourteen days or more. The way from Osacca to Jedo is by the Japanese called Tookaido, that is, the sea or coastway. We stay at Jedo about twenty days, or upwards, and having had our audience of His Imperial Majesty, and paid our respects to some of his chief ministers and great favourites, we return to Nagasaki the same way, completing our whole journey in about three months time.

Our journey from Nagasaki to Jedo is at least of three hundred and twenty three Japanese leagues of different length. From Nagasaki to Kokura they compute fifty-three leagues and a half, from Kokura to Osacca, a hundred thirty-six at least, and a hundred forty-six at farthest, and from Osacca to Jedo a hundred thirty-three leagues and thirteen tsjo, so that the whole comes to three hundred and twenty-three at least, and at farthest three hundred and thirty-three Japanese leagues, which may be computed equal to about two hundred German miles.

The Japanese leagues, or miles, are not equally long. The land leagues upon the island Kiusju, and in the province Isje, are of fifty tsjo each, the other common leagues only of thirty-six. Tsjo is the measure of the length of a street. Upon good roads I found the former long leagues to be of a good hour's riding, the latter and shorter only of three quarters of an hour. The tsjo contains sixty kin, or mats, according to their way of measuring, or about as many European fathoms, so that the great leagues contain three thousand, and the small ones two thousand one hundred and sixty kins or fathoms each. As to their water leagues, two and a half make a German mile, without their country, but within it, as they express themselves that is, between and about their islands, they measure them according to the course of the coasts, without any certainty at all, so that I am not well able to determine what proportion they bear to the land leagues, or German miles; only I found in general, that they are shorter than the land leagues.

In most parts of Saikaido, and every where upon Tookaido, between the towns and villages, there is a straight row of firs planted on each side of the road, which by their agreeable shade make the journey both pleasant and convenient. The ground is kept clean and neat, convenient ditches and outlets are contrived to carry the rain water off towards low fields, and strong dikes are cast up to keep off that which comes down from higher places. This makes the road at all times good and pleasant, unless it be just rainy weather and the ground slimy. The neighbouring villages

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mult jointly keep them in repair, and take care that they be swept and cleaned every day. People of great quality, in their journies, cause the road to be swept with brooms, just before they pass it; and there lie heaps of sand in readiness at due distances (which are brought thither some days before) to be spread over the road in order to dry it in case it should rain upon their arrival. The lords of the several provinces, and the Princes of the imperial blood in their journies, find at every two or three leagues distance, huts of green-leaved branches erected for them, with a private apartment, where they may step in for their pleasures, or necessities. The inspectors for repairing the highway, are at no great trouble to get people to clean them; for whatever makes the roads dirty and nasty, is of some use to the neighbouring country people, so that they rather strive, who should first carry it away. The pine-nuts, branches and leaves, which fall down daily from the firs, are gathered for fuel, and to supply the want of wood, which is very scarce in some places. Nor doth horses' dung lie long upon the ground, but it is soon taken up by poor country children and serves to manure the fields. For the same reason care is taken, that the filth of travellers be not lost, and there are in several places, near country people's houses, or in their fields, houses of office built for them to do their needs. Old shoes of horses and men, which are thrown away as useless, are gathered in the same houses, and burnt to ashes along with the filth, for common dung, which they manure all their fields withal. Provisions of this nasty composition are kept in large tubs, or tuns, which are buried even with the ground, in their villages and fields, and being not covered, afford full as ungrateful and putrid a smell of radishes (which is the common food of country people) to tender noses, as the neatness and beauty of the road is agreeable to the eyes.

In several parts of the country the roads go over hills and mountains, which are sometimes so steep and high, that travellers are necessitated to get themselves carried over them in cangos, such as I have described in the preceding chapter, because they cannot without great difficulty and danger pass them on horseback. But even this part of the road, which may be called bad in comparison to others, is green and pleasant, for the abundance of springs of clear water and verdant bushes, and this all the year round, but particularly in the spring, when the flower-bearing trees and shrubs, as the fusi, tsubacki, fatuki, utfugi, temariqua, being then in their full blossom, prove such an additional beauty, affording to the eye so curious a view, and filling the nose with so agreeable a scent, as one should scarce meet with any where else.

Several of the rivers we are to cross over, chiefly upon Tookaido, run with so impetuous a rapidity towards the sea, that they will bear no bridge nor boat, and this by reason, partly of the neighbouring snow-mountains, where they arise, partly of the frequent great rains, which will swell them to such a degree, as to make them overflow their banks. These must be forded through in shallow places. Men, horses, and baggage, are delivered up to the care of certain people, bred up to this business, who are well acquainted with the bed of the river, and the places which are the most proper for fording. These people, as they are made answerable for their passenger's lives, and all accidents that might befall them in the passage, exert all their strength, care and dexterity to support them with their arms, against the impetuosity of the river, and the stones rolling down from the mountains, where the rivers arise. Nori-arms are carried over by the same people upon their arms.

The chief of these rivers is the formidable Ojingawa, which separates the two provinces Tootomi and Surunga. The passage of this river is what all travellers are apprehensive of, not only for its uncommon rapidity and swiftness but because some-
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times, chiefly after rains, it swells so high, that they are necessitated to stay several days on either bank, till the fall of the water makes it passable, or till they will venture the passage, and desire to be set over at their own peril. The rivers Fusi, Jedagawa, and Abikawa, in the last mentioned province, are of the like nature, but not so much dreaded.

There are many other shallow and rapid rivers; but because they are not so broad as those above-mentioned, nor altogether so impetuous, passengers are ferried over them in boats, which are built after a particular fashion proper for such a passage, with flat thin bottoms, which will give way, so that if they run aground, or upon some great stone, they may easily and without any danger slide over it and get off again. The chief of these are, the river Tenriu in the province Tootomi; Fudsikawa, in the province Suruga; Benrju, in the province Musasi, and the river Askagawa, which is particularly remarkable, for that its bed continually alters, for which reason inconstant people are compared to it in proverb.

Strong broad bridges are laid over all other rivers, which do not run with so much rapidity, nor alter their beds. These bridges are built of cedar-wood, and very curiously kept in constant repair, so that they look at all times as if they had been but lately finished. They are railed on both sides. The perpendicular rails stand at about a fathom's distance from each other, and there are two upon every arch, if they be not of a larger size, for the commodious passage of boats and ships under the bridge. As one may travel all over Japan without paying any taxes or customs, so likewise they know nothing of any money to be paid by way of a toll for the repair of highways and bridges. Only in some places the custom is, in winter-time, to give the bridge-keeper, who is to look after the bridge, a fenni, or farthing for his trouble.

The most famous bridges in Japan, and the most remarkable for their structure and largeness are, 1. Setanofas, is the bridge over the river Jedogawa, where it comes out of a large fresh water lake, in the province Oomi. This bridge is supported, in the middle, by a small island, and consequently consists of two parts, the first whereof hath 36 kins, or fathoms, in length, and the second 96. This river, which runs through Ofacca, and then looses itself into the sea, hath several other bridges laid over it, some whereof are still larger. There is one for instance, near the small town of Udsi; two near Fufimi, two near Jodo and seven in the city of Ofacca, not to mention some smaller ones, which are laid over its arms. This river is also navigable for small boats, but they do not come up higher than Udsi. 2. Jafagibas, near the city Okasacki, in the province Mikawa, is 208 fathoms long. This river is also navigable for small boats, which from the sea-side come up so far as this bridge. 3. Josidanobas, near the city Josida, in the same province, is 120 kins, or fathoms, long. In high-water even large barges can come up this river as far as this city. 4. Rokugonofas, in the province Musasi, was 109 kins long. This bridge was, by the impetuosity of the river, much swelled by great rains, washed away in 1687, and in all likelihood will never be rebuilt, because the river being very near the residence of the Emperor, its security seems to require, that there be no bridge over it. 5. Niponbas, that is, the bridge of Japan, so called by way of pre-eminence. It lies just opposite to the imperial palace, in the middle of the capital city of Jedo, and is particularly famous, because the leagues, which all the highways in Japan are divided into, begin to be computed from thence, and are continued to the very extremities of this mighty and powerful empire. All the bridges are laid over the banks of the river at least two fathoms on each side, and open with their rails like two wings. For this reason four kins, or fathoms, must be added to the length above-mentioned.

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That part of our journey to court which we are to make by water, is made along the coasts of the great island Nipon, which we have on our left, steering our course so as to continue always in sight of land, not above one or two leagues off at farthest, that in case of a storm arising, it should not be out of our power forthwith to put into some harbour or other. Coming out of the streights of Simonoseki, we continue for some time in sight of the south eastern coasts of the island Kiusju, which we went over by land, going from Nagasaki to Kokura. Having left the coasts of Kiusju, we come in sight of those of the island Tsiokoku, we then make the island Awadsi; and steering between this island on our right, and the main continent of the province Idsumi, on our left, we at last put into the harbour of Ofacca, and so end that part of our journey to court which must be made by sea. All these coasts are very much frequented, not only by the Princes and lords of the empire, with their retinues, travelling to and from court, but likewise by the merchants of the country going from one province to another to traffic, to dispose of their goods and to buy others, so that one may chance, on some days, to see upwards of an hundred ships under sail. The coasts hereabouts are rocky and mountainous, and many of the mountains cultivated up to their very tops; otherwise they are well inhabited, and stocked with villages, castles and small towns. There are very good harbours in several places, where ships put in at night to lie at anchor, commonly upon good clean ground in four to eight fathoms.

In this voyage we pass by innumerable small islands, particularly the streights between Tsiokoku and Nipon are full of them. They are all mountainous, and are for the most part barren and uncultivated rocks. Some few have a tolerable good soil and sweet water. These are inhabited, and the mountains, though never so steep, cultivated up to their tops. The mountains of such islands as are inhabited, (as also of the main continent of Nipon) have several rows of firs planted for ornament's sake along their ridge at top, which makes them look at a distance as if they were fringed, and withal affords a very curious prospect. There is hardly an island of the inhabited ones, but what hath a convenient harbour, with good anchoring ground where ships may lie safe. All Japanese pilots know this very well, and will sometimes come to an anchor upon very slight pretences. Nor indeed are they much to be blamed for an over carefulness, or too great a circumspection, which some would be apt to call fear and cowardice. For it must be considered, that by the laws of the empire, their ships must not be built strong enough to bear the shocks and tossing of huge raging waves; the cabin itself, and the goods on board, are scarce secure from rain and sea water before they drop anchor and take down the mast. The deck is built so loose that it will let the water run through, before the mast hath been taken down, and the ship covered, partly with mats, partly with the sails. The stern is laid quite open, and if the sea runs high, the waves will beat in on all sides. In short, the whole structure is so weak and thin, that a storm approaching, unless anchor be forthwith cast, the sails taken in, and the mast let down, it is in danger every moment to be shattered to pieces and sunk.

CHAP. XX. — *A general Description of the several Edifices and Buildings, public and private, we met with along the Road.*

IN our journey to court we met with the following structures and buildings: all sorts of ships and barges in our voyage by sea; and in our journey by land, many sacred and civil, public and private buildings; as for instance, castles, cities, boroughs, villages, hamlets, post-houses, inns, eating-houses, public places for proclamations and orders

from the government, places of executions, temples, convents, idols and relics; of all which I propose to give a general description in this and the following chapter.

All the ships and boats we met with in our voyage by sea, were built of fir or cedar-wood, both which grow in great plenty in the country. They are of a different structure, according to the purposes, and the waters they are built for. The pleasure-boats, which make up one sort, and are made use of only for going up and falling down rivers, or to cross small bays, are again widely different in their structure, according to the possessor's fancy. Commonly they are built for rowing. The first and lowermost deck is flat and low. Another more lofty, with open windows, stands upon it; and this may be by folding screens divided as they please into several partitions. The roof, and several parts of the ship, are curiously adorned with variety of flags and other ornaments. The figures of these boats will give the reader a better idea, than could be expected from the most accurate description.

The merchant ships which venture out at sea, though not very far from the coasts, and serve for the transport of men and goods from one island or province to another, are the largest naval buildings of this country. They deserve a more accurate description, as by their means trade and commerce is carried on with all parts of the empire. They are commonly fourteen fathom long, and four fathom broad, built for sailing as well as rowing; they run tapering from the middle towards the stem; both ends of the keel stand out of the water considerably. The body of the ship is not built roundish as our European ones, but that part which stands below the surface of the water runs almost in a straight line towards the keel. The stern is broad and flat, with a wide opening in the middle, which reaches down almost to the bottom of the ship, and lays open all the inside to the eye. This opening was originally contrived for the easier management of the rudder, but since the Emperor hath taken the resolution to shut up his dominions to all foreigners, orders were issued at the same time, that no ship should be built without such an opening; and this in order to prevent his subjects from attempting to venture out to the main sea, on any voyage whatever. The deck is somewhat raised towards the stern. It is broader on the sides where it is flat and straight. It consists only of deal boards laid loose, without any thing to fasten them together. It rises but little above the surface of the water, when the ship hath its full lading. It is almost covered with a sort of a cabin, full a man's height, only a small part of it towards the stem being left empty, for to lay up the anchor and other tackle. This cabin jets out of the ship about two foot on each side, and there are folding windows round it, which may be opened or shut, as pleasure or occasion require. In the furthest part are the cabins, or rooms for passengers, separate from each other by folding screens and doors, with the floors covered with fine neat mats. The furthestmost cabin is always reckoned the best, and for this reason assigned to the chief passenger. The roof, or upper deck, is flattish, and made of neat boards curiously joined together. In rainy weather the mast is let down upon the upper deck, and the sail extended over it for sailors, and the people employed in the ship's service to take shelter under it, and to sleep at night. Sometimes, and the better to defend the upper deck, it is covered with common straw mats, which for this purpose lie there at hand. The ship hath but one sail, made of hemp, and withal very large. She hath also but one mast, standing up about a fathom behind her middle towards the stern. This mast, which is of the same length with the ship, is wound up by pulleys, and again let down upon the deck, when the ship comes to an anchor. The anchors are of iron, and the cables twisted of straw, and stronger than one would imagine. Ships of this burden have commonly thirty or forty hands a-piece to row them, if the wind fails. The

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watermen's benches are towards the stern. They row according to the air of a song, or the tune of some words, or other noise, which serves at the same time to direct and regulate their work, and to encourage one another. They do not row after our European manner, extending their oars straight forwards, and cutting just the surface of the water, but let them fall down into the water almost perpendicularly, and then lift them up again. This way of rowing not only answers all the ends of the other, but is done with less trouble, and seems to be much more advantageous, considering either the narrowness of the passage, ships sometimes chance to have, when they pass either through streights, or by one another, or that the benches of the rowers are raised considerably above the surface of the water. Their oars are besides made in a particular manner, calculated for this way of rowing, being not all straight, like our European oars, but somewhat bent, with a moveable joint in the middle, which, yielding to the violent pressure of the water, facilitates the taking of them up. The timber pieces and boards are fastened together in their joints and extremities with hooks and bands of copper. The stem is adorned with a knot of fringes, made of thin long black strings. Men of quality, in their voyages, have their cabin hung all about with cloth, whereupon is stitched their coats of arms. Their pike of state, as the badge of their authority, is put up upon the stern on one side of the rudder. On the other side there is a weather-flag for the use of the pilot. In small ships, as soon as they come to an anchor, the rudder is wound up and put ashore; so that one may pass through the opening of the stern, as through a back door, and walking over the rudder as over a bridge, get ashore. Thus much of the ships. I proceed now to other structures and buildings, travellers meet with in their journeys by land.

It may be observed in general, that all the buildings of this country, either ecclesiastical or civil, public or private, are by no means to be compared to ours in Europe, neither in largeness nor magnificence, they being commonly low and built with wood. By virtue of the laws of the empire, the houses of private persons are not to exceed six kins, or fathoms, in height. Nay, it is but seldom they build their houses so high, unless they design them for warehouses. Even the palaces of the Dairi, or Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor, those of the Secular Monarch, and of all the Princes and lords of the empire, are not above one story high. And although there be many common houses, chiefly in towns, of two stories, yet the upper story, if otherwise it deserves that name, is generally very low, unfit to be inhabited, and good for little else, but to lay up some of the least necessary household goods, it being often without a ceiling, or any other cover but the bare roof. The reason of their building their houses so very low, is the frequency of earthquakes this country is subject to, and which prove much more fatal to lofty and massy buildings of stone than to low and small houses of wood. If the houses of the Japanese be not so large, lofty, or so substantially built as ours, they are, on the other hand, greatly to be admired for their uncommon neatness and cleanliness, and curious furniture. I could not help taking notice, that their furniture and the several ornaments of their apartments, make a far more graceful and handsome appearance in rooms of a small compass, than they would do in large lofty halls. They have none, or but few partition walls, to divide their rooms from each other; but, instead of them make use of folding screens made of coloured or gilt paper, and laid into wooden frames, which they can put on or remove, whenever they please, and by this means enlarge their rooms, or make them narrower, as it best suits their fancy or convenience. The floors are somewhat raised above the level of the street, and are all made of boards, neatly covered with lined, well stuffed, fine mats, the borders whereof

are curiously fringed, embroidered, or otherwise neatly adorned. Another law of the country imports, that all mats should be of the same size in all parts of the empire, to wit, a kin or fathom long, and half a kin broad. All the lower part of house, the staircase leading up to the second story, if there be any, the doors, windows, posts and passages are curiously painted and varnished. The ceilings are neatly covered with gilt or silver coloured paper, embellished with flowers, and the screens in several rooms curiously painted. In short, there is not one corner in the whole house but what looks handsome and pretty, and this the rather, since all their furniture being the produce of the country, may be bought at an easy rate. I must not forget to mention, that it is very healthful to live in these houses, and that in this particular they are far beyond ours in Europe, because of their being built all of cedar-wood, or fir, whereof there is a great plenty in the country; and because of the windows being generally contrived so, that upon opening of them, and upon removing the screens which separate the rooms, a free passage is left for the air to strike through the whole house. I took notice, that the roof, which is covered with planks, or shingles of wood, rests upon thick, strong, heavy beams, as large as they can get them, and that the second story is generally built stronger and more substantial than the first. This they do by reason of the frequent earthquakes, which happen in this country, because they observe, that in case of a violent shock, the pressure of the upper part of the house upon the lower, which is built much lighter, keeps the whole from being overthrown.

The castles of the Japanese nobility are built, either on great rivers, or upon hills and rising grounds. They take in a vast deal of room, and consist commonly of three different fortresses, or enclosures, which either cover and defend, or if possible, encompass one another. Every enclosure is surrounded and defended by a clean deep ditch, and a thick strong wall built of stone or earth, with strong gates. Guns they have none. The principal and innermost castle, or inclosure, is called son mas, that is, the true, or chief castle. It is the residence of the Prince or lord who is in possession of it, and as such it is distinguished from others by a square, large, white tower, three or four stories high, with a small roof encompassing each story, like a crown or garland. In the second, called ninmas, that is, the second castle, are lodged the gentlemen of the Prince's bed-chamber, his stewards, secretaries, and other chief officers, who are to give a more constant attendance about his person. The empty spaces are cultivated, and turned either into gardens, or sown with rice. The third and outwardmost is called sotogamei, that is, the outwardmost defence, as also ninnomas, that is, the third castle. It is the abode of a numerous train of soldiers, courtiers, domestics, and other people, every body being permitted to come into it. The white walls, bastions, gates, each of which hath two or more stories built over it, and above all the beautiful tower of the innermost castle, are extremely pleasant to behold at a distance. There is commonly a place without the castle called oo-te-guts, that is, the great frontier mouth, designed for a rendezvous and review of troops. Hence it appears, that considering war and sieges are carried on in this country without the use of great guns, these castles are well enough defended, and of sufficient strength to hold out a long siege. The proprietors are bound besides to take particular care, that they be kept in constant repair. However, if there be any part thereof going to ruin, the same cannot be rebuilt, without the knowledge and express leave of the Emperor. Much less doth the Emperor suffer new ones to be built in any part of his dominions. The castles where the Princes or lords reside, are commonly seated at the extremity of some large town, which encompasses them in the form of a half moon.

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Most of the towns are very populous, and well built. The streets are, generally speaking, regular, running straight forward, and crossing each other at right angles, as if they had been laid out at one time, and according to one general ground-plot. The towns are not surrounded with walls and ditches. The two chief gates, where people go in and out, are no better than the ordinary gates which stand at the end of every street, and are shut at night. Sometimes there is part of a wall built contiguous to them on each side, merely for ornament's sake. In larger towns, where there is some Prince or other resides, these two gates are a little handsomer, and kept in better repair, and there is commonly a strong guard mounted there, all out of respect for the residing Prince. The rest of the town generally lies open to the fields, and is but seldom inclosed even with a common hedge or ditch. The frontier towns of the imperial demesnes, or crown lands, although they be not fortified with any great art, yet in those narrow passages which lead to them, and which cannot be well avoided, they are defended with strong gates, where a good imperial inquisition guard is constantly mounted. In our journey to court I counted thirty-three towns and residences of Princes of the empire, some whereof we passed through, but saw others only at a distance. Common towns and large villages or boroughs, I computed from twenty-five to eighty or upwards; not to mention some large palaces, inhabited only by the dukes of counties, or surveyors of some tracts of land; as also some others built to lodge men of great quality in their journeys to and from court. I could not help admiring the great number of shops we met with in all the cities, towns and villages, whole large streets being scarce any thing else but continued rows of shops on both sides; and I own, for my part, that I could not well conceive, how the whole country is able to furnish customers enough, only to make the proprietors get a livelihood, much less to enrich them.

The villages along the highways in the great island Nippon are but thinly inhabited by country people and labourers, the far greater part of the inhabitants being made up by other people, who resort there to get their livelihood, either by selling some odd things to travellers, or by servile daily labour. Hence it is, that most villages consist only of one long street, bordering on each side of the highway, which is sometimes extended to such a length, as to reach the next village within a quarter of a mile, more or less. Hence likewise it is, that some villages have two names; for having been originally two villages, which by the gradual increase of the inhabitants and houses came to be joined together, each part retained its former name, though by people not apprized of this distinction the name of either part is sometimes by mistake given to the whole village. I must here desire the reader to observe, that the names and words are not always written and pronounced after the same manner, it being not inconsistent with the beauty of the Japanese language to abbreviate some words, to alter some letters in others, just as it pleases every one's fancy, or to add to some syllables the letter *n*, which they do frequently for the sake of an easier and more agreeable pronunciation. Thus sometimes they write Fonda for Fon Tomida; Mattira for Matzidira; Tagawa for Takawa, Firangawa for Pirakawa; Nangafaki for Nagafaki, and so on. I thought it necessary once for all to make this observation, and to entreat the reader, not to take it amiss if he meets with the same names differently written in different places.

The houses of country people and husbandmen are so small and poor, that a few lines will serve to give the reader a full idea of them. They consist of four low walls, covered with a thatched or shingled roof. In the back part of the house the floor is somewhat raised above the level of the street, and there it is they place the hearth; the rest is covered with neat mats. Behind the street-door hangs a row of coarse ropes made of straw, not to hinder people from coming in or going out, but to serve instead of a lattice-window.

window, to prevent such as are without from looking in and observing what passes within doors. As to household goods they have but few. Many children and great poverty is generally what they are possessed of, and yet with some small provision of rice, plants, and roots, they live content and happy.

Passing through cities and villages, and other inhabited places, we always found upon one of the chief public streets a *fudanotfusi*, as they call it, being a small place encompassed with grates, for the supreme will, as the usual way of speaking is in this country, that is for the imperial orders and proclamations. It is the lord, or governor, of every province, that publishes them in his own name for the instruction of passengers. They are written, article by article, in large fair characters, upon a square table of a foot or two in length, standing upon a post at least two fathoms high. We saw several of these tables as we travelled along, of different dates, and upon different subjects. The chief, largest and oldest contains the edict against the Roman Catholic religion, setting forth also proper orders relating to the inquisition, (which I have described at large in the third chapter of the preceding book) specifying what reward is to be given to any person or persons that discover a Christian, or a priest. The lords or governors of provinces put up their own orders and edicts in the same place. This is the reason why there are sometimes so many standing behind or near one another, that it is scarce possible to see and to read them all. Sometimes also there are pieces of money, in gold and silver, struck or nailed to some, which are to be given as a reward to any person or persons that will discover any fact, person, or criminal therein mentioned. These grated proclamation-cases, are commonly placed, in great cities just at the entry, in villages and hamlets of the middle, of the chief streets, where there is the greatest passage through, or in any other place, where they are the most likely to be taken notice of. Going along the road in such places as are not inhabited, there are some other orders and instructions for passengers put up in the like manner, but upon lower posts. These come from the sheriffs, surveyors of the roads, and other inferior officers, and although the things therein ordered, or intimated, be generally very trifling, yet they may involve a transgressor, or negligent observer, into great troubles and expence.

Another remarkable thing we met with, as we travelled along, were the places of public executions. These are easily known by crosses, posts, and other remains of former executions. They commonly lie without the cities, or villages, on the west side. It is the common opinion, supposed to hold true in all countries,—the more laws the more offenders. As to the magistrates of this, it is no inconsiderable proof of their wisdom and circumspection, as well as the tenderness and love for their people, that they made it their endeavour to put a stop even to all imaginable opportunities, which might tempt and induce people to commit crimes, by express and severe laws, which are so far from being not or but slightly observed, that none but corporal punishments, or an unavoidable death, are known to attend the least transgression thereof. Hence it is, that in this heathen country fewer capital crimes are tried before the courts of justice, and less criminal blood shed by the hands of public executioners, than perhaps in any part of Christianity. So powerfully works the fear of an inevitable shameful death upon the minds of a nation, otherwise so stubborn as the Japanese, and so regardless of their lives, that nothing else but such an unbound strictness would be able to keep them within due bounds of continence and virtue. It is true indeed, Nagasaki cannot boast of that scarcity of executions. For besides, that this place hath been in a manner consecrated to cruelty and blood, by being made the common butchery of many thousand Japanese Christians, who

who in the last perfection sealed up their faith with their blood. There have not been since wanting criminals and frequent executions, particularly of those people who, contrary to the severe imperial edicts, cannot leave off carrying on a smuggling trade with foreigners, and who alone, perhaps of the whole nation, seem to be more pleased with this unlawful gain than frightened by the shameful punishment which they must inevitably suffer, if caught in the fact, or betrayed to the governors. But it is time to turn off our eyes from these unpleasing objects, and to proceed to consider others more agreeable.

Of all the religious buildings to be seen in this country, the *tira*, that is, the Bud's temples, or temples built to foreign idols, with the adjoining convents, are doubtless the most remarkable, as being far superior to all others, by their stately height, curious roofs, and numberless other beautiful ornaments, which agreeably surprize and amaze the beholder. Such as are built within cities or villages, stand commonly on rising grounds, and in the most conspicuous places. Others which are without, are built in the ascent of hills and mountains. All are most sweetly seated; a curious view of the adjacent country, a spring or rivulet of clear water, and the neighbourhood of a wood, with pleasant walks being necessary qualifications of those spots of ground, these holy structures are to be built upon. For they say, that the gods are extremely delighted with such high and pleasant places, and I make no doubt but that their priests readily condescend to be of the same opinion, they being the most proper for their own pleasures and diversion. All these temples are built of the best cedars and firs, and adorned within with many carved images. In the middle of the temple stands a fine altar, with one or more gilt idols upon it, and a beautiful candlestick, with sweet scented candles burning before it. The whole temple is so neatly and curiously adorned, that one would fancy himself transported into a Roman Catholic church, did not the monstrous shape of the idols which are therein worshipped evince the contrary. They are not unlike the pagods of the Siamites and Chinese, both in structure and ornaments, which it is not here the proper place to give a more accurate description of. The whole empire is full of these temples, and their priests are without number. Only in and about Miaco they count 3893 temples, and 37,093 *siukku*, or priests, to attend them.

The sanctity of the *mija*, or temples sacred to the idols, as of old worshipped in the country, requires also that they should be built in some eminent place, or at least at some distance from unclean common grounds. I have elsewhere observed, that they are attended only by secular persons. A neat broad walk turns in from the highway towards these temples. At the beginning of the walk is a stately and magnificent gate, built either of stone or of wood, with a square table about a foot and a half high, on which the name of the god, to whom the temple is consecrated, is written or engraved in golden characters. Of this magnificent entry one may justly say, *parturium montes*: for if you come to the end of the walk, which is sometimes several hundred paces long, instead of a pompous magnificent building, you find nothing but a low mean structure of wood, often all hid amidst trees and bushes, with one single grated window to look into it, and within either all empty, or adorned only with a looking-glass of metal, placed in the middle, and hung about with some bundles of straw, or cut white paper, tied to a long string in form of fringes, as a mark of the purity and sanctity of the place. The same white paper is also hung round the *tooris*, and galleries adjoining to most of them. The most magnificent gates stand before the temples of Tenfio Daifin, Fatzman, and that Cami, or god, whom particular places chuse to worship as their tutelar god, and him who takes a more particular care to protect and defend them. I need not enlarge upon this subject, having already and
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amply considered it in the second chapter of the 3d book, and likewise in the fourth chapter of the 4th book.

Other religious objects travellers meet with along the roads, are the fotoge, or foreign idols of stone, chiefly those of Amida, and Dsifoo, as also other monstrous images and idols, which we found upon the highways in several places, at the turning-in of sideways, near bridges, convents, temples, and other buildings. They are set up partly as an ornament to the place, partly to remind travellers of the devotion and worship due to the gods, and the paths of virtue and piety which they ought to tread in. For this same purpose draughts of these idols, printed upon entire or half-sheets of paper, are pasted upon the gates of cities and villages, upon wooden posts, near bridges, upon the proclamation-cases above described, and in several other places upon the highway, which stand the most exposed to the traveller's view. Travellers however are not obliged to fall down before them, or to pay them any other mark of worship and respect than they are otherwise willing to do.

On the doors and houses of ordinary people (for men of quality seldom suffer to have theirs thus disfigured) there is commonly pasted a sorry picture of one of their lares, or house-gods, printed upon one half-sheet of paper. The most common is the black-horned Giwon, otherwise called Godsu Ten Oo, that is, according to the literal signification of the characters, this word is expressed by, the ox-headed prince of heaven, whom they believe to have the power of keeping the family from distempers, and other unlucky accidents, particularly from the sekbio, or small-pox, which proves fatal to great numbers of their children. Others fancy they thrive extremely well, and live happy, under the protection of a countryman of Jeso, whose monstrous frightful picture they paste upon their doors, being hairy all over his body, and carrying a large sword with both hands, which they believe he makes use of to keep off and as it were to parry all sorts of distempers and misfortunes, endeavouring to get into the house. On the fronts of new and pretty houses, I have sometimes seen dragons or devils heads painted with a wide open mouth, large teeth and fiery eyes. The Chinese and other Indian nations, nay, even the Mahometans in Arabia and Persia, have the same placed over the doors of their houses, by the frightful aspect of this monstrous figure, to keep off, as the latter say, the envious from disturbing the peace in families. Often also they put a branch of the fanna skimmi tree over their doors, which is in like manner believed to bring good luck into their houses; or else liverwort, which they fancy hath the particular virtue to keep off evil spirits; or some other plants or branches of trees. In villages they often place their indulgence-boxes, which they bring back from their pilgrimage to Isje, over their doors, thinking also by this means, to bring happiness and prosperity upon their houses. Others paste long pieces of paper to their doors, which the adherents of the several religions, sects and convents, are presented with by their clergy, for some small gratuity. There are odd unknown characters, and divers forms of prayers, writ upon these papers, which the superstitious firmly believe to have the infallible virtue of conjuring and keeping off all manner of misfortunes. Nay they hang up these very papers within doors, in several apartments of their houses. Many more amulets of the like nature are pasted to their doors, such as are particularly directed against the plague, distempers, and particular misfortunes. There is also one directed against poverty. Houses with this last mark must needs be very safe from thieves and house-breakers.

CHAP. XXI. — *Of the Post-houses, Inns, Eating-houses, and Tea-booths.*

To accommodate travellers, there is in all the chief villages and hamlets a post-house belonging to the lord of the place, where at all times they may find a competent number of horses, porters, footmen, and what else they might be wanting to continue the journey in readiness, at certain settled prices. Horses, or men, which are either much fatigued by their journey, or were hired no further, may be exchanged at these places. Travellers of all ranks and qualities, with their retinues, resort to these post-houses, which are by the Japanese called *siuku*, because of that conveniency of finding every thing ready they may have occasion for. They lie at one and a half to four miles distance from each other, but are generally speaking not so good, nor so well furnished upon Kiusju, in the way from Nagasaki to Kokura, as we found them upon the great island Nipon, where we came to fifty-six, going from Osacca to Jedo. The post-houses, properly speaking, are not built for innkeeping, but only for convenient stabling of horses, for which reason and in order to prevent the exchanging horses and men from being troublesome to the public streets, there is a spacious court belongs to each. Clerks and book-keepers there are enough, who keep accounts, in their master's name, of all the daily occurrences. The price of all such things, as are to be hired at these post-houses, is settled in all parts of the empire, not only according to the distance of places from each other, but with due regard had to the goodness or badness of the roads, to the price of victuals or forage, and the like. One way with another, a *nori-kaki*, that is, a horse to ride on, with two portmantles and an *adofski*, or trunk, may be had for 33 *fenni* a mile. A *Karassiri*, that is, a horse, which is only saddled, and hath neither men nor baggage to carry, will cost 25 *fenni*; porters, and *cangos* men, 19 *fenni*, and so on. Messengers are waiting day and night at all these post-houses, in order to carry the letters, edicts, proclamations, &c. of the Emperor, and the Princes of the empire, which they take up the moment they are delivered at the post-house, and carry them to the next with all speed. They are kept in a small black varnished box, bearing the coat of arms of the Emperor, or Prince who sent them, and the messenger carries them upon his shoulder tyed to a small staff. There are always two of these messengers run together, that in case any accident should befall either of them upon the road, the other may take his place and deliver the box at the next *siuku*. All travellers whatsoever, even the Princes of the empire, and their retinues, must retire out of the way, and give a free passage to those messengers, who carry letters or orders from the Emperor, which they take care to signify at a due distance, by ringing a small bell, which for this particular purpose they always carry about them.

There are inns enough, and tolerable good ones, all along the road. The best are in those villages, where there are post-houses. At these even Princes and princely retinues may be conveniently lodged, treated suitably to their rank, and provided with all necessaries. They are, like other well built houses, only one story high, or if there be two stories, the second is low, and good for little else but stowage. The inns are not broader in front than other houses, but considerably deep, sometimes forty fathom, with a *Tsuboo*, that is, a small pleasure-garden behind, enclosed with a neat, white wall. The front hath only lattice windows, which are kept open all day long, as are also the folding screens, and moveable partitions, which divide the several apartments, unless there be some man of quality with his retinue at that time lodged there. This lays open to travellers, as they go along, a very agreeable perspective view across the whole house into the garden behind. The floor is raised about half a fathom above the level of the street, and jetting out to some distance both towards the street and garden,

den, forms a sort of a small bench, or gallery, which is covered with a roof, where travellers pass their time, diverting themselves with sitting, or walking. From thence also they mount their horses, for fear of dirtying their feet by mounting in the street. In some great inns there is a passage contrived for the ease and conveniency of people of quality, that coming out of their norimons, they may walk directly to their apartments, without being obliged to pass through the fore-part of the house, which is commonly not over clean, and besides very obscure, making but an indifferent figure. It is covered with poor forry mats, and the rooms divided only by common lattice windows. The kitchen also is in this fore-part of the house, and often fills it with smoke, they having no chimneys, but only a hole in the roof to let the smoke pass through. Here foot travellers and ordinary people live among the servants. People of fashion are accommodated in the back part of the house, which is kept clean and neat to admiration. Not the least spot is to be seen upon the walls, floors, carpets, posts, windows, skreens, in short no where in the room, which looks at all times as if it were quite new, and but newly furnished. There are otherwise no tables, chairs, benches, or other household goods to be found in these rooms. They are only adorned with some Miseratsies, as they call them, which are commonly things of value, artfully made and held in great esteem by this nation. They are put into or hung up in the rooms, for travellers to spend some of their leisure moments to consider and to examine them, which indeed some of them very well deserve. The tsubo, or garden behind the house, is also very curiously kept for travellers to divert themselves with walking therein, and beholding the fine beautiful flowers it is commonly adorned with. A more accurate description, both of the miseratsse and tsubo, will I hope not be thought improper, but I shall first take a short and general survey of the rooms themselves.

The rooms in Japanese houses have seldom more than one solid wall, which is pargetted and cast over with clay of Osacca, it being a good fine sort, and so left bare without any other ornament. It is besides made so thin, that the least kick would break it to pieces. On all other sides the room is enclosed, either with windows or folding skreens and doors, which move in double joints both above and below, on purpose that they might be easily put on, or removed, as occasion requires. The lower joints are cut in a sill, which runs even with the carpets covering the floor, and the upper joints run in a beam, which comes down about two or three feet lower than the ceiling. The paper windows, which let the light come into the room, have wooden shutters on both sides, which are hid in the day time, but put on at night, lest any body should get into the house out of the court, or from the gallery, which runs along the outside of the house. The beams, in which the joints are, are in like manner cast over with clay of Osacca, as is also the place from thence up to the ceiling. The ceiling is sometimes neither planed nor smoothed, by reason of the scarcity and curious running of the veins and grain of the wood, in which case it is only covered with a thin slight couch of a transparent varnish, to preserve it from decaying. Sometimes they paste it over with the same sort of variously coloured and flowered paper, which their skreens are made of.

In the solid wall of the room there is always a tokko, as they call it, or a sort of a cupboard, raised about a foot or more above the floor, and very near two feet deep. It commonly stands in that part of the wall which is just opposite to the door, it being reckoned the most honourable, as in Russian houses that corner where they hang up their bog, or faint. Just below this tokko, or cupboard, two extraordinary fine carpets are laid one upon the other, and both upon the ordinary mats or carpets, which cover the floor. These are for people of the first quality to sit upon, for upon the arrival of

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travellers of less note, they are removed out of the way. At the side of the tokko is a tokkiwari, as they call it, or side-cupboard, with some few boards in the middle, standing over one another in a very particular manner, the view whereof affords some amusement to a curious traveller. The boards themselves are called Tsigaidanna, and serve for the landlord or travellers, if they please, to lay their most esteemed book upon it, they holding it, as the Mahometans do their Alcoran, too sacred to be laid on the ground. Upon the arrival of the Dutch, this sacred book of the landlord is put out of the way. Above the tsigai is a particular drawer, where they put up the inkhorn, paper, writings, books, and other things of this kind. Here also travellers find sometimes the wooden trunk, which the natives use at night instead of pillows. It is almost cubical, hollow, and made of six thin boards joined together, curiously varnished, smoothed, and very neat without, about a span long, but not quite so broad, that travellers, by turning it as they please, may lay their head in that posture which they find the most easy. Travellers have no other night clothes or bedding to expect from the landlord, and must carry their own along with them, or else lie on the carpet, which covers the floor, covering themselves with their own clothes, and laying their heads on this piece of wood, as on a pillow. In that side of the room which is next to the tokko, is commonly a very fine balcony, of an uncommon but very beautiful structure, serving for the person who is lodged in this, as in the chief room of the house, to look out into the neighbouring garden, or fields, or upon the next water, without stirring from the carpets placed below the tokko.

Beneath the floor, which is covered with fine well-stuffed mats and carpets, is a square walled hole, which in the winter season, after having first removed the carpets, they fill with ashes, and lay coals upon them to keep the room warm. The landladies in their room, put a low table upon this fire hole, and spread a large carpet or table-cloth over it, for people to sit underneath, and to defend themselves against the cold, much in the same manner as they do in Persia under a kurtsij. In rooms where there are no fireholes, they make use in the winter of brass or earthen pots, very artfully made, and filled with ashes, with two iron sticks, which serve them instead of firetongs, much after the same manner as they use two other small sticks at table, instead of forks.

I come now to the above-mentioned miserables, as they call them, being curious and amusing ornaments of their rooms. In our journey to court, I took notice of the following, though not altogether in one room, but in the several inns we came to, as we went along; 1. a paper neatly bordered with a rich piece of embroidery, instead of a frame, either with the picture of a saint, done with a coarse pencil to all appearance, and in a few, perhaps three or four strokes, wherein however the proportions and resemblance have been so far observed, that scarce any body can miss finding out whom it was designed to represent, nor help admiring the ingenuity and skill of the master; or else a judicious moral sentence of some noted philosopher, or poet, writ with his own hand; or the hand of some noted writing-master in that city or province, who had a mind to shew his skill by a few hasty strokes or characters, indifferent enough at first view, but nevertheless very ingeniously drawn, and such as will afford sufficient matter of amusement and speculation to a curious and attentive spectator. And lest any body should call their being genuine into question, they are commonly signed, not only by the writing-masters themselves, but have the hands and seals of some other witnesses put to them. They are hung up no where else but in the tokko, as the most honourable place of the room, and this because the Japanese set a very great value upon them. 2. The pictures of old Chinese, as also of birds, trees, landscapes and other things

things, upon white skreens, done by some eminent master, or rather scratched with a few hasty, affected strokes, after such a manner, that unless seen at a proper distance, they scarce appear natural. 3. A flower-pot standing under the tsigaidanna, which they take particular care to keep constantly in good order, filled with all sorts of curious flowers, and green branches of trees, such as the season affords, and curiously ranged according to the rules of art, it being as much an art in this country to range a flower-pot in proper order, as it is in Europe to carve, or to lay the table-cloth and napkins. Sometimes, there is instead of a flower pot, a perfuming pan of excellent good workmanship, cast in brass or copper, resembling a crane, lion, dragon, or other strange animal. I took notice once, that there was an earthen pot of Cologne, such as they use to keep Spa-water in, with all the cracks and fissures carefully mended, put in lieu of a flower-pot, it being esteemed a very great rarity, because of the distant place it came from, of the clay it was made of, and of its uncommon shape. 4. Some strange, uncommon pieces of wood, wherein the colours and grain either naturally run after a curious and unusual manner, or have been brought by art to represent something extraordinary. Sometimes, the tsigaidanna itself is made of such a scarce sort of wood, and sometimes the frame and case of the balcony, or the tokko, or the tokowara, or the door which leads into the room, or that which opens into the gallery towards the garden, sometimes also, the pillars and posts which are in the room, chiefly that which supports the tokko. Whatever things they be that are made of such uncommon pieces of wood, they very often, for fear of lessening the natural beauties, keep them rough and unpolished, with the bark on in several places, and only to preserve them, as well as for neatness sake, they cover them with a thin, slight, transparent varnish. 5. Some neat and beautiful net-work, or branched work, adorning either the balcony and windows towards the garden, or the tops of the doors, skreens and partitions of the chief apartments. 6. Some other scarce and uncommon piece of wood, or a branch of a tree, or a piece of a rotten root of an old stump, remarkable for their monstrous deformed shape, which are either hung up in some corner of the room, or lie in the tokowara.

After this manner the chief and back apartments are furnished in great inns, and houses of substantial people. The other rooms gradually decrease from that cleanliness, neatness, and delicacy of furniture, because the skreens, windows, mats, carpets, and other ornaments and household goods, after they have for some time adorned the chief apartments, and begin to be spotted, and to grow old, are removed by degrees into the other rooms, there to be quite worn. The chief and largest of the other rooms is that where they keep their plate, China ware, and other household goods, ranged upon the floor in a curious and very particular order, according to their size, shape, and use. Most of these goods are made of wood, thin, but strongly varnished, the greatest part upon a dark red ground. They are washed with warm water every time they are used, and wiped clean with a cloth, and so laid by against the next time. By this means, if they be lackered, and the varnish good, they will, though constantly used, keep clean and neat, and in their full lustre for several years.

The small gallery or walk which jets out from the house towards the garden, leads to the house of office, and to a bathing-stove or hot-house. The house of office is built on one side of the back part of the house, and hath two doors to go in. Going in you find at all times, a couple of new small mats, made either of straw or Spanish broom, lying ready for the use of those persons who do not care to touch the ground with their bare feet, although it be kept neat and clean to admiration, being always covered with mats. You let drop what you need, sitting after the Asiatic fashion, through a hole cut in the floor. The trough underneath is filled with light chaff, where in

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wherein the filth loses itself instantly. Upon the arrival of people of quality, the board which is opposite to your face sitting in this necessary posture, is covered with a clean sheet of paper, as are also the bolts of the two doors, or any other part they are likely to lay hold of. Not far from the little-house stands a basin filled with water, to wash your hands after this business is over. This is commonly an oblong rough stone, the upper part whereof is curiously cut out into the form of a basin; a new pail of bamboos hangs near it, and is covered with a neat fir or cypress board, to which they put a new handle every time it hath been used; to wit, a fresh stick of the bamboo cane, it being a very clean sort of a wood, and in a manner naturally varnished.

The bagnio, or bathing place, is commonly built on the backside of the garden. They build it of cypress wood. It contains either a froo, as they call it, a hot-house to sweat in, or a ciffroo, that is a warm bath, and sometimes both together. It is made warm and got ready every evening, because the Japanese usually bathe or sweat, after their day's journey is over, thinking by this means to refresh themselves and to sweat off their weariness. Besides, as they can undress themselves in an instant, so they are ready at a minute's warning to go into the bagnio; for they need but untie their sash, and all their cloaths fall down at once, leaving them quite naked, excepting a small band which they wear close to the body about the waist. For the satisfaction of the curious I will here insert a more particular description of their froo, or hot-house, which they go into only to sweat. It is an almost cubical trunk or stove, raised about three or four feet above the ground, and built close to the wall of the bathing place, on the outside. It is not quite a fathom high, but one fathom and a half long, and of same breadth. The floor is laid with small planed laths or planks, which are some few inches distant from each other, both for the easy passage of the rising vapours, and the convenient outlet of the water, people wash themselves withal. You are to go or rather to creep in through a small door or shutter. There are two other shutters, one on each side, to let out the superfluous damp. The empty space beneath this stove, down to the ground, is enclosed with a wall to prevent the damps from getting out on the sides. Towards the yard is a furnace just beneath the hot-house. The fire-hole is shut up towards the bathing stove, to prevent the smoke getting in there. Part of the furnace stands out towards the yard, where they put in the necessary water and plants. This part is shut with a clap-board when the fire is burning, to make all the damp and vapours ascend through the inner and open part into the hot-house. There are always two tubs, one of warm the other of cold water, put into these hot-houses, for such as have a mind to wash themselves, either for their diversion, or out of necessity.

The garden is the only place we Dutchmen, being treated in all respects little better than prisoners, have liberty to walk into. It takes in all the room behind the house. It is commonly square with a back door, and walled in very neatly, like a cistern or pond, for which reason it is called *tsubo*, which in the Japanese language, signifies a large water-trough or cistern. There are few good houses and inns, but what have their *tsubo*. If there be not room enough for a garden, they have at least an old ingrafted plum, cherry, or apricot tree. The older, the more crooked and monstrous this tree is, the greater value they put upon it. Sometimes they let the branches grow into the rooms. In order to make it bear larger flowers, and in greater quantity, they commonly cut it to a few, perhaps two or three branches. It cannot be denied, but that the great number of beautiful, incarnate, and double flowers, which they bear in the proper season, are a surprisngly curious ornament to this back part of the house, but they have this disadvantage that they bear no fruit. In some small houses, and inns of less

note, where there is not room enough, neither for a garden nor trees, they have at least an opening or window to let the light fall into the back rooms, before which, for the amusement and diversion of travellers, is put a small tub, full of water, wherein they commonly keep some gold or silver fish, as they call them, being fish with gold or silver coloured tails alive. For a farther ornament of the same place, there is generally a flower-pot or two standing there. Sometimes they plant some dwarf trees there, which will grow easily upon pumice or other porous stone, without any ground at all, provided the root be put into the water, from whence it will suck up sufficient nourishment. Ordinary people often plant the same kind of trees before the street-doors, for their diversion, as well as for an ornament to their houses. But to return to the tub or garden; if it be a good one, it must have at least thirty feet square, and consist of the following essential parts: 1. The ground is covered partly with roundish stones of different colours, gathered in rivers or upon the sea-shore, well washed and cleaned, and those of the same kind laid together in form of beds, partly with gravel, which is swept every day, and kept clean and neat to admiration, the large stones being laid in the middle, as a path to walk upon, without injuring the gravel, the whole in a seeming but ingenious confusion. 2. Some few flower-bearing plants planted confusedly, though not without some certain rules. Amidst the plants stands sometimes a faguer, as they call it, or scarce outlandish tree, sometimes a dwarf-tree or two. 3. A small rock or hill in the corner of the garden, made in imitation of nature, curiously adorned with birds and insects, cast in brass, and placed between the stones; sometimes the model of a temple stands upon it, built, as for the sake of the prospect they generally are, on a remarkable eminence, or the borders of a precipice. Often a small rivulet rushes down the stones with an agreeable noise, the whole in due proportions, and as near as possible resembling nature. 4. A small bush, or wood, on the side of the hill, for which the gardeners chuse such trees as will grow close to one another, and plant and cut them according to their largeness, nature, and the colour of their flowers and leaves, so as to make the whole very accurately imitate a natural wood or forest. 5. A cistern, or pond, as mentioned above, with live fish kept in it, and surrounded with proper plants, that is such as love a watery soil, and would lose their beauty and greenness if planted in a dry ground. It is a particular profession to lay out these gardens, and to keep them so curiously and nicely as they ought to be, as I shall have an opportunity to shew more at large in the sequel of this history. Nor doth it require less skill and ingenuity to contrive and fit out the rocks and hills above mentioned, according to the rules of art. What I have hitherto observed will be sufficient to give the reader a general idea of the inns in Japan. The accommodation travellers meet with in the same, I intend to treat of in a chapter by itself.

There are innumerable smaller inns, cook-shops, sacki or ale-houses, pastry-cooks, and confectioners' shops, all along the road, even in the midst of woods and forests, and at the tops of mountains, where a weary foot traveller, and the meaner sort of people, find at all times, for a few farthings, something warm to eat, or hot tea-water or sacki, or somewhat else of this kind, wherewithal to refresh themselves. It is true, these cook-shops are but poor sorry houses, if compared to larger inns, being inhabited only by poor people, who have enough to do to get a livelihood by this trade; and yet even in these, there is always something or other to amuse passengers, and to draw them in; sometimes a garden and orchard behind the house, which is seen from the street looking through the passage, and which by its beautiful flowers, or the agreeable sight of a stream of clear water falling down from a neighbouring, natural, or artificial hill, or by some other curious ornament of this kind, tempts people to come in and to repose

themselves in the shadow; at other times a large flower-pot stands in the window, filled with flowering branches of trees (for the flowers of the plants, though never so beautiful, are too common to deserve a place in such a pot), disposed in a very curious and singular manner; sometimes handsome well-looking house-maid, or a couple of young girls well dressed, stand under the door, and with great civility invite people to come in and to buy something. The eatables, such as cakes, or whatever it be, are kept before the fire, in an open room, sticking to skewers of bamboos, to the end that passengers as they go along may take them, and pursue their journey without stopping. The landladies, cooks, and maids, as soon as they see any body coming at a distance, blow up the fire, to make it look as if the victuals had been just got ready. Some busy themselves with making the tea, others prepare the soup in a cup; others fill cups with sacki or other liquors, to present them to passengers, all the while talking and chattering and commending their merchandize with a voice loud enough to be heard by their next neighbours of the same profession.

The eatables sold at these cook-shops besides tea, and sometimes sacki, are mansje, a sort of round cakes, which they learnt to make from the Portuguese; they are as big as common hens' eggs, and sometimes filled within with black bean flour and sugar; cakes of the jelly of the kaad's root, which root is found upon mountains, and cut into round slices, like carrots, and roasted; snails, oysters, shell-fish, and other small fish, roasted, boiled, or pickled; Chinese laxa is a thin sort of a pap or paste, made of fine wheat flour, cut into small, thin, long slices, and baked; all sorts of plants, roots, and sprigs, which the season affords, washed and cleaned, then boiled in water with salt; innumerable other dishes peculiar to this country, made of seeds of plants, powdered roots and vegetable substances, boiled or baked, dressed in many different ways, of various shapes and colours; a still subsisting proof of the indigent and necessitous way of life of their ancestors, and the original barrenness of the country, before it was cultivated and improved to what it now is. The common sauce for these and other dishes is a little soje, as they call it, mixed with sacki or the beer of the country. Sansjo leaves are laid upon the dish for ornament's sake, and sometimes thin slices of fine ginger and lemon peel. Sometimes they put powdered ginger, fansjo, or the powder of some root growing in the country, into the soup. They are also provided with sweetmeats of several different colours and sorts, which generally speaking are far more agreeable to the eye than pleasing to the taste, being but indifferently sweetened with sugar, and withal so tough that one must have good teeth to chew them. Foot travellers find it set down in their printed road-books, which they always carry about them, where and at what price the best victuals of the kind are to be got.

It now remains to add a few words concerning the tea, the rather since most travellers drink scarce any thing else upon the road. It is sold at all the inns and cook-shops along the road, besides many tea-booths set up only for this trade, in the midst of fields and woods, and at the tops of mountains. The tea sold at all these places is but a coarse sort, being only the largest leaves which remain upon the shrub after the youngest and tenderest have been plucked off at two different times, for the use of people of fashion, who constantly drink it before or after their meals. These larger leaves are not rolled up and curled as the better sort of tea is, but simply roasted in a pan, and continually stirred whilst they are roasting, lest they should get a burned taste. When they are done enough, they put them by in straw baskets under the roof of the house, near the place where the smoke comes out. They are not a bit nicer in preparing it for drinking, for they commonly take a good handful of the tea-leaves and boil them in a large iron kettle full of water. The leaves are sometimes wrapt up in a small bag, but

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if not, they have a little basket swimming in the kettle, which they make use of to keep the leaves down, when they have a mind to take out some of the clear decoction. Half a cup of this decoction is mixed with cold water, when travellers ask for it. Tea thus prepared smells and tastes like lye, the leaves it is made of, besides that they are of a very bad sort, being seldom less than a year old; and yet the Japanese esteem it much more healthful for daily use, than the young tender leaves prepared after the Chinese manner, which they say affect the head too strongly, though even these lose a great part of their narcotic quality when boiled.

I omit taking notice in this place of the shops and warehouses, which are without number within and without cities, in villages and hamlets, by reason of their being not very different from ours in Germany, and because I have elsewhere mentioned the goods and manufactures of the country, which are therein exposed to sale.

• CHAP. XXII. — *Of the great Numbers of People who daily travel on the Roads.*

IT is scarce credible, what numbers of people daily travel on the roads in this country, and I can assure the reader, from my own experience, having passed it four times, that Tokaido, which is one of the chief and indeed the most frequented of the seven great roads in Japan, is upon some days more crowded than the public streets in any the most populous towns in Europe. This is owing partly to the country being extremely populous, partly to the frequent journeys which the natives undertake, oftener than perhaps any other nation, either willingly and out of their own free choice, or because they are necessitated to it. For the reader's satisfaction, I will here insert a short preliminary account of the most remarkable persons, companies, and trains, travellers daily meet upon the road.

The Princes and lords of the empire, with their numerous retinues, as also the governors of the imperial cities and crown-lands, deserve to be mentioned in the first place. It is their duty to go to court once a year, and to pay their homage and respect to the Secular Monarch, at certain times determined by the supreme power. Hence, they must frequent these roads twice every year, going up to court and returning from thence. They are attended in this journey by their whole court, and commonly make it with that pomp and magnificence which is thought becoming their own quality and riches, as well as the majesty of the powerful monarch whom they are going to see. The train of some of the most eminent among the Princes of the empire fills up the road for some days. Accordingly, though we travelled pretty fast ourselves, yet we often met the baggage and fore-troops, consisting of the servants and inferior officers, for two days together, dispersed in several troops, and the Prince himself followed but the third day, attended with his numerous court, all marching in admirable order. The retinue of one of the chief Daimios, as they are called, is computed to amount to about 20,000 men, more or less; that of a Sjomio, to about 10,000; that of a governor of the imperial cities and crown-lands, to one, or several hundreds, according to his or revenues.

If two or more of these Princes and lords, with their numerous retinues, should chance to travel the same road at the same time, they would prove a great hindrance to one another, particularly if they should happen at once to come to the same siuku or village, inasmuch as often whole great villages are scarce large enough to lodge the retinue of one single Daimio. To prevent these inconveniences, it is usual for great Princes and lords to bespeak the several siukus they are to pass through, with all the inns, sometime before; as for instance, some of the first quality, a month, others
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a week or two before their arrival. Moreover the time of their future arrival is notified in all the cities, villages, and hamlets they are to pass through, by putting up small boards on high poles of bamboos, at the entry and end of every village, signifying in a few characters, what day of the month such or such a lord is to pass through that village, to dine or to lie there.

To satisfy the reader's curiosity, it will not be amiss to describe one of these princely trains, omitting the fore-runners, baggage, led-horses, cangos, and palanquins, which are sent a day or two before. But the account, which I propose to give, must not be understood of the retinue of the most powerful princes and petty kings, such as the lords of Satzuma, Cango, Owari, Kijnokuni, and Mito, but only of those of some other Daimios, several of which we met in our journey to court, the rather as they differ but little, excepting only the coats of arms, and particular pikes, some arbitrary order in the march, and the number of led-horses, fassanbacks, norimons, cangos, and their attendants.

1. Numerous troops of fore-runners, harbingers, clerks, cooks, and other inferior officers, begin the march, they being to provide lodgings, victuals, and other necessary things, for the entertainment of their Prince and Master, and his court. They are followed by,

2. The Prince's heavy baggage, packed up either in small trunks, such as I have above described, and carried upon horses, each with a banner, bearing the coat of arms and the name of the possessor, or else in large chests covered with red lackered leather, again with the possessor's coat of arms, and carried upon men's shoulders, with multitudes of inspectors to look after them.

3. Great numbers of smaller retinues, belonging to the chief officers and noblemen attending the Prince, with pikes, scymeters, bows and arrows, umbrellos, palanquins, led-horses, and other marks of their grandeur, suitable to their birth, quality, and office. Some of these are carried in Norimons, others in Cangos, others go on horseback.

4. The Prince's own numerous train, marching in an admirable and curious order, and divided into several troops, each headed by a proper commanding officer: as,
 1. Five, more or less, fine led-horses, led each by two grooms, one on each side, two footmen walking behind. 2. Five or six, and sometimes more porters, richly clad, walking one by one, and carrying fassanbacks, or lackered chests, and japaned neat trunks and baskets upon their shoulders, wherein are kept the gowns, cloaths, wearing-apparel, and other necessaries for the daily use of the Prince; each porter is attended by two footmen, who take up his charge by turns. 3. Ten, or more fellows, walking again one by one, and carrying rich scymeters, pikes of state, fire-arms, and other weapons in lackered wooden cases, as also quivers with bows and arrows. Sometimes for magnificence-sake, there are more fassanback bearers, and other led-horses follow this troop. 4. Two, three, or more men, who carry the pikes of state, as the badges of the Prince's power and authority, adorned at the upper end with bunches of cock-feathers, or certain rough hides, or other particular ornaments, peculiar to such or such a Prince. They walk one by one, and are attended each by two footmen. 5. A gentleman carrying the Prince's hat, which he wears to shelter himself from the heat of the sun, and which is covered with black velvet. He is attended likewise by two footmen. 6. A gentleman carrying the Prince's fomberiro or umbrella, which is covered in like manner with black velvet, attended by two footmen. 7. Some more fassanbacks and varnished trunks, covered with varnished leather, with the Prince's coat of arms upon them, each with two men to take care of it. 8. Sixteen, more or less, of the Prince's pages, and gentlemen of his bed-chamber, richly clad, walking

two and two before his norimon. They are taken out from among the first quality of his court. 9. The Prince himself sitting in a stately norimon or palanquin, carried by six or eight men, clad in rich liveries, with several others walking at the norimon's sides, to take it up by turns. Two or three gentlemen of the Prince's bed-chamber walk at the norimon's side, to give him what he wants and asks for, and to assist and support him in going in or out of the norimon. 10. Two or three horses of state, the saddles covered with black. One of these horses carries a large elbow-chair, which is sometimes covered with black velvet, and placed on a norikako of the same stuff. These horses are attended each by several grooms and footmen in liveries, and some are led by the Prince's own pages. 11. Two pike-bearers. 12. Ten or more people carrying each two baskets of a monstrous large size, fixed to the ends of a pole, which they lay on their shoulders in such a manner, that one basket hangs down before, another behind them. These baskets are more for state than for any use. Sometimes some fassanback bearers walk among them, to encrease the troop. In this order marches the Prince's own train, which is followed by

5. Six or twelve led-horses, with their leaders, grooms, and footmen, all in liveries.

6. A multitude of the Prince's domestics, and other officers of his court, with their own very numerous trains and attendants, pike-bearers, fassanback-bearers, and footmen in liveries. Some of these are carried in cangos, and the whole troop is headed by the Prince's high-steward carried in a norimon.

If one of the Prince's sons accompanies his father in this journey to court, he follows with his own train immediately after his father's norimon.

The chair of state, umbrellas, quivers, bows and arrows, some banners, and other ensigns of honour and authority, which are usually carried before the princes of the empire, and men of great quality, are represented in Kempfer's Plates.

It is a sight exceedingly curious and worthy of admiration, to see all the persons who compose the numerous train of a great Prince, the pike-bearers only, the norimon-men and liverymen excepted, clad in black silk, marching in an elegant order, with a decent becoming gravity, and keeping so profound a silence, that not the least noise is to be heard, save what must necessarily arise from the motion and rushing of their habits, and the trampling of the horses and men. On the other hand it appears ridiculous to an European, to see all the pike-bearers and norimon-men, with their habits tucked up above the waste, exposing their naked backs to the spectators' view, having only their privities covered with a piece of cloath. What appears still more odd and whimsical, is to see the pages, pike-bearers, umbrella and hat-bearers, fassanback or chest-bearers, and all the footmen in liveries, affect a strange mimic march or dance, when they pass through some remarkable town or borough, or by the train of another prince or lord. Every step they make, they draw up one foot quite to their back, in the mean time stretching out the arm on the opposite side as far as they can, and putting themselves in such a posture, as if they had a mind to swim through the air. Meanwhile the pikes, hats, umbrellas, fassanbacks, boxes, baskets, and whatever else they carry, are danced and tossed about in a very singular manner, answering the motion of their bodies. The norimon-men have their sleeves tied with a string as near the shoulders as possible, and leave their arms naked. They carry the pole of the norimon either upon their shoulders, or else upon the palm of the hand, holding it up above their heads. Whilst they hold it up with one arm, they stretch out the other, putting the hand into a horizontal posture, whereby, and by their short deliberate steps and stiff knees, they affect a ridiculous fear and circumspection. If the Prince steps out of his norimon into one of the green huts which are purposely built for him, at convenient distances on the road,

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or if he goes into a private house, either to drink a dish of tea, or to drop his needs, he always leaves a cobang with the landlord as a reward for his trouble. At dinner and supper the expence is much greater.

All the pilgrims who go to Isje, whatever province of the empire they come from, must travel over part of this great road. This pilgrimage is made at all times of the year, but particularly in the spring; and it is about that time vast multitudes of these people are seen upon the roads. The Japanese of both sexes, young and old, rich and poor, undertake this meritorious journey, generally speaking on foot, in order to obtain at this holy place indulgencies and remission of their sins. Some of these pilgrims are so poor, that they must live wholly upon what they get by begging along the road. It is particularly on this account, and by reason of their great number, that they are exceedingly troublesome to the princes and lords, who, at that time of the year, go to court, or come from thence, though otherwise they address themselves in a very civil manner, bare-headed, and with a low submissive voice, saying, "Great lord, be pleased to give the pilgrim a farthing towards the expence of his journey to Isje," or words to this effect. Of all the Japanese, the inhabitants of Jedo and the province Osju are the most inclined to this holy pilgrimage, and frequently resort to Isje, often without the knowledge of their parents and relations, or leave from their magistrates, which they are otherwise obliged to take in that and other provinces. Nay children, if apprehensive of a severe punishment for their misdemeanors, will run away from their parents and go to Isje, there to fetch an *osarra*, or indulgence, which, upon their return, is deemed a sufficient expiation of their crimes, and a sure means to reconcile them to them. Multitudes of these pilgrims are obliged to pass whole nights, lying in the open fields, exposed to all the injuries of wind and weather, some for want of room in inns, all the inns and houses of great villages being at some times of the year not sufficient to harbour them; others out of poverty: and of these last many are found dead upon the road, in which case their *osarra*, if they have any about them, is carefully taken up, and hid in the next tree or bush. Sometimes idle and lazy fellows, under pretence of this pilgrimage, go begging all the year round, or so long as they can get enough wherewithal to subsist and to carry on this idle way of life. Others make this pilgrimage in a comical and merry way, drawing people's eyes upon them, as well as getting their money. Some of these form themselves into a society, which is generally composed of four persons, clad in white linen, after the fashion of the *kuge*, or persons of the holy ecclesiastical court of the Dairi, or ecclesiastical hereditary Emperor. Two of them walking a grave, slow, deliberate pace, and standing often still, carry a large barrow adorned and hung about with fir-branches, and cut white paper, on which they place a large bell made of light substance, or a kettle, or something else taken out and alluding to some old romantic history of their gods and ancestors; whilst a third, with a commander's staff in his hand, adorned out of respect to his office, with a bunch of white paper, walks or rather dances before the barrow, singing with a dull heavy voice a song relating to the subject they are about to represent. Meanwhile the fourth goes before the houses, or addresses himself to charitable travellers, and receives and keeps the money which is given them out of charity. Their day's journeys are so short, that they can easily spend a whole summer upon such an expedition.

The *Siunre* are another remarkable sight travellers meet with upon the roads. *Siunre* are people who go to visit in pilgrimage the thirty-three chief *Quanwon* temples, which lie dispersed in several provinces of the empire. They commonly travel two or three together, singing a miserable *Quanwon* song from house to house, and sometimes play-

ing upon a fiddle, or upon a guitar, as vagabond beggars do in Germany: however they do not importune travellers for their charity. They have the names of such Quanwon temples as they have not yet visited, writ upon a small board hanging about their neck in proper order. They are clad in white, after a very singular fashion, peculiar only to this sect. Some people like it so well to ramble about the country after this manner, that they will apply themselves to no other trade and profession to get a livelihood by, but chuse to end their days in this perpetual pilgrimage.

Sometimes one meets with very odd strange sights; as for instance, people running stark naked about the streets in the hardest frosts, wearing only a little straw about their walle to cover their privities. These people generally undertake so extraordinary and troublesome a journey, to visit certain temples, pursuant to religious vows, which they promised to fulfil in case they should obtain from the bounty of their gods deliverance from some fatal distemper they themselves, their parents or relations laboured under, or from some other great misfortunes they were threatened with. They live very poorly and miserably upon the road, receive no charity, and proceed on their journey by themselves, almost perpetually running.

Multitudes of beggars crowd the roads in all parts of the empire, but particularly on the so much frequented Tokaido. Among them there are many lusty young fellows, who shave their heads. This custom of shaving the head hath been originally introduced by Sotoktais, a zealous propagator of the Fotoge, or doctrine of the foreign pagan worship, and was kept up ever since. For being vigorously opposed in the propagation of his doctrine by one Moria, he commanded all that had embraced his worship, to shave part of their heads, to be thereby distinguished from the adherents of Moria, and likewise ordered, that their male-children should have their whole head shaved, after the manner of their priests, and by virtue of this solely enjoy the privilege of begging.

To this shaved begging tribe belongs a certain remarkable religious order of young girls called Bikuni, which is as much as to say nuns. They live under the protection of the nunneries at Kamakura and Miaco, to whom they pay a certain sum a year, of what they get by begging, as an acknowledgment of their authority. Some pay besides a sort of tribute or contribution to the Khumano temples at Isje. Their chief abode is in the neighbourhood of Khumano, from whence they are called Khumano No Bikuni, or the nuns of Khumano, for distinction's sake from other religious nuns. They are, in my opinion, by much the handsomest girls we saw in Japan. The daughters of poor parents, if they be handsome and agreeable, apply for and easily obtain this privilege of begging in the habit of nuns, knowing that beauty is one of the most persuasive inducements for travellers to let them feel the effects of their generosity. The jammabos, or begging mountain-priests (of whom more hereafter) frequently incorporate their own daughters into this religious order, and take their wives from among these bikunis. Some of them have been bred up in bawdy-houses, and having served their time there, buy the privilege of entering into this religious order, therein to spend the remainder of their youth and beauty. They live two or three together, and make an excursion every day some few miles off their dwelling-houses. They particularly watch people of fashion who travel in norimons, or in cangos, or on horseback. As soon as they perceive some body a coming, they draw near and address themselves, though not altogether, but singly, every one accosting a gentleman by herself, singing a rural song: if he proves very liberal and charitable, she will keep him company and divert him for some hours. As on the one hand very little religious blood seems to circulate in their veins, so on the other

other it doth not appear that they labour under any considerable degree of poverty. It is true indeed, they conform themselves to the rules of their order by shaving their heads, but they take care to cover and to wrap them up in caps or hoods made of black silk. They go decently and neatly dressed after the fashion of ordinary people, and wear gloves without fingers on their arms. They wear also a large hat to cover their faces, which are often painted, and to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun. They commonly have a shepherd's rod or hook in their hands. Their voice, gestures, and apparent behaviour, are neither too bold and daring, nor too much dejected and affected, but free, comely, and seemingly modest. However, not to extol their modesty beyond what it deserves, it must be observed, that they make nothing of laying their bosoms quite bare to the view of charitable travellers, all the while they keep their company under pretence of its being customary in the country, and that for ought I know, they may be, though never so religiously shaved, full as impudent and lascivious as any whore in a public bawdy-house.

Having thus given an account of these Bikunis, it will not be improper to add a few words of another religious begging order of the Jammabos, as they are commonly called, that is mountain-priests, or rather Jammabus, that is mountain-soldiers, because at all times they go armed with swords and scimiters. They do not shave their heads, and follow the rules of the first founder of this order, who mortified his body by climbing up steep high mountains, at least they conform themselves thereunto in their dress, apparent behaviour, and some outward ceremonies, for they are fallen far short of his rigorous way of life. They have their head, or general of their order, residing at Miaco, to whom they are obliged to bring up a certain sum of money every year, and in return obtain from him a higher dignity, with some additional ornament whereby they are known among themselves. They commonly live in the neighbourhood of some famous Cami temple, and accost travellers in the name of that Cami which is worshipped there, making a short discourse of his holiness and miracles, with a loud coarse voice, meanwhile, to make the noise still louder, they rattle their long staves loaded at the upper end with iron rings to take up the charity-money which is given them; and last of all they blow a trumpet made of a large shell. They carry their children along with them upon the same begging errand, clad like their fathers, but with their heads shaved. These little bastards are exceedingly troublesome and importunate with travellers, and commonly take care to light of them, as they are going up some hill or mountain, where, because of the difficult ascent, they cannot well escape, nor indeed otherwise get rid of them without giving them something. In some places they and their fathers accost travellers in company with a troop of Bikunis, and with their rattling, singing, trumpeting, chattering, and crying, make such a horrid frightful noise, as would make one mad or deaf. These mountain-priests are frequently addressed to by superstitious people, for conjuring, fortune-telling, foretelling future events, recovering lost goods, and the like purposes. They profess themselves to be of the Cami religion, as established of old, and yet they are never suffered to attend or to take care of any of the Cami temples.

There are many more beggars travellers meet with along the roads. Some of these are old, and in all appearance honest men, who, the better to prevail upon people to part with their charity, are shaved and clad after the fashion of the Siuko or Budido priests. Sometimes there are two of them standing together, each with a small oblong book before him, folded much after the same manner as public instruments are in the chancery of Siam. This book contains part of their Fokekio, or Bible, printed in the significant or learned language. However, I would not have the reader think, as if they

they themselves had any understanding in that language, or knew how to read the book placed before them. They only learn some part of it by heart, and speak it aloud, looking towards the book, as if they did actually read in it, and expecting something from their hearers as a reward for their trouble. Others are found sitting near some river or running water, making a *siegaki*, a certain ceremony for the relief of departed souls. This *siegaki* is made after the following manner: They take a green branch of the *fanna skimmi* tree, and murmuring certain words with a low voice, wash and scour with it some shavings of wood, whereon they had written the names of some deceased persons. This they believe to contribute greatly to relieve and refresh their departed souls confined in purgatory, and, for ought I know, it may answer the purpose full as well as any number of masses, as they are celebrated to the same end in Roman Catholic countries. Any person that hath a mind to purchase the benefit of this washing for himself or his relations and friends, throws a *fenni* upon the mat, which is spread out near the beggar, who doth not so much as offer to return him any manner of thanks for it, thinking his art and devotion deserve still better, besides, that it is not customary amongst beggars of note to thank people for their charity. Any one who hath learned the proper ceremonies necessary to make the *siegaki*, is at liberty to do it. Others of this tribe, who make up far the greater part, sit upon the road all day long upon a small coarse mat. They have a flat bell, like a broad mortar, lying before them, and do nothing else but repeat with a lamentable singing tune the word *Namanda*, which is contracted from *Namu Amida Budsu*, a short form of prayers wherewith they address the god *Amida*, as the patron and advocate of departed souls. Meanwhile they beat almost continually with a small wooden hammer upon the afore-said bell, and this they say, in order to be the sooner heard by *Amida*, and I am apt to think, not without an intent to be the better taken notice of by passengers too.

Since I have hitherto entertained the reader with an account of the beggars, and numerous begging companies of this country, I must beg leave, before I quit this subject, to mention two or three more. Another sort we met with as we went along were differently clad, some in an ecclesiastical, others in a secular habit. These stood in the fields next to the road, and commonly had a sort of an altar standing before them, upon which they placed the idol of their *Briarésus*, or *Quanwon*, as they call him, carved in wood and gilt; or the pictures of some other idols scurvily done; as for instance, the picture of *Amida*, the supreme judge of departed souls; of *Jemau O*, or the head keeper of the prison whereunto the condemned souls are confined; of *Disloo*, or the supreme commander in the purgatory of children, and some others; wherewith, and by some representations of the flames and torments prepared for the wicked in a future world, they endeavour to stir up in passengers compassion and charity.

Other beggars, and these to all appearance honest enough, are met sitting along the road, clad much after the same manner with the *Quanwon* beggars, with a *Disloo* staff in their hand. These have made a vow not to speak during a certain time, and express their want and desire only by a sad, dejected, woeful countenance.

Not to mention numberless other common beggars, some sick, some stout and lusty enough, who get people's charity by praying, singing, playing upon fiddles, guitars, and other musical instruments, or performing some juggler's tricks, I will close the account of this vermin with an odd remarkable sort of a beggar's music, or rather chime of bells, we sometimes, but rarely, meet with in our journey to court, and which is from the number of bells called *fatio canne*, the chime or music of eight. A young boy with a sort of a wooden roof or machine pendant from his neck, and a rope with eight strings about it, from which hang down eight bells of different sounds, turns round

in a circle, with a swiftness scarce credible, in such a manner, that both the machine which rests upon his shoulders, and the bells turn round with him horizontally, the boy in the mean while with great dexterity and quickness beating them with two hammers, makes a strange odd sort of a melody. To increase the noise, two people sitting near him beat, one upon a large, the other upon a smaller drum. Those who are pleased with their performance throw them some fennis, or farthings, upon the ground.

The crowd and throng upon the roads in this country is not a little increased by numberless small retail merchants and children of country people, who run about from morning to night, following travellers, and offering them to sale their poor, for the most part eatable, merchandize; such as for instance several cakes and sweetmeats, wherein the quantity of sugar is so inconsiderable, that it is scarce perceptible; other cakes of different sorts, made of flour, foccani, or else all sorts or roots boiled in water and salt, road-books, straw-shoes for horses and men, ropes, strings, tooth-pickers, and a multitude of other trifles made of wood, straw, reed and bamboos, such as the situation of every place affords.

In some places, both within and without cities and villages, one meets sometimes empty cangos and palanquins, or empty and saddled, though otherwise but mean-looking, horses, with the men to attend them, who offer themselves and their horses to carry weary foot-travellers to the next post-house, or where they please, for a small matter. Commonly they have been already employed, and would be obliged to return empty to the place from whence they set out if they did not pick up somebody by the way that will, or hath occasion to make use of them.

To complete the account I proposed to give, of what multitudes of people travellers daily meet with along the road, I must not forget to take particular notice of numberless wenches, the great and small inns, tea-booths and cook-shops, chiefly in villages and hamlets, in the great island Nipon, are abundantly and at all times furnished withal. About noon, when they have done dressing and painting themselves, they make their appearance, standing under the door of the house, or sitting upon the small gallery or bench which is before the house, from whence, with a smiling countenance and good words, they invite the several travelling troops that pass by, to call in at their inn preferably to others. In some places, where there are several inns standing near one another, chiefly in the Siuku, or such villages as have post-houses, they make with their chattering and rattling no inconsiderable noise, and prove not a little troublesome. The two villages Akafaki and Goy, lying near one another, are particularly famous on this account, all the houses therein being so many inns, or rather bawdy-houses, each furnished with no less than three, six or seven of these wenches, for which reason also they are called the great storehouse of Japanese whores, and by way of banter, the common grind-mill. Very seldom any Japanese pass through these villages, but they pick up some of these whores and have to do with them. I cannot forbear mentioning in this place a small mistake of Mr. Caron, in his account of Japan, where he shews so tender a regard for the honour of the Japanese sex (perhaps out of respect to his lady, who was a Japan woman,) as to assert, that besides the public and privileged bawdy-houses, this trade is not carried on in any other city or village throughout the empire. It is unquestionably true, that there is hardly a public inn upon the great island Nipon, but what may be called a bawdy-house; and if there be too many customers resort to one place, the neighbouring innkeepers will friendly and willingly lend their own wenches, on condition that what money they get shall be faithfully paid them. Nor is it a new custom come up but lately in this country, or since Mr. Caron's time; on the contrary, it is of very old date, and took its rise many hundred years ago, in the times of
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that brave general and first secular monarch Joritimo, who, apprehensive lest his soldiers weary of his long and tedious expeditions, and desirous to return home to their wives and children, should desert his army, thought it much more adviseable to indulge them in this particular; and to gratify their carnal appetites by allowing public and private bawdy-houses. It is upon the same account, that the Chinese used to call Japan the bawdy-house of China, for this unlawful trade being utterly and under severe penalties forbid throughout all the Chinese Emperor's dominions, his subjects frequently resorted to Japan, there to spend their money in company with such wenches.

CHAP. XXIII. — *Of our Journey to the Emperor's Court in general; and how we were accommodated on the Road.*

ALL the princes, lords and vassals of the Japanese empire, being obliged to make their appearance at court once a year, it hath been determined by the Emperor, what time and what day they are to set out on their journey. The same was observed with regard to the Dutch, and the 15th or 16th day of the first Japanese month, which commonly falls in with the middle of our February hath been fixed for our constant departure for times to come. It is towards that time we get every thing ready to set out, having first sent the presents we are to make at Ofacca, Miaco, and at the Emperor's court, (sorted and carefully packed,) together with the victuals and kitchen-furniture for our future voyage by sea, and other heavy baggage, to the city of Simonofeki, on board a barge built for this sole purpose. Every other year this barge must be provided with new tackle, and the cabin hung with new furniture, according to the custom of the country, and it is with no little expence that it is kept in constant good repair. If the grows out of use, a new one must be bought or built for a considerable sum. All the presents and other goods being put on board, she sets sail for Simonofeki, some time before our own departure, because as we make that part of our journey by land, and in less time, she must wait our arrival there, in order to take us and our retinue on board, and to carry us to Ofacca. Formerly we went on board ourselves in the harbour of Nagasaki, and made the whole voyage from thence to Ofacca by sea, but a very sudden and violent storm having once befallen and put us into imminent danger, the Emperor, out of a tender regard for the security of our persons, hath since ordered, that we should make this first part of our journey by land. Three or four weeks after this barge hath set sail to Simonofeki, and a few days before our departure, our resident attended with his usual train, goes to visit the two governors of Nagasaki, at their palaces, in order to take his leave of them, and to recommend the Dutch, who remain in our factory, to their favour and protection. The next day, all the goods and other things which must be carried along with us, either by horses or men are marked, every bale or trunk with a small board, whereon is writ the possessor's name, and what things are therein contained.

The very day of our departure all the officers of our island, and all persons who are any ways concerned with our affairs particularly the future companions of our voyage, come over to Desima early in the morning. They are followed soon after by both governors, attended with their whole numerous court, or else by their deputies, who come to visit us, and to wish us a good journey, as persons that are now going to have the singular honour of being admitted into the presence of the supreme majesty of the empire. The governors, or their deputies, having been entertained as usual upon this occasion, and taken their leave, are by us accompanied out of our island, which is done commonly about nine in the morning, at which time also we set out on our journey.

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The bugio, or commander in chief of our train, and the Dutch resident enter their norimons. The chief interpreter, if he be old, is carried in an ordinary cangos: others mount on horseback, and the servants go a-foot. All the Japanese officers of our island, and several friends and acquaintances of the Japanese companions of our voyage, keep us company out of the town so far as the next inn.

Our train is not the same in the three several parts of our journey to court. In that part which we make by land from Nagasaki to Kokura, travelling over the island Kiusju, it may amount with all the servants and footmen, as also the gentlemen, whom the lords of the several provinces, we pass through, send to compliment us, and to keep us company during our stay in their dominions, to about an hundred persons. In our voyage by sea it is not much less, all the sailors and watermen taken in. But in the last part of our journey, when passing over the great island Nipon, we go from Ofacca to Jedo, it is considerably greater, and consists of no less than an hundred and fifty people, and this by reason of the presents and other goods, which came from Nagasaki as far as Ofacca by sea, but must now be taken out and carried by land to Jedo by horses and men. All our heavy baggage is commonly sent away some hours before we set out ourselves, lest it should be a hindrance to us, as also to give timely notice to our landlords of our arrival.

Our days journies are very long and considerable; for we set out early in the morning, and save only one hour we rest at dinner, travel till evening, and sometimes till late at night, making from ten to thirteen Japanese miles a day. In our voyage by sea, we put into some harbour and come to an anchor every night, advancing forty Japanese water-leagues a day at farthest.

We are better treated, and more honourably received, every where in our journey over Kiusju, than we are upon the great island Nipon, and, in general, we have much more civility shewn us by strangers, I mean by the natives of Japan, than by the Nagasaki companions of our voyage, and our own servants, who eat our bread and travel at our expence. In our journey across the island Kiusju, we have nearly the same honours and civility done us by the lords of the several provinces we pass through, which they shew only to travelling Princes and their retinues. The roads are swept and cleaned before us, and in cities and villages they are watered to lay the dust. The common people, labourers, and idle spectators, who are so very troublesome to travellers upon the great island Nipon, are kept out of the way, and the inhabitants of the houses, on either side of the roads and streets, see us go by, either sitting in the back part of their houses, or kneeling in the fore part behind the screens, with great respect and in a profound silence.

All the Princes and lords of the island Kiusju, whose dominions we are to pass through, send one of their noblemen to compliment us, as soon as we enter upon their territories; but as he is not suffered to address us in person, he makes his compliment in his master's name to the bugio, or commander in chief of our train, and to the chief interpreter, offering at the same time, what horses and men we want for us and our baggage. He likewise orders four footmen to walk by every Dutchman's side, and two gentlemen of some note at his court, who are clad in black silk, with staves in their hands to precede the whole train. After this manner they lead us through their master's territories, and when we come to the limits thereof, the Japanese companions of our voyage are by them treated with sacki and sokana, and so they take their leave. For our passage over the harbours of Omura and Simabara, the lords of these two places lend us their own pleasure barges, and their own watermen, besides that they furnish us with abundance of provisions, without expecting even so much as a small present in

return for their civil and courteous behaviour ; and yet our thievish interpreters never miss to lay hold of this advantage, putting this article upon our account, as if we had actually been at the expence, and they commonly put the money in their pocket. In our whole journey over Saikokf, from Nagasaki to Kokura, every body we meet with shews us and our train that deference and respect, which is due only to the Princes and lords of the country. Private travellers, whether they travel on foot or on horseback, must retire out of the way, and bare-headed humbly bowing wait in the next field, till our whole retinue is gone by. Those who will not pay us this respect willingly, and of their own free choice, are compelled to do it by the officers aforesaid, who precede our train. Peasants and common foot-travellers, generally speaking, are so civil as to retire out of the way into the next field, before they are compelled to it, and there they wait bare-headed and prostrate almost flat to the ground, till we are gone by. I took notice of some country people, who do not only retire out of the way, but turn us their back, as not worthy to behold us ; which same respect is paid in Siam to the women of the King's seraglio, and indeed almost all over the East Indies to persons of a superior rank. In Japan it is the greatest mark of civility a native can possibly shew us, whether it be out of respect for the supreme Majesty of the empire, into whose presence we are going to be admitted, or, as our interpreters would fain persuade us, out of deference to the bugjo, as representing the authority of the imperial governors of Nagasaki. Howbeit, thus much is certain, that none, or but few of these public marks of honour and respect are shewn us in our journey over the great island Nipon.

Farther, as to what concerns our accommodation on the road, the same is for our money as good as we could possibly desire, with regard to the carriage of us and of our baggage, the number of horses and men provided for the same, the inns, lodgings, eating and attendance. But on the other hand, if we consider the narrow compass of liberty allowed us, we have too much reason to complain. For we are treated in a manner like prisoners, deprived of all liberty excepting that of looking about the country from our horses, or out of our cangos, which indeed it is impossible for them to deny us. As soon as a Dutchman alights from his horse, (which is taken very ill, unless urgent necessity obliges him to do it,) he that rides before our train, and the whole train after him, must stop suddenly ; and the dozen and two bailys must come down from their horses to take immediate care of him : nay, they watch us to that degree, that they will not leave us alone, not even when Nature obliges us to drop our needs. The bugjo, or commander in chief of our train, studies day and night not only the contents of his instructions, but the journals of two or three preceding voyages, that none of his care and application should be wanting, exactly and step by step to follow the actions and behaviour of his predecessors. It is looked upon as the most convincing proof of his faithfulness and good conduct still to exceed them. Nay, some of these blockheads are so capricious, that no accident whatsoever can oblige them to go to any other inns but those we had been at the year before, should we upon this account be forced in the worst weather, with the greatest inconveniency, and at the very peril of our lives to travel till late at night.

We go to the same inns which the Princes and lords of the country resort to, in their own journeys to the imperial court, that is, to the very best of every place. The apartments are at that time hung with the colour and arms of the Dutch East India Company, and this in order to notify to the neighbourhood by the livery who they be that lodge there, as is customary in the country. We always go to the same inns, with this difference only, that upon our return from Jedo, we lie at the place we dined at in going up ; by this means equally to divide the trouble the inn-keepers must be at upon our

account, which is much greater at night than at dinner. We always take up our lodging in the back apartment of the house, which is by much the pleafantest, because of the view into a curious garden. It is also otherwise reckoned the chief, by reason of its being the remotest from the noise and tumult of the street and forepart of the house.

The landlord observes the same customs upon our arrival, which he doth upon the arrival of the Princes and lords of the empire. He comes out of the town or village into the fields to meet us and our train, being clad in a *camisimo* or garment of ceremony, and wearing a short scimiter stuck in the girdle. In this dress he addresses every one of us, making his compliments with a low bow, which before the *Norimons* of the bugjo, and our resident, is so low, that he touches the ground with his hands, and almost with his forehead. This done, he hastens back to his house and receives us at the entry of the same a second time, in the same manner, and with the same compliments.

As soon as we are come to the inn, our guardians and keepers carry us forthwith across the house to our apartments. Nor indeed are we so much displeas'd at this, since the number of spectators, and the petulant scoffing of the children, but above all the troubles of a fatiguing journey, make us desirous to take our rest, the sooner the better. We are otherwise, as it were, confined to our apartment, having no other liberty allowed us, but to walk out into the small, but curious garden, which is behind the house. All other avenues, all the doors, windows and holes, which open any prospect towards the streets or country, are carefully shut and nailed up, in order as they would fain persuade us, to defend us and our goods from thieves, but in fact to watch and guard us as thieves and deserters. It must be owned, however, that this super-abundant care and watchfulness is considerably lessened upon our return, when we have found means to insinuate ourselves into their favour, and by presents and otherwise to procure their connivance. The bugjo takes possession of the best apartment after ours, in whatever part of the house it be. The several other rooms, which are next to our own, are taken up by the *dosen*, interpreters, and other chief officers of our retinue, in order to be always near at hand to watch our conduct, and to take care that none of our landlord's domestics, nor any other person, presume to come into our apartment, unless it be by their leave, and in their presence. In their absence they commit this care to some of their own or our servants, though all the companions of our voyage in general are strictly charged to have a watchful eye over us. Those who exceed their fellow-servants in vigilance and good conduct, are by way of encouragement permitted to make the voyage again the next year: otherwise they stand excluded for two years.

As soon as we have taken possession of our apartment, in comes the landlord with some of his chief male domestics, each with a dish of tea in his hand, which they present to every one of us with a low bow, according to his rank and dignity, and repeating with a submissive deep fetched voice, the words, ah, ah, ah! They are all clad in their compliment gowns, or garments of ceremony, which they wear only upon great occasions, and have each a short scimeter stuck in their girdle, which they never quit, so long as the company stays in the house. This done, the necessary apparatus for smoking is brought in, consisting of a board of wood or brass, though not always of the same structure, upon which are placed a small fire-pan with coals, a pot to spit in, a small box filled with tobacco cut small, and some long pipes with small brass heads; as also another japanned board or dish, with *locano*, that, is something to eat, as for instance, several sorts of fruits, figs, nuts, several sorts of cakes, chiefly *mansie*,

and rice cakes hot, several sorts of roots boiled in water, sweet-meats, and other trumperies of this kind. All these several things are brought in, first into the bugjo's room, then into ours. As to other necessaries, travellers may have occasion for, they are generally served by the house-maids, if they be natives of Japan. These wenches also lay the cloth, and wait at table, taking this opportunity to engage their guests to farther favours. But it is quite otherwise with us. For the landlords themselves, and their male domestics, after they have presented us with a dish of tea, as above said, are not suffered, upon any account whatever, to approach or to enter our apartments, but whatever we want, it is the sole business of our own servants to provide us with the same.

There are no other spitting pots brought into the room, but that, which came along with the tobacco. If there be occasion for more, they make use of small pieces of bamboos, a hand broad and high, being sawed from between the joints, and hollowed. The candles brought in at night, are hollow in the middle; the wick, which is of paper, being wound about a wooden stick, before the tallow is laid on. For this reason also the candlesticks have a punch or bodkin at top, which the candles are fixed upon. They burn very quick, and make a great deal of smoke and stink, because the oil or tallow is made out of the berries of bay-trees, camphire trees, and some others of this kind. It is somewhat odd and ridiculous to see the whirling motion of the ascending smoke followed by the flame, when the candle is taken off from the punch at the top of the candlestick. Instead of lamps they make use of small flat earthen vessels, filled with train oil made of the fat of whales, or with oil made of cotton seed. The match is made of rush, and the above said earthen vessel stands in another filled with water, or in a square lanthorn, that in case the oil should by chance take fire, no damage might therefrom come to the house. What obliges them to be very careful, is the great havock fires make in this country, where the houses are all built of wood.

The Japanese in their journies sit down to table thrice a day, besides what they eat between meals. They begin early in the morning and before break of day, at least before they set out, with a good substantial breakfast; then follows the dinner at noon, and the day is concluded with a plentiful supper at night. Their table is spread, and their victuals dressed after the fashion of the country, which I have described elsewhere. It being forbid to play at cards, they sit after meals drinking and singing some songs to make one another merry, or else they propose some riddles round, or play at some other game, and he that cannot explain the riddle, or loses the game, is obliged to drink a glass. It is again quite otherwise with us in this respect, for we sit at table and eat our victuals very quietly. Our cloth is laid, and the dishes dressed after the European manner, but by Japanese cooks. We are presented besides by the landlord, each with a Japanese dish. We drink European wines, and the rice-beer of the country hot. All our diversion is confined in the day time to the small garden, which is behind the house, at night to the bagnio, in case we please to make use of it. No other pleasure is allowed us, no manner of conversation with the domestics, male or female, excepting what through the connivance of our inspectors, some of us find means to procure at night in private and in their own rooms.

When every thing is ready for us to set out again, the landlord is called, and our resident, in presence of the two interpreters, pays him the reckoning in gold, laid upon a small board. He draws near in a creeping posture, kneeling, holding his hands down to the floor, and when he takes the table which the money is laid upon, he bows down his forehead almost quite to the ground, in token of submission and gratitude, uttering with a deep voice the word, ah, ah, ah! whereby in this country inferiors

show their deference and respect to their superiors. He then prepares to make the same compliment to the other Dutchmen, but our interpreters generally excuse him this trouble, and make him return in the same crawling posture. Every landlord hath two cobangs paid him for dinner, and three for supper and lodgings at night. For this money he is to provide victuals enough for our whole train, the horses, the men that look after them, and the porters only excepted. The same sum is paid to the landlords in the cities, where we stay some days, as at Oofaka, Miaco, and Jedo, viz. five cobangs a day, without any further recompence; a small matter indeed, considering that we must pay double for every thing else we want. The reason of our being kept so cheap as to victuals and lodging is, because this sum was agreed on with our landlords a long while ago, when our train was not yet so bulky as it now is. The landlords upon Saikaido, in our journey from Nagasaki to Kokura, receive only a small matter by way of reward for the trouble we give them, for our own cooks take care to provide themselves what is requisite for our table. It is a custom in this country, which we likewise observe, that guests before they quit the inn, order their servants to sweep the room they lodged in, not to leave any dirt or ungrateful dust behind them.

From this reasonable behaviour of the landlords, on our behalf, the reader may judge of the civility of the whole nation in general, always excepting our own officers and servants, and the companions of our voyage. I must own, that in the visits we made or received in our journey, we found the same to be greater than could be possibly expected from the most civilized nation. The behaviour of the Japanese, from the meanest countryman up to the greatest Prince or Lord, is such, that the whole empire might be called a school of civility and good manners. They have so much sense and innate curiosity, that if they were not absolutely denied a free and open conversation and correspondence with foreigners, they would receive them with the utmost kindness and pleasure. In some towns and villages only we took notice, that the young boys, who are childish all over the world, would run after us, call us names, and crack some malicious jests or other, levelled at the Chinese, whom they take us to be. One of the most common, and not much different from a like sort of a compliment, which is commonly made to Jews in Germany, is, *Toofin, bay bay*, which in broken Chinese, signifies, Chinese, have ye nothing to truck?

To give the reader an idea of the expences of our journey to court, I will here set down the chief articles expressed in round sums and rixdollars.

	Rixdol.
For victuals and lodging at 50 rixdollars a day, in our journey by land, makes in two months time	3000
For 40 horses, and so many men, to carry our baggage from Oſacca to Jedo, which number is greater in going up to court and less upon our return, at 15 thails a horse, and 6 thails a man, as hath been agreed on of old, (half of which money the interpreters put in their pockets,) amounts to	- 3000
A sum of money divided among our retinue, to bear some extraordinary expences of the journey, of which every Dutchman receives 54 thails, and the others more or less, according to their office and quality, amounts to about	- 1000
For hiring a barge (or if she be ours, for building her) 420 thails, to the sailors 50 thails: for the cabin-furniture and tackle 90 thails; for maintaining and repairing the said barge 40 thails; amounts in all 600 thails, or	- 1000
For victuals, drink, tea, tobacco, and other necessary provisions for our voyage by sea	1000

For

	Rixdol
For the usual presents in money; as for instance, to the bugjo or commander in chief of our train, 300 thails, or 500 rixdollars, and much the same to the inn-keepers, their sons and domestics, at Ofacca, Meaco, and Jedo, in all	1000
Hire for the Norimon-men, as also for the Cangos, we make use of instead of horses, in order to be carried over mountains and bad roads, as also to visit certain temples and pleasure-houses: for passage-money to be ferryed over rivers and harbours: for some extraordinary expences and presents, whether necessary, or for our diversion, may amount in all to	2000
Presents to be made to his Imperial Majesty, of little value indeed for so powerful a Monarch, but what, if sold, would bring in a sum of at least	2500
Presents to be made to fourteen of the prime ministers, and chief officers of the imperial court at Jedo; to the two governors of that city, to the chief judge at Meaco, as also to the two governors of that city, and of the city of Ofacca. These presents consist in some foreign commodities, and are but a trifle to every one of them, but brings us to an expence of at least	3000
Presents to the two governors of Nagasaki, which they receive before our departure in raw silk and stuffs, which they sell again to very good advantage, make to us a sum of	2500
Sum total of all the expences of our journey (or about 4000l. sterling)	20,000

Before I proceed to the journal of our journey to the Imperial Court, it may not be amiss to observe, that it is not an indifferent matter to travellers in this country, what day they set out on their journey. For they must chuse for their departure a fortunate day, for which purpose they make use of a particular table, which they say hath been observed to hold true by a continued experience of many ages, and wherein are set down all the unfortunate days of every month, upon which, if travellers were to set out on any journey, they would not only expose themselves to some inconsiderable misfortune, but likewise be liable to lose all their expences and labour, and to be disappointed in the chief intent of their journey. However, the most sensible of the Japanese have but little regard for this superstitious table, which is more credited by the common people, the mountain-priests and monks. A copy of this table is printed in all their road and house-books, and is as follows.

A Table, shewing what days of the month are unfortunate and improper to begin a journey, invented by the wife and experienced astrologer Abino Seimei.

Month.	Unfortunate Days.				
1. 7.	3.	11.	19.	27.	
2. 8.	2.	10.	18.	26.	
3. 9.	1.	9.	17.	25.	
4. 10.	4.	12.	20.	28.	
5. 11.	5.	13.	21.	29.	
6. 12.	6.	14.	22.	30.	

To give the more weight and authority to this table, they say, that it was invented by the aforesaid astrologer Seimei, a man of great quality and very eminent in his art. He was born a Prince. King Abino Jassima, was his father, and a fox his mother.

Abino

Abino Jassima was married to this fox upon the following occasion. He once happened with a servant of his to be in the temple of Inari, who is the god and protector of the foxes, mean while some courtiers were hunting the fox without doors, in order to make use of the lungs for the preparation of a certain medicine. It happened upon this that a young fox pursued by the hunters, fled into the temple, which stood open, and took shelter in the very bosom of Jassima. The King unwilling to deliver up the poor creature to the unmerciful hunters, was forced to defend himself and his fox, and to repel force, wherein he behaved himself with so much bravery and success, that having defeated the hunters, he could set the fox at liberty. The hunters ashamed, and highly offended at the courageous behaviour of the King, seized in the height of their resentment an opportunity which offered, to kill his royal father. Jassima mustered up all his courage and prudence to revenge his father's death, and with so much success, that he killed the traitors with his own hands. The fox to return his gratitude to his deliverer, appeared to him after the victory, which he obtained over the murderers of his father, in the shape of a lady of incomparable beauty, and so fired his breast with love, that he took her to his wife. It was by her he had this son, who was endowed with divine wisdom, and the precious gift of prognosticating, and foretelling things to come. Nor did he know, that his wife had been that very fox, whose life he saved with so much courage in the temple of Inari, till soon after her tail and other parts beginning to grow, she resumed by degrees her former shape.

This is not one of the least considerable of the histories of their gods. And I must take this opportunity, once for all, to beg the reader's pardon, if in the account of our journey to court I shall trouble him, as occasion shall require, with other stories of the same kind, there being scarce any thing else worth observing, that relates to the antiquities of this country. Senmei not only calculated the abovementioned table, by the knowledge he acquired of the motions and influence of the stars, but as he was at the same time a perfect master of the Cabalistic sciences, he found out certain words, which he brought together into an uta or verse, the sound and pronunciation whereof is believed to have the infallible virtue of keeping off all those misfortunes, which upon the days determined in the said table to be unfortunate, would otherwise befall travellers. This was done for the use and satisfaction of poor ordinary servants, who have not leisure to accommodate themselves to this table, but must go when and wherever they are sent by their masters. The verse itself is as follows.

*Sada Mejeſi Tabiaatz Fidori Joſi Aſjwa,
Omejitatz Figo Kitz Nito Sen.**

CHAP. XXIV. — *Description of the City of Jedo, or Yedo; its Castle and Palace, with an Account of what happened during our stay there; our Audience and Departure.*

OF the five great trading towns, which belong to the imperial demesnes, or crown lands, Jedo is the first and chief, the residence of the Emperor, the capital, and by much the largest city of the empire, by reason of the many princes and lords, who with their families and numerous trains swell up the imperial court, and the inhabitants of the city, to an incredible number. It is seated in the province Musasi in 35°, 32° of northern latitude, according to my own observations, on a large plain at the end of

* The details of the author's journey along the coast, being of little moment, are omitted. It is to be regretted that no traveller has penetrated through the center of this interesting country.

a gulph, which is plentifully stored with fish, crabs, and shells, and hath Kamakura and the Province Idsu on the right, sailing down from Jedo, and the two provinces Awa and Kudsu on the left, but is so shallow, with a muddy clay at the bottom, that no ships of any considerable bulk can come up to the city, but must be unladen a league or two below it. Towards the sea the city hath the figure of a half moon, and the Japanese will have it to be seven miles long, five broad, and twenty in circumference. It is not enclosed with a wall, no more than other towns in Japan, but cut through by many broad ditches and canals, with high ramparts raised on both sides, at the top whereof are planted rows of trees, but this hath been done, not so much for the defence of the city, as to prevent the fires, which happen here too frequently, from making too great a havock. I took notice, however, that towards the castle, these ramparts are shut up by strong gates, probably because they serve there for defence too. A large river arising westwards of the city runs through it, and loses itself in the harbour. It sends off a considerable arm, which encompasses the castle, and thence falls down into the said harbour in five different streams, every one of which hath its particular name, and a stately bridge laid over it. The chief and most famous of these bridges, by reason of its bigness and stateliness, is called Nipombas, or the bridge of Japan, of which in the preceding chapter. Another is called Jedo Baschi, that is, the bridge of Jedo. This city is extreme populous, and the number of natives, foreigners and ecclesiastics, almost incredible, and indeed it cannot be otherwise, considering the multitude of officers of all ranks, posts, and quality, who compose the imperial court, but more particularly the families of all the princes of the empire, which stay all the year round, with numerous retinues suitable to their quality, whilst the princes themselves are allowed but six months absence from court, during which they take care of the government of the hereditary dominions, and then return to Jedo.

Jedo is not built with that regularity which is observable in most other cities in Japan, (particularly Miaco,) and this because it swelled by degrees to its present bulk. However, in some parts of the town the streets run regularly enough, cutting each other at right angles. This regularity is entirely owing to accidents of fire, whereby some hundred houses being laid in ashes at once, as indeed it very frequently happens, the new streets may be laid out, upon what plan the builders please. Many of these places, which have been thus destroyed by fire, lie still waste, the houses being not built here with that dispatch as they are at Moscow, where they sell them ready made, so that there needs nothing but to remove and set them up where they are wanted, without lime, clay, or nails, any time after the fire. The houses in Jedo are small and low, as indeed they are in all other parts of the empire, built of firwood, with thin clayed walls, adorned within, and divided into rooms by paper screens, and lattice windows. The floors are covered with fine mats, the roofs with shavings of woods. In short, the whole machine is a composition of so much combustible matter, that we need not wonder at the great havock fires make in this country. Almost every house hath a place under the roof or upon it, where they constantly keep a tub full of water, with a couple of mops which may be easily come at, even without the house, by the help of ladders. By this precaution, indeed, they often quench a fire in particular houses, but it is far from being sufficient to stop the fury of a raging flame, which hath got ground already, and laid several houses in ashes, against which they know no better remedy at present but to pull down some of the neighbouring houses, which have not yet been reached, for which purpose whole companies of firemen patrol about the streets day and night. The city is well stocked with monks, temples, monasteries, and other religious buildings, which are seated in the best and pleafantest places, as they are also in Europe,

and

and I believe, all other countries. The dwelling houses of private monks are no ways different from those of the laity, excepting only that they are seated in some eminent conspicuous place, with some steps leading up to them, and a small temple, or chapel hard by, or if there be none, at least a hall or large room, adorned with some few altars, on which stand several of their idols. There are, besides, many stately temples built to Amida, Siaka, Quanwon, and several other of their gods, of all sects and religions established in Japan: but as they do not differ much neither in form nor structure from other temples erected to the same gods at Miaco, which we shall have an opportunity to view and describe more particularly upon our return to that city, I forbear at present swelling this chapter with an account thereof.

There are many stately palaces in this city, as may be easily conjectured by its being the residence of a powerful emperor, and the abode of all the noble and princely families of this mighty empire. They are separate and distinguished from other houses by large court-yards and stately gates; fine varnished stair-cases, of a few steps, lead up to the door of the house, which is divided into several magnificent apartments, all of a floor, they being not above one story, nor adorned with towers, as the castles and palaces are, where the Princes and lords of the empire reside in their hereditary dominions. The city of Jedo is a nursery of artists, handicraftsmen, merchants and tradesmen, and yet every thing is sold dearer than any where else in the empire, by reason of the great concourse of people, and the number of idle monks and courtiers, as also the difficult importing of provisions and other commodities. The political government of this city is much the same as at Nagasaki and Ofacca, whereto I refer the reader as to a more ample description. Two governors have the command of the town by turns, each for the space of one year. The chief subaltern officers are the burgler-masters, as the Dutch call them, or mayors, who have the command of particular quarters, and the Otonas, who have the inspection and subordinate command of single streets.

The castle and residence of the Emperor is seated about the middle of the city. It is of an irregular figure, inclining to the round, and hath five Japanese miles in circumference. It consists of two enclosures, or fore-castles, as one may call them, the innermost and third castle, which is properly the residence of the Emperor, two other strong well fortified, but smaller castles at the sides, and some large gardens behind the imperial palace. I call all these several divisions castles, because they are separately and every one by itself, enclosed with walls and ditches. The first and outermost castle takes in a large spot of ground, which encompasses the second, and half the imperial residence, and is enclosed itself with walls and ditches, and strong well guarded gates. It hath so many streets, ditches and canals, that I could not easily get a plan of it: nor could I gather any thing to my satisfaction out of the plans of the Japanese themselves, which however, such as they are, I do here present to the reader, together with the plan of the city of Jedo itself. In this outermost castle reside the Princes of the empire, with their families, living in commodious and stately palaces, built in streets, with spacious courts shut up by strong heavy gates. The second castle takes in a much smaller spot of ground; it fronts the third, and residence of the Emperor, and is inclosed by the first, but separate from both by walls, ditches, draw-bridges, and strong gates: the guard of this second castle is much more numerous than that of the first. In it are the stately palaces of some of the most powerful Prince of the empire, the counsellors of state, the prime ministers, chief officers of the crown, and such other persons, who must give a more immediate attendance upon the Emperor's person. The castle itself, where the Emperor resides,

is seated somewhat higher than the others, on the top of a hill, which hath been purposely flatted for the imperial palace to be built upon it. It is enclosed with a thick strong wall of free stone, with bastions standing out much after the manner of the European fortifications. A rampart of earth is raised against the inside of this wall, and at the top of it stand, for ornament and defence, several long buildings and square guardhouses built in form of towers several stories high. Particularly the structures on that side, where the imperial residence is, are of an uncommon strength, all of free stone of an extraordinary size, which are barely laid upon each other, without being fastened, either with mortar or braces of iron, which was done, they say, that in case of earthquake, which frequently happen in this country, the stones yielding to the shock, the wall itself should receive no damage. Within the palace a square white tower rises aloft above all other buildings. It is many stories high, adorned with roofs, and other curious ornaments, which makes the whole castle look at a distance magnificent beyond expression, amazing the beholders, as do also the many other beautiful bended roofs, with gilt dragons at the top and corners, which cover the rest of the buildings within the castle. The second castle is very small, and more like a citadel without any outward ornament at all. It hath but one door, and there is but one passage to it, out of the Emperor's own residence, over a high long bridge. The third castle lies on the side of this second, and is much of the same structure. Both are enclosed with strong high walls, which for a still better defence are encompassed with broad deep ditches, filled by the great river. In these two castles are bred up the Imperial Princes and Princesses, if there be any. Behind the Imperial residence there is still a rising ground, beautified according to the country fashion, with curious and magnificent gardens and orchards, which are terminated by a pleasant wood at the top of a hill, planted with two particular differing and curious kinds of plane-trees, whose starry leaves variegated with green, yellow and red, are very pleasing to the eye. It is remarkable, what they affirm of these trees, that one kind is in full beauty in the spring, the other towards the autumn. The palace itself hath but one story, which however is of a fine height. It takes in a large spot of ground, and hath several long galleries and spacious rooms, which upon putting on or removing of skreens, may be enlarged or brought into a narrower compass as occasion requires, and are contrived so, as to receive at all times a convenient and sufficient light. The chief apartments have each its particular name. Such are for instance, the waiting room, where all persons, that are to be admitted to an audience, either of the Emperor or of his prime ministers of state, wait, till they are introduced; the council chamber, where the ministers of state and privy counsellors meet upon business, the hall of thousand mats, where the Emperor receives the homage and usual presents of the Princes of the empire, and ambassadors of foreign powers; several halls of audience; the apartments for the Emperor's household, and others. The structure of all these several apartments is exquisitely fine, according to the architecture of the country. The ceilings, beams, and pillars are of cedar, or camphire, or Jeseriwood, the grain whereof naturally runs into flowers and other curious figures, and is therefore in some apartments covered only with a thin transparent layer of varnish, in others japaned, or curiously carved with birds and branched work neatly gilt. The floor is covered with the finest white mats, bordered with gold fringes or bands; and this is all the furniture to be seen in the palaces of the Emperor and Princes of the empire. I was told that there is a particular private apartment under ground, which instead of the ceiling hath a large reservoir of water, and that the Emperor repairs thither, when it lightens, because they believe that the force of lightning

lightning is broke in the water. But this I deliver only upon hearsay. There are also two strong rooms wherein are kept the imperial treasures, and these are secured from fire and thieves by strong iron doors, and roofs of copper. In this castle resided the successors of the Emperor Jejas, the first of this family who governed the empire of Japan in the following order. 1. Jejas, after his death called Gongin. 2. Teitokwin his son. 3. Daijojin, a son of Teitokwin. 4. Genjojin, a son of Daijojin, and 5. Tsinajos, the now reigning monarch, Genjojin's brother's son. Thus much of the castle and residence of the secular Emperor of Japan. I proceed now to resume the thread of my journal.

As soon as we came to our inn, we sent our second interpreter, the first and chief not being able to go out by reason of his indisposition, to notify our arrival to the imperial commissioners appointed for inspecting and regulating foreign affairs, and to that of the governors of Nagasaki, who was then at Jedo, being Genseimon, who for his great care in regulating the affairs of foreign trade, in the year 1685, to the advantage of his country, and the entire satisfaction of the Emperor, was by him honoured with the title and character of Sino Cami. He forthwith gave orders to our bugjo to keep us close to our apartments, and to suffer nobody to come up to us, besides our own servants, which orders they never fail strictly to comply with, though otherwise one should have thought our apartments sufficiently remote from the street, being the upper story of a back house, to which there was no entry, but through a narrow passage, which could be locked up, if needful. For a farther security there were two doors, one at the upper, and another at the lower end of the stair-case, and the rooms were shut up on three sides. My room had one single narrow window, through which I could, with much ado, observe the meridian height of the sun. We were told, that four days before our arrival, forty streets and upwards of 4000 houses had been burnt down. This very evening a fire broke out about two leagues from our inn to the east, but was soon extinguished, having laid only a few houses in ashes.

On the 14th of March, the imperial commissioners, and Sino Cami, sent to congratulate us upon our happy arrival, and to acquaint us in the mean time, that they had notified the same to the counsellors of state. The same day we opened, in the presence of our bugjo, and another officer sent by Sino Cami, the presents which were to be made to the Emperor and the great men at court, and bespoke the necessary boxes for calamback and camphire of Borneo.

On the 15th of March, two taylors came to cut the European stuffs for the Emperor, as usual. The same day we bespoke bottles and other vessels for the tent and Spanish wines, and wooden tables to lay the presents upon. Our bugjo went to pay a visit to Sino Cami, by whom he was strictly forbid not to give any body leave to see us, before we had been admitted to an audience of the Emperor, unless he received express orders from him, Sino Cami, for so doing. This evening another fire broke out about two leagues from our inn, but did no great damage.

On the 17th of March, we were acquainted by our bugjo with news from Nagasaki, importing, that within a fortnight after our departure from thence twenty Chinese Yonks were got safe into that harbour. He desired us at the same time not to throw any papers, with European characters upon them, out of our windows amongst the dust. This morning we again perceived fire not far from us.

On the 18th of March, we were busy about drawing the tent and Spanish wines into long bottles and flasks, and putting the calamback and camphire into boxes, and regulating all things as they were to be presented to the Emperor at the next audience. This evening a violent fire broke out near a mile and a half from our inn westwards,

and a northerly wind blowing pretty strong at the same time, it burnt with such violence, that it laid twenty five streets, though they were very broad there, and about 600 houses in ashes, within four hours time, before it could be put out. It was said to have been laid in by incendiaries, two of which were seized.

On the 20th of March, we were told that Matzandairo Inaba Cami, who was to go to Miaco in quality of chief justice of that place, set out from Jedo accordingly on his way thither, attended by another lord, who was to present him to the people, and at the same time to bring presents from the Emperor to the Dairi. Sino Cami sent this day one of his officers to acquaint us, that he hoped we should have our audience from the Emperor on the 28th of this month, and withal to command us to preserve our health, and to keep every thing in readiness towards that time.

On the 21st of March, our chief interpreter went to pay a visit to the imperial commissioners, and to desire leave to be carried to court on the day of our audience in a cangos, which was granted to him, after he had first made affidavit upon oath, signed with his blood, that by reason of his sickness he was not able to go otherwise. Goto Tsiosimon, burgher-master of Nagasaki, set out to day for that place, having had his audience of the counsellors of state on the 15th of the second Japanese month, and his audience of leave on the 21st.

On the 23d of March, we sent by our second interpreter Trojemon, a present of a bottle of Aqua vitæ to the young lord of Firando, who was then at Jedo, as a small token of our grateful remembrance of the kind protection his father had given us, when we had our factory upon the island Firando. This day, about an hour before noon, the weather being calm, there was felt of a sudden a violent earthquake, which shook our house with great noise. It lasted so long, that one could have told fifty. This sudden accident convinced me of the reasonableness and necessity of that law, whereby it is forbid throughout the empire to build high houses, and that it is no less requisite to build them as they do in this country, all of slight stuff and wood, and to lay a strong heavy beam under the roof, by its weight and pressure upon the walls of the house, to keep them together in case of such a shock.

On the 24th of March, being Saturday, the weather was very cold, with snow and rain, though it had been excessive hot just the night before. This day Makino Bingo, counsellor of state and the Emperor's chief favourite, sent a compliment to our director, and desired some Dutch cheese; we presented him with a whole cheese of Eidam, and half a saffron cheese taken from our own provision.

On the 25th of March, we were busy with putting the presents, which were to be made to His Imperial Majesty, and to some of the great men at court, in proper order, in hopes that we should be admitted to an audience on the 28th of this month, being a holiday: we also sent to desire Sino Cami and the imperial commissioners to use their good endeavours to forward the same. The ministers of state, and other great men at court, some of whom we were only to visit, and to make presents to others, were the five chief imperial counsellors of state, called Goradzzi, or the five elderly men, which were, 1. Makino Bingono Cami. 2. Okubo Canga No Cami. 3. Abi Bungono Cami. 4. Toda Jamajiro Cami. 5. Tsiusia Sagami Cami: four imperial under or deputy counsellors of state, called Waka Goridzi, who were, 1. Akimotto Tadsijima Cami. 2. Katta Saddono Cami. 3. Naito Tambano Cami. And 4. Inagi Sawa Dewano Cami. The Dsisja, as they are called, that is, lords of the temple, being three; 1. Toda No Tono Cami. 2. Fondakino Cami. And, 3. On-gafawara Saddono Cami. Matzaro Ikno Cami, lord of Firando, of the family of Fifen. The imperial commissioners, as we commonly call them, who are, as

it were, the Emperor's attorney-generals for the city of Jedo, Todo Ijono Cami, and Obutto Sabboro Sajemon Sama: the two governors of Jedo, Fodfo Awana Cami and Nofij Ifimono Cjmi: last of all that of the governors of Nagafaki, who is at Jedo, being then Kawagatz Genfaimon, or according to his new title, Kawagatz Tfino Cami, the two others, Jama Okkafiubioje and Mijaki Tono Mo, being upon their government.

On the 26th of March, Tfino Cami sent to acquaint us, that our audience was deferred a day longer, to wit, to the 29th of March, because of the death of Makino Bingo his brother, which would not permit that favourite of the Emperor, and first counsellor of state, to appear in public before that day.

On the 27th of March, after dinner, Firanno Sofats, one of the Emperor's physicians, an elderly fat man, came to pay me a visit, and to ask my advice about the cure of some distempers.

On the 28th of March, the two imperial commissioners and Sino Cami, sent their secretaries to acquaint us, that we should have our audience from the Emperor the next morning, that therefore we should repair to court betimes, and stay there in the great imperial guard-room, till we could be introduced.

The 29th of March, being the last of the second Japanese month, is one of the usual court days, on which the Emperor gives audience. And yet we could have hardly flattered ourselves of so quick a dispatch, had not Makino Bingo purposely appointed it for the day of our audience, in order to get rid of us, because on the fifth of the ensuing third Japanese month, he was to have the honour to treat the Emperor at dinner, a favour which requires a good deal of time and vast preparations. This Bengo, or Bingo, was formerly tutor to the now reigning Monarch, before he came to the crown, but is now his chief favourite, and the only person whom he absolutely confides in. At our audience, it is he that hath the honour to receive the Emperor's words and commands from his own mouth, and to address the same to us. He is near seventy years of age, a tall but lean man, with a long face, a manly and German-like countenance, slow in his actions, otherwise very civil in his whole behaviour. He hath the character of a just and prudent man, no ways given to ambition, nor inclined to revenge, nor bent upon heaping up immoderate riches, in short, of being altogether worthy of the great confidence and trust the Emperor puts in him. About three years ago, he had the honour to treat the Emperor at dinner, and was then by him presented with a scimeter, esteemed worth 15,000 thails, which the Emperor took from his own side, with 3000 cobangs in gold, 300 shuits of silver, several damask and fine Chinese silk stuffs, and an addition of 300,000 bags of rice to his yearly revenues, which were then already of 400,000, so that now he hath in all 700,000. It is reckoned an inestimable honour to treat the Emperor, but such a one, as may undo and ruin the person upon whom this particular favour is bestowed, because, whatever is scarce and uncommon, must be provided, and every thing payed at an excessive rate. As an instance of this, it will suffice to mention what Bengo did a few days ago. There being then a ball at court, he sent a Soccano, as the Japanese call it, (being a small treat of a few things laid on a wooden machine, made in form of a table, which the Japanese send to each other in token of friendship) to the Emperor, consisting of two Tah, or Steenbrassens, as we call them, which he bought for 150 cobangs, and a couple of shell-fish, which cost him 90 cobangs. A cobang is worth about five ducats, so that the whole treat amounted to 5200 ducats, or of about 2400l. sterling. These two sorts of fish are the scarcest and dearest in Japan, particularly the Steenbrassens, which, when in season, are never sold under two cobangs a piece, but in winter-time, and for great feasts, any price is given for them.

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In this case it is not only very profitable to the fishmonger, but the buyer esteems it a peculiar happiness to have met with a scarce and dear dish for such a guest, as he hath an uncommon value for. But there is something peculiar and superstitious hid in the very name of this fish, it being the last syllable of the word Meditah, which the Japanese make use of when they wish one another joy.

On the 29th of March therefore, being Thursday, and the day appointed for our audience, the presents designed for His Imperial Majesty were sent to court, attended by the deputies of Sino Cami, and of the commissioners for inspecting foreign affairs, to be there laid in due order on wooden tables, in the hall of hundred mats, as they call it, where the Emperor was to view them. We followed soon after with a very inconsiderable equipage, clad in black silk cloaks, as garments of ceremony according to the fashion of Europe. We were attended by three stewards of the governors of Nagasaki, our dozen or deputy bugjo, two town-messengers of Nagasaki, and an interpreter's son, all walking on foot. We three Dutchmen and our second interpreter rode on horseback, behind each other. Our horses were led by grooms, who took them by the bridle, one groom for each horse, walking at his right side, on which side also it is the fashion of this country to mount and to alight. Formerly we used to have two grooms to each horse, but of late this custom was left off, as putting us only to an unnecessary expence. Our resident or captain, as the Japanese call him, came after us, carried in a norimon, and was followed by our old chief interpreter, carried in a cangos. The procession was closed by the rest of our servants and retinue, walking on foot at proper distances, so far as they were permitted to follow us. In this order we moved on towards the castle, and after about half an hour's riding, we came to the first enclosure, which we found well fortified with walls and ramparts. This we entered over a large bridge, with ballisters adorned at the upper end with brass balls, laid over a broad river which seemed to run northwards about the castle, and on which we then saw great numbers of boats and vessels. The entry is through two strong gates, with a small guard between them. As soon as we passed through the second gate, we came to a large place where we found another and more numerous guard to our right, which however seemed to be intended more for state than defence. The guard-room was hung about with cloth; pikes were planted in the ground near the entry, and within it was curiously adorned with gilt arms, lackered guns, pikes, shields, bows, arrows, and quivers. The soldiers sat down on the ground cross-legged, in good order, clad in black silk, each with two scimiters stuck in their girdle. Having passed across this first enclosure, riding between the houses and palaces of the princes and lords of the empire, built within its compass, we came to the second, which we found fortified much after the same manner with the first. The bridge only and gates, and inner guard and palaces were much more stately and magnificent. We left our norimon and cangos here, as also our horses and servants, and were conducted across this second enclosure to the Fonmatz, or imperial residence, which we entered over a long stone bridge, and having passed through a double bastion and as many strong gates, and thence about twenty paces further, through an irregular street, built as the situation of the ground would allow it, with walls of an uncommon height on both sides, we came to the siakninban, that is guard of hundred men, or the great guard of the castle, which was on our left, at the upper end of the above-said street, hard by the last door leading to the Emperor's palace. We were commanded to wait in this guard-room till we could be introduced to an audience, which we were told should be done as soon as the great council of state was met in the palace. We were civilly received by the two captains of the guard, who treated us with tea and tobacco. Soon after Sino Cami and

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the two commissioners came to compliment us, along with some gentlemen of the Emperor's court who were strangers to us. Having waited about an hour, during which time most of the imperial counsellors of state, old and young, went into the palace, some walking on foot, others being carried in norimons; we were conducted through two stately gates over a large square place to the palace, to which there is an ascent of a few steps leading from the second gate. The place between the second gate and the front of the palace is but a few paces broad, and was then excessively crowded with throngs of courtiers and troops of guards. From thence we were conducted up two other staircases to the palace itself, and first into a spacious room, next to the entry on the right, being the place where all persons that are to be admitted to an audience, either of the Emperor himself or of the counsellors of state, wait till they are called in. It is a large and lofty room, but when all the screens are put on, pretty dark, receiving but a sparing light from the upper windows of an adjoining room, wherein is kept some furniture for the imperial apartments. It is otherwise richly furnished, according to the country fashion, and its gilt posts, walls, and screens, are very pleasing to behold. Having waited here upwards of an hour, and the Emperor having in the meanwhile seated himself in the hall of audience, Sino Cami and the two commissioners came in and conducted our resident into the Emperor's presence, leaving us behind. As soon as he came thither they cried out aloud 'Hollanda Captain', which was the signal for him to draw near and make his obeisances. Accordingly he crawled on his hands and knees to a place shewed him, between the presents ranged in due order on one side, and the place where the Emperor sat on the other, and then kneeling he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and so crawled backwards like a crab, without uttering one single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have of this mighty Monarch. Nor are there any more ceremonies observed in the audience he gives even to the greatest and most powerful princes of the empire. For having been called into the hall, their names are cried out aloud, then they move on their hands and feet, humbly and silently towards the Emperor's seat, and having shewed their submission by bowing their forehead down to the ground, they creep back again in the same submissive posture.

The hall of audience, otherwise the hall of hundred mats, is not in the least like that which hath been described and figured by Montanus, in his memorable embassies of the Dutch to the Emperors of Japan. The elevated throne, the steps leading up to it, the carpets pending from it, the stately columns supporting the building which contains the throne, the columns between which the Princes of the empire are said to prostrate themselves before the Emperor, and the like, have all no manner of foundation but in that author's fancy. Every thing indeed is curious and rich, but not otherwise than my draught represents it. For in our second voyage to court, the audience being over, the governor of Nagasaki was pleased to shew us the hall, which gave me an opportunity of taking a draught of it, which in the end was no very difficult matter, considering that it required nothing but to tell over the number of mats, posts, screens, and windows. The floor is covered with a hundred mats, all of the same size. Hence it is called *sen so fiki*, that is, the hall of a hundred mats. It opens on one side towards a small court which lets in the light; on the opposite side it joins to two other apartments, which are on this occasion laid open towards the same court, one of which is considerably larger than the other, and serves for the counsellors of state when they give audience by themselves. The other is narrower, deeper, and one step higher than the hall itself. In this the Emperor sits when he gives audience, cross-legged, raised only on a few carpets. Nor is it an easy matter to see him, the light reaching not

quite so far as the place where he sits, besides that the audience is too short, and the person admitted to it in so humble and submissive a posture, that he cannot well have an opportunity to hold up his head, and to view him. This audience is otherwise very awful and majestic, by reason chiefly of the silent presence of all the counsellors of state, as also of many Princes and lords of the empire, the gentlemen of His Majesty's bed-chamber, and other chief officers of his court, who line the hall of audience and all its avenues, sitting in good order, and clad in their garments of ceremony.

Formerly all we had to do at the Emperor's court was completed by the captain's paying him the usual homage, after the manner above related. A few days after some laws concerning our trade and behaviour were read to him, which, in the name of the Dutch, he promised to keep, and so was dispatched back to Nagasaki. But for about these twenty years last past, he and the rest of the Dutchmen that came up with the embassy to Jedo, were conducted deeper into the palace to give the Empress and the ladies of her court, and the Princesses of the blood, the diversion of seeing us. In this second audience the Emperor and the ladies invited to it, attend behind screens and lattices, but the counsellors of state, and other officers of the court, sit in the open rooms in their usual and elegant order. As soon as the captain had paid his homage, the Emperor retired into his apartment, and not long after we three Dutchmen were likewise called up, and conducted, together with the captain, through several apartments into a gallery curiously carved and gilt, where we waited about a quarter of an hour, and were then, through several other walks and galleries, carried further into a large room, where they desired us to sit down, and where several courtiers shaved, being the Emperor's physicians, the officers of his kitchen, and some of the clergy, came to ask after our names, age, and the like; but gilt screens were quickly drawn before us, to deliver us from their throng and troublesome importunity. We staid here about half an hour; meanwhile the court met in the imperial apartments, where we were to have our second audience, and whither we were conducted through several dark galleries. Along all these several galleries there was one continued row of lifeguard-men, and nearer to the imperial apartments followed in the same row some great officers of the crown, who lined the front of the hall of audience, clad in their garments of ceremony, bowing their heads and sitting on their heels. The hall of audience was just as I represented it. It consisted of several rooms, looking towards a middle place, some of which were laid open towards the same, others covered by screens and lattices. Some were of fifteen mats, others of eighteen, and they were a mat higher or lower, according to the quality of the persons seated in the same. The middle place had no mats at all, they having been taken away, and was consequently the lowest, on which floor, covered with neat varnished boards, we were commanded to sit down. The Emperor and his Imperial Consort sat behind the lattices on our right. As I was dancing at the Emperor's command, I had an opportunity twice of seeing the Empress through the slits of the lattices, and took notice that she was of a brown and beautiful complexion, with black European eyes, full of fire, and from the proportion of her head, which was pretty large, I judged her to be a tall woman, and about 36 years of age. By lattices I mean hangings made of reed, split exceeding thin and fine, and covered on the back with a fine transparent silk, with openings about a span broad for the persons behind to look through. For ornament's sake, and the better to hide the persons standing behind, they are painted with divers figures, though otherwise it would be impossible to see them at a distance, chiefly when the light is taken off behind. The Emperor himself was in such an obscure place, that we should scarce have known him to be present had not his voice discovered him, which yet was so low

as if he purposely intended to be there incognito. Just before us, behind other lattices, were the Princes of the blood, and the ladies of the Empress's court. I took notice that pieces of paper were put between the reeds in some parts of the lattices, to make the openings wide, in order to a better and easier sight. I counted about thirty such papers, which made me conclude that there was about that number of persons sitting behind. Bengo sat on a raised mat in an open room by himself just before us, towards our right on that side, on which I took notice above, that the Emperor sat behind the lattices. On our left in another room, were the counsellors of state of the first and second rank, sitting in a double row in good and becoming order. The gallery behind us was filled with the chief officers of the Emperor's court, and the gentlemen of his bed-chamber. The gallery which led into the room where the Emperor was, was filled with the sons of some Princes of the empire then at court, the Emperor's pages and some priests lurking. After this manner it was, that they ordered the stage on which we were now to act. The commissioners for foreign affairs having conducted us into the gallery before the hail of audience, one of the counsellors of state of the second rank came to receive us there, and to conduct us to the above described middle place, on which we were commanded to sit down, having first made our obeisances after the Japanese manner, creeping and bowing our heads to the ground, towards that part of the lattices behind which the Emperor was. The chief interpreter sat himself a little forward, to hear more distinctly, and we took our places on his left hand all in a row. After the usual obeisances made, Bengo bid us welcome in the Emperor's name. The chief interpreter received the compliment from Bengo's mouth and repeated it to us. Upon this the ambassador made his compliment in the name of his masters, withal returning their most humble thanks to the Emperor, for having graciously granted the Dutch liberty of commerce. This the chief interpreter repeated in Japanese, having prostrated himself quite to the ground, and speaking loud enough to be heard by the Emperor. The Emperor's answer was again received by Bengo, who delivered it to the chief interpreter, and he to us. He might have indeed received them himself from the Emperor's own mouth, and saved Bengo this unnecessary trouble; but I fancy that the words, as they flow out of the Emperor's mouth, are esteemed too precious and sacred for an immediate transit into the mouth of persons of a low rank. The mutual compliments being over, the succeeding part of this solemnity turned to a perfect farce. We were asked a thousand ridiculous and impertinent questions. Thus for instance, they desired to know, in the first place, how old each of us was, and what was his name, which we were commanded to write upon a bit of paper, having for these purposes took an European inkhorn along with us. This paper, together with the inkhorn itself, we were commanded to give to Bengo, who delivered them both into the Emperor's hands, reaching them over below the lattice. The captain, or ambassador, was asked concerning the distance of Holland from Batavia, and of Batavia from Nagasaki? Which of the two was the most powerful, the Director-general of the Dutch East India company at Batavia, or the Prince of Holland? As for my own particular, the following questions were put to me: What external and internal distempers I thought the most dangerous, and most difficult to cure? How I proceeded in the cure of cancerous humours and imposthumations of the inner parts? Whether our European physicians did not search after some medicine to render people immortal, as the Chinese physicians had done for many hundred years? Whether we had made any considerable progress in this search, and which was the last remedy conducive to long life, that had been found out in Europe? To which I returned in answer, that very many European physicians had long laboured to find out some medicine, which should have the virtue of prolonging

human life, and preserving people in health to a great age; and having thereupon been asked, which I thought the best? I answered, that I always took that to be the best which was found out last, till experience taught us a better: and being further asked, which was the last? I answered, a certain spirituous liquor, which could keep the humours of our body fluid, and comfort the spirits. This general answer proved not altogether satisfactory, but I was quickly desired to let them know the name of this excellent medicine, upon which, knowing that whatever was esteemed by the Japanese, had long and high-sounded names, I returned in answer, it was the *Sal volatile Oleosum Sylvij*. This name was minuted down behind the lattices, for which purpose I was commanded to repeat it several times. The next question was, who it was that found it out, and where it was found out? I answered, Professor Sylvius in Holland. Then they asked, whether I could make it up? upon this our resident whispered me to say, No; but I answered, Yes, I could make it up, but not here. Then it was asked, whether it could be had at Batavia? and having returned in answer, that it was to be had there, the Emperor desired that it should be sent over by the next ships. The Emperor, who hitherto sat among the ladies, almost opposite to us, at a considerable distance, did now draw nearer, and fate himself down on our right behind the lattices, as near us as possibly he could. Then he ordered us to take off our *capa*, or cloak, being our garment of ceremony, then to stand upright, that he might have a full view of us; again to walk, to stand still, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to speak broken Japanese, to read Dutch, to paint, to sing, to put our cloaks on and off. Meanwhile we obeyed the Emperor's commands in the best manner we could; I joined to my dance a love-song in High German. In this manner, and with innumerable such other apish tricks, we must suffer ourselves to contribute to the Emperor's and the court's diversion. The ambassador, however, is free from these and the like commands, for as he represents the authority of his masters, some care is taken that nothing should be done to injure or prejudice the same. Besides that he shewed so much gravity in his countenance and whole behaviour, as was sufficient to convince the Japanese that he was not at all a fit person to have such ridiculous and comical commands laid upon him. Having been thus exercised for a matter of two hours, though with great apparent civility, some servants shaved came in, and put before each of us a small table, with Japanese victuals, and a couple of ivory sticks, instead of knives and forks. We took and eat some little things, and our old chief interpreter, though scarce able to walk, was commanded to carry away the remainder for himself. We were then ordered to put on our cloaks again and to take our leave, which we gladly, and without delay, complied with, putting thereby an end to this second audience. We were then conducted back by the two commissioners to the waiting room, where we took our leave of them also.

It was now already three of the clock in the afternoon, and we had still several visits to make to the counsellors of state, of the first and second rank, as I have set them down above under the 25th of March. Accordingly we left the *Fonmar* forthwith, saluted as we went by the officers of the great imperial guard, and made our round a-foot. The presents had been carried before-hand to every one's house by our clerks, and because we did not see them in our audiences, I conjectured that they had been actually presented to the persons to whom they belonged. They consisted in some Chinese, Bengalese, and other silk stuffs, some linen, black serge, some yards of black cloth, gingangs, pelangs, and a flask of tent wine. We were every where received by the stewards and secretaries with extraordinary civility, and treated with tea, tobacco and sweetmeats, as handsomely as the little time we had to spare would allow.

allow. The rooms, where we were admitted to audience, were filled behind the screens and lattices with crowds of spectators, who would fain have obliged us to shew them some of our European customs and ceremonies, but could obtain nothing excepting only a short dance at Bengo's house (who came home himself a back way), and a song from each of us, at the youngest counsellor's of state, who lived in the northern part of the castle. We then returned again to our cangos and horses, and having got out of the castle, through the northern gate, we went back to our inn another way, on the left of which we took notice that there were strong walls and ditches in several places. It was just six in the evening when we got home, heartily tired.

On Friday the 30th of March, we rode out again betimes in the morning, to make some of our remaining visits. The presents, such as above described, were sent before us by our Japanese clerks, who took care to lay them on boards, and to range them in good order, according to the country fashion. We were received, at the entry of the house, by one or two of the principal domestics, and conducted to the apartment where we were to have our audience. The rooms round the hall of audience were every where crowded with spectators. As soon as we had seated ourselves, we were treated with tea and tobacco. Then the steward of the household came in, or else the secretary, either alone or with another gentleman, to compliment us, and to receive our compliments in his master's name. The rooms were every where so disposed, as to make us turn our faces towards the ladies, by whom we were very generously and civilly treated with cakes and several sorts of sweetmeats. We visited and made our presents, this day, to the two governors of Jedo, to the three ecclesiastical judges, and to the two commissioners for foreign affairs, who lived near a mile from each other, one in the S. W. the other in the N. E. part of the castle. They both profess themselves to be particular patrons of the Dutch, and received us accordingly with great pomp and magnificence. The street was lined with twenty men armed, who with their long staves, which they held on one side, made a very good figure, besides that they helped to keep off the throng of the people from being too troublesome. We were received upon our entering the house, and introduced to audience much after the same manner as we had been in other places, only we were carried deeper into their palaces, and into the innermost apartment, on purpose that we should not be troubled with numbers of foreign spectators, and be at more liberty, ourselves as well as the ladies, who were invited to the ceremony. Opposite to us in the hall of audience, there were grated lattices, instead of screens, for the length of two mats and upwards, behind which sat such numbers of women of the commissioner's own family, and their relations and friends, that there was no room left. We had scarce seated ourselves, when seven servants well clad came in all in a row, and brought us pipes and tobacco, with the usual apparatus for smoking. Soon after they brought in something baked, laid on japanned boards, then some fish fried, all after the same manner, by the same number of servants, and always but one piece in a small dish, then a couple of eggs, one baked, the other boiled and shelled, and a glass of old strong sack standing between them. After this manner we were entertained for about an hour and a half, when they desired us to sing a song, and to dance; the first we refused to comply with, but satisfied them as to the last. In the house of the first commissioner, a soup made of sweet plums was offered us instead of brandy. In the second commissioner's house we were presented first of all with Mange bread, in a brown liquor, cold, with some mustard seed and radishes laid about the dish, and at last with some orange peels with sugar, which is a dish given only upon extraordinary occasions, in token of fortune and good will. We then drank some tea, and having taken our leave, went back to our inn, where we arrived at five in the evening.

On the 31st of March, we rode out again at ten in the morning, and went to the houses of the three governors of Nagasaki, two of whom were then absent and upon their government. We presented them on this occasion only with a flask of tea each, they having already received their other presents at Nagasaki. We were met by Sino Cami just by the door of his house. He was attended with a numerous retinue, and having called both our interpreters to him, he commanded them to tell us, that his desire was, that we should make ourselves merry in his house: accordingly we were received extraordinary well, and desired to walk about, and to divert ourselves in his garden, as being now in the house of a friend at Jedo and not in the palace of our governor and magistrate at Nagasaki. We were treated with warm victuals, and tea, much after the same manner as we had been by the commissioners, and all the while civilly entertained by his own brother and several persons of quality of his friends and relations. Having staid about two hours, we went to Tonofama's house, where we were conducted into the innermost and chief apartment, and desired twice to come nearer the lattices on both sides of the room. There were more ladies behind the screens here, than I think we had as yet met with in any other place. They desired us very civilly to shew them our clothes, the captain's arms, rings, tobacco-pipes, and the like, some of which were reached hem between or under the lattices. The person that treated us in the absent governor's name, and the other gentlemen who were then present in the room, entertained us likewise very civilly, and we could not but take notice, that every thing was so cordial, that we made no manner of scruple of making ourselves merry, and diverting the company each with a song. The magnificence of this family appeared fully by the richness and exquisiteness of this entertainment, which was equal to that of the first commissioner's, but far beyond it in courteous civility, and a free open carriage. After an hour and a half we took our leave. Tonofama's house is the furthestmost to the N. or N. W. we were to go to, a mile and a half from our inn, but seated by much in the pleasantest part of the town, where there is an agreeable variety of hills and bushes. Zubofama's family lives in a small sorry house near the ditch, which encompasses the castle. We met here but a few women behind a screen, who took up with peeping at us through a few holes, which they made as they sat down. The strong liquors, which we had been this day obliged to drink in larger quantities than usual, being by this time got pretty much into our heads, we made haste to return home, and took our leave as soon as we had been treated after the usual manner with tea and tobacco. We were the more impatient to be gone, because we were apprehensive, lest our interpreters, who had been pretty much exercised all day, should grow too weary, and unwilling hereafter to attend us so long on the like occasions. The gentleman also, who was to entertain us in the governor's name, although he affected a great civility, had somewhat so froward and disagreeable in his countenance, as forwarded very much our departure: for we looked upon ourselves on this occasion, not as merchants sent there to trade, but as ambassadors to a potent monarch, who ought to be treated with some regard and honour.

On the first of April, in the afternoon, we were promised by Josamma, that the next day we should have our audience of leave.

On the 2d of April, in the morning, we went to court on horseback in the same order, and the same way as on the day of our audience. We staid about an hour and a half in the guard room before the castle, where we received a visit from the two commissioners and Sino Cami. We staid much about the same time in the great waiting room of the castle, which is taken in with gilt screens, and the floor covered with six and thirty mats. We were again saluted here by the two commissioners and Sino Cami, who called our old chief interpreter out, in order to shew him the room, where the

ambassador should be admitted to audience, as also to acquaint him what ceremonies should be observed on that occasion. Soon after the ambassador was called out himself, and was conducted from the waiting room to a great hall to the left, where with the usual obeisances he took his audience of leave, and had the commands of the Emperor read to him, consisting in five articles, relating among other things chiefly to the Portuguese trade. This being over, he was by Sino Cami conducted back to the waiting-room, where we staid for him, and where this governor took his leave of him with great apparent civility, withal telling him, he hoped he should see him at Nagasaki. And so we went away from court, without paying our respects to the two commissioners, and came home about one of the clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile we staid in the waiting-room; several officers at court and the sons of some Princes of the empire came to see us. Among the rest was the Prince of Facatta's grandson, who, although he was blind of one eye, had nevertheless orders from the Emperor to stay at court, among other young gentlemen of his quality, for no other reason but to serve as a hostage of his grand-father's fidelity. Some of these people asked after the captain's name, and there was one among the rest, who had already taken it down in writing; but this was so quickly betrayed, that minute orders were sent by Sino Cami, that our names should be told to nobody. Our departure from court was preceded by thirty gowns laid on three tables, as a present from the Emperor. In the afternoon some of the gentlemen, whom we had visited, and made presents to, sent us also their gowns; to wit: 1. Noji Jsemono, governor of Jedo, two black gowns. 2. Todotamafijiro, one of the counsellors of state, ten gowns. 3. T'utisia Sagamifama, likewise ten. 4. Fodioawanafama, the other governor of Jedo, two. 5. Kaganni K. S. and 6. Bongofama, each ten.

On the 3d of April, we were presented with some more gowns, to wit, with three by each of the two commissioners, and with six by each of the extraordinary counsellors of state. All our business at Jedo was compleated this day by one of the clock.

On the 4th of April, the Emperor dined at Bengos, for which reason the gates of the castle were shut, which is a custom the now-reigning monarch observes upon these occasions, many people wondering why.*

CHAP. XXV. — *The Audience at Court, on the Second Journey* †.

ON the 20th of April, though it continued to rain pretty hard, as it had done for two days before, yet we were obliged at eight o'clock that morning to repair to the castle, which we did on horseback, attended by the bugios of the three governors of Nagasaki. Passing through the second castle we came to the third, and found Siubosama waiting for us in the great guard room. We staid there ourselves till half an hour after ten; mean while the members of the council of state met in the castle, and we changed our wet stockings and shoes for clean ones. From thence we were conducted into the palace, where we staid till noon. Our captain, as they call him, went first alone to make his submission to the Emperor, according to the fashion of the country, and in the company's name to offer the presents. He returned soon after to us in the waiting room, and that moment we were by Siubosama conducted to audience and first going round the hall, where the Emperor had given orders to our ambassador, and received the presents, which still stood there; thence passing through several long galleries, all gilt and curiously adorned, we came into a long room, where they desired us to stay.

*The Journal of the return to Nagasaki is omitted.

† The Journal is again omitted.

till we could be admitted into the Emperor's presence, which they said should be done immediately. We found the Imperial commissioners and other great men walking there, and ten or twelve young noblemen of great quality, sitting. But lest the sitting down so long and so often should tire us at last, we were conducted back into an adjoining gallery, where we could have the liberty to walk about, for which purpose also the shutters of some windows were laid open for us, to have a view into the garden. Meanwhile we staid in this gallery, several young gentlemen of great quality came to see and salute us, and the commissioners shewed us a gold ring, wherein was set a loadstone, with the names of the Jetta, or twelve celestial signs engraved round it. They shewed us likewise an European coat of arms, and some other things. But just as we were examining them, and now a going to explain them according to their desire, the Emperor sent for us in. So we were conducted through a gallery to our left, where we found eighteen gentlemen of the Emperor's bedchamber sitting, clad in their garments of ceremony, under which they wore their ordinary gowns, then passing by twenty other gentlemen, sitting in one continued row, we entered the hall of audience, where we found the six counsellors of state sitting on our left as we came in, and on our right some more gentlemen of the Emperor's bedchamber of a higher rank, sitting in a gallery. The Emperor and two ladies sat behind the grated screens on our right, and Bingosama, president of the council of state, opposite to us, in a room by himself. Soon after we came in, and had after the usual obeisances seated ourselves on the place assigned us, Bingosama welcomed us in the Emperor's name, and then desired us to sit upright, to take off our cloaks, to tell him our names and age, to stand up, to walk, to turn about, to dance, to sing songs, to compliment one another, to be angry, to invite one another to dinner, to converse one with another, to discourse in a familiar way like father and son, to shew how two friends, or man and wife, compliment or take leave of one another, to play with children, to carry them about upon our arms, and to do many more things of the like nature. Moreover, we were asked many more questions, serious and comical; as for instance, what profession I was of, whether I ever cured any considerable distempers? to which I answered, Yes, I had, but not at Nagasaki, where we were kept no better than prisoners. What houses we had; whether our customs were different from theirs; how we buried our people, and when? to which was answered that we buried our dead in the day time. How our Prince did; what sort of a man he was; whether the governor-general at Batavia was superior to him, or whether he was under his command; whether we had prayers and images like the Portuguese? which was answered in the negative. Whether Holland, and other countries abroad, were subject to earthquakes and storms of thunder and lightning as well as Japan? Whether there be houses set on fire, and people killed by lightning in European countries? Then again we were commanded to read, and to dance separately and jointly, and I to tell them the names of some European plaisters, upon which I mentioned some of the hardest I could remember. The ambassador was asked concerning his children, how many he had, what their names were, as also how far distant Holland was from Nagasaki? In the mean while some shutters were opened on the left hand, by order of the Emperor, probably to cool the room. We were then further commanded to put on our hats, to walk about the room discoursing with one another, to take off our perukes. I had several opportunities of seeing the Empress, and heard the Emperor say in Japanese, how sharp we looked at the room where he was, and that sure we could not but know, or at least suspect him to be there, upon which he removed and went to the ladies which sat just before us. Then I was desired once more to come nearer the skreen, and to take off my peruke. Then they made us jump, dance, play gambols,

gambols, and walk together, and upon that they asked the ambassador and me how old we guessed Bingo to be, he answered 50, and 145, which made them laugh. Then they made us kiss one another, like man and wife, which the ladies particularly shewed by their laughter to be well pleased with. They desired us further to shew them what sorts of compliments it was customary in Europe to make to inferiors, to ladies, to superiors, to princes, to kings. After this they begged another song of me, and were satisfied with two, which the company seemed to like very well. After this farce was over, we were ordered to take off our cloaks, to come near the screen one by one, and to take our leave in the very same manner we would take it of a Prince, or King in Europe, which being done seemingly to their satisfaction, we went away. It was already four in the afternoon, when we left the hall of audience, after having been exercised after this manner for two hours and a half. We had been introduced, and were conducted back by the two imperial commissioners and Siube, and immediately repaired to Bingo's house, who received us with uncommon civility. At last in the evening we got home.

On the 22d of April, we went to make a visit to the new lord of the temple, as they call him, who was a son of the Prince of Firando. His house was full of spectators. But his steward who received us, was one of the greatest coxcombs we had as yet met with in the country, a man entirely unacquainted with compliments, and an utter stranger even to common civility. His ill manners and unpoliteness were made good in some measure by the complaisant carriage of the ladies, who treated us with sweetmeats. He examined with some attention our hats and swords, and then said, let them sing once, which he did to please his master. However, we did not all think fit to comply with commands made with such an ill grace. From thence we repaired to the castle to salute the two governors. Upon the great place before the castle, we took notice that there was a secretary's office, wherein besides the several boxes and cabinets filled with papers, were hung up all sorts of arms. At the first governor's we were only presented with tea, nor were there any ladies present at the audience we had of him. We then made two more visits, and last of all we went to the two imperial commissioners, who received us both with great civility, and treated us very splendidly, so that we did not at all scruple at their desire to entertain the company with a song. At the first commissioner's the treat consisted of the following things: — 1. Tea. 2. Tobacco, with the whole set of instruments for smoaking. 3. Philosophical, or white syrup. 4. A piece of Steenbrassen, a very scarce fish, boiled in a brown sauce. 5. Another dish of fish, dressed with bean-flower and spices. 6. Cakes of eggs rolled together. 7. Fried fish, which were presented us on green skewers of bamboos. 8. Lemon peels with sugar. After every one of these dishes, they made us drink a dish of Sacki, as good as ever I tasted. We were likewise presented twice, in dram cups, with wine made of plums, a very pleasant and agreeable liquor. In short, the whole treat was equally various and good. Only we had nothing made of rice. Last of all we were presented with a dish of tea, and so we took our leave, having staid an hour and a half.

At the second commissioner's we were treated, after tea and tobacco, with the following things: — 1. Two long slices of mangle, dipt into a brown sup or sauce, with some ginger. 2. Hard eggs. 3. Four common fish, fried and brought on skewers of bamboos. 4. The stomachs of carps salt, in a brown sauce. 5. Two small slices of a goose roasted, and warm, presented in unglazed earthen dishes. Good liquor was drank about plentifully all the while, and the commissioner's surgeon, who was to treat us, did not miss to take his full dose. Just before us behind a screen, at about two mats distance and a half, sat a gentleman unknown to us, sometimes also ladies appeared on that side. But the greatest throng of women was on the left, in a gallery. The

audience being over, we went straight home about an hour and a half before it was dark.

On the 23d of April, we received the compliments of thanks from the gentlemen we had been to visit the day before, and in the afternoon we had orders given us to prepare ourselves for audience of leave against the next day. We did not go this day to salute the governors according to custom, by reason of its being one of the mourning days for the death of Jejas, the now reigning Emperor's father, on which days it would be thought a want of respect for the Emperor to treat any body. He lies buried in Gofio, a temple behind Atago, about two miles from our inn. The burial place of the Emperors, his predecessors, is at Nikko, three days journey from Jedo. My servant, a very intelligent young man in the affairs of his country, told me, that the temple where Jejas is buried, is covered with golden obanis instead of tiles, and that his tomb is enclosed with black posts. He was to see me this day, because he was sent to us by a man of quality, our servants being forbid to see us all the while we stay at Jedo.

On the 24th of April, we went to court on horse-back, at seven o'clock in the morning, attended as before by three Jorikis of the governors of Nagasaki.

We staid in the Fiakninban, or guard of hundred men, till we were conducted into the palace upon orders given by the governors and commissioners. Having staid about half an hour in the waiting-room, the captain was called in before the counsellors of state, who ordered one of the commissioners to read the usual orders to him, which they do by turns; the orders were among the rest, and chiefly to the following effect, that we should not molest any ships, or boats of the Chinese or Liqueans, nor bring any Portugese or priests into the country on board our ships, and that upon these conditions we should be allowed a free commerce. The orders being read, the ambassador was presented with thirty gowns laid on three present boards, each of which was somewhat longer than two mats, and a letter of fortune, as they call it, as a mark of the Emperor's favour, upon which he crept on all-four to receive the same, and in token of respect, held a piece of the gowns over his head, and so returned to us; but the gowns along with the boards were carried out of the castle to the Fiakninban, where they were packed up in bundles. After the captain came back, we were desired by the governor to stay at dinner, which should be provided for us by order from the Emperor. Having therefore waited about half an hour, we were conducted into another room, where two fellows with their heads shaved close, and clad in the garments of ceremony received us. We guessed them to be some of the chief officers of the Emperor's kitchen.

He that hath the direction of the kitchen is called Osobaboos; he sits next to the Emperor when he dines, and tastes all the dishes that come upon the table. The interpreters, and Japanese that attend us, were carried into another room to dine by themselves. We had scarce seated ourselves when several young noblemen came into the room to see us, and to discourse with us. A small table made of shavings of matzwood, put together with wooden nails, was set before each of us, on which lay five fresh hot white cakes called anakas, as tough as glue, and two hollow breads of two spans in circumference, made of flower and sugar, with the seeds of the sesamum album spread about them. A small porcelain cup stood by the bread, with some small bits of pickled salmon in a brown sauce, which was not quite so strong, but somewhat sweeter than what they call soje. By the cup were laid two wooden chopsticks, according to the fashion of the Chinese and Japanese. We tasted a little of these dishes only for civility's sake, for we had taken care to provide ourselves with a good substantial breakfast before we went out in the morning, and besides had been treated in the guard-

guard-room with fresh mangoes, and sweet brown cakes of sugar and bean-flour. They desired us very civilly to eat more, and asked us whether we would drink any tea, and being told that we would, the above-mentioned kitchen officer sent for it up. But upon trial we found it to be little better than mere warm water, besides that, the brown varnished dishes, wherein it was presented to us, and which they call miseraaties, looked very poor and sorry. Meanwhile we were eating our dinner the spectators busied themselves, viewing and examining our hats, swords, dress, and what we had about us. After dinner, which was so far from answering the majesty and magnificence of so powerful a Monarch as the Emperor of Japan is, that we could not have had a worse at any private man's house, we were conducted back to the waiting-room, and having waited there for about an hour, or upwards, we were by the Governor conducted through several passages and galleries, which we could not remember to have seen before, towards the hall of audience, and desired to sit down in the same room where we had been before our last audience, or to walk about in the gallery next to it. Some shutters being now opened, which had been shut in our last audience, and some other apartments being laid open, the disposition of the court and hall of audience was thereby so altered, that it looked quite different to what it was before. We took notice, that there was scarce a room without some gentlemen or other sitting in it. In a large room, and two galleries leading to it, were hung up several Imperial orders, on large boards, consisting each of five rows of characters, only with seven characters in each row. These we had not seen in our first audience, perhaps because they were not yet hung up, or because they had now carried us another way. Meanwhile we were waiting in this room till we should be called in, which might be about half an hour, a priest of about thirty years of age, clad in white and blue silk, with a bag of the same colour, came into the room, and with great affectation of shame and modesty enquired after our names and age, which had been done before by most of the spectators then present. We saw likewise another priest clad in orange-coloured silk, but he staid in the gallery and did not come into the room. As we were waiting, three washing basons in appearance of silver were carried into the inner Imperial apartments. Soon after the same basons, and a black japanned covered table, on which stood several dishes and plates, were brought out again, whence we concluded, that they had been at dinner there. Upon this we were forthwith conducted into a side gallery next to the Imperial apartments, and having staid there but a little while, one of the extraordinary counsellors of state, and the two commissioners, came to introduce us, and made us sit down near the grated skreen, on the very same place we had been at in our former audiences. The two commissioners did not enter the hall of audience. The Emperor sat behind the middle skreen on a place, which was somewhat raised above the level of the room. Bingo sat in the middle against a paper skreen, and the three ordinary and four extraordinary counsellors of state took their usual places. Behind the grated skreen, on our right, we could discern only a priest lurking. The place where in our first audience the gobobasi sat, was now left empty, but there were some few in the gallery. Five and twenty sat behind us in one row, and eighteen more in the same row, who were out of sight of the Emperor, though waiting for his commands. The other side of the hall was lined with the same number of people, and in the same order. After the audience begun, more came in, so that all the avenues were pretty much crowded. We made our obeisance first, according to the fashion of the Japanese, but were soon commanded to come nearer the skreens, and to do it after the European manner. The obeisances made, I was ordered to sing a

song; I chose one, which I had formerly composed for a lady, for whom I had a peculiar esteem, and as at the latter end I extolled her beauty and other excellent qualities, in a poetical stile, above the value of hundred thousands and millions of pieces of money, I was asked, by order of the Emperor, what the meaning of it was: upon which I returned in answer, it was nothing but a sincere wish of mine, that heaven might bestow millions of portions of health, fortune and prosperity upon the Emperor, his family and court. We were then commanded, as we had been in former audiences, to take off our cloaks, to walk about the room, which the ambassador likewise did, then to shew how upon occasion we complimented, or took leave of our friends, parents, or a mistress; how we scolded at one another, how we made up our differences and got friends again. Upon this a priest was commanded to come in, who had a fresh ulcer upon one of his shins of no consequence, only with a little trifling inflammation about it; he had laid on a plaister spread thick upon European cloth. I was ordered to feel his pulse, and to give my opinion about his case, both which I did accordingly, and judged him to be a healthy strong fellow, and his case such as was not like to have any dangerous consequences, and would easily heal by keeping only the plaister on. I advised him, however, not to be too familiar with sack beer, pretending to guess by his wound, what I did upon much better ground by his red face and nose, that he was pretty much given to drinking, which made the Emperor and whole court laugh. Then two of the Emperor's surgeons were sent for in, whom Bingo called himself, they being in one of the inner Imperial apartments. They appeared forthwith coming round the screen, they were both shaved, and clad like priests, one of them was quite blind on one eye, the other looked but little better; otherwise they seemed to be in pretty good health. Hearing that they were the Emperor's surgeons, I gave them the precedency, and let them feel my pulse first, then I felt theirs, and judged them both to be in good health, the first rather of a cold constitution and wanting sometimes a dram of brandy to raise his spirits and to quicken the motion of his blood; the second of a hotter temper, and much troubled with headach, which I could very easily perceive by his countenance. Upon this they entered into a discourse with me upon physical matters, and the first asked me, whether or no imposthumes were dangerous, at what time and in what distempers we ordered people to be let blood. He also affected to have some knowledge of our European plaisters, and mentioning the names of some, which however he could not well pronounce, I set him to right in broken Japanese. This our jargon being half Latin and half Japanese, sounded so oddly, that the Emperor asked what language it was the Dutchman spoke in, upon which he was answered, it was a broken Japanese. This farce being also over, a table was brought in with chop sticks of wood for each of us, and placed just before the third mat. On each table were brought in the following victuals, dressed after the Japanese manner.

1. Two small hollow loaves with sesamus seed thrown upon them.
2. A piece of white refined sugar, as it were striped.
3. Five candied kainokis, or kernels of the kai-tree, which are not unlike our almonds.
4. A square flat slice of a cake.
5. Two cakes made of flour and honey, shaped like a tunnel, brown and thick, but somewhat tough. They have on one side the impression of a sun, or rose, and on the other that of the Dairi Tiap, that is, the Dairi's coat of arms, being the leaf and flower of a large tree called kiri. The leaf is not unlike that of the

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bardana, and the flower comes nearest to that of the digitalis, several being set to a stalk.

6. Two square slices of a cake made of bean-flour and sugar. They were of a dark reddish colour and brittle.

7. Two other slices of a rice-flour cake, yellow and tough.

8. Two slices of another cake, which was quite of another substance within, than the crust seemed to be.

9. A large mangle, boiled and filled with brown bean-sugar, like treacle.

10. Two small manges of the common bigness, dressed after the same manner.

We tasted a little of these things, and the chief interpreter was commanded to take up the rest, for which purpose boards and white paper were brought in. The interpreter having taken up his load, we were ordered to put on our cloaks again, to come nearer the screen, and to take our leave one after another. This being done, two gentlemen, one of whom was the youngest extraordinary counsellor of state, conducted us out of the hall of audience, to the end of the gallery, where the gentlemen of the fourth and fifth rank sat, eighteen of each class. They left us here with the two commissioners and the governor, who went with us as far as the waiting-room, where we took our leave of them, amidst the compliments and loud acclamations of the courtiers, for so favourable a reception as we had met with from His Imperial Majesty, being much beyond whatever they remembered any body could boast of. Our interpreter was so loaded with the quantity of victuals, that he was scarce able to follow us. We made no further stay in the waiting-room, but went away immediately, saluting the Imperial guard as we went by, and being come into the third castle, we there mounted our horses again. The Governor Siube, or as he is now called, T'fusimano Cami, happened just then to be carried by in his norimon, which he opened to speak a few words with the joriki. His retinue consisted of eight footmen, walking before his norimon, four pages walking by the norimon's side, a pike-bearer, a white led horse, and three porters carrying bundles on their backs. We repaired instantly to his house, where he caused the shutters of his room to be laid open, and sat himself down before us, with a young gentleman, and the secretary of the younger commissioner. He received us himself, complimented us on the good reception we had met with from the Emperor, and desired us to be merry at dinner, which was brought in after a dish of tea, and consisted of the following dishes: boiled fish in a very good sauce, oysters boiled and brought in the shells, with vinegar, which it was intimated, that he had ordered on purpose to be provided for us, knowing it was a favourite dish with the Dutch; several small slices of a roasted goose; fried fish, and boiled eggs. The liquor drunk between the dishes was also extraordinary good. After dinner they desired to see our hats, swords, tobacco-pipes and watches, which were carried out of the room, for there were no ladies present at this audience, and consequently no uta, or dance. Then two maps were brought in, one of which was without the names of the countries and places, other was well enough made, and in all likelihood copied after an European map. The other was a map of the whole world, of their own making, in an oval form, and marked with the Japanese Kattakanna characters. I took this opportunity to observe, after what manner they had represented the countries to the north of Japan, which I found to be as follows: beyond Japan, opposite to the two great northern promontories of the province Osju, was the island Jeshogafima, and beyond that island a country twice as big in proportion as China, divided into several provinces, reaching about one third of its bigness beyond the arctic circle towards the pole, and running a good deal farther east than the eastern coasts of Japan: it had a large gulf on the eastern shore opposite to America, and was very near

of a square figure. There was but one passage between this country and the continent of America, in which lay a small island, and beyond that, further north, another long island, nearly reaching with its two extremities the two continents; to wit, that of Jesso to the west, and that of America to the east, and after this manner, shutting as it were the passage, to the north. Much after the same manner all the unknown countries about the antarctic pole were represented as islands. From Tsufimano Cami's we went to Gensejmon Sino Cami, where we were likewise civilly treated in presence of several strangers who, though unknown to us, yet affected a great familiarity. Among the rest were Siube's and Gensejmon's brothers, one of whom had a son with fore legs, and the other a brother with pimples in his face, for both which distempers they asked my advice. The ladies were crowded up behind skreens in a light room, for whose diversion we sung and danced. At Tonnemon's, whom we visited last, every thing was done as the preceding year, with the utmost splendor and magnificence; so that we did not in the least scruple, in return for so much civility, to entertain the company with singing and dancing to the best of our abilities. Thus at last we got home a little after sun-set, as glad of having got over that day's work, as we were pleased with the favourable reception we had met with every where.

This afternoon, before we got home, several of the ordinary counsellors of state, and one of the governors sent their gowns, some of which were left with our joriki, but others would stay till our return, to deliver them to our ambassador in person. Several also brought a present for our chief interpreter and the landlord's son, by whom they were introduced to us. The reception of these gowns, when made by our ambassador in person, is done with the following ceremonies. Some kulis march before, carrying the gowns in boxes, one carries the board or table on which the gowns are to be laid, with a letter of fortune, as they call it, being some flat strings twisted together at one end, and wound up in a paper, which is tied about with an unequal number of pairs of silk or paper strings, as for instance three, five, seven, eleven, &c. of different colours, sometimes gilt or silver coloured. Then the person who is to present the gowns, being commonly the gentleman's steward that sends them, is by our joriki introduced into the ambassador's apartment, in presence of his own retinue, our landlords and interpreters, and seating himself over against the ambassador, at a proper distance, makes the following compliment: "N. N. my master sends me to congratulate you on your having had your audience, and your audience of leave, and good weather, which is *medithe* (good luck): your presents were very acceptable to him, and he desires you would accept in return of these few gowns." At the same time he delivers to the interpreter, who gives it to the ambassador, a large sheet of paper, on which is writ, in large characters, the number of gowns sent, and sometimes also what colours they are of. The captain, in token of respect, holds the sheet of paper over his head, the persons then present in the room all in a profound silence, some sitting, some kneeling, and so returns him with a bow the following compliment: "I give N. N. your master, my most humble thanks for his assistance in procuring us a quick and favourable audience, and intreat him farther to continue his favours to the Dutch: I thank him also for his valuable present, and will not fail to acquaint my masters of Batavia therewith." The mutual compliments being over, tobacco, and the whole set of instruments for smoking, and a dish of tea, is brought in; after that distilled liquors, with a table, on which are laid five silver plates, with sweet-meats. This table is placed before the person that brought the present, and he is civilly desired to taste of the Dutch liquors distilled at Batavia, and to regard not the meanness of the things offered him, but the sincerity and good will with which they were offered. Then a small dram-glass is filled with

with tent wine, which the Japanese call *sinti*, which, according to the fashion of the Japanese, he takes with both hands, holds it up to his mouth, and, with seeming eagerness, drinks it out to the last drop at two or three gulps, then holding the glass over the tobacco, or the empty space between the mats, to let it drop out clean, and wiping the bottom on the outside with his thumb or a bit of paper, he returns it to the ambassador, who pledges him in the same liquor, and after the same manner. He pledges the ambassador again, and with the same ceremonies returns it to the *zoriki*, who drinks to another, and so it goes round. After this manner several sorts of liquors are drank about, till every one hath tasted of them, and commended them as miseraatics. Last of all the glass is returned again to the ambassador, who drinks only a little, and then orders the liquors to be carried away. The landlord in the meantime puts up the sweat-meats in paper, ties it about with silk strings, and gives it to one of his servants. Then the gentleman takes his leave, thanking for the civility shewed him, and particularly for the excellent miseraatic liquors. The ambassador once more desires him to assure his master of his sincere respects, and unfeigned thanks for his favour and assistance. The *zoriki* also makes a compliment for himself much to the same effect. Then the gentleman is conducted out of the room, where, with mutual compliments and bowing, he takes his leave a second time.

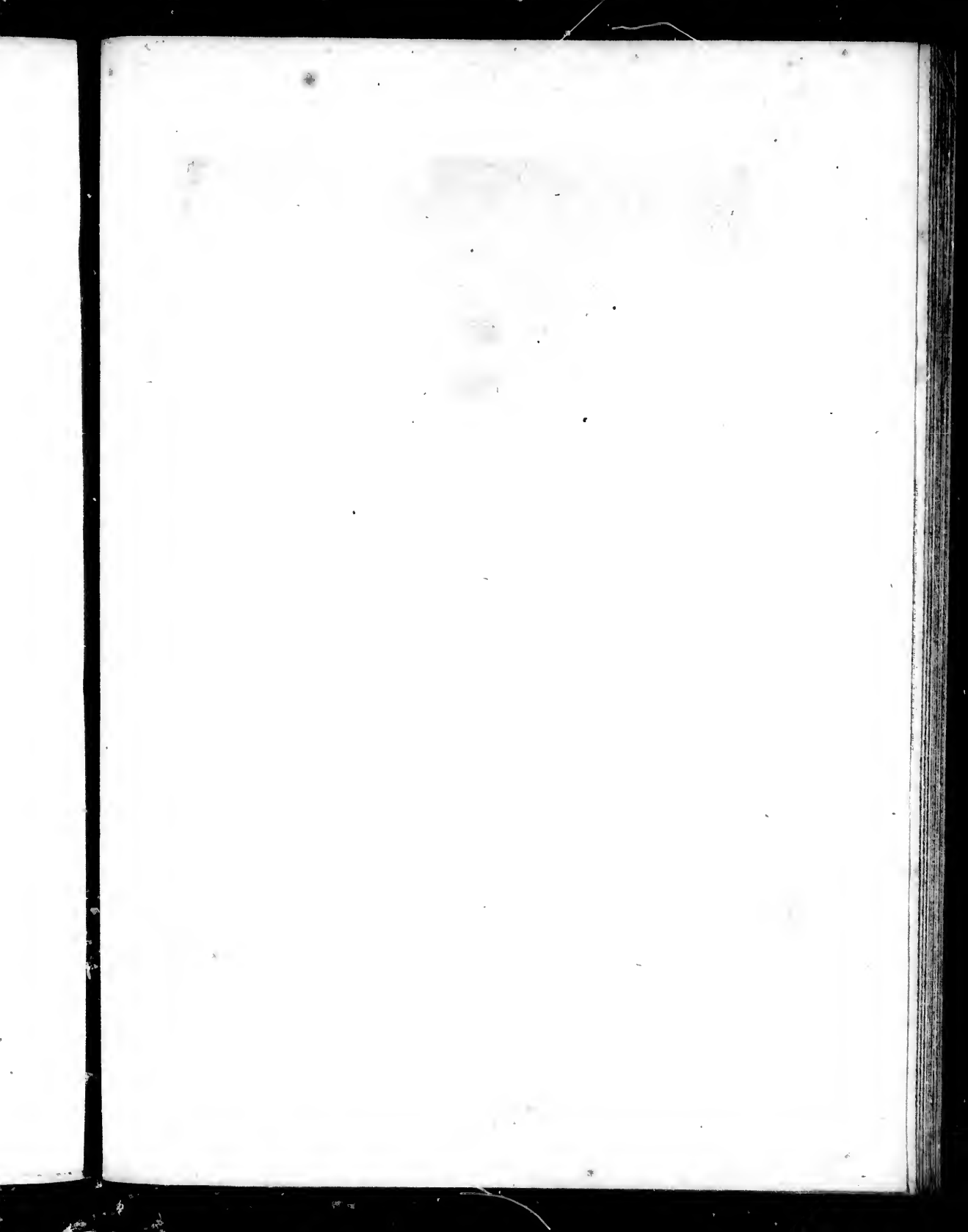
On the 25th of April, we had ten fine gowns sent us by Bingo, five as good as any wove with flowers, by the young Prince of Firando, who was lately made one of the lords of the Temple, in the room of him who is now lord chief justice of Miaco, and a couple of sorry ones by the second governor of Jedo, who hath the inspection of all criminal affairs and executions in this capital. The other governor had sent us the same number, and full as bad the day before. The number of gowns we received was thirty from the Emperor, ten from Bingo, and so many from each of the four ordinary counsellors of state, six from each of the four extraordinary counsellors of state, five from each of the three lords of the temples, two from each of the two governors of Jedo,—in all 123; thirty of which being those given by the Emperor, belong to the Company, and all the rest to the ambassador. All this business was over by two in the afternoon.

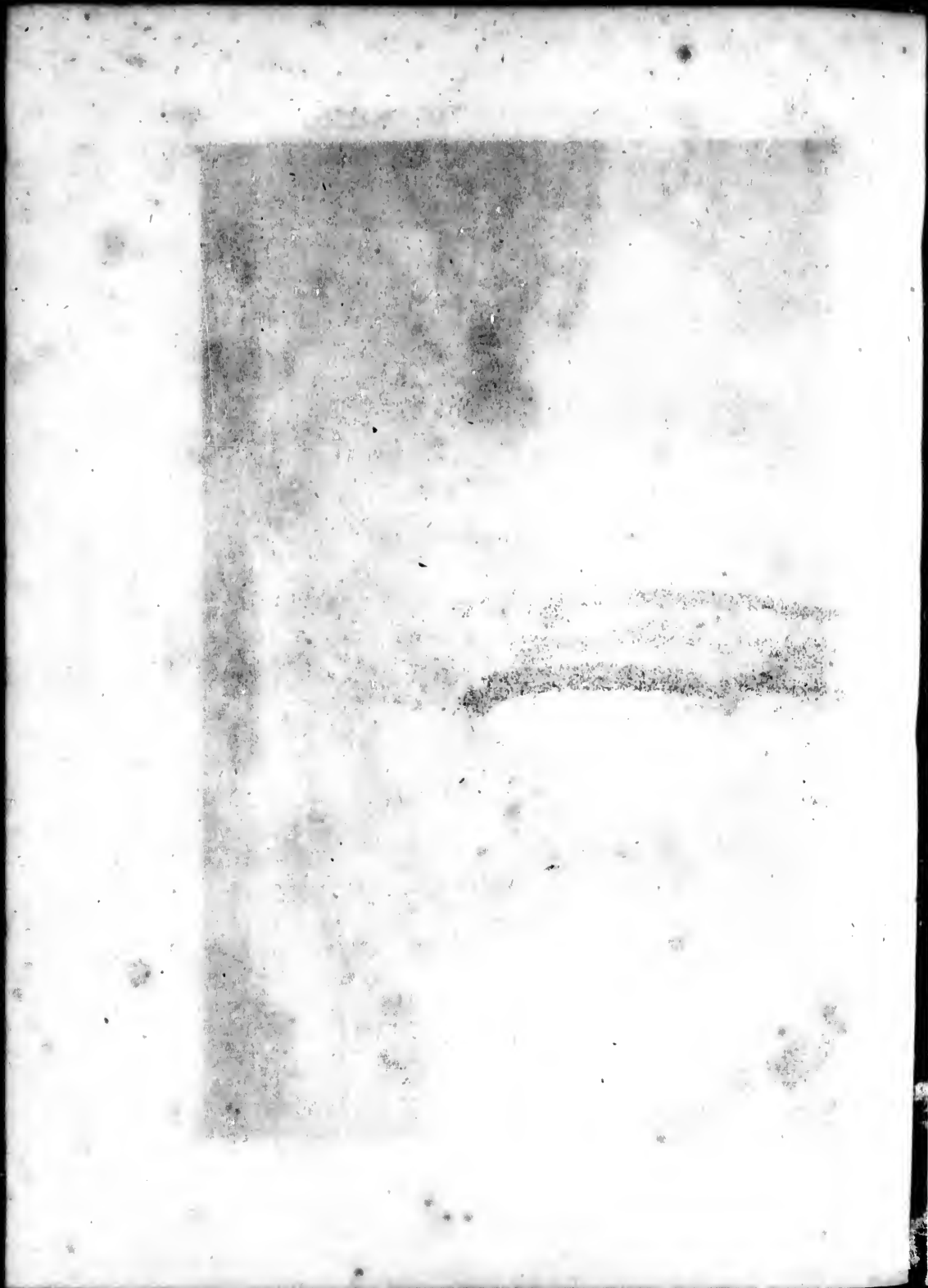
On the 26th of April, we were busy with packing up our baggage, hiring a sufficient number of kulis or porters, and fifteen horses for our journey. This morning we felt an earthquake; the shocks were violent but slow, that one might tell forty between each; after midnight it returned with more violence*.

* The return and the Appendix are omitted as little interesting to the general reader.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.









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*The Headland of the Five Sisters, Heads
near Shan-Chow, Foo*

Published by ...





W. S. Jordan

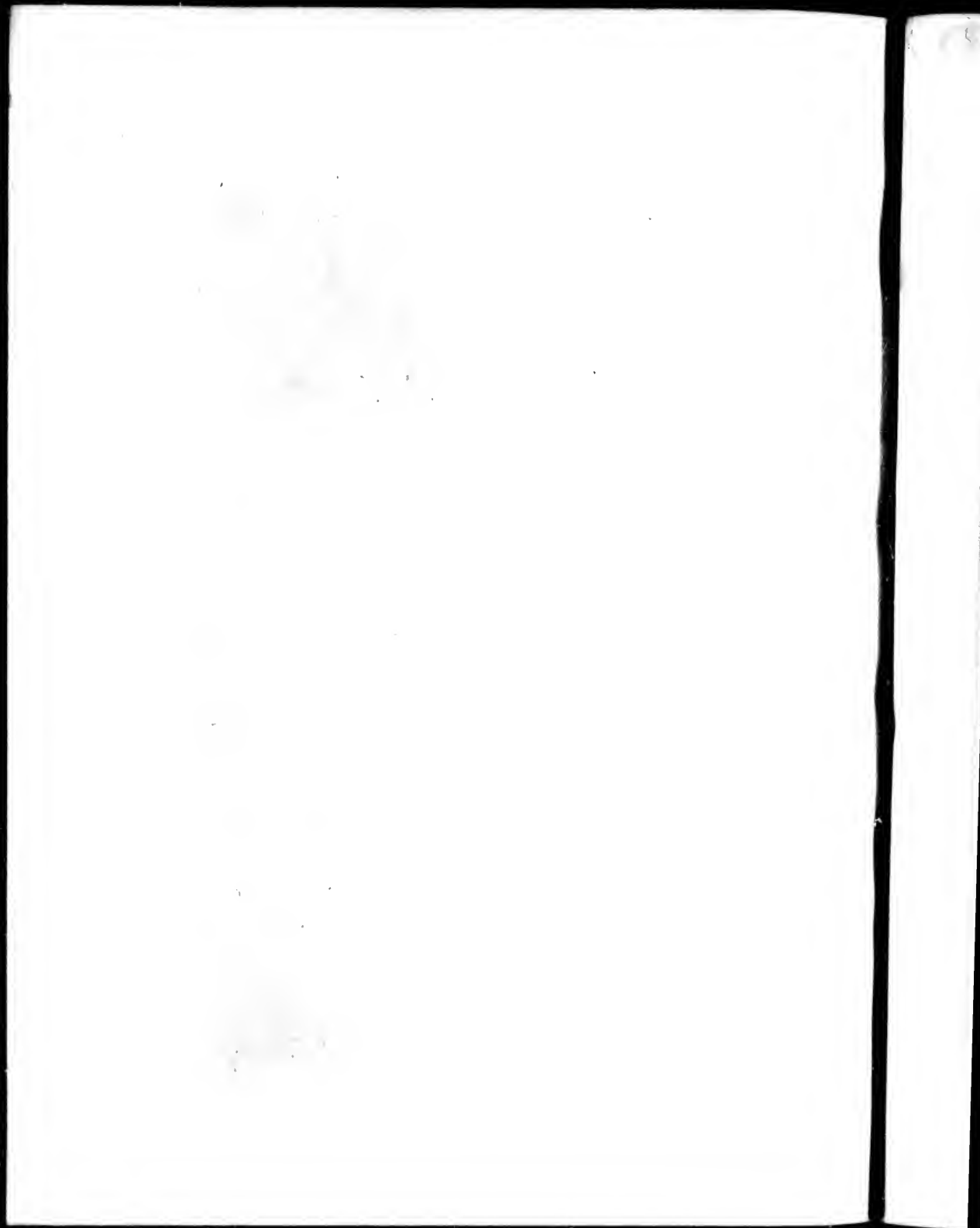
W. S. Jordan, 1850. From the "Illustrations of the Hawaiian Islands."





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Printed by the author.

*The Good Wall, of 'Columbia',
taken near the 'Rags' of 'Columbia'.*

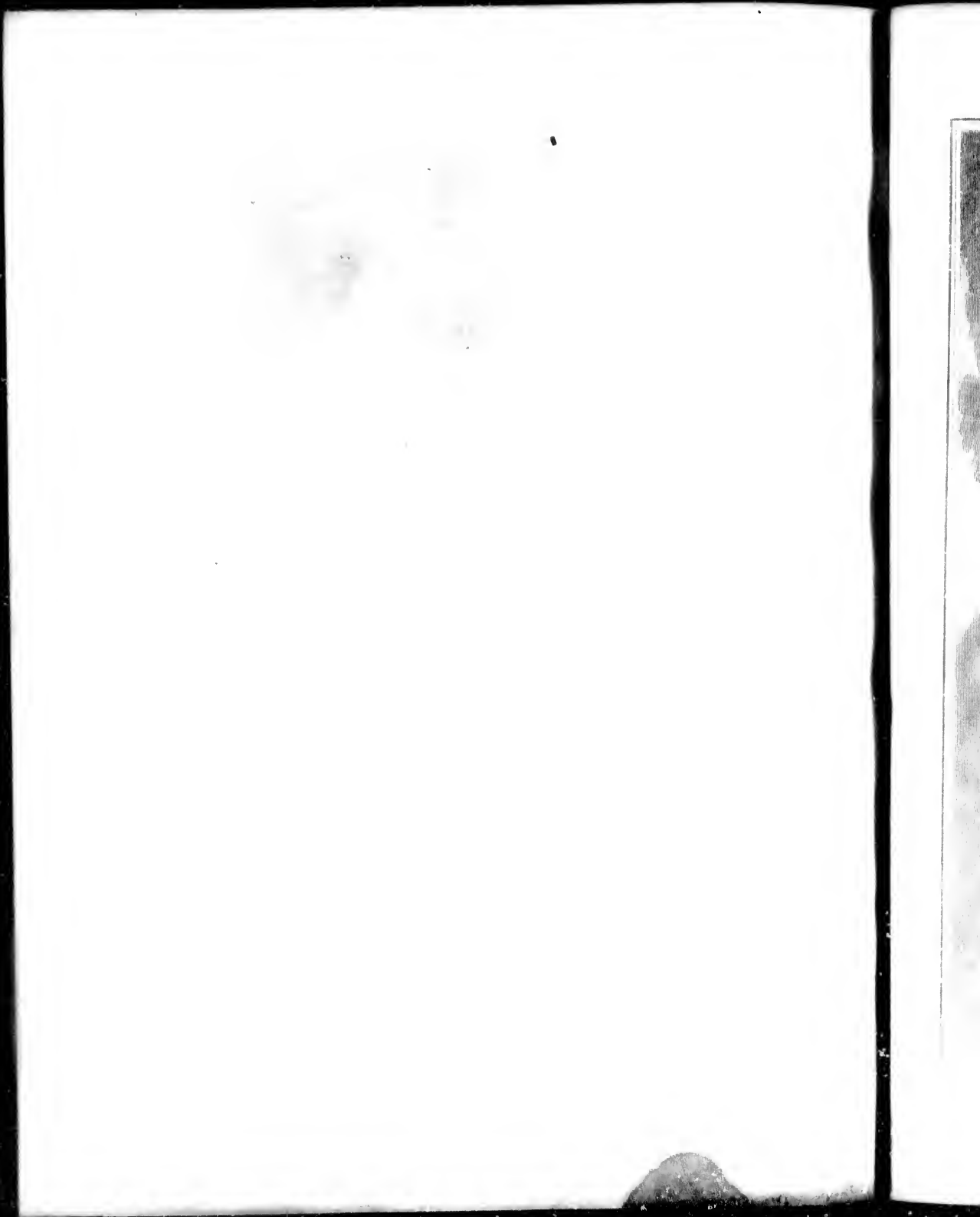




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Mr. Harbison's Visit to Cuba
Return of Mr. Harbison

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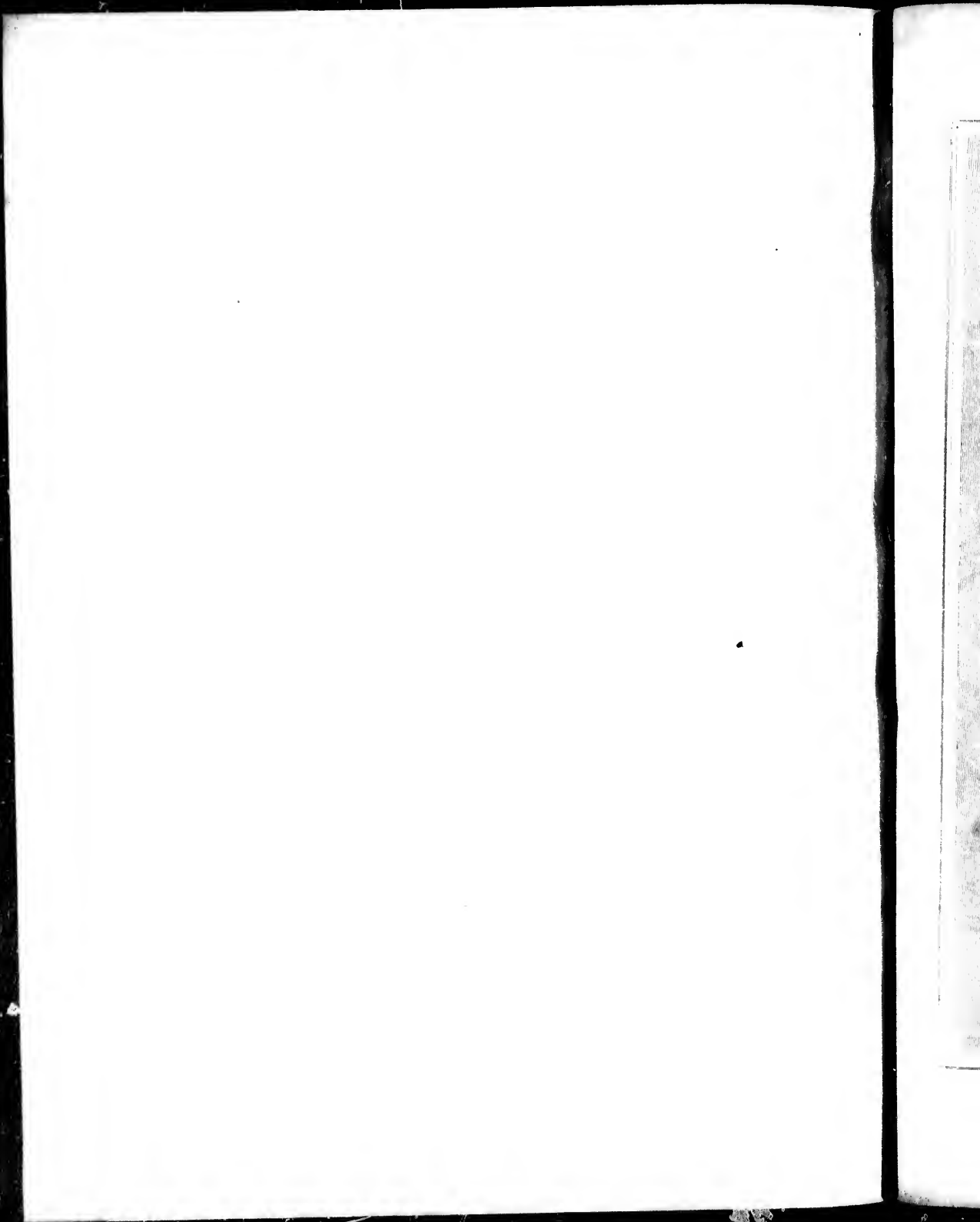


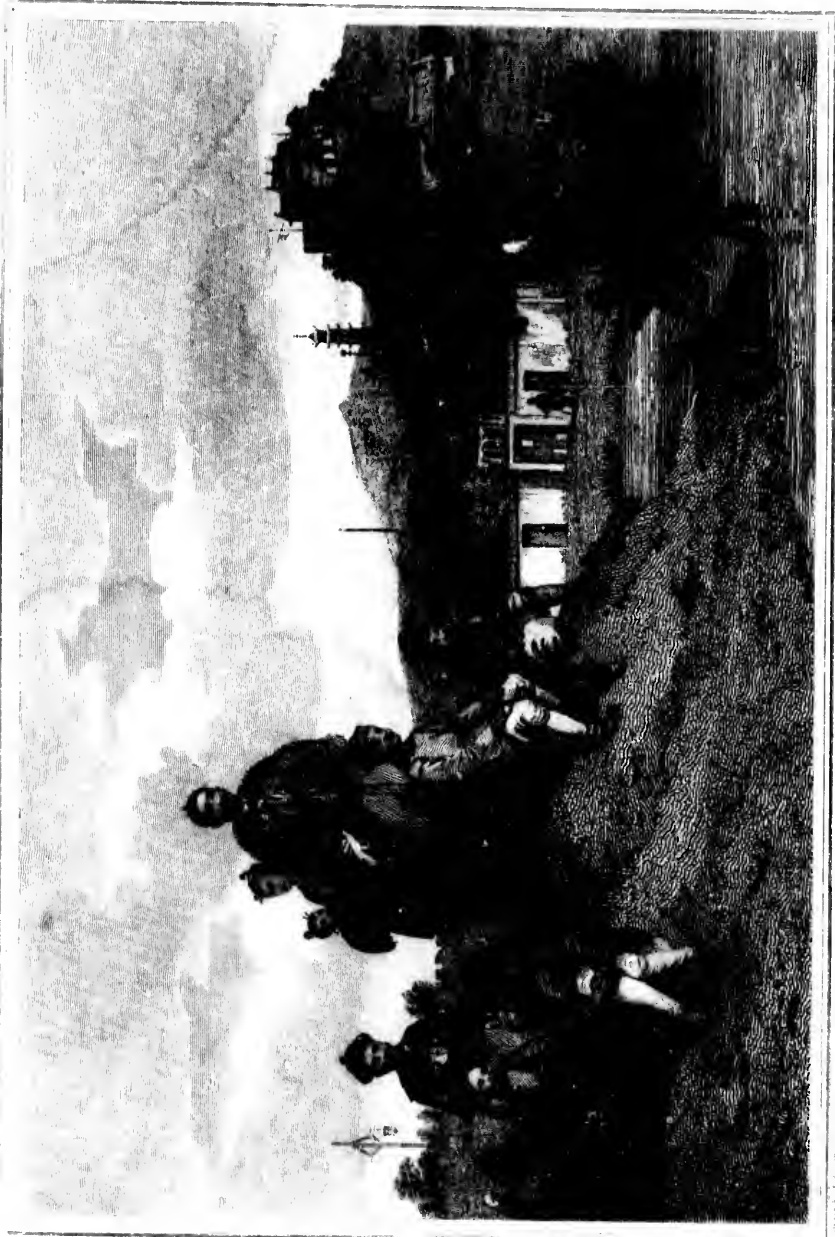


Photograph by ...

View of ... near the Yellow River

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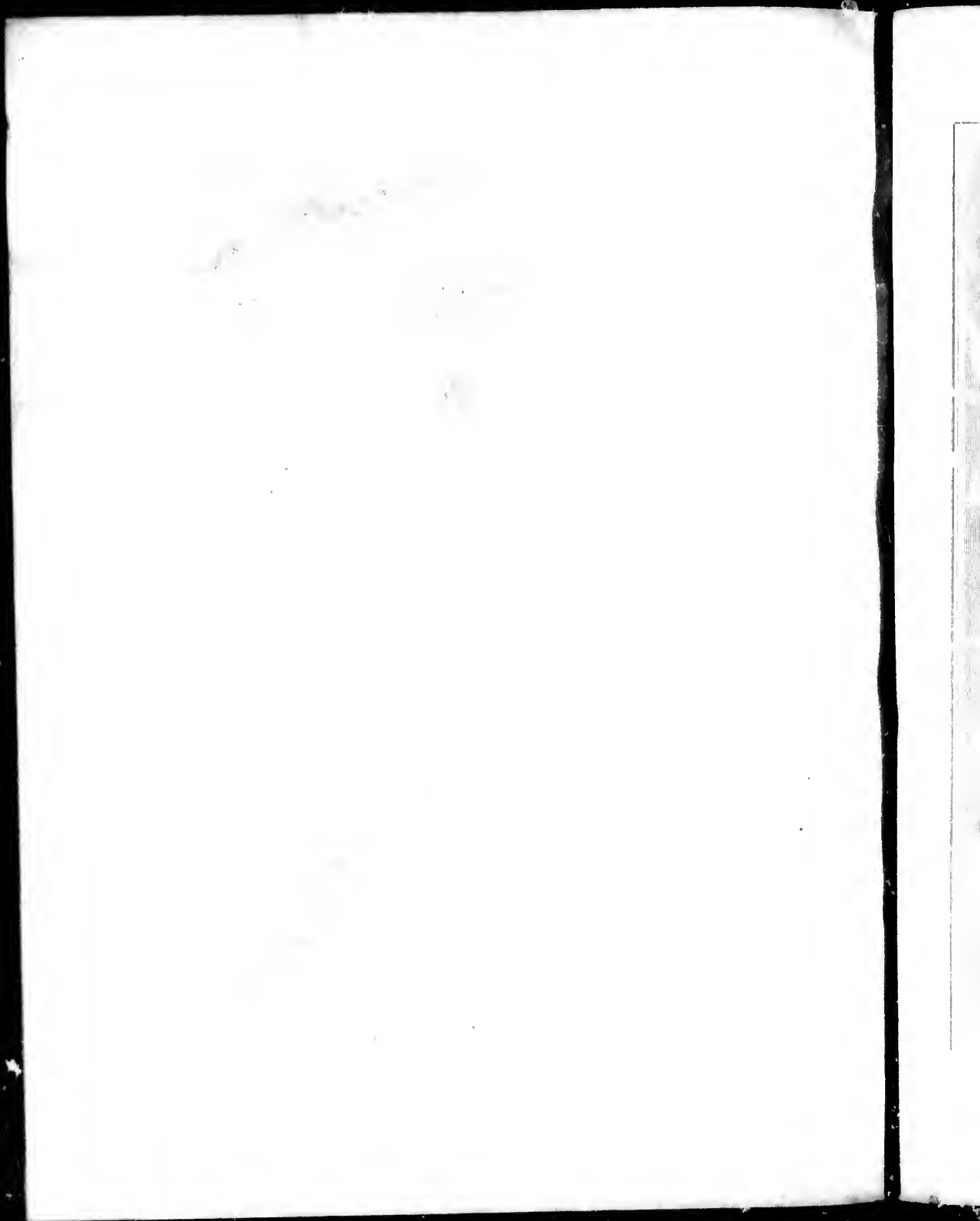


Engraving by G. S. ...

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View from the River, Singapore.

Published by the Singapore Government, Singapore, 1850.

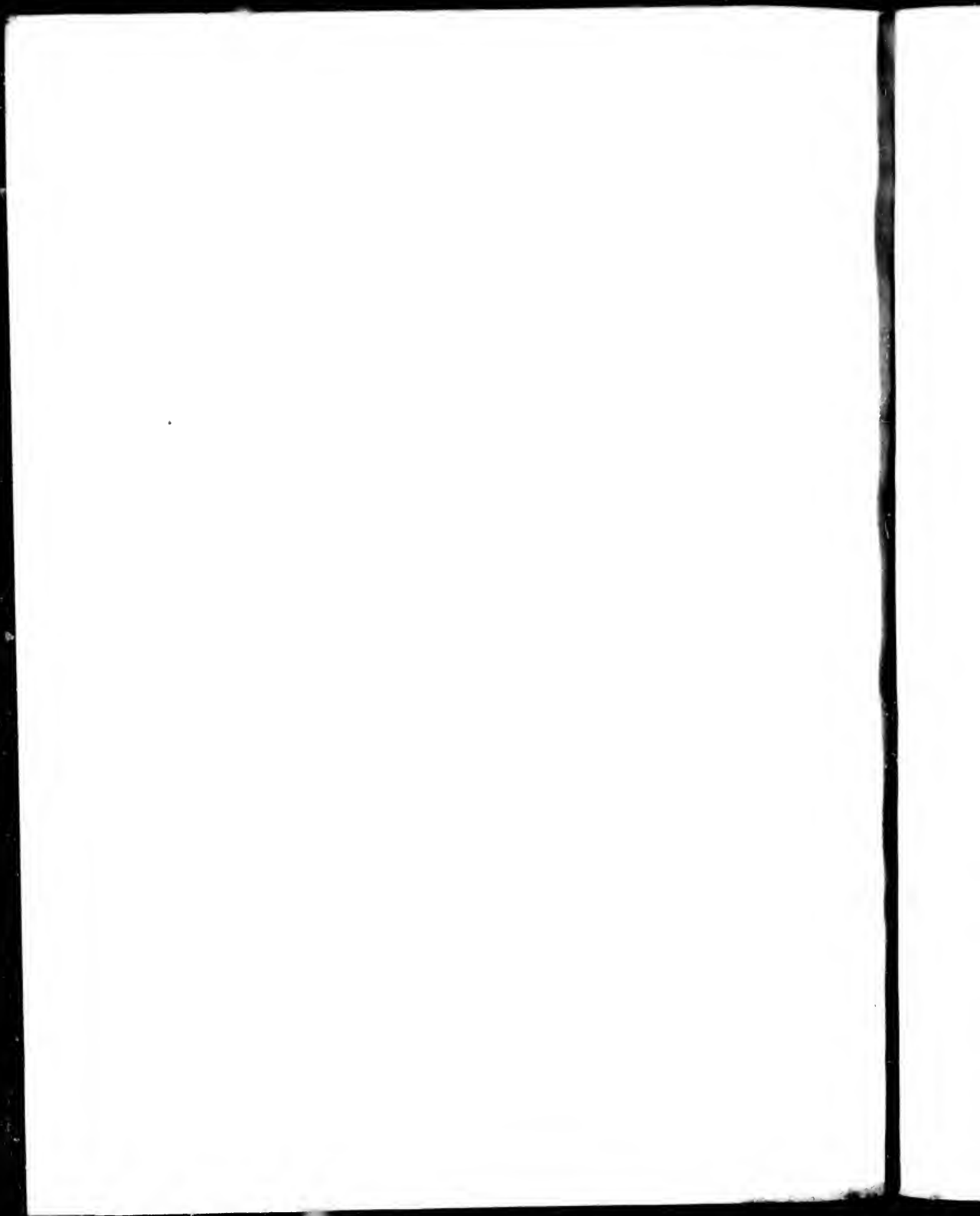




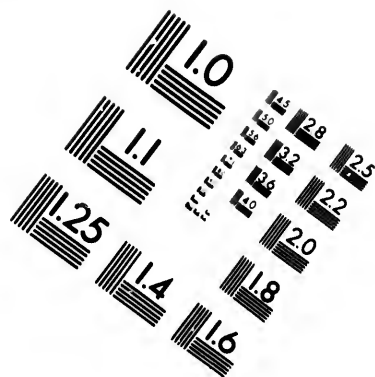
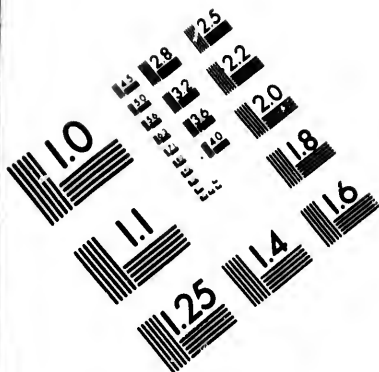
Richard S. Whittier, 1846

John S. W. Peck, 1846

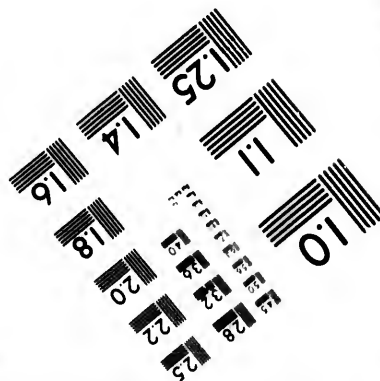
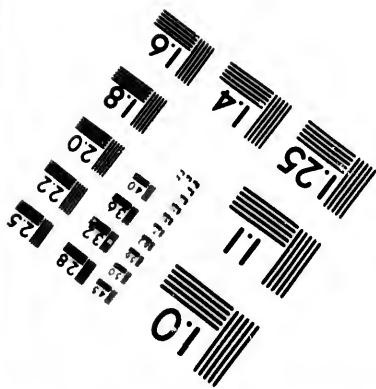
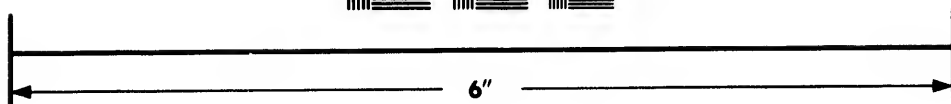
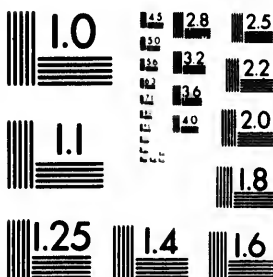
*View of New Haven - from
Harbor of Long-run Channel*







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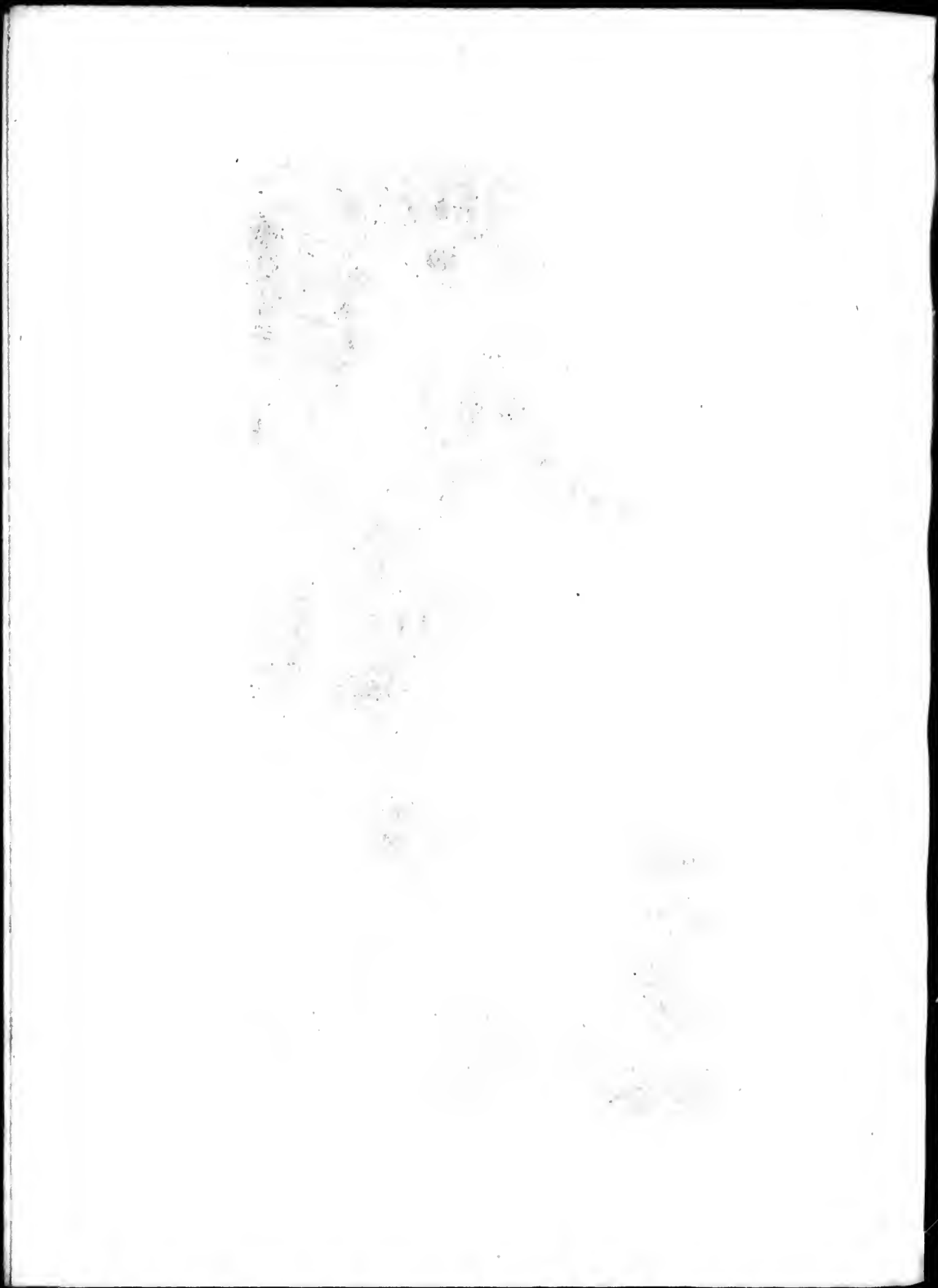


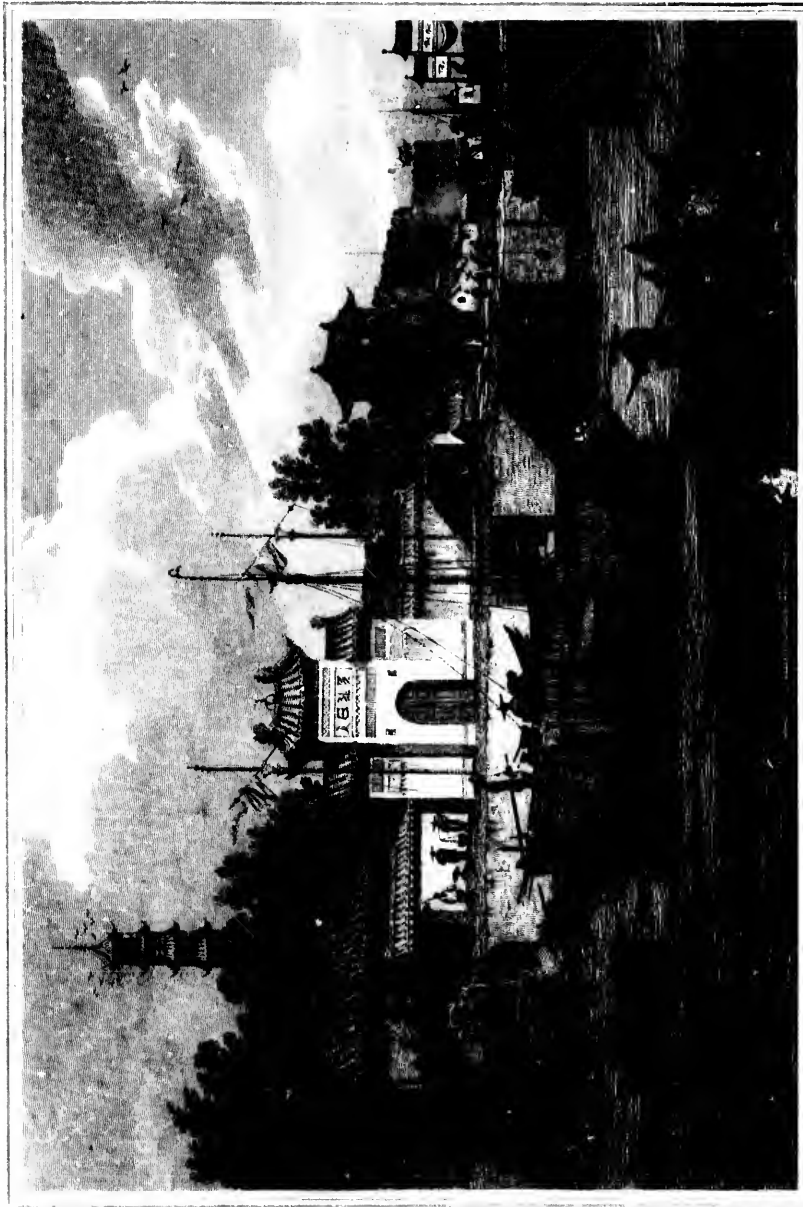
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1871. H. B. B. 1871.

A Chinese Temple near Hong Kong.

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