TRAVELS and VOYAGES,

THROUGH

EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA,

FOR NINETEEN YEARS.

CONTAINING

An Account of the Religion, Government, Policy, Laws, Cuſtoms, Trade, &c. of the ſeveral countries through which the Author travelled; and a Deſcription of Jeruſalem, and many other remarkable places mentioned in Sacred and Profane Hiſtory:

ALSO

A Narrative of the tortures he ſuffered in the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and of his miraculous deliverance from thoſe cruelties.

By WILLIAM LITHGOW.

The ELEVENTH EDITION.

Embelliſhed with COPPERPLATES, and illuſtrated with NOTES from later Travellers.

FZA 975

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MDCCLXX.

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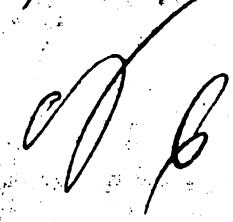
William Lithgow 1582-1650
born and educated in Lanark.
He was caught in a love affair
and murdered of his cow-herd.
The doubtful Cur [illegible]



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Frontispiece.

H. Gavin Sculp.

WILLIAM LITHGOW

Lo, here's mine Effigy, and Turkish *Suit;*
My Staff, and Shafs, as I did Asia *foot:*
Plac'd in old Ilium, Priam's *Scepter thralls:*
The Grecian *Camp design'd; lost* Dardan *falls.*
Gird with small Simois, Ida's *tops, a Gate;*
Over two fatal Tombs, an Eagle, sackt Troy's *State.*

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THE

Prologue to the READER.

JUdicious lector, If good books may be termed wiſe guides, then certainly true hiſtories may be termed perfect oracles, ſecret counſellors, private ſchoolmaſters, familiar friends to cheriſh knowledge; and the beſt intelligencers for all intendments, being duly pondered, and rightly uſed. This laborious work then of mine, depending on this preamble, is only compoſed of mine own eye-ſight, and ocular experience; (pluris eſt oculatus teſtis unus, quam auriti decem) *being the perfect mirror, and lively portraiture of true underſtanding: excelling far all inventions whatſoever, poetic or theoric. And now, to ſhun ingratitude which I diſdain as hell, I thought it beſt to exhibit the profit of my painful travels to the deſirous world, for two reſpects: the one, a natural obligation; the other, a general requeſt: for as my dangerous adventures have been wrought out from the infinite variety of variable ſights, innumerable toils, pleaſures, and inevitable ſorrows; ſo doth it alſo beſt ſympathize with reaſon, and moſt fitting, that I ſhould generally diſpoſe of the ſame to the temperate judgements of the better ſort, the ſound and abſolute opinions of the judicious, and to the variable cenſures of calumnious critics, who run at random in the fields of other mens labours, but cannot find the home-bred way in their own cloſe ground. And therefore the different diſpoſition of the good and bad, do beſt concur with the interchangeable occurrences of the matter.*

Nevertheleſs, *for thy more eaſy underſtanding, I have divided this hiſtory in ten ſeveral parts, and they alſo in three books; which being ſeriouſly peruſed, doubtleſs thy labour ſhall receive both profit and pleaſure. Accept them therefore with the ſame love that I offer them to thee, ſince they coſt thee nothing but the reading, how dear ſoever they are to me. But, underſtand me better, I ſcorn to draw my pen to the ignorant fool, neither ſhall it ſtoop to*

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the proud knave, for I contemn both. To the wiſe, I know, it will be welcome; to the profound hiſtorian yield knowledge, contemplation, and direction; and to the underſtanding gentleman, inſight, inſtruction, and recreation; and to the true-bred poet, fraternal love, both in mien and manner. Now, as touching the hiſſing of ſnakiſh Papiſts, a ruſh for that ſnarling crew; for as this work, being fenced with experience, and garniſhed with truth, is more than able to batter down the ſtinging venom of their deſpiteful waſpiſhneſs; ſo alſo they may clearly ſee therein, as in a mirror, their own blindneſs, and the damnable errors of their blind guiders, deceivers, and idolaters: and, above all, the cruel infliction impoſed upon me, by the mercileſs inquiſition of their profeſſion in Malaga; which, for Chriſt's ſake, I conſtantly ſuffered, in tortures, torments, and hunger: and laſtly, They may perceive God's miraculous mercy in diſcovering and delivering me from ſuch a concealed and inhuman murder. And now, referring the well-ſet reader to the hiſtory itſelf, where ſatisfaction lieth ready to receive him, and expectation deſirous of deſerved thanks, I come to talk with the ſcelerate companion. If thou be'eſt a Villain, a Ruffian, a Momus, a Knave, a Carper, a Critic, a Bubo, a Buffoon, a ſtupid Aſs, and a gnawing Worm, with envious lips, I bequeath thee to a carnificial reward; where a flaxen rope will ſoon diſpatch thy ſnarling ſlander, and free my toilſome travels, and now painful labours, from the deadly poiſon of thy ſharp-edged calumnies: and ſo go hang thyſelf; for I neither will reſpect thy love, nor regard thy malice. And ſhall ever and always remain,

To the Courteous ſtill obſervant, and to

the Critical Knave as he deſerveth,

WILLIAM LITHGOW.

CON-

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THE TRAVELS OF WILLIAM LITHGOW.

PART I.

The First Book of my Travels.

See Rome discover'd, Italy made plain,
The Roman library, a golden gain:
Hunns old Parthenope with Venice met,
And strong Brundusium in Ottranto set:
Time's rich antiquities display'd abroad
On circling Cume, Avernus lying odd:
And Lorett's chapel, four times been transported
On angels backs, from Nazareth detorted;
Where for discourse, on this false forged lady,
To tend you with inveiglings, shall be ready.
Thus piece and piece, from soil to soil, I'll go,
And now begin; the end will deeper grow.

IT was a wise saying amongst the ancients, That thrice happy and blessed was that kingdom, when old men bore sway and ruled the state, and young men travelled abroad: the first by long experience prudently to execute judgement; and the latter, by sight and knowledge of foreign countries and laws growing more judicious, might, when come to age and preferment, with more facility and dexterity exhibit justice at

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home. But what ſhall I ſay to theſe modern and diſſolute times? when, by the contrary means, travel is ſlighted, government abuſed, and inſinuating homelings thruſt into high offices that are incapable of them, being prattling parrots, and ſounding cymbals; who convert ſound judgement and juſtice to their own ſelfiſh and mercenary ends, turning their chief felicity to avaritious ambition and vain-glory, and their good fortunes to their belly and their back. O miſerable and effeminate age! when virtue by moſt men is deſpiſed and neglected, and ſenſual vice every where exalted: Nay, ruffian Pandors, by hopeful youth and prodigal gallants, are now cloathed, coached, and richly rewarded, whilſt the higheſt merits and deſerts of men of genius are neither looked to, ſet by, nor regarded. And for approbation and example's ſake of their valorous deſigns, let them think upon latter paſſages, not worthy to be thought upon, and they will find this future caveat to ſtand needful, *Hæc olim meminiſſe juvabit.* So likewiſe now every Capricullion, from Cæſar to the Paſcorell, can croud and chaw, from his warbling waſpiſhneſs, this ſtinging cenſure of abſurd untruth, That travellers and poets may lie, and lie by authority, which they themſelves perform at home without leave.

Concerning ſiniſtrous cenſures.

By which traditional conceſſion, I, being abſolute in the firſt, and born to the Muſes, as to the world, a mungrel to both, may have a lawful (unlawful) liberty aſſigned. Is there any marvel if men in this kind be ſo injuriouſly cenſured, when the very goſpel itſelf, by perfidious Atheiſts, Formaliſts, Sophiſters, Romiſh-Rabbins, Nullifidians, and ſchiſmatical ſectaries, is quartered, mangled, and rejected? Such be the Satanical opinions of this hell-born age, whoſe confuſed conceits, blaſphemies, incredulities, and imaginary diviſions, have ſhamefully ſtained the better part of this now beſt world. Nay, good and godly kings, ſo pricked at and wounded by the viperous murmurings of miſcreant villanies, as though their royal and juſt lives were the mere inordinate patterns of

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of all impiety and lewdneſs. Since therefore the ſacred ſcriptures, the gods of the earth, eccleſiaſtic columes, yea, the name and fame of the moſt righteous alive, be thus diverſely taxed, and vituperiouſly calumniated, can prevention in me eſcape the lawleſs horror of this impoiſoned fury? No; I have had already the aſſault, and newly prepared patience proof to receive more, wrought by the piercing hammer of nineteen winters, as many ſummers dear bought toil. Let venom-thundering critics contumeliouſly carp, infernal fire-brand Cerberans bark, and the hell-prepared off-ſcourings of true religion gnaſhing grudge, I have a heart can ſmile at their backbiting malice, a judgement to diſcern ſuch wormiſh waſps, and, if preſent, the weight of underſtanding truth to confound their blind [illegible]rdities with reaſon. As for chamber-complimenters, [illegible]oſe vaſt inſides, like to the vaults of waſting Strombolo, are become thread-bare, having their outſides only adorned with rich ornaments,

Such ſerving cyphers, cypher childiſh cenſures,
And ſhallow ſcal-patch'd pates, have forebald tonſures.
Yet touch a C. flat in his face he'll ſtart,
As though a dame had grac'd him with a ——
Whoſe wringes, winks, whoſe curious ſmiles and words,
And ſcraping feet, loſt blandiſhment affords:
Whence pride and luſt, become two ſervile minions
To top his thoughts with falſe and fond opinions:
Then happy they, who leaſt frequent a court,
Nor in the fields of flattery love to ſport.

To ſuch bellowing caves, winded with the borrowed rags of patched-up comedies, clouted compliments, ſtoln phraſes, and lip-licked labours, of lamp-living ſpirits; to ſuch hollow tombs, I ſay a tuſh for their kindneſs, and I juſtly hold it a manifeſt idolatry to honour or do homage to any of them. And thus much for the miſconſtruous lack-judgement of emulating clouds, no courtiers. And as concerning the impoſtrate quagmires of this abortive age, wherein ſo many

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ſimonaical Machiavelians, mercenary paraſites, and arch-betraying ſycophants live, vindicating themſelves exceſſively upon the advantage of time, I, inſufficient I, to dive in ſuch bottomleſs buſineſs, bequeath them only to their own repining conſciences, juſt trials, and ignominious rewards. To ſatisfy the world in my behalf as touching my travels, I ſincerely proteſt, that neither ambition, too much curioſity, nor any reputation I ever ſought from the bubbling breath of breathleſs man, (whoſe defective cenſure inclineth as inſtigation or partiality moveth his weak and variable opinion), did expoſe me to ſuch long peregrinations and dangerous adventures paſt. But the proceeding whereof, thouſands conjecture the cauſe, as many the manner, ten thouſand thouſands the effect: The condition reſerved, I partly forbear to penetrate in that undeſerved Dalida wrong; and reconciled time's pleading deſiſtance, moderate diſcretion inſerteth ſilent patience.

The reaſon why the author begun his travels.

The manſuete cup, the gods conſuetly drunk,
In me involv'd, ſtraight honey-glad it ſunk;
That ſweet Ambroſian nectar, ſoundly wrapt
In my lock'd cloſet, ſuſpicious Envy trapt;
And fierce-ey'd Jealouſy, winged with wind,
Pierc'd ſtaring Argos, turn'd his hundred blind:
Mycene fancy-fraught, luſt's fond alarms,
Croſs'd eye-ſtar'd Sparta, wrapt with Phrygian charms,
And tear-rent Sophyre, Sinon-like, betray'd
What votal oaths, love's ſtern fort ne'er bewray'd:
But high-bred drifts, the ſtormy fates, grim night,
And gloomy Helleſpont, robb'd Hero's right,
As Ilion's deſtiny, forc'd Numidia's queen
To gore a ſceptre, a diadem in teen:
So hapleſs I belov'd, O paſſion ſtrange!
May as amaz'd, admire that time, this change.
I chang'd a wolf once for a tuſked boar,
And changing beaſt for beaſt, triumph'd the more:

Strain'd

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Strain'd to assume, in countercombiat breath,
A dying life, revert in living death:
Translate it so, my metaphor is such,
That Time, nor I, nor Fortune, can avouch.
Thus passion whirling in a cloudy vale,
I trancing fly, I fall, I hovering scale:
And whilst from Phleg'ran fields, the weirds me call,
I in Elysian plains am forc'd to fall;
Where in some flow'ry fair enamell'd ground
I'll place my tomb, mine epitaph shall sound,
Of train-shut sluices, of the Thespian spring.
Where chatt'ring birds, Dodonean trees do sing,
And mild Hydaspes streams do gently flow,
There shall my Lesbian lays, sad lyrics show.
And where the Borean roses strow the hall,
Where flot-glass'd nymphs, the Circe fled, Greeks enstal;
There shall shrill Triton sound, Armilla's stain'd,
Whom foul affection prey'd, and lucre gain'd;
Load with the filth of dallying lust and sin,
Where bloody murder, like a thief crept in:
Yet shall the spotless heart triumph in truth,
When worth reaps fame, and virtue conquers youth,
And crown Dorasmos, faith-plight Delphian bays,
With more than laurel praise, immortal rays.
Than brass-brow'd fiends, accurs'd by Minos doom,
Flee fairy flight, to Pluto whence you come;
And taste Phlageton, Lethe, court Proserpine,
Stern Radamanth attends such stinking vermin.
There Hippolitus, slain Pirothous stay
Near t' Acheron, (all faithless lovers way),
To welcome fiendly, fright Eremial guests
With flame-flash'd fire-brands, sulphur-scorching tastes,
Chain'd fury brangling, in remorseless pain,
Where Belzebub and Lucifer remain.
In this umbrageous cell, there lurks a hound
To bear Sarpedon's sceptre; help to sound
Your Cleopatran clamours, and I think
The ferrier Charon makes such wretches drink,

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Upon the Stygian banks. Then gnashing spirits,
That howling wail hell's inexpugnate merits,
Where's all your gentry? for I dare conclude,
That virtue's better born than noble blood:
This epitomiz'd epilogue I send
To them who best can censure't; there's an end.

But by your leave, let me enter into consideration of the intractable passage of my malecontents past, and these importunate designs thereupon ensuing: And thus have I, in the late days of my younger years, been grievously afflicted; ah, yea and with more than disastrous injuries overclouded. O heavy under-propped wrongs! But hath not the like accident befallen to man before? yea, but never the like condition of murder. Nay, but then preponderate seriously this consequent: May not the wicked hands of four blood-shedding wolves easily devour, and shake to pieces, one silly straggling lamb? yea, and most certain, that, unawares, the harmless innocent, unexpecting evil, may suddenly be surprised by the ambushment of life-betraying foes. All this I acknowledge; but whereupon grew this thy voluntary wandering, and unconstrained exile? I answer, That being young, and within minority, in that occurrent time, I was not only inveigled, but by seducements inforced, even by the greatest powers then living in my country, to submit myself to arbitrement satisfaction and reconciliation. But afterward growing in years, and understanding better the nature of such unallowable redress, and the heinousness of the offence, I chused rather (*voti causa*) to seclude myself from my country, and exclude my relenting sorrows, to be entertained with strangers, than to have a quotidian ocular inspection, in any obvious object of disastrous misfortune; or perhaps any vindicable action might, from an unsettled rancour, be conceived. O! a plain demonstrate cause, and good resolution; for true it is, that the flying from evil, is a flying to grace; and a godly patience is

A dialogue between the author and himself.

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a victorious freedom, and an undaunted conqueror over all wrongs: "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I will repay it." To this I answer, Mine eyes have seen the revenging hand of God upon mine adversaries, and these night-gaping foes are trampled under foot, whilst I, from strength to strength, do safely go through the fiery trial of calamities. My consolation arising from his eternal *dictum*, *Quos amo castigo*; whom I love I correct: And to say my part in my soul's experience,

I never find affliction fall on me
Without desert; for God is true and just;
Nor shall it come, and without profit be,
For God is good, as merciful, I trust.
Then welcome all afflictions sent from God,
He whom he loves, he chasteneth with his rod.

And as one of the ancients speaketh well, "Adversa corporis, animæ remedia sunt; ægritudo carnem vulnerat, sed mentem curat:" The affliction of the body is wholesome physic for the soul, it woundeth the flesh, but cureth the spirit. Certain it is, that the Lord, in chastising his own, doth often move the wicked reprobates of his wrath, to be the instruments of his correcting hand. I could write as large a discourse upon this heart-grieving project, as upon the late intolerable tortures I sustained by the treacherous governor and bloody inquisition of Malaga in Spain; being in quality, though not in quantity, alike. But constantly containing myself within the precinct of patience, referring such eminences to the Creator, which in a part belongeth not to the creature; I may sigh to this world, as sorrowful Æneas to his Dido;

Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem.

Thou wouldst I should renew my former grief,
To speak of sorrow, helpless of relief:

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He melts in woes, who uttereth grief with words,
Whilſt deepeſt ſtreams the greateſt calm affords.

But now to proceed in my punctual purpoſe. The nature of man, by an inward inclination, is always inquiſitive of foreign news, yea, and much more affecteth the ſight and knowledge of ſtrange and unfrequented kingdoms; ſuch is the inſtinct of his natural affection. Navigation hath often united the bodies of realms together, but travel hath done much more. For, firſt, It giveth to the actor the impreſſion of underſtanding, experience, patience, and an infinite treaſure of inexpreſſible virtues. Secondly, It unfoldeth to the world, the government of ſtates, the authority and diſpoſition of kings and princes, the ſecrets, manners, cuſtoms, and religions of all nations and people. And, laſtly, bringeth ſatisfaction to the home-dwelling man, of thoſe things he would have ſeen, and could not attempt. Travel hath been in more requeſt among the ancients than it is now with us in the latter age. How philoſophers, poets, hiſtoriographers, and learned divines, have peregrinated to know the life of ſtates, and the faſhions of far countries, would be an endleſs taſk for me briefly to relate. Many, I confeſs, long to ſee the remoteſt regions of the earth, but dare not undertake the dangers of ſight, the chargeable expences of a tributary journey, the hard endurance of flint-ſtones, for a ſoft feather bed, the extremities of thirſt, nor the parching heat of the ſun, hunger in the belly, nor the moiſt diſtilling dew to be a humid coverlet to their tender ſkin, with innumerable other enſuing miſeries; but, Ixion like, miſtaking Juno, would, by a mere imagination, run out the ſleeping courſe of an endleſs peregrination. For my part, what I have reaped is by a dear bought knowledge, as it were a ſmall contentment, in a never contenting ſubject, a bitter pleaſant taſte of a ſweet-ſeaſoned ſour; and, all in all, what I found was more than ordinary rejoicing, in an extraordinary ſorrow of delights.

But now to leave the contemplation of attempts, I come

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come to the real adventure. After two voyages I made to the Orcadian and Zetlandian isles, in the stripling age of my youth, and thereafter surveying all Germany, Bohemia, Helvetia, and the Low Countries, from end to end, I visited Paris, where I remained ten months. Divers contests have had about the equality of London and Paris in quantity and quality: but having a more serious subject in hand than this parallel, I conclude thus: The infinite shipping, and commodious navigation of London, (besides their universal commerce), is of more value, than the better half of Paris: compare you the quantity, for there is the quality of the argument. Paris, I confess, is populous, a mass of poor people, for lacqueys and pages, a nest of rogues, a tumultuous place, a nocturnal den of thieves, and a confused multitude: where, contrariwise, London is adorned with many grave, prudent, and provident senators, civil, well-taught, and courteous people, and absolutely the best governed city on the whole face of the earth, as well by night as by day, and nothing inferior in quantity to it *.

A comparison between London and Paris

From

* The city of Paris is said to be five leagues, or fifteen miles, in circumference: and if it is really so, it must be much more populous than London; for the streets are very narrow, and the houses very high, with a different family on every floor. But I have measured the best plans of these two royal cities, and I am certain that Paris does not take up near so much ground as London and Westminster occupy; and I suspect the number of its inhabitants is also exaggerated by those who say it amounts to eight hundred thousand, that is two hundred thousand more than are contained in the bills of mortality. The hôtels of the French nobless at Paris take up a great deal of room with their court-yards and gardens, and so do their convents and churches. It must be owned indeed, that their streets are wonderfully crowded with people and carriages.

Woman has been designed a weaker man; but in France the men are, in my opinion, more ridiculous and insignificant than the women; they certainly are more disagreeable to a rational inquirer, because they are more troublesome. Of all the coxcombs on the face of the earth, a French petit maître is the most impertinent; and they are all petit maîtres, from the Marquis who glitters in lace and embroidery, to the garçon barbier covered with meal, who struts with his hair in a long queue, and his hat under his arm.——If a Frenchman

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FRom Paris, in the year of God 1609, March 7. I ſet forward, being brought three leagues on my way, with a number of my country-gallants, young Aiton, young Hutonhal, and eſpecially Monſieur Hay of Smithfield, now Eſquire of his Majeſty's body-guards, with divers other gentlemen: where, when my kindeſt thanks had overclouded their courteſies, and farewel bid on both ſides, I bequeathed my proceedings to God, my body to turmoiling pains, my hands to the burden, and my feet to the hard bruiſing way. And as unwilling to make relation of my paſſing through France, the Savoyean and Ligurian Alps, ſince it is manifeſt to many in this iſland, both by ſight and report, I would ſhun, ſo far as poſſibly I can, all prolixity of known, and therefore unneceſſary, diſcourſe; although I have a large reaſon, having croſſed the Alps at ſix ſeveral parts; only, in the one place, I mean to comment upon Italy in general. Upon the fortieth day after my departure from Paris, I arrived at Rome, of which I will relate ſome of the moſt remarkable things, and ſo proceed. This city of Rome, now extant, is not that old Rome which Romulus founded, who tempered the mortar with the blood of his brother Remus, for diſdainfully leaping over the new walls, and was once the miſtreſs of the univerſe for her triumphs and antiquities, but is now only the carcaſe of the other, of which ſhe retaineth nothing but her ruins, and the cauſe of them, her ſins.

Rome, which Romulus firſt founded, contained

Frenchman is admitted into your family, and diſtinguiſhed by repeated marks of your friendſhip and regard, the firſt return he makes for your civilities, is to make love to your wife, if ſhe is handſome; if not, your ſiſter, or daughter, or your niece: he will rather, than not play the traitor with his gallantry, make his addreſſes to your grandmother.—— If there were five hundred diſhes at table, a Frenchman will eat of all of them, and then complain he has no appetite.——A Frenchman will ſooner part with his religion than with his hair.—— See a fuller character of the French in Dr Smollet's Travels, vol. I. let. 7.

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theſe two mountains, Capitolino and Palatino, with the valley lying between both hills, having three ports: The firſt was called *Trigonio*, becauſe of the triangle it made near to the foot of Mount Palatin: The ſecond *Pandonio*, becauſe it was always open, and, for the commodity of the paſſage, it was called *the free port*: The third was called *Carmentale*, from Carmenta, the mother of Evander, who dwelt there: It was alſo named *Scelerata*, or wicked gate, in regard of three hundred Sabines put cruelly to death iſſuing thereat. *The antiquity of Rome.*

Now, after the monarchy of the Romans had attained to the full height, the Goths, a baſe and unknown people, diſplaying their banner againſt this glorious and imperial city, in the end razed and ſubverted their palaces, levelling the walls with the ground. After which détriment and overthrow, the late ſubdued Romans, recovering their ruinous habitations, were inforced to withdraw the ſituation of the town a little more downward in Campus Martius, cloſe by the banks of Tibris; and tranſported the ſtones of thoſe ranſacked buildings, to rebuild their new dwelling-places:

Hic, ubi nunc Roma eſt, olim fuit ardua ſylva,
Tantaque res paucis paſcua bobus erat.

Where Rome now ſtands, was ſometimes deſart woods,
And ſoil to feed ſome few found beſtial goods.

And yet Rome was once the famous city of Europe, the mother and nurſe of worthy ſenators, the miracle of nations, the epitome of the world, the kingdom of Mars, and the ſeven-headed ſovereign of many provinces. The ſeven hills whereon ſhe ſtood, and now partly ſomewhere ſtands, (for they are all contained within the vaſt bounds of the old walls, which as yet environeth the town), are theſe, Palatino, Capitolona, Viminale, Aventino, Eſquiline, Cœlio, and Quiraneno. Which certainly do demonſtrate the whore of Babylon, *Rome's ſeven hills.*

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Babylon, ſitting on the beaſt with ſeven heads, and cannot be underſtood, but of Rome being builded on theſe ſeven hills; having a correſpondence to ſeven kings who reigned there, and alſo acknowledging ſeven ſeveral rulers, kings, conſuls, decemviri, tribunes, dictators, emperors, and now popes. During the felicity of the Romans, this city was never taken but by the Gauls, which being recovered, they made a law that prieſts (being otherwiſe exempted) ſhould go to war, if ever the Gauls came again, with whom they fought not for dominion, but for their own preſervation: But ſince it became pontifical, it hath been made a prey to all barbarous nations, and never was beſieged by any that took it not.

The river Tyber, which runneth through her boſom, is not unlike to Jordan and Tagus; yet not ſo big as either of them, being all three of a troubled and muddy colour. But it is exceeding outrageous, and often menaceth to drown the whole manſions, as grieving to grace the walls of ſuch a wicked and imperious place; who, having loſt their former pre-eminent glory, and domination over the world, would now alledge and aſcribe a ſecond prerogative over the ſouls of men, the heavens, the hells, the ſilver-coined purgatory, the depoſing and impoſing of kings: The former was done by the undaunted courage of the invincible ſword, the latter by preſumption, avarice, inſinuation, and abſurd lies.

St Catharine's obſervation.

I remember of a pretty obſervation of St Catharine of Siena, who being ſtricken in devotion, went to venerate Rome, accompanied with a goodly train, and having viſited all the monuments, ſuppoſed holy places, and religious relicks there, for the ſpace of five days; at laſt ſhe came to take a view of the Pope's palace, where having ſpent a whole day, ſtrictly remarking the geſture and carriage of the Pope's ſervant's, ſhe ſaw nothing but abomination, profanation, and irreligious living, and even worſe than in Rome itſelf. Whereupon ſuddenly the next day ſhe departed

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departed for Siena, being an hundred miles distant, pitifully bewailing her journey, and the miserable livers she saw in Rome; protesting always after, for sixteen years time, till her death, that the wind never came from the east, blowing westward to Siena, but she thought the filthiness of the Pope's palace, and the beastlineſs of Rome, ever stunk in her nose. *Meaning of Sodomy.*

This river of Tyber especially made muster of his extravagant disgorgements at that time when Pope Clement the VIII. was crowned Duke of Ferrara, *anno* 1589; and that same night he returned to Rome, Tyber waxed so proud of his arrival, that impetuously overflowing its banks to make him welcome, it overwhelmed the better half of the town; and if it had not been for the infinite charges of the Pope, and desperate toil of the people, the violent force of his rage-swelling courtesy had absolutely subverted and carried away the rest of the city. The like inundation was never seen of Tyber as after this coronation; portending, that as the first Gomorrah was destroyed by fire; so this second Sodom should be destroyed by water. The beginning of this river springeth from the Ombrian and Aquilean hills, joining with the Alps Appenine, whose course is fourscore and sixteen miles; disburthening itself in the Mediterranean sea at Ostia, twelve miles from Rome: The mouth and haven whereof have been long dammed up, to stop the passage of hostile and Mooriſh incursions, lest the city should be surprised on a sudden: By which slavish ecclesiastical fear, Rome is shamefully defrauded of shipping and foreign traffic: and if it were not for the clergy, which are the two parts of the inhabitants, (besides the Jews and courtezans, which are the greatest implements of the other third part), it would become the most miserable town in Italy.

And notwithstanding that, for the space of twelve miles round about Rome, there are neither corns, nor wines, nor tillage, plantage, or cultivation, save only plain and pasturageous fields, intermingled at all quarters

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ters with ancient watch-towers, being an old policy of the Romans, to prevent any ſudden ſurpriſe of their enemies; inſomuch that, at my firſt view of Rome, I imagined the people were all famiſhed, or in danger of famiſhing.

But, by your leave, being once entered the city, I found abundance of all things neceſſary for life, at ſo eaſy and gentle a rate, that never a town in Europe hitherto could ſhew me the like. The common wine that is drunk in Rome, is vin Romaniſco, the better ſort, Albano, Muſcatello, Sheranino; but as for *lachrymæ Chriſti*, the tears of Chriſt, I drew ſo hard at that ſame weeping-wine, till I found my purſe began to weep alſo; and if time had not prevented the ſweetneſs of ſuch tears, I had been left for all the laſt a miſerable mourner. As for the place where the pilgrims find one dinner, called *the Pope's table*, it is thus: There is a certain low room at St Peter's palace, and without the gate, where, every day at our nine of the clock, there meet twenty-one pilgrims; fourteen from the Trinity, one having a billet for all, and ſeven from St Peter's penitentials: where being received, the ſeven Jeſuit pilgrims get the upper place, and ſit alone, yet all of them alike ſerved, each of them having four diſhes of meat, beſides bread and abundance of wine. The dinner done, their fragments are wrapped up in clean paper, which they carry with them; and ſo departing, they, or like company, come no more there. They are daily ſerved with a very venerable prelate, and a few other ſerviceable prieſts; but for the Pope's preſence with them, there is no ſuch matter. That liberty being ſpoiled by a drunken Dutchman, about ſixty years ago, who, in preſence of the Pope, gave up again his good cheer and ſtrong wines, with a freer good-will than perhaps they were allowed him; whereat the Pope grew angry, notwithſtanding the drunken fellow cried through his belching throat, Thanks, Holy Father, Dear Holy Father, God bleſs your Holineſs.

The pilgrims dinner at the Pope's table.

Many

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Many have wrote of the singularities of old Rome, and I will also recite some decayed monuments thereof, which I have seen. The special object of antiquity I saw, being never a whit decayed to this day, is the *templum omnium deorum*, but now *omnium sanctorum*, builded in a rotundo, and open at the top with a large round, like to the quire of the holy grave. And, a pretty way from this, are the remains of that ancient amphitheatre, beautified with great columns, of a wonderful bigness and height, and a mile in compass; the reason why it was first devised, the ghosts of the slaughtered Sabines may testify. To be brief, I saw the decayed house of worthy Cicero, the high Capitol, the palace of cruel Nero, the statues of Marcus Aurelius, Alexander and his horse Bucephalus; the green hill like unto Mount Cavallo, that was made of the potters sheards at one time, which brought the tributary gold to this imperial seat; the seven pyramids, some whereof, during her former glory, were transported from Egypt; the high and small statues of Peter and Paul; the castle St Angelo, which Adrian first founded, standing now in a moderate circumferent height, with incircling battlements, and their doubtful transported relicks from Jerusalem; with many other things I diligently remarked, some whereof were frivolous, some ambiguous, and some famous. *Rome's antiquities.*

Near to Mount Palatine, and the decayed temple of Romulus, I saw the temple of Venus, converted now to the church of Sancta Maria, *Liberatrice dalla piene di Inferno*, the deliverer from infernal pains, as Venus was the consolatrix of amorous pains.

Besides all these, I saw one object most worthy of attention, which was, the library of the ancient Romans, being permitted to enter with two gentlemen, Sir William Barr and Mr James Aughmuty, my countrymen: where, when I was come, I beheld a world of old books. The first whereof was an infinite number of Greek Bibles, subscribed with the hands of those holy fathers,

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fathers, who (as they say) translated them out of the Hebrew tongue.

I saw also the Academics of Aristotle, wherein he treateth of the soul, health, life, nature, and qualities of men, with the medicaments of Galen for the diseases and infirmities of man; the familiar epistles of Cicero, the Æneids of Virgil, the Saphick verses of that Lesbian Sapho, the works of Ovid, Pliny, Plutarch, Titus Livius, Horatius, Strabo, Seneca, Plato, Homer, Terentius, Cato, Hippocratus, Josephus, Pythagoras, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, St Austin, St Ambrose, St Cyprian, St Gregory, and likewise the works of other excellent philosophers, divines, and poets; all wrote with their own hands, and sealed with their names and manual subscriptions. I saw also the form of the first ancient writing, which was upon leaves of trees, cakes of lead, with their fingers on ashes, barks of trees, with strange figures, and unknown letters, that was brought from Egypt, for the Egyptians first devised the use thereof; and the sight of infinite obligatory writings of emperors, kings, and princes, which I omit to relate, referring the same to be registered by the next beholder.

Famous authors.

Still left untold, something there must be seen
For them, who trace our feet with Argos eyn:
Yet let them stay, and take this verbal note,
They who would better write, must larger quote.

Bidding adieu to my company, and this library, I longed to view the gorgeous Mosaical work of St Peter's church. The matter was no sooner conceived, but I went to the door, yet afraid to enter, because I was not accustomed with the carriage and ceremonies of such a *Sanctum sanctorum*; but at the last, abandoning all scrupulosities, I came in boldly, and, on my right hand as I entered within the door, I espied the portrayed image of St Peter, erected of pure brass, and sitting

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ring on a brazen chair. The fashion of the people is this: Entering the church, they go straight to this idol, and saluting, with many crosses, his senseless body, kiss his feet, and every one of his several toes; insomuch that those his comfortless feet are grown fiery red, whilst his body, save his breasts, remaineth brazen blew: and yet forsooth some of their learned Rabbins will not have this superstition but an humble commemoration of their adored saints, or the like, for procuring favour of intercession, whilst the erected idol, in the mean time, receiveth all their superfluous abominations of diurnal worship. Next, they lay their heads under the sole of his right foot, and, arising, rub their beads on his hard costed belly; thus adoring that breathless mass of metal, more than though it were a living creature. *The brazen image of St Peter.*

O wonderful and strange spectacle! that these, only titular Christians, should become worse of knowledge than Heathens, to worship and reverence the workmanship of mens hands. Wo and shame be unto you all blind heretical Papists, why should you make to yourselves idols and images of gold, silver, brass, iron, stone, earth, and wood? and, notwithstanding, would excuse the matter with a superstitious reason, alledging you do it only in remembrance, where otherwise it is a damnable sign of wilful obdurate ignorance. May not the prohibition of the second commandment of God's law, which absolutely you abrogate, dividing the last commandment in two, confound the error of this idolatry, ingrafted in your hardened hearts.

What virtue can be in a lump of brass? or what comfort in the devices of handycraft-men? Alas! nothing but eternal sorrow and condemnation. This was one of the lamentable errors I saw in the Roman see, amongst many other thousands. When the foolish Lystranes, or Lycaonians, would have sacrificed bulls to the honour of Paul and Barnabas, they rent their cloaths,

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Superstition of Papists.

and ran in among the people, crying, and saying, "O men, why do you do these things? we are even men subject to the like passions that you be." How is it then, that the apostles, being alive, would have no acknowledging by any homage of man; yet when they are dead, the Romanists will worship their counterfeit similitude, in stone or wood? What unworthy feigned traditions, and superstitious idolatry! What strange new-devising tricks they use, to plant idle monasterial loiterers! How many manner of ways these belly-minded slaves, epicure-like, lead their lives? And what a sea of abominable villany they swim into, practising even unnatural vices, I mean of their wrongfully called religious bishops, priests, friars, curates, and all the hypocritical crew of those perversed Jebusites, no heart can express, nor the most eloquent tongue can sufficiently unfold? Whose luxurious lives are vulgarly promulgate in this Hispanical proverb,

Unnas tienen de gatto, y el habito de beato,
El cruz en los Pechos, y el diabolo en los hechos.

They have a cat's claws, and a bless'd saint's weed,
The cross on their breasts, the devil in their deed.

But, for fear of excommunication from that Antichristian courtesan, I dare not persevere longer herein, although I can; yea, and so truly bewray their all-corrupted estate, that I need no information of any Roman novice traveller. Of whose sight and experience, would God all the Papists in Britain had the like eye-witnessing approbation as I have had, I am certainly persuaded, with tears and sighs, they would heavily bemoan the terrible fall of that Babylonian whore, which, in a profane estimation, is their holy mother church. For I sincerely swear to thee, O faithful Christian, (as the Italian usually doth in his humours), by the golden-tripled crown of my ghostly father, *Paulo Papa quinto*, whatsoever sacrilege, incest, or villany, a Papist committeth

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mitteth, let him come here, and fill the bribing hands of the simonaical minions of the thrice-crowned priest, (for *Roma non captat ovem sine lana*), and he shall have indulgences, dispensations, adjoined penances, or absolved offences, for hundreds, thousands, less or more years *. The period of time, after eight and twenty days abode, wishing my departure, I hardly

Pardons for pennies.

* The Pope's revenues must be very considerable, if we only reckon what sums are annually sent to Rome from foreign countries, for dispensations, annates, palls, canonisations, and the like.

Our readers will doubtless be gratified on this occasion by seeing the fees of the Pope's chancery, from a book printed about a hundred and fifty years ago, by the authority of the then Pope, being a table or list of the fees paid for absolutions, dispensations, licences, indulgences, faculties, and exemptions. It was translated many years since, under the title of *Rome a great customhouse for sin.*

What follows are only the Pope's share. The clergy's are much more, as they have theirs in their own making.

ABSOLUTIONS.

	L.	s.	d.
1. For a layman that stole holy or consecrated things out of a holy place,	0	10	6
2. For the priest that restores not to the church the holy things he took away,	0	10	6
3. For him that reveals another man's confession,	0	10	6
4. For him who lies with a woman in the church, and there commits other enormities,	0	9	0
5. For him that hath committed perjury, hath wilfully and falsely forsworn himself,	0	9	0
6. For him that secretly practiseth usury,	0	10	6
7. For him that burieth an open and notorious usurer in a Christian burial-place,	0	12	0
8. For a layman for the vice of simony,	0	9	0
9. For a priest for the vice of simony,	0	10	6
10. For a monk for the vice of simony,	0	12	0
11. For him that simonically enters holy orders,	1	6	0
12. And his letters of absolution from the simony,	1	4	0
13. For a layman for murdering a layman,	0	7	6
14. For him that hath killed his father,	0	10	6
15. For him that hath killed his mother,	0	10	6
16. For him that hath killed his wife,	0	10	6
17. For him that hath killed his sister,	0	10	6
18. For him that hath killed his brother,	0	10	6
19. For him that hath killed his kinswoman, if they be of the laity, are rated at no more than	0	10	6

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ly eſcaped from the hunting of theſe blood-ſucking inquiſitors, of which the moſt part were mine own countrymen; the chief of whom were, Robert Mophet, a Jeſuit born in St Andrew's, David Chambers, and, of our college there, one Gordon, and one Cuningham, born in the Canongate of Edinburgh. And to ſpeak truth,

	L.	s.	d.
20. And his letters of abſolution will coſt him -	0	10	6
21. But if the party ſo ſlain be a clerk, a prieſt, or a clergyman, then the murderer is bound to go to Rome, and viſit the Apoſtolic ſee.			
22. For laying violent hands on a clergyman, or religious man, ſo it be without effuſion of blood, -	0	10	6
23. For the huſband, or wife, who find in the morning, or when they awake, the infant lying by them to be dead, - - - - -	0	9	0
24. For the huſband who beats or ſtrikes his wife, being big with child, ſo as thereupon ſhe comes before her time, and loſeth her child, - -	0	9	0
25. For a woman who, being with child, took medicinal drink to deſtroy her birth, or doth any other act whereby the child, being alive in her womb, is deſtroyed, is rated at - - -	0	7	6
26. For a prieſt or clergyman that keeps a concubine, as alſo his diſpenſation, to ſave him from being irregular, (which, by general and provincial conſtitutions, he incurs), all this together is rated at	0	10	6
27. For a layman that keeps a concubine, -	0	10	6
28. For him that hath defiled a virgin, - -	0	9	0
29. For him that lieth with his own mother, -	0	7	6
30. For him that lieth with his ſiſter, - -	0	7	6
31. For him that lieth with his godmother, -	0	7	6
32. For him that lieth with any woman that is of his blood or carnal kindred, - - -	0	7	6
33. For him that robs or ſpoils another, - -	0	12	0
34. For him that burns his neighbour's houſe, -	0	12	0
35. For him that forges letters teſtimonial, &c. -	0	10	6
36. For him that is a witneſs to ſuch forged letters,	0	10	6
37. For him that forgeth any writs of the office of the penitentiary, - - -	0	12	0
38. For him that forgeth letters of privilege, -	1	4	0
39. For him that forgeth the Pope's hand, - -	1	7	0
40. For him that forgeth letters apoſtolical, -	1	7	0
41. For him that, in a criminal cauſe, takes a falſe oath, - - - -	0	9	0
42. For him that takes two holy orders in one day,	2	6	0
43. For him that celebrateth the ſervice of any order he hath not taken, - - - -	2	5	0

44. For

truth, if it had not been for Robert Meggat, born near to Newbattle, then resident in Burgo-di-Roma, with the old Earl of Tyrone, who hid me secretly for three days in the top of his Lord's palace, when all the streets and ports of Rome were laid for me; who conveying me away at the fourth midnight, and leaped the

	L.	s.	d.
44. For him that procures himself to be promoted to a feigned title, that is, to such and such a benefice, when indeed he hath none, if he confirm with a false oath,	2	9	6
45. For him that is ordained without letters dimissory from his own ordinary,	1	8	6
46. For him that holds many benefices,	2	17	0
47. For a king for going to the holy sepulchre without licence,	7	10	0
48. For a prince who vowed to visit the holy sacrament,	1	10	0

DISPENSATIONS.

1. For a bastard to enter holy orders, and take a benefice with a cure,	0	18	0
2. To have two benefices compatible,	0	16	0
3. To have three benefices,	1	6	0
4. To marry in the fourth degree of consanguinnity,	1	5	6
5. To marry in the third degree of consanguinity,	2	6	6
6. To marry in the second degree of consanguinity,	2	2	6
7. To marry in the first degree of consanguinity,	2	14	0
8. To marry her with whom one hath a special kindred,	4	10	0
9. For him who having one wife absent, and hearing her to be dead, marrieth another, but she proving to be alive, he, notwithstanding, desireth to keep and live with the latter,	0	25	6
10. And moreover there must be a composition with the datary, which will be sometimes 300, 400, 500, or 600 glosses, according to the quality of the persons so married; and the clerk or writer will have	0	10	6
11. For a man or woman that is found hanged, that they may have Christian burial,	1	7	6
12. For one that entered into his benefice by simony, that he may notwithstanding retain the same,	1	10	0
13. For one under age to be ordained a bishop,	2	9	6
14. For one under age to enter holy orders, and be made a priest,	2	9	6
15. To be ordained at any time of the year,	4	1	0

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the walls of Rome with me, I had doubtleſs died as hot a death as a Lady Poloreſs of Naples did afterward in my ſecond travels. And for better record, Patrick Baxter, now dwelling in Dundee, and then following the Earl of Tyrone, can juſtify the ſame; my cuſtody and my eſcape being both within his knowledge. Yet

I

LICENCES.

	L.	s.	d.
1. For a man to change his vow,	0	15	0
2. For a layman to change his vow of going to Rome to viſit the apoſtolic churches,	0	18	0
3. To cut fleſh and white meats in lent, and other faſting days,	0	10	6
4. That a king or queen ſhall enjoy ſuch indulgences as if they went to Rome,	15	0	0
5. For a queen to adopt a child,	300	0	0
6. That a king, or a prince, may exact contributions of the clergy,	3	15	0
7. If the contributions ariſe to a hundred thouſand florins, then for the firſt thouſand he muſt have	0	7	6
8. And for every other florin	0	1	6
9. That a king, upon Chriſtmas-day morning, may cauſe a naked ſword to be carried before him, as is carried before his Holineſs the Pope,	22	5	0
10. That he that preaches before a king may give indulgence to all that hear him,	0	18	0
11. That a nobleman may go into a monaſtery with a certain number of followers,	0	18	0
12. To receive the ſacrament, or be buried in a church interdicted,	2	5	0
13. To found an hoſpital,	2	4	0
14. To found a chapel,	2	4	0
15. To erect a church parochial,	1	10	0
16. To erect a church collegiate,	3	0	0
17. To erect a cathedral church,	3	15	0
18. To found a deanry to the ſame,	1	10	0
19. For the prebendary,	1	4	0
20. To erect an univerſity,	11	5	0
21. To tranſlate it from one place to another,	4	10	0
22. To make a city of a town, and therein erect a biſhop's ſee,	75	0	0
23. That a town may have a ſchool kept in the pariſh church,	2	5	0
24. For a city to coin money,	37	10	0
25. That a town which hath uſed green wax in its ſeal may uſe red,	3	15	0
26. For a layman to chuſe his confeſſor,	0	15	0
27. To marry in times prohibited,	2	5	0

28. To

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I may justly affirm it, in these parts a man can find no worse enemy than his national supposed friend, religion being the cause of it; and at home none more false nor deceitful than a bosom friend.

Mens minds, their praises, best loves, and kind conceits,
They hurling come and go, like fish at baits.

And

	L.	s.	d.
28. To eat flesh in times prohibited,	1	4	0
29. Not to be tied to fasting days,	1	4	0
30. To have a portable altar,	0	15	0
31. To have mass in a place interdicted,	0	15	0
32. To go into a nunnery alone,	0	18	0
33. To divide a dead body into two, that it may be buried in two places,	0	18	0
34. That during the interdict of a town, the officers may have mass and service in a chapel,	3	15	0
35. For a town to take out of the church them that have taken sanctuary therein,	4	10	0
36. For a priest to say mass in any place,	0	0	6
37. For a bishop to visit,	3	0	0
38. For a bishop to take to himself a year's profit of every vacant benefice for three years,	3	15	0
39. To exercise episcopal jurisdiction out of his diocese,	3	0	0
40. To exact a subsidy or benevolence of his clergy,	1	10	0

INDULGENCES.

1. For an hospital or chapel to last one year,	1	4	0
2. For two years,	1	10	0
3. For three years,	1	16	0
4. For four years,	2	5	0
5. For five years,	3	0	0
6. For six years,	3	15	0
7. For the remission of the third part of one's sins,	7	10	0

FACULTIES.

1. To absolve all delinquents,	3	0	0
2. To dispense with irregularities,	3	0	0

EXEMPTIONS.

1. Of friars, minors, from the jurisdiction of their provincials,	2	5	0
2. From the jurisdiction of a bishop during his time,	3	15	0
3. And if the abbot will have withal a licence to wear a			

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And the Italian ſaith, in his proverb, "God keep me from the hurt of my friends, for I know well how to keep me from mine enemies." From thence, bound eaſtward, I viſit Naples; the commendation of which I revolve in this verſe,

Inclyta Parthenope gignit Comiteſque Duceſque.

Moſt noble Naples, breeds doth Dukes and Earls,
And gallant knights, with ladies load'n with pearls.

Among many other things near to this city, which, in the concluſion of this hiſtorical diſcourſe will be more particularly expreſſed, (were Lacus Avernus, Sibilla's cave, Puteoli, the Sulphurean mountain, Capua and Cuma, where baniſhed Æneas from Troy and Carthage arrived), I ſaw the monument of Virgil's burial ſtanding in the fore-face of his own grotto, that is cut through the mountain of Cataia, being paſſable for coaches, and a half-mile long; and affixed theſe lines thereupon,

In Mantua, from mother's womb,
I firſt conceived breath;
Parthenope reſerves the tomb,
My ſepulchre of death.

		L.	s.	d.
	mitre, it will coſt him (by the rate-book of Pope John XXII.), - - - -	7	10	0
4.	For a biſhop from the juriſdiction of his metropolitan during his life, - - -	3	15	0
5.	Of a parochial church from the biſhop's juriſdiction,	1	10	0
6.	Of the parſon of a pariſh from the power of his ordinary during a ſuit, - - -	1	10	0
7.	Of a town from any impoſition, - -	4	10	0
8.	Of a private perſon from the ſame, - -	2	5	0
9.	Of a monaſtery and convent from the ſame, as it is found in the rate-book of Pope John XXII. it is taxed at - - - -	22	2	0

Cetera deſunt.

Collection of voyages and travels, in ſeven volumes, vol. 5. publiſhed at London 1768, p. 7.

Italy

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Italy was called ſo of Italus, a king in Sicily, who firſt taught the people agriculture. The more impropriated names were Heſperia, becauſe it is ſituate under the evening ſtar Heſperus; Latium, becauſe Saturn, driven from Crete by his ſon Jupiter, *hic latebat abditus*; and Enotria, in regard of the abundance of wines it produceth. This country was firſt ſaid to be inhabited by Janus *anno mundi* 1925; from whom ſprung the tribes of the Samnites, Sabines, Laurentani, and Tarentines. The ſecond plantation was by Evander, and certain other Arcadians, who being baniſhed from their native dwellings, ſeated themſelves here. Thirdly, by the Trojans, under the conduct of Æneas; who, forſaking the delicious lives of the effeminate Africans, arrived here, and were kindly entertained by King Latinus, whoſe daughter Lavinia Æneas married. So thus from the Trojans the Italians brag of their deſcent; and ſo likewiſe boaſt divers other nations to have deſcended from that Dardan ſtock, as glorying in ſuch a famous pedigree. The length of Italy is nine hundred Italian miles, though ſome allot a thouſand: it is falſe; for I have trod four ſeveral times from end to end of it, on the ſoles of my feet, even from Valleſe, the firſt town in Piemont, deſcending Mount Synais from La Croix ſouthward, which ſecludeth Savoy, and to Capo Bianco in Calabria, hemmed in with the gulf Tareato on the one ſide, and the Faro of Meſſina on the other, it being the furtheſt promontory of Italy.

The firſt plantation in Italy.

So, in a falſe deſcription, ſome blind geographers, through baſe ignorance, make England longer than Scotland in their maps, when Scotland, by the beſt judgements, and my own better experience, is one hundred and twenty miles longer than England. It is a manifeſt error, which I could wiſh to be reformed; as in the concluſion of this work I ſhall more credibly make clear.

The breadth of Italy, at the root and beginning thereof, bending along the Alps, from the Adriatic coaſt to

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to the Riviera di Genoa, or Ligurian ſhore, is but two hundred and forty Italian miles, growing narrower and narrower, till it ſhut out itſelf into two horns, Calabria and Terra di Ottranto. The breadth of which, or either, extendeth not above fourteen Engliſh miles from ſea to ſea; the gulf Tarento (which is unnavigable, in reſpect of infinite craggy ſhelfs) dividing the two horns. On the north ſide of Terra di Ottranto lieth Apulia, bordering with Mare ſuperum, a very fruitful ſoil for corns; and weſtward thence boundeth Terra di Lavoro, or *proprium regnum Neapolitanum*. Theſe four territories make up the entire kingdom of Naples: The chief cities of which are, Naples, Capua, and Salerno, in terra di Lavoro. In Calabria are Couſenza, the chief ſeat of the preſident or ſub-vicegerent, Rhegio, Allauria, and Montecilione. In Terra di Ottranto, are Ottranto; the which town being taken by Mahomet the Great, anno 1481, involved all Italy in ſuch a fear, that for a whole year, and till the expulſion of the Turks, Rome was quite forſaken; the next are Lucia and Brunduſium, beautified with a famous haven.

The kingdom of Naples.

And in Apulia are Manfredo, Arpino where Tully was born, Venuſio whence Horace had his birth, and Canno, famous for the victory of Hannibal againſt the Romans. The church land begins, beyond Rome eighty miles, at Terracina, being juſt oppoſite to Gayetta, the weſtmoſt confine by the marine of the Neapolitan kingdom, near to Mount Circello, and the utmoſt marine limit eaſtward of Campagna di Roma, or the church's patrimony, embracing both ſeas, till it run to Ponto Centino in Tuſcana, which divideth the precincts of Redi Coſſine and Aquacupadente, the laſt frontiers of the great Duke and Pope's lands; all which bounds to Terracina, and in the way of Venice from Rome to Spoleto, are denominated Campagna di Roma, or Latium; and thence it reacheth along northweſt, by the Venetian gulf, to the uttermoſt bounds of the Dutchy of Ferrara, being thirty miles from Venice; extending

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ing in length to three hundred and fifty miles, whose breadth is narrow, and where it joineth with both seas, it is but sixty miles. The church-land is divided into four territories, Campagna-di-Roma, or old Latium; Rome, Viterbo, Narni, Tarni, Viletri, Montefiascone, and Civita-Vecchia, being the chief cities. Next the country of Ombria, or Ombrosa, lying between Rome and Loretta; the chief cities are Spoleto, from whence it is reckoned a dutchy, Perugia, a sacerdotal university, Fulino and Asisi, where great St Francis, with his invisible stigmata was born: at the which Asisi I saw the place (as they say) where the angel appeared to his mother, telling her, that she should conceive and bear a son, should be the champion of Jesus; and hard by they shewed me the crib and stall where he was born, with many other foolish lies, both sinful and abominable, every way representing his imaginary life like to the heavenly tract and resemblance of our blessed Saviour. The third is Marca-di-Ancona by the sea side, Ancona being principal. The other cities are Asculi, Mercerata, Tolentino, Riginati, Aguby, and parasitical Loretta. The fourth is Romania, lying along toward Ferrara, between the sea and the Apennine hills.

The four papal territories.

This ecclesiastic dowry of Romania is disjoined from Marca-di-Ancona by the Duke of Urbin's lands; which division by the sea-side is thirty miles in length, containing Pesaro, Fanno, and Sinigalia, all sea-port towns; the other of this dutchy are Urbino and Casteldurante. The chief town in Romania is Ravenna, which, for antiquity, will not bow her top to none in Italy. Here the Pope's legate remaineth. The other be Rimini, Fereola, Bologna, and Ferrara. And thus much for the Pope's four ecclesiastic territories.

Tuscana or Ætruria, lying south from the middle of this church-land, is one hundred miles in length, and as much in breadth, I mean of that belonging to the great

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The Duke of Florence his patrimony.

great Duke: which hereditary bounds were but lately enlarged by Ferdinando, father to the late Cosmus, and brother to Mary of Medicis, the French queen-mother now living, who annexed thereunto the republics of Pisa and Siena. The other sequestrate Tuscan jurisdiction is the little commonwealth of Luca; the chief city is Florence, whose streets are divided by the river Arno; the other of this principality are Pisa, Siena, Pistoia, Empoli, Leghorn, and Arretzo.

From Tuscany to the west, and north-west, lieth Lombardy, intitled, *The garden of the world*, which is now divided (besides the Venetian territory, of which I will speak in its own place) into four principalities, Milan, Mantua, Parma, and Modena; the other cities be Cremona, Pavia, Lodi, Pleasance, Rhegio, Brisiles, Palestra, Navarro, and Allessandria-di-Paglia. This province is chiefly watered through the middle with stately Po, in which Phaeton was drenched when he came tumbling down from heaven. The rivers Ladish, Montanello, Dello Guarda, and other forcible streams supporting the shoulders of it.

Piemont and Genoa's jurisdictions.

West from Lombardy lieth Piemont, between it and Savoy; the city whereof, and wherein the Savoyan Duke hath his residence, is Torino, situate on Po; the other Aste, Versailles, and Cowie. South from Piemont and Lombardy, lieth the Riviera of Genoa, along the Mediterranean sea, the territory of which is narrow, but above one hundred miles in length; all which is exceeding rocky and mountainous, yet producing good store of oranges, lemons, figs, and chesnuts, whereon the mountaineers only live, being either roasted, or baked in bread. The chief cities of this Genoese Liguria are Genoa and Savona. Italy lying in form of a leg, is on both sides environed with the sea, save only the north-west part and root thereof, which is divided from France and Germany by the Ligurian, Savoyean, Grisonean, Zingalian,

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lian, and Tirolian Alps, which bend north-east and south-west, inclosing it from the body of Europe, from sea to sea. Italy, of all other regions under the sun, hath been most subject to the vicissitude of fortune, yet not a little glorying in these famous captains, Fabius Maximus the buckler, Camillus the sword of Rome, and Scipio, Pompey, and Cæsar; for the venerable poets, Virgil, Ovid, and renowned Horace; above all, famous for the orator Cicero, and the historians Tacitus and Livius. The soil is generally abundant in all things necessary for human life, and the people for the most part are both grave and ingenious, but wondrous deceitful in their actions; so unappeaseable in anger, that they cowardly murder their enemies rather than seek an honourable revenge, and so inclined to unnatural vices, that for bestiality they surpass the Infidels. The women of the better sort are slavishly infringed from honest and lawful liberty; they of the middle rank somewhat modest in carriage, witty in speech, and bountiful in affection; they of the vulgar kind are both ignorant, sluttish, and greedy; and, lastly, the worser dregs, their impudent courtesans, the most lascivious harlots in the world. Thus much in general for the brief description of this region, and so I return to my itinerary relation.

Italy lies as the right arm reaching forth from the main body of Europe.

In the mean while, having always a regard of my hasty dispatching from Christendom, I returned through terra di Lavoro, by the sea side, Campagna di Roma, antiently Latium, and Ombria, now the dutchy of Spaleto, even to Loretta, standing in the Marca of Ancona, addressing myself to Venice for transportation. But, by your leave, let me lay down before your eyes some notable illusions of Modonna di Loretta, which I found in my way-faring journey, to amplify my former discourse concerning the errors of the Roman church, and as yet was never englished in our language.

Before I came near to Loretta by ten miles, I overtook a caroch, wherein were two gentlemen of Rome, and

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and their two concubines, who when they espied me, saluted me kindly, inquiring of what nation I was? whither I was bound? and what pleasure I had to travel alone? After I had to these demands given satisfaction, they intreated me to come up into the caroch; but I thankfully refused, and would not, replying the way was fair, the weather seasonable, and my body unwearied. At last they perceiving my absolute refusal, presently dismounted on the ground to recreate themselves in my company; and immediately the two young unmarried dames came forth also, and would by no persuasion of me, nor their familiars, mount again, saying, they were all pilgrims, and bound for Loretta (for devotion sake) in pilgrimage, and for the penance enjoined to them by their father confessor. Truly, so far as I could judge, their penance was small, being carried with horses, and the appearance of their devotion much less; for lodging at Riginati, after supper, each youth led captive his dearest darling to an unsanctified bed, and left me to my accustomed repose.

When the morning-star appeared, we resumed the way marching towards Loretta; and these vermillion nymphs, to let me understand they travelled with a chearful stomach, would often run races, skipping like wanton lambs on grassy mountains, and quenching their follies in a sea of unquenchable fantasies. Approaching near the gate of the village, they pulled off their shoes and stockings, walking bare-foot through the streets, to this ten thousand times polluted chapel, mumbling *Pater nosters*, and *Ave-maria's* on their beads. When they entered the church wherein the chapel standeth, I stood at the entry, beholding many hundreds of bare-footed blinded bodies, creeping on their knees and hands, thinking themselves not worthy to go on foot to this idly supposed Nazaretan house; like to this saying:

Ignorant devotion.

Lauretum nudis pedibus plebs crebra frequentat,
Quam movet interius religionis amor.

To

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To Lorett people haunt with naked feet,
Whom religion moves with loves fervent ſp'rit.

Unto this falſely patronized chapel, they offer yearly many rich gifts, amounting to an unſpeakable value, as chains, and rings of gold and ſilver, rubies, diamonds, ſilken tapeſtries, goblets, embroideries, and ſuch like. The Jeſuitical and penitential fathers receive all, but who ſo enjoy all, let *Camera reverenda Romana*, grant certification to this Lorettan avariciouſneſs, who fill their coffers twice in the year therewith. My four pilgrims having performed their ceremonial cuſtoms, came back laughing, and aſked why I did not enter? But I, as unwilling to ſhew them any further reaſon, demanded what the matter was? O (ſaid the Italians) *Jurando per il Cieloe Iddio Sacratiſſimo*, this is the houſe wherein the Virgin Mary dwelt in Galilee; and to the confirmation of theſe words, ſhewed me a book, out of which I extracted theſe annotations.

Rome's avarice.

This chapel they hold to be the houſe in which Mary was announced by Gabriel, and wherein ſhe conceived Jeſus, by operation of the Holy Ghoſt. And in the mean time that devotion waxed ſcant amongſt the Chriſtians of the primitive church in the holy land, ſtrangers tyrannizing over the territories of Canaan, as Heraclius, Coſtroes King of Perſia, Saracens, and Harancone king of Egypt, it came to paſs in the year of our Lord 1291, and in the time of Pope Nicholas IV. that it being ſhaken off the foundation, was tranſported miraculouſly by angels in the night, from Nazareth in Galilee to Torſalto in Sclavonia; the diſtance being by ſea and land ſeventeen hundred Italian miles. O! a long lift for ſo ſcurvy a cell: And in the morning ſhepherds coming to the place of paſturage, found this houſe, wherewith being aſtoniſhed, they returned in haſte, and told St George Alleſſandro, the prior of Torſalto, who in that mean while was lying ſick. He being ſtricken in admiration

Damnable illuſions of Loretta.

A ſimonaical viſion.

with

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with these news, caused himself to be born thither, and laid before the altar; and falling in a marvellous trance, the Virgin Mary, by a heavenly vision, appeared to him, saying after this manner:

"Behold thou hast often pierced the heavens with invocations for thy relief, and now I am come, not only to restore thee to thy health, but also to certify thee, that thou doubt nothing of this house; for it is holy in respect of me, the chaste immaculate Virgin, ordained before all eternity to be the mother of the Most High. It was in this chamber my mother Anna conceived me, nourished me, and brought me up in singing psalms, hymns, and praises to the glory of God; and also I kept in this room the blessed infant Jesus, very God, and very man, without any grievance or pain, brought him up with all diligent observation: And when cruel Herod sought the babe's life, by the advertisement of the angel, I, and my husband Joseph, who never knew my body, fled with him down to Egypt. And after his passion, death, and ascension to heaven, to make a reconciliation of human nature, with the court celestial, I staid in this house with John, and the other disciples; who considering, after my death, what high mysteries had been done in it, consecrated and converted the same to a temple, for a commemoration of Christ's sufferings, the chief of martyrs. Also that resplendent image thou seest, was made by St Luke (my familiar), for eternizing the memory of my portraiture, as I was alive, by the commandment of him who doth all things, and shall reserve this sacred image to the world's end: That cross of cedar, which standeth at the side of the little western window, was made by the apostles: These cinders in the chimney touch not, because they are the fragments of the last fire I made on earth: And that shelf whereon my linen cloaths and prayer books lay, let no person come near it; for all these places are sanctified and holy. Wherefore, my son, I tell thee, awake, and go recite the same which I have told thee unto others; and

A papistical dreamed of oration.

to

to confirm thy belief therein, the queen of heaven giveth thee freely thy health *.

Friar Alexander being raviſhed (ſay they) with the viſion, went and reported it to Nicholas Frangipano, lord of that country: and immediately ſent his prior, and other four friars, to Nazareth, whereby he might know the truth thereof; but in that journey they died. The Virgin Mary perceiving their incredulity, cauſed angels the ſecond time to tranſport the houſe over the gulf of Venice, to a great wood near by the ſea ſide, in the territory of Reginati in Italy, being three hundred miles diſtant. Which, when the countrymen had found, and remarking the ſplendor of the illuminating image, diſperſed the news abroad. And the citizens of Reginati, having ſeen what great miracles was daily done by the virtue of this chapel, impoſed then to it this name, *Our Lady of miracles.* A little while after the people reſorted to it with rich gifts; there haunted in the wood many thieves and cutthroats, who robbed and murthered the pilgrims. Which innocent ſpilt blood, pricking their pitiful lady to the heart, ſhe made the angels tranſport it the third time, and ſet it on the top of a little mountain, belonging to two brethren in heritage, being forty-four miles diſtant from the former place. But they upon a day quarrelling, and diſcording about the utility of the offerings to this houſe, the angels did remove it the fourth time, and placed it in a high broad way, where

The ſhameful opinions of the Papiſts concerning Loretta.

Four times tranſported.

* Loretto conſiſts but of one ſtreet within the gate, and another without it, and is ſaid to contain 7000 inhabitants. It is reckoned the richeſt city in the world, and famous for the Santa Caſa, or Holy Houſe, where the Virgin Mary was born, ſaluted by the angel, and her ſon brought up till he was twelve years of age.

This, the Roman Catholics pretend, was carried through the air by angels from Galilee to Terſutto in Dalmatia, on the eaſt ſide of the Adriatic ſea, in the year 1291; and in three years [illegible] half afterwards, tranſported over the gulf of Venice into Italy [illegible] two or three ſhort removes, was at laſt ſettled in its preſe[illegible] at Loretto. Above 500,000 pilgrims have reſorted to it [illegible]

—— See Barrow's Geographical Dictionary on the word [illegible]

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it ſtandeth unremoved to this day, which place is now called the *Village of Loretta*; and from the laſt ſtation nine miles diſtant. This was confirmed by the Papal authority to be of an undoubted truth, after a hundred and fifty-three years deliberation. Lo, as briefly as I could, have I laid open to thy judicious eyes, the tranſportations, original, and papiſtical opinions of Loretta; proteſting, I have added nothing to the author's deſcription, but only collected theſe ſpecial warrants; omitting other infinite fooliſh toys, conceived through their blindfolded credulity.

A confirmation by the Popes.

This chapel, or rather dwelling-houſe, as they would have it, ſtood always alone, till of late, that Pope Clement VIII. cauſed to be built a glorious church over it. And here by accident I encountered with a very courteous and diſcreet gentleman, James Arthur, whoſe company was to me moſt acceptable: Our acquaintance being firſt made at the beginning of the ſame voyage upon the mountains of Ferrara in Paeſe du Bourbon, and bound to viſit Venice, in his returning home from Scotland, as well as he had done Rome and other cities of Italy.

Now I remember here of a pretty jeſt; for he and I going in to ſee the inrailed image with ſparrets of iron, and muſing on the blackneſs of her face, and the richneſs of her gown, all ſet with precious ſtones and diamonds; and becauſe ſhe is ſightleſs, four lamps of oil they keep always burning before her face, that the people may ſee her, becauſe ſhe cannot ſee them; there was, I ſay, a young luſty woman hard by my elbow, buſy at her beads, who, with the heat of the throng, and for lack of air, fell ſtraight in a ſwoon; the women about her gave a ſhout, and cried, that our bleſſed Lady had appeared to her; whereupon ſhe was carried forth, and laid upon the ſteps that deſcend from the chapel to the church-floor, five hundred more came to viſit her with ſalutations of *Saint, Saint, O ever bleſſed Saint.* Now it was Friday in

A fleſhly falſe ſprung miracle.

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in the forenoon; and the woman having travelled all night, and to save the charges of fish, had eaten a cold bit of her own meat privately in the tavern, with half a buckale of red wine. The people more admiring this imaginary heavenly trance, than the relief of the woman, at last said I, brother Arthur, I will go open yonder woman's breast; and I did so: and holding up her head before all the people, there sprung a flood of *vin garbo* down the alabaster stairs, intermingled with lumps of ill-chewed flesh; whereat the people being amazed, from a saint, swore she was a devil: and if my friend and I had not made haste to carry the sick woman from the church to a tavern, doubtless they had stoned her to death: And here was one of their miracles.

Another time, coming back from my second travels in Afric, it was my luck to stumble in here again, where I saw an old Capuchin friar conjuring the devil out of a possessed woman, who had stayed there, and two men keeping her, above eighteen months, being twice a-day brought before the chapel. The friar stood up before her, the two men holding both her arms; and said, laying his foremost finger on her brow, "In nomine Patris, &c. Io vi cargo a dirmi per quale cagione havete posseduto l'anima di questa poveretta; et vati ne via io ti adjuro alla quei luogi dionde tu fei venuto:" "I charge thee to shew me for what cause thou hast possessed the soul of this poor wretch; and I adjure thee to go back unto those places from whence thou camest." Mean while the woman stood dumb and silent for the space of a quarter of an hour, not being usual before: the people gave a shout and cried, the devil had left her; whereat he that held her right arm did let it fall down by her side. But, by your leave, in the twinkling of an eye, the devil in the woman gave the friar such a rattle on the face, that he was struck down upon his back among the people; and if it had not been that she was born down with strength of hands, she had torn the silly old conjurer in pieces;

A Capuchin friar conjuring the devil

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crying, "O falſe and diſſembling knave, pretendeſt thou to have power to caſt out evil ſpirits, when thou thyſelf are in a worſe caſe than I, and all thy profeſſion too: hell, hell is your reward."

This is another of our Lady of Loretta's miracles, tho' many more I could recite. As for any more virtue of this chimerian image, I have known ſick folks loaden with all kind of diſeaſes, cripples, lame, maimed, deaf, dumb, and numbers poſſeſſed with evil ſpirits, lie here before this lady, till I returned again from Aſia and Africk that ſame way; imploring, faſting, and penitentially weeping for health: But, alas! poor ſouls, they loſt their labour, when they had both ſpent all their means, and perhaps the pooreſt of them three years attendance, and forced, to my knowledge, to return again to their ſeveral ſtations, with ſorrowful and comfortleſs hearts.

O ſtrange and wonderful frailty of men! what damnable imperfections domineer over their brain-ſick knowledge! Satan, thou prince of darkneſs, haſt ſo overſullied the dimmed eyes of their wretched ſouls, that notwithſtanding of God's eternal word, (ordained to call them through the ſpotleſs blood of Chriſt Jeſus to be the heirs and adopted ſons of ſalvation); yet thou, all-abominable enemy of mankind, overthroweſt both their ſpiritual and natural underſtanding in a bottomleſs ocean of dark ignorance; promiſing to thy obdurate ſoldiers, to build caſtles in the air; and, contrary-wiſe, is buſy digging down dungeons, to welcome thy helliſh eterniſed gueſts, with horrible torments, and never-ceaſing flames of everlaſting fire. What wilful hearted man can be ſo apt to believe, that our bleſſed lady had ſuch eſtimation of mortar and ſtones, as to have (although ſhe had power) cauſed angels to tranſport a rotten houſe ſo often? No, I ſay, believe it whoſo will. Queſtionleſs the judgements of God, in the truth of his all-ſeeing juſtice, ſhall reward their too credulous minds accordingly; then ſhall they know their fooliſh and ſuperſtitious errors.

But now, to leave them with their idolatry to ſtones, metal,

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metal, and images, I come to their blaſphemies againſt the ſacred Deity. Look to the works of Bernardini de Buſti, Bonaventure, and Fereolus Lucrius, how ſhamefully they derogate the glory from God, and attribute all grace, mercy, and omnipotency, to the Virgin Mary. So Ludolphus and Chryſoſtom affirm, That *velocior eſt nonnunquam ſalus, invocato nomine Mariæ, quam invocato nomine Domini filii ejus:* Men may oftentimes be ſooner ſaved by calling on the Virgin Mary, than on Chriſt. *Omnia quæ Dei ſunt, Mariæ ſunt; quia mater et ſponſa Dei illa eſt:* All things which are God's are the Virgin Mary's, becauſe ſhe is both the ſpouſe, and the mother of God, ſaith a Rabbin of theirs. And as many creatures honour the Virgin Mary, as honour the Trinity, ſaith another: ſo *imperio Virginis, omnia famulantur et Deus*; all creatures, and God himſelf, are ſubject to the Virgin Mary's command. And in their Bonaventure Lady's Pſalter, *Monſtra te eſſe matrem, et coge illum peccatoribus miſereri*; Shew thyſelf a mother, and compel him (viz. Chriſt) to have mercy upon ſinners. Infinite citations could I produce, of ſuch like intolerable attributes, beſides the dividing of her into a thouſand ſtyles, viz. The Lady of the Wines, Lady of the Oils, Lady of the Corns, Lady of the Woods, Lady of the Mountains, Lady of the Meads, Lady of the Sheep and Goats, Lady of the Springs, Lady of the Fire, Lady of the Shepherds, from earthquakes, thunder, and fire-flaſhes, Lady of the Angels which is at Aſiſi in Ombria, Lady of Miracles in divers places, Florence, &c. Lady of life in Bologna newly found, Lady of all Noble Ladies and Nuns, Lady of the Galley-ſlaves, Lady of Ship-wrecking-ſeas, Lady of Rivers and Waters, Lady of young Children and Orphans, Lady of all Conſolation, Lady of pure Virgins, Lady of diſtreſſed widows, Lady of the Sick, and Women with child, &c.; beſides, the powerful Lady of Mount Serrata in Catalogna, the aforeſaid miraculous Lady of Loretta, and the clementious Iſle-ruling Lady of Trapundy

The Virgin Mary divided into a thouſand Ladies.

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pundy in Sicilia, &c. T[illegible] they make it manifeſt, that ſhe that is lady of th[illegible]ne, is not lady of the other, each of them having divers gifts, divers graces, divers powers as they alledge, divers chapels, divers offerings, and divers pilgrimages, according to the ſeveral ſeaſons, imminent or paſt perils, peculiar invocations, and the particular need of each family, man, woman, and living creature.

Whereby it plainly appeareth, by their own acknowledgements, ſhe is neither ſuperior in power, univerſal in power, nor equal in power to God: For if ſhe were, one chapel, one name, one place, one pilgrimage, one offering would ſuffice for all. They chatter over on their beads ten *Ave-Maries* to our Lady, and but one *Pater noſter* to Chriſt. They make their orations thrice a-day in the ſtreets to the Virgin, and none to God: They ſay God divided the kingdom with the Virgin, reſerving to himſelf Juſtice, granted to his mother mercy; wherefore if any man be aggrieved with God's juſtice, he may appeal to the court of her mercy.

But to conclude, their blaſphemies and horrible lies: Bleſſed is the bleſſed Virgin Mary (the mother of Chriſt according to the fleſh) above all women for ever and ever.

Leaving both this and Loretta, and returning to my purpoſe, James Arthur and I embarked *Ancona.* at Ancona, (fifteen miles from thence), in a frigato: This city of Ancona, in the time of Trajanus the emperor, flouriſhed mightily in fame and reputation, and is yet a gallant place to this day.

Contemnunt omnes Anconia monia Turcas.

This ſea-ſtrong town, ſet on a promontore,
Defieth the Turks with its defenſive ſhore.

It glories not a little in giving name to the whole province lying between Ombria and Romania, and is ſituate

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ſituate on a hill that ſhooteth into the ſea like a promontory, having a fair haven built by Trajanus. It hath but one gate; whence aroſe the proverb, *Un porto nel Ancona, un Petro nel Roma, e un torre nel Cremona*; One gate in Ancona, one Peter in Rome, and one ſteeple in Cremona, being exceeding high.

Along this Adriatic coaſt, I ſaw no remarkable thing ſave the two cities Rimini and Ravenna; which were famous in the days of Octavius Cæſar, but now ſomewhat impoveriſhed, in regard of divers incurſions ſuſtained; and ſhoaring along with them, the Duke of Urbin's three ſea-port towns, Sinigalia, Fanno, and Peſaro. We ſailed by the mouth of Rubicon, called now Piſſatello, (which Julius Cæſar paſſed over againſt the ordinance of the ſenate, and afterward ſeized upon Rome, putting Pompey to flight). I ſaw the place where the bloody battle was fought between the French and Spaniards, *anno Domini* 1512; but the victory fell to the Gauls, with the loſs of nineteen thouſand men on every ſide, and they have erected ſingular monuments there, in a perpetual memory thereof. After three days ſailing, (having paſſed by Malamucco, which is the haven of the great Venetian ſhips), we arrived at St Mark's place in Venice.

A Gray friar burnt for villanous letchering.

Mine aſſociate and I were no ſooner landed, and perceiving a great throng of people, and in the midſt of them a great ſmoke, but we began to demand of a Venetian, what the matter was? who replied, There was a Gray friar burning quick at St Mark's pillar, of the reformed order of St Francis, for begetting fifteen young noble nuns with child, and all within one year; he being alſo their father confeſſor. Whereat I ſprung forward through the throng, and my friend followed me, and came juſt to the pillar, as the half of his body and right arm fell flatlings in the fire. The friar was forty-ſix years old, and had been a confeſſor of that nunnery of Sancta Lucia five years. Moſt of theſe young nuns were ſenators daughters; and two of them were only come in to learn virtue, and yet fell in the midſt of vice.

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Theſe fifteen with child were all recalled home to their Father's palaces; the Lady Prioreſs, and the reſt of her voluptuous crew, were baniſhed for ever from the precincts of Venice. The monaſtery was razed to the ground, their rents were allowed to be beſtowed upon poor families, and diſtreſſed age, and their church to be converted to an hoſpital. Moſt part of all which Mr Arthur and I ſaw, before ever we either eat, drank, or took our lodging in Venice. And I cannot forget how, after all this, we being a hungered, and alſo overjoyed, tumbled in, by chance, alla capello, Ruoſſo, the greateſt ordinary in all Venice, near to which the friar's bones were yet a-burning; and calling for a chamber, we were nobly and richly ſerved: After dinner they laid up our budgets and our burdens, and abroad went we to ſee the city: night come, we ſupped, and ſupped alone. The next morn I begun to remark the grandeur of the inn, and ſaw it was time that we were gone. I demanded our dependent what was to pay? he anſwered, *Ut ſeudo all huomo parciaſcun ripaſto*, A crown the diet for each of us, being ten julets, or five ſhillings Sterling: Mr Arthur looked upon me, and I laughed upon him. In a word, our dinner and ſupper coſt us forty julets, twenty ſhillings Engliſh, being four crowns, whereat my companion being diſcontented, bad the devil be in the friar's ballocks, for we had paid ſoundly for his letchery. Many like deaths, for like cauſes, and worſe, have I ſeen in all my three voyages, if time could permit me to particulariſe them; but from this thou muſt play the learned geometrician, till thou findeſt more.

The chief Venetian ordinary.

Cingitur urbs Venetum pelago, ditiſſima nummis.

This town moſt rich, to dare the main is ſhut
In Neptune's boſom, and ſea-ſtretched cut.

Venice is a garden of riches, and worldly pleaſures, the

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the chief flower of common-weals, and the perfect mirrour of civil and politic government. This sequestrate city, is situate in the bosom of Neptune, and divided from the world with a part of his main body, which environeth the island.

The commonwealth of Venice containeth Marchadel Trevisa, which lieth in Lombardy, containing these cities, Trevisa, Padua, Vincenza, Verona, Brescia, the second city for bigness and beauty in all Lombardy, Bergamo, Chiozza, and Rovigno. Friuli, formerly called *Forum Julii*, lieth in the strait between the east end of the Alps, and the Adriatic sea, in length fifty, and in breadth forty miles. It hath been often subject to the vicissitude of fortune. The chief town is Treista, in the bottom of the gulf, and Palma, lately built by the Venetians 1583, being the most impregnable, and best fortified town in Italy. Friuli was a Dukedom founded by the Lombards, at the beginning of the Venetian commonwealth: Afterwards Luitprandus, one of the Dukes, envying the increase of the dominion of Venice, made war against them, which ended in the loss of his own country. The rest are Istria, a part of Dalmatia, the islands Candy, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Serigo, Tino, Val di Campare, Lesina, and others of lesser note.

The territories of Venice.

The Venetians, howsoever of old they have been great warriors, they are now more desirous to keep, than enlarge their dominions; and that by presents and money, rather than by the sword of true valour; so that whatsoever they lose by battle, it is observed, they recover again by treaties. The Venetians are said to have descended of the Hennets in Asia Lesser, who assisting the Trojans, and Troy being lost, their king Pterilimene slain, they fled away with Antenor; and, arriving in this part of Italy, seated themselves, till the report of the Huns design against Italy made them (avoiding the storm before it fell) to draw into these islands and marshes where now it standeth. It was first founded and begun, *anno* 421,

The first plantation of Venice.

March

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March 25. being distant from the main land five miles, and defended against the fury of the sea, by a bank extending to fifty miles in length; through which, in eight places, there is a passage broken for small boats, but no way for vessels of any burden, save at Malamucco, and the castle of Lio: yea, and so dangerous, that there is neither outgoing, nor incoming, without a pilot, which maketh the city unconquerable.

This city is seven miles in compass, and from so base and abject a beginning, it is now grown (as it were) to be the chief bulwark of Europe: The Duke of this Adriatic Queen, espouseth the sea every Ascension-day, by casting a golden ring into it. Which foolish ceremony was granted by Pope Alexander III. when he fled to Venice for succour, being persecuted by Frederick Barbarossa; and the Venetians vanquishing Otho, the Emperor's son, restored the Pope, and, for a reward, was honoured with this espousal.

The length of the territory of Venice in Lombardy, lying along the foot and south side of the Alps, amounteth to 125 miles; the breadth whereof in the planure is narrow, but stripeth larger among the hills and lakes, and very populous.

The Venetians are sprung of the Romans.

The applauding Italian saith, That Europe is the head of the world, Italy the face of Europe, and Venice the eye of Italy. And indeed it is the strongest and most active part of that powerful body; whereby it would appear, that in the last subversion of the latter monarchy, the Roman genius made a Pythagorical transmigration into Venice; whose peace hath procured the plenty, and whole wars the peace of all Christendom. The laws of this city permit not the younger sons of the best gentry to marry, lest the number increasing should diminish the dignity; yet nevertheless they permit them unlawful pleasures, and, for their sakes, allow public stews. The Jews here, and in Rome, wear red and yellow hats for notice sake, to distinguish them from others; which necessary custom, would

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would to God, were enjoined to all the Papists here in England; so should we easily discern them from the true Christians. And, finally, to discourse upon the provision of their magnificent arsenal, artillery, ammunition, and armour; the division of streets with channels, the innumerable bridges of stone and timber, their accustomable kind of living, apparel, courtesies, and conventions; and, finally, the glory of gallants, galleries, gallies, galleasses, and galleons, were a thing impossible for me briefly to relate. Wherefore, since the situation thereof, and the decorations of their beautiful palaces, are so well known, and their general customs by the better sort, I desist, concluding thus: This incomparable mansion is the only paragon of all the cities in the world.

Mine aforesaid consort and I having spent ten days in viewing and reviewing this city, and circumjacent isles, and my purpose reaching for Greece and Asia, as his was to recross the snowy Alps, my muse remembereth our sad departure:

Now friendly Arthur left me, courts the main
Of pleasant Lombardy: by Trent again
Bears through the Alps, in his Tirolian ways,
And past Bavaria, where Danubio strays:
He fell on Rhine, and down these curlings came;
Then shipp'd for Allion, near to Rotterdame:
And coasting Isis, view'd that royal court,
Where once Apollo did in glory sport,
Fraught with Ambrosian nectar, crown'd his days
On Pindus tops, to have Mecænas praise.
This light obumbrate, Arthur courts the north,
And served a noble Earl * of ancient worth
Full eighteen years; till death that darts our woe,
First smote his Lord, and then his Countess so.
Now they are fled, and he is left alone,
Till heavens provide his hopes some happy one:
Which if to his desert, such fortune came,

* The Earl of Glencairn.

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A princely ſervice might his merit claim.
Where wiſhing both his fate, and worth to be,
I'll Venice leave, and viſit Lombardy.

In the time of my ſtaying here, I went forth to Lombardy, and viſited the famous cities of Padua, Verona, and Ferrara. The commendation of which is celebrated in theſe verſes:

Extollit Paduam, juris ſtudium et medicinæ.
Verona, humanæ dat ſingula commoda vitæ.
Exhaurit loculos Ferrarea ferrea plenos,

In Padua I ſtayed three months learning the Italian tongue, and found there a country-gentleman of mine, Doctor John Wedderburne, a learned mathematician, but now dwelling in Moravia, who taught me well in the language, and in all other reſpects exceeding friendly to me. Padua is the moſt melancholy city of Europe, the cauſe only ariſing of the narrow paſſage of the open ſtreets *, and of the long galleries, and dark ranges of pillars, that go all where on every hand of you through the whole ſtreets of the town. The ſcholars here in the night commit many murders againſt their private adverſaries, and too often executed upon the ſtrangers and innocent, and all with gun-ſhot, or elſe ſtilettoes. For beaſtly ſodomy, it is as rife here as in Rome, Naples, Florence, Bullogna, Venice, Ferrara, Genoa, Parma not being exempted, nor yet the ſmalleſt village of Italy: A monſtrous filthineſs, and yet to them a pleaſant paſtime, making ſongs, and ſinging ſonnets of the beauty and pleaſure of their *bardaſſi*, or buggered boys.

* Its figure is circular, and about ſeven or eight miles round; but the ſtreets are narrow, ill paved, and dirty. Over the four gates of the town-houſe are the ſtatues and buſts of four illuſtrious Paduans; namely, the immortal Titus Livius Albertus Patavianus, Petrus Aponus the architect of this ſtructure, and an aſtronomer, with Paulus Patavinus. Padua lies twenty-four miles weſt of Venice. —— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary, on the word *Padua*.

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I commend the devotion of Venice and Genoa beyond all the other cities of Italy; for the Venetians have baniſhed the Jeſuits out of their territories and iſlands; and the Genoeſes have abandoned the ſociety of Jews, and driven them from their jurisdiction. The Jews and the Jeſuits are brethren in blaſphemies; for the Jews are naturally ſubtle, hateful, avaricious, and, above all, the greateſt calumniators of Chriſt's name; and the ambitious Jeſuits are flatterers, bloody-goſpellers, treaſonable tale-tellers, and the only railers upon the ſincere life of good Chriſtians. Wherefore I end with this verdict, the Jew and the Jeſuit is a pultroon and a paraſite.

A compariſon of Jews and Jeſuits.

PART

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PART II.

Now ſtep I o'er the gulf, to th' Iſtrian ſhore,
Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Illyria, more;
Valona, Albana, Epyre in Greece,
And Morea fat, where Jaſon hurt his fleece;
The Adriatic and Ionean iſles,
And Leſina's great monſter; Athens ſtyles;
With Lacedæmon ſack'd, and Sparta rent
From ancient worth; Arcadia poor and ſhent;
O'er gulf Lepanto, the Ætolian height,
And all theſe coaſts, till Candy come in ſight,

After my return from Padua to Venice, and twenty-four days attendance waſted there for paſſage, I imbarked in a carmoeſalo, being bound to Zara Nova in Dalmatia. Scarely had we loſt the ſight of Venice, but we encountered with a deadly ſtorm at Seroco e Lenante. The maſter had no compaſs to direct his courſe, neither was he expert in navigation; becauſe they uſe commonly, either on the ſouth or north ſides of the gulf, to hoiſt up ſails at night, and againſt break of day they have full ſight of land, taking their directions from the topped hills of the main continent. The tempeſt increaſing, and the winds contrary, we were conſtrained to ſeek up for the port of Parenzo in Iſtria.

Iſtria was called *Giapidia*, according to Pliny. Cato affirmeth it was called *Iſtria*, of one Iſiro; but by the modern writers, *Pultima regione di Italia*. By Ptolomæus it is ſaid to be of length one hundred miles, and forty large; but, by my experience, only eighty long, and twenty broad.

Iſtria hath, on the ſouth, Friuli and the ſea; on the weſt, Stria; on the north, Carniola; on the eaſt, the gulf

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gulf Carnaro, or Quevero. It is thought the Istrians were first a people of Colchis, in Natolia, who by King Æetas being sent to pursue Jason, and the Argonauts, (who had stolen the golden fleece, and his daughter Medæa), either because of the long journey, or fear of the king's anger, durst not return, and so remained in this country, where they enjoyed a long freedom, till, by many incursions of piracy, still molesting the Venetians, they lost many of their towns *anno* 938, and afterward the whole country made tributary by Duke Henry Gondolo, about the year 1200. *The antiquity of the Istrians.*

That part which bordereth with the sea belongeth to the Venetians; but the rest, within land, holds of the Emperor and the Archduke of Austria. The country itself aboundeth in corns, wines, and all kinds of fruits necessary for human life. Near to this haven wherein we lay, expecting room winds, I saw the ruins of old Justinopoli, so called by Justinian the Emperor, who builded it upon an island of a mile's length, and three acres broad; and to pass betwixt the city and the firm land, there were seven bridges made. It was anciently strong, but now altogether decayed. The principal cities in Istria at this day are these, Parenzo, Humago, Pola, Rovigo. *Justinopoli decayed.*

The winds favouring us, we weighed anchors, and sailed by the isles Brioni, so much esteemed for the fine stones they produce, called *Istriennes:* which serve to beautify the Venetian palaces. About mid-day I saw Mount di Caldaro; on the foot of which the ancient city of Pola is situated, having a harbour wherein small ships may lie. True it is, this port is not much frequented, in respect of a contagious lake near to it, which infecteth the air with a filthy exhalation. I saw, hard by this place, the ruins of the castle di Oriando, the ark triumphant, and the relicks of a great amphitheatre. This Pola was called by Pliny *Julia pietas*; and it standeth in the south-east part of Istria.

Continuing

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Continuing our courſe, we paſſed the perilous gulf of Carnaro.

This gulf or bay of Carnaro runneth in north and by eaſt fifty miles within land, at the narrow entry whereof it hath a part of Iſtria on the weſt, and Dalmatia on the eaſt. The Venetians uſe to keep always certain gallies at the mouth of this bay, on the Dalmatian ſide, to intercept the curſary of the Scoks: In the bottom of this Carnarian gulf are placed Serna, Gradiſca, and Novagard, the chief cities of Croatia. The people which inhabit theſe towns, and the adjoining country, are called *Scoks*, a kind of Dalmatians, being of a robuſt nature, courageous, and deſperate. Their weapons are broad two-handed ſwords, long ſkenes, carrying targets at their girdles, and long guns in their hands. They are marvellous ſwift on foot, and daily annoy by land their neighbouring Turks with inroads, fetching away great ſpoils and booties of corns, cattle, and horſes; and by ſea, with frigats and brigantines, did ever and often vex the Venetian commerce in their own domeſtic waters. The great loſſes which from theſe incurſive people the Venetians had from time to time received, and the other damages they inflicted upon the Turks in their trafficking with Venice, or whom the Venetians are bound by former articles of peace to keep harmleſs within their own gulf from all Chriſtian invaſions, was the only and urgent cauſe that moved the Venetians to wage war with Ferdinando, then Duke of Graſſe, and now Emperor, *anno Domini* 1616. They beſieged Grandiſca to their no ſmall diſadvantage, both of charges and loſs of men; for the town being ſtrongly fortified with walls and ammunition, and two thouſand Scoks within to defend it, would often, at the near approaching of the enemy, make a ſally forth on horſe and foot, giving many miſerable overthrows to the aſſailants; to the which detriments, for twenty days ſpace, I was a teſtator, being after my return from Afric in my ſecond travels, as I was going for Hungary, Moldavia, Walachia,

The Scoks live under the houſe of Auſtria.

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Walachia, and Tranſilvania, taking this country in my way; and one morning at the break of day, I ſaw eight hundred Scoks iſſuing out of town make bloody havock of three thouſand of the Venetian army. This part of Croatia is exceeding fertile, abounding in corns, wines, beſtial, and paſturage, though then by lawleſs and turbulent ſoldiers it was miſerably defaced. *Croatia.*

The whole number of theſe Scoks that are able to carry arms, be not above ſix thouſand men. They are wonderful kind to ſtrangers, which to me in no ſmall meaſure was extended, and that by the better ſort, their captains and commanders, and only for the affinity of Scoki and Scoti, although I dare ſwear there is little or none at all betwixt the two nations.

Having paſſed Carnaro we ſailed cloſe by the iſle Sangego, called formerly *Illirides*. This iſle is of circuit fourſcore, and of length thirty miles. Our freſh water waxing ſcant, and the winds falling out contrary to our expectation, we ſought into Valdogoſto in the iſle of Oſero, which is a ſafe haven for ſhips and gallies. This Oſero was firſt named Aſphorus, and then Abſirtides, of a Captain Abſirtus, who came from Colchis, accompanied with many people, to bring back Medea to her careful father, whoſe purpoſe being fruſtrated, ſtaid ſtill and inhabited this land. A fit opportunity obtained upon the eighth day, we arrived in the road of Zara in Dalmatia; for there the carmoeſalo ſtaid, and I was expoſed to ſeek paſſage for Raguſa. *Zara nova.*

By the way, I recall the great kindneſs of that Dalmatia maſter; for offering my condition, I found him more than courteous, and would have no more but the half of that which was his bargain at Venice. Beſides this, he alſo entertained me three days with a moſt bountiful and kind acceptance. My ſolitary travelling he oft bewailed, wiſhing me to deſiſt, and never attempt ſuch a voyage; but I giving him abſolute and conſtant anſwers, appeaſed his imagined ſorrow.

True it is that ignorance and ſloth make every thing

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Ignorance and sloth.

terrible unto us, and we will not, because we dare not, and dare not, because we will not. This makes us submit ourselves to any thing that doth either flatter or threaten us; and like some sottish weaklings that give the reins of their government into the hands of their wives or servants, thinking then they buy their peace when they sell it; thus do they grow upon us, I mean ignorance and sloth, and by composition, not force, become masters of the place, being just so strong as we are weak: and as contrary news delivered at one time maketh one to hear with joy and remember with sorrow; even so an unresolved man, in high and heroic designs, though seeming forward, is distracted here, set on fear there, and rent asunder every where, with the flashing frights of desperation; but a constant resolution can courageously support all things, "Ubicunque homo est, ibi beneficio locus est." And congratulating this skipper's courtesy, I bad farewel to his council.

Zara is the capital city of Dalmatia, called of old *Jadara*. The inhabitants are governed by a Camarlingo, or chamberlain, in the behalf of Venice, the walls whereof are strongly rampired with earth, surpassing the tops of the stone-work, and fortified also with high bulwarks, and planted canons on elevated ramparts of earth, which are above forty cubits higher than the walls and bulwarks, standing in the four several corners of the city.

There lie continually in it a great garrison of soldiers to defend the town and citizens, who are maintained by the Duke of Venice; for he is Signior thereof. They have indured many invasions of the Turks, especially in the year 1570, when, for the space of fourteen months, they were daily molested and besieged, but the victory fell ever to the Christians. If the Turks could win this place, they might easily command the Adriatic seas, in regard of that fair haven which is there to receive ships and gallies, which maketh the Venetians not a little fearful because of their safeguard.

Yet

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Yet they permitted the neighbouring Infidels to traffic with them; but when they enter the gates, they muſt deliver their weapons to the corporal of the ſquadron-company. Neither may they ſtay within all night, under the pain of impriſonment. Dalmatia was called ſo of Mauritius the Emperor. The four principal provinces whereof are theſe, Atheos, Senebico, Spalleto, and Tragurio. A part of which belongeth to Venice, another part to the Archduke of Auſtria, and a third unto the Turks. Zara is diſtant from Venice two hundred miles.

When the wandering night was chaſed from the inferior iſlands by the returning day, and the ſun had imparted his brightneſs to our under neighbours, and our dreams ready to poſſeſs the theatre of the fancy, the wearisome creatures of the world declining to their reſt, and under ſhadow of the pale lady of the night, even then from Zara I imbarked in a ſmall frigate, bound for Lefina, with five Sclavonian mariners, who ſometimes ſailed, and ſometimes rowed with oars. In our way we paſſed by the iſle of Brazza, which is of no great quantity, but fertile enough for the inhabitants, and kept by a gentleman of Venice. It lieth in the mouth of the gulf Narento, that divideth Dalmatia from Sclavonia. Many fondly conceive, that theſe two kingdoms are all one; but I hold the contrary opinion, both by experience, and by ancient authors. Having paſſed Capo di Coſta, which is the beginning of Sclavonia, I ſaw, upon my right hand, a round rock, of a great height, in form of a pyramid, being named, by eaſtern mariners, *Pomo*, anciently *Salyro*, for the good falcons that are bred therein. It ſtandeth in the midſt of the gulf between Sclavonia and Italy, and not habitable.

A litle beyond that rock, I ſaw the three iſles Tremiti, the chief whereof is called *Teucria*; but they are vulgarly called *the iſles of Diomedes*, who was king of Ætolia. They are right oppoſite to Mount Gargano, now called *S. Angelo*, and diſtant from the main land of Apulia in Italy about nine miles.

Mount St Angelo.

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This Mount St Angelo ſtandeth in Apulia, bending in the ſea with a large promontory; it is in compaſs ninety miles. Near to this mountain was that great battle fought between Hannibal and the Romans. The overthrow fell to the Romans, under the conduct of Paulus Æmilius, and other conſuls, of whom were ſlain forty-two thouſand and ſeven hundred; and if Hannibal had followed this victory, he had eaſily that day ſubdued the commonwealth of Rome; which made Maharbal, captain of his horſemen, rebuke him thus: *Vincere ſcis, Hannibal, victoria uti neſcis.*

Thou canſt o'ercome thy foes in bloody fight,
But cannot uſe the victory aright.

The like ſaid Cæſar of Pompey, when he loſt the firſt battle they fought at Pharſalia in Greece: "O Pompey, Pompey, if thou hadſt known how to have uſed the victory, as thou hadſt it, thou mighteſt have been this day lord of the whole world."

A woful battle.

So to our lamentable memory may that laſt battle be recorded, fought in Hungary between the Turks and Chriſtians, of whom Maximilian Duke of Iſbrugh, this preſent Emperor's uncle, was general; who having had a nocturnal victory, and the infidels put to the flight, they remaining in the camp more buſy about the ſpoils than their own ſafety, the Turks returned again before day, the Chriſtians being diſordered with booties, and the ravening of their whores, they put them all to the edge of the ſword. O miſerable confuſion! Little better might I ſpeak of the battle of Lepanto, being abuſed even in the ſight of it; and that glorious victory no wiſe followed, as good fortune had given them an awful opportunity. For Don John of Auſtria, their general, had a great mind to ſeize upon the iſle of Corfu, and to rob Venice of her liberty, then to proſecute with vengeance the brave beginning of ſo notable a victory; and yet his treachery was diſcovered, and by the Venetian general

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general ſpeedily diſappointed, to his eternal ſhame both ways.

The poor Sclavonians being exhauſted in their hunger-ſtarving boat, with extraordinary pains, (for we had three days calm, which is not uſually ſeen in theſe ſeas), were inforced to repoſe all night at the barren iſle of St Andrew. This iſle is of circuit four miles, but not inhabited. The exceſſive rain that fell in the evening made us go on ſhore to ſeek the coverture of ſome rock; which found, we lay all night on hard ſtones, and with hungry bellies; for our proviſion was ſpent. The break of day giving comfort to our diſtreſſed bodies, with favourable winds at the Garbo e ponente, we ſet forward, and about mid-day we arrived in the port of Leſina, of which the iſle taketh the name.

The iſle of Leſina is of circuit a hundred and fifty miles, and is the biggeſt iſland in the Adriatic ſea. It is exceeding fertile, and yieldeth all things plentifully that is requiſite for the ſuſtenance of man. The city is unwalled, and of no great quantity; but they have a ſtrong fortreſs, which defendeth the town, the haven, and the veſſels in the road. The governor, who was a Venetian, after he had inquired of my intended voyage, moſt courteouſly invited me three times to his table, in the time of my five days ſtaying there; and at the laſt meeting he reported the ſtory of a marvellous miſ-ſhapen creature born in the iſland, aſking if I would go thither to ſee it; wherewith (when I perfectly underſtood the matter) I was contented: The gentleman honoured me alſo with his company, and a horſe to ride on, where, when we came, the captain called for the father of that monſter, to bring him forth before us. Which unnatural child being brought, I was amazed in that ſight to behold the deformity of nature; for below the middle part, there was but one body, and above the middle there was two living ſouls, each one ſeparated from another with ſeveral members. Their heads were both of one bigneſs, but

A monſter born in Leſina.

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but different in features. The belly of the one joined with the posterior part of the other, and their faces looked both one way, as if the one had carried the other on his back, and often, before our eyes, he that was behind, would lay his hands about the neck of the foremost. Their eyes were exceeding big, and their hands greater than an infant of three times their age. The excrements of both creatures issued forth at one place, and their thighs and legs of a great growth, not suitable to their age, being but six and thirty days old; and their feet were very proportionally made like to the foot of a camel, round and cloven in the midst. They received their food with an insatiable desire, and continually mourned with a pitiful noise. That sorrowful man told us, that when the one slept, the other awaked, which was a strange disagreement in nature. The mother of them bought dearly that birth, with the loss of her own life; as her husband reported, unspeakable was the torment she endured, in that woful wrestling pain. I was also informed afterwards, that this one, or rather twofold, wretch, lived but a short while after we saw them.

Leaving this monstrous shapen monster to his own strange, and almost incredulous nativity, we returned to Lesina. But by the way of our back coming, I remember that worthy gentleman shewed me the ruins of an old house, where the noble King Demetrius was born; and after I had yielded my bounden and dutiful thanks unto his generous mind, I hired a fisher-boat to go over to Cliffa, being twelve miles distant. This isle of Cliffa is of length twenty, and of circuit sixty miles. It is beautified with two profitable sea-ports, and under the signiory of Venice. There are indifferent good commodities therein; upon the south side of this island lieth the isle of Pelagusa, a rocky and barren place.

Demetrius.

Departing from thence in a carmoesalo bound to Ragusa, we sailed by the three isles, Brista, Placa, Igezi. And when we entered the gulf of Cataro, we fetched up the sight of the isle Melida, called of old *Meligna.*

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Meligna. Before we could attain unto the haven, wherein our purpoſe was to ſtay all night, we were aſſailed on a ſudden with a deadly ſtorm: inſomuch that every ſwallowing wave threatened our death, and bred in our breaſts an intermingled ſorrow of fear and hope; and yet hard by us, and within a mile to the leeward, a Barbarian man of war of Tunis, carrying two tire of ordnance, and two hundred men, ſeized upon a carmoeſalo of Venice, at the firſt ſhot, ſhe being laden with malvaſie and muſcadine, and come from Candy, and had us alſo in chaſe, till night divided our contrary deſigns. The winds becoming favourable, and our double deſired ſafety enjoyed, both becauſe of the ſea-ſtorm, and of the ſtormy pirate, we ſet forward in the gulf of Cataro, and ſailed by the iſle Curſola. In this iſland I ſaw a walled town called *Curſola*, which hath two ſtrong fortreſſes to guard it. It is both commodious for the traffic of merchandiſe they have, and alſo for the fine wood that groweth there, whereof the Venetian ſhips and galleys are made: an iſland no leſs pleaſant than profitable; and the two governors hereof are changed every eighteen months, by the ſtate of Venice. *Curſola.*

It was of old called *Curcura*, *Melana*, and of ſome *Corcira Nigra*, but by the moderns *Curſola*. Continuing our courſe, we paſſed by the iſles of Sabionzello, Torquollo, and Catza Auguſta, appertaining to the republic of Raguſa. They are all three well inhabited and fruitful, yielding corns, wines, and certain rare kinds of excellent fruits. It is dangerous for great veſſels to come near their coaſts, becauſe of the hidden ſhelves that lie off in the ſea, called *Auguſtini*, where divers ſhips have been caſt away in foul weather. Upon the ſecond day after our looſing from Cliſſa, we arrived at Raguſa.

Raguſa is a commonwealth, governed by ſenators, and a ſenate-council. It is wonderful ſtrong, and alſo well guarded, being ſituate by the ſea-ſide. It hath a fine haven, and many goodly ſhips thereunto belonging. *Raguſa.*

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The greateſt traffic they have is with the Genoeſe. Their territory in the firm land is not much, in reſpect of the neighbouring Turks; but they have certain commodious iſlands, which to them are profitable. And notwithſtanding of the great ſtrength and riches they poſſeſs, yet, for their better ſafeguard and liberty, they pay a yearly tributary penſion unto the great Turk, amounting to fourteen thouſand zechins of gold; yea, and alſo they pay yearly a tributary penſion unto the Venetians, for the iſles reſerved by them in the Adriatic gulf; ſo that both by ſea and land they are made tributary citizens. The moſt part of the civil magiſtrates have but the half of their heads bare, but the vulgar ſort are all ſhaven like to the Turks.

This city is the metropolitan of the kingdom of Sclavonia. Sclavonia was firſt called *Liburnia*, next *Illira*, of Illirio, the ſon of Cadmus, but laſtly named *Sclavonia*, of certain ſlaves that came from Sarmatia, paſſing the river Danubio, in the time of the Emperor Juſtinian. Croatia, lying north-weſt from hence, is the third province of this ancient Illiria, and was formerly called *Valeria*, or *Corvatia*. It hath, on the weſt, Iſtria and Carniola; on the eaſt and ſouth, Dalmatia; on the north north-weſt, a part of Carindia quaſi Carinthia; and northerly, Savus. So much as is called *Sclavonia* extendeth from the river Arſa in the weſt, the river Drino in the eaſt, on the ſouth bordereth with the gulf of Venice, and on the north with the mountains of Croatia. Theſe mountains divide alſo Raguſa from Boſna. Boſna is bounded on the weſt with Croatia; and on the ſouth with Illiricum, or Sclavonia: on the eaſt, with Servia; and on the north, with the river Savus.

Sclavonia.

The next two ſpecial cities in that kingdom are Sabenica and Salona. The Sclavonians are of a robuſt nature, martial, and marvellous valiant fellows, and a great help to maintain the right and liberty of the Venetian ſtate, ſerving them both by ſea and land, and eſpecially

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eſpecially upon their galleys and men of war. From Raguſa I embarked in a tartareta, laden with corn, and bound to Corfu, being three hundred miles diſtant.

In all this way we found no iſland but ſailed along the main land of the Illirian ſhore. Having paſſed the gulf of Cararo, and Capo di Fortena, I ſaw Caſtello Novo, which is a ſtrong fortreſs, ſituate on the top of a rock; wherein one Barbariſſo, the captain of Solyman, ſtarved to death four thouſand Spaniards. Having left Illiria, Albania, and Valona, behind us, we failed by Capo di Palone, the large promontory of which extendeth to eight miles in length, being the face of a ſquare and main rock. This high land is the furtheſt part of the gulf of Venice, and oppoſite againſt Capo di Sancta Maria, in Apulia, each one in ſight of another, and fourteen leagues diſtant. Continuing our navigation, we entered into the ſea Ionium, and ſailed along the coaſt of Epire, which was the famous kingdom of the Epirotes, and the firſt beginning of Greece. Epirus is environed, on the ſouth, with the ſea Ionian; on the eaſt, with Macedon; on the weſt north-weſt, with Albania; and on the north, with a part of Raſcia, and the huge hill Hæmus; of which mountain Stratonicus was wont to ſay, that for eight months in the year it was exceeding cold, and for the other four it was winter. This long mountain divideth alſo Greece from Myſia, called vulgarly Bulgaria, lying on the north of Hæmus, and to the ſouth of Danubio, even eaſtward to the Euxine ſea; which river parteth alſo Dacia from Myſia, the ſuperior; the which Dacia, being an ancient and famous country, containeth theſe provinces, Tranſilvania, Moldavia, Vallachia, Servia, and Boſna. Here in this kingdom of Epire was the noble and valiant Pirrhus king, who made ſo great wars upon the Romans, and at laſt, by a woman of Argos, was killed with a ſtone. The moſt valiant captain George Caſtriot, ſirnamed *Scanderberg*, the great terror and ſcourge unto the Turks, was

4000 *Spaniards ſtarved to death.*

Scanderberg.

born

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born here; of whom it is recorded, he slew at divers battles, with his own hands, above three thousand Turks, obtaining also many fortunate victories against Amurath and Mahomet: After whose death and burial his body was digged up by the Turks; and joyful was that man that could get the least bit of his bones to preserve, and carry about with him, thinking thereby, so long as he kept it, he should always be invincible, which the Turks observe to this day, and likely to do it to their last day. And more,

Renown'd Epire, that gave Olympia's life,
Great Alexander's mother, Philip's wife.

In this country are these two rivers, Acheron and Cocytus; who, for their mineral colours, and bitter tastes, were firnamed *the rivers of hell*; and the sacred Mount Pindus, consecrated to Apollo and the muses, so well memorised by the poets, is here. It is now called *Mezzona*; at the foot of which springeth the river of Peneia, called modernly *Salepiros*, but more properly *Azababa*; and keeping his extremest course through the fields of pleasure, named by the ancients *Tempe*, being five miles long, and as much large, lying between the two hills Ossa and Olympus, and watering that beautiful plain, the fair Penean spring, or Azababan river, disburdeneth itself in the gulf Thessalonick. This is the first kingdom of Greece, and of a great length, consisting between the westmost part of Albania, as a perpendicular province annexed to it, and the Arcadian Alps, which divide Ætolia and Acarnania; the eastmost regions of it, from Sparta, Thessaly, and the old Mirmidons country of Macedon, amounteth to four hundred and eighty miles, lying along by the sea-side, whose breadth extendeth all the way long northward to the hill Hæmus, above sixty-eight miles. The chief town of Epire, where the kings had their residence, was called *Ambracia*, modernly *Laerto*, named of a river running by it. And upon the

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the fixth day after our departure from Raguſa we arrived at Corfu.

Corfu is an iſland no leſs beautiful than invincible *. It lieth in the Ionian ſea: the inhabitants are Greeks, and the governors Venetians. This iſle was much honoured by Homer, for the pleaſant gardens of Alcino, which were in his time. This Alcino was that Corcyrian poet, who ſo benignly received Ulyſſes after his ſhipwreck; and of whom Ovid ſaid, *The iſle of Corfu.*

Quid bifera Alcinoi referam pomaria? voſque
Qui nunquam vacui prodiſtis in æthere rami.

Why blaze I forth Alcinoe's fertile ſoil,
And trees, from whence all times they fruit recoil?

This iſle was given to the Venetians by the Corſicans *anno* 1382, becauſe they were expoſed to all the injuries of the world. It lieth like to a half-moon, or half a circle, eaſt and north. The eaſtern cape is called *Leuchino*, the other northward *St Katerina*; the ſecond town whereof is called *Pagleopoli*. It is of circuit one hundred and twenty, in length fifty-two, and thirty-ſeven in breadth, and fourteen miles diſtant from Epire. The city Corfu, from which the iſle hath the name, is ſituate at the foot of a mountain, whereupon are built two ſtrong fortreſſes, and environed with a natural rock. The one is called *Fortezza Nova*, and the other *Fortezza Vecchia*. They are well governed, and circumſpectly kept, leſt, by the inſtigation of the one captain, the other ſhould commit any treaſonable effect. And for the ſame purpoſe, the governors of both caſtles, at their election before the ſenators of Venice, are ſworn, neither privately nor openly

* The iſland of Corfu lies in the Ionian ſea, about four miles weſt of the coaſt of Epirus in European Turky. It is ſeventy Italian miles long, and thirty broad. It was famous for King Alcinous gardens. —— Barrow's geographical Dictionary, on the word *Corfu*.

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openly to have mutual conference, nor to write one to another, for the ſpace of two years, which is the time of their government. Theſe caſtles are inacceſſable, and unconquerable, if the keepers be loyal, and provided with natural and martial furniture. They are vulgarly called *the forts of Chriſtendom* by the Greeks, but more juſtly *the ſtrength of Venice*; for if theſe caſtles were taken by the Turks, or by the Spaniards, who would as gladly have them, the trade of the Venetian merchants would be of no account; yea, the very means to overthrow Venice itſelf.

Two ſtrong caſtles.

Corfu, formerly Corcyra, was by ſome called *Phæacia*, ſo denominate from a virgin of that name, who was here ſuppoſed to have been deflowered by Neptune. This iſle produceth good ſtore of wines, oil, wax, honey, and delicate fruits.

From thence, after certain days abode, I imbarked in a Greekiſh carmoeſalo, with a great number of paſſengers, Greeks, Sclavonians, Italians, Armenians, and Jews, that were all mindful to Zante, and I alſo of the like intent, being in all forty-eight perſons. Having room-winds, and a freſh gale, in twenty-four hours we diſcovered the iſle Cephalonia the greater, and ſailed cloſe along Cephalonia minor, or the leſſer Ithaca, called now Val di Compare, being in length twenty, and in circuit fifty-ſix miles, renowned for the birth of Laerte's ſon Ulyſſes.

From th' Ithac rocks we fled Laerte's ſhore,
And curs'd the land that dire Ulyſſes bore,
For Ilion's ſake, with Dardan blood attir'd,
Whoſe wooden horſe the Trojan temples fir'd.

On our left hand toward the main, we ſaw an iſland called *St Maure*, formerly *Leucas*, or *Leucada*; which is only inhabited by Jews, to whom Bajazet II. gave it in poſſeſſion, after their expulſion from Spain: The chief

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chief city is St Maure, which not long ago was ſubject to Venice. This iſle St Maure was anciently joined with the continent, but now rent aſunder, and environed with the ſea. During the courſe of our paſſage, the captain of the veſſel eſpied a ſail coming from ſea; he preſently being moved therewith, ſent a mariner to the top, who certified him ſhe was a Turkiſh galley of Biſerta, proſecuting a ſtraight courſe to invade our bark: which ſudden affrighting news overwhelmed us almoſt in deſpair. The affrighted maſter having demanded of every man what was moſt proper to be done, ſome replied one way, and ſome another; inſomuch, that the moſt part of the paſſengers gave counſel, rather to ſurrender than fight; being confident their friends would pay their ranſom, and ſo relieve them. But I, the wandering pilgrim, pondering in my penſive breaſt my ſolitary eſtate, the diſtance of my country and my friends, could conceive no hope of deliverance. Upon the which troubleſome and fearful appearance of ſlavery, I abſolutely aroſe, and ſpoke to the maſter, ſaying, "The half of the carmoeſalo is your own, and the moſt part alſo of the loading, (all which he had told me before); wherefore my counſel is, that you prepare yourſelf to fight, and go encourage your paſſengers, promiſe to your mariners double wages, make ready your two pieces of ordnance, your muſkets, powder, lead, and half-pikes; for who knoweth but the Lord may deliver us from the thraldom of theſe infidels." My exhortation ended, he was greatly animated therewith, and gave me thanks; whereupon, aſſembling the paſſengers and mariners, he gave good comfort, and large promiſes, to them all: ſo that their affrighted hopes were converted to a courageous reſolution; ſeeming rather to give the firſt aſſault, than to receive the ſecond wrong. *A counſel to fight.*

To perform the method of our defence every man was buſy in the work; ſome below in the gun-room, others cleanſing the muſkets, ſome preparing the powder and balls, ſome their ſwords, and ſhort weapons, ſome

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ſome dreſſing the half-pikes, and others making faſt the doors above; for ſo the maſter reſolved to make combat below, both to ſave us from ſmall ſhot, and beſides for boarding us on a ſudden. The dexterous courage of all men was ſo forward to defend their lives and liberty, that truly, in my opinion, we ſeemed thrice as many as we were. All things below and above being cunningly perfected, and every one ranked in order with his harquebuſs and pike, to ſtand in readineſs for his own defence, we recommended ourſelves into the hands of the Almighty; and in the mean while attend their fiery ſalutations.

In a furious ſpleen, the firſt hola of their courteſies was the progreſs of a martial conflict, thundering forth a terrible noiſe of galley-roaring pieces; and we, in a ſad reply, ſent out a back-ſounding echo of fiery flying ſhots, which made an equivox to the clouds, rebounding backward in our perturbed breaſts the ambiguous ſounds of fear and hope. After a long and doubtful fight, both with great and ſmall ſhot, (night parting us), the Turks retired till morning, and then were mindful to give us the new rencounter of a ſecond alarm. But as it pleaſed him, who never faileth his, to ſend down an irreſiſtible tempeſt, about the break of day we eſcaped their furious deſigns; and were enforced to ſeek into the bay of Largoſtolo in Cephalonia; both becauſe of the violent weather, and alſo for that a great lake was ſprung in our ſhip. In this fight there were of us killed, three Italians, two Greeks, and two Jews, with eleven others deadly wounded, and I alſo hurt in the right arm with a ſmall ſhot. But what harm was done by us amongſt the infidels, we were not aſſured thereof, ſave only this, we ſhot away their middle maſt, and the hinder part of the poop; for the Greeks are not expert gunners, neither could our harquebuſa-does much annoy them, in reſpect they never boarded. But howſoever it was, being all diſbarked on ſhore, we gave thanks to the Lord for our unexpected ſafety, and buried

A notable deliverance.

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buried the dead Chriſtians in a Greekiſh churchyard, and the Jews were interred by the ſea-ſide.

This bay of Largaſtolo is two miles in length, being environed with two little mountains; upon the one of theſe two ſtandeth a ſtrong fortreſs, which defendeth the paſſage of the narrow gulf. It was here that the Chriſtian gallies aſſembled in the year 1571, when they came to abate the rage of the great Turks armado, which at that time lay in Peteraſſo, in the firm land of Greece, and right oppoſite to them, and had made conqueſt the year before of noble Cyprus from the Venetians.

The iſle of Cephalonia was formerly called *Ithaca*, and greatly renowned, becauſe it was the heritable kingdom of the worthy Ulyſſes, who excelled all other Greeks in eloquence and ſubtilty of wit. Secondly, by Strabo it was named *Dulichi*: And, thirdly, by ancient authors *Cephalonia*, of Cephalo, who was captain of the army of Cleobas Amphitryon. The which Amphitryon, a Theban captain, having conquered the iſland, and ſlain in battel Pterelaus King of Teleboas, for ſo then was the iſland called, gave it in a gift of government to Cephalo. This Cephalo was a noble man of Athens, who being one day at hunting, killed his own wife Procris with an arrow, inſtead of his prey; whereupon he flying to Amphitryon, and the other pitying his caſe, reſigned this iſle to him, of whom it taketh the denomination. Cephalonia lieth in the mouth of the gulf Lepanto, oppoſite to a part of Ætolia and Acarnania in the firm land: it is in circuit one hundred and fifty-ſix, and in length forty-eight miles. *Cephalonia of old Ithaca.*

The land itſelf is full of mountains, yet exceeding fertile, yielding malvaſia, muſkadine, vino Leatico, raiſins, olives, figs, honey, ſweet water, pine, mulberry, date, and cypre trees, and all other ſorts of fruits in abundance. The commodity of which redounds yearly to the Venetians, for they are ſigniors thereof.

Leaving this weather-beaten carmoeſalo laid up to a full ſea, I reſolved to travel through the iſland. In the firſt

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firſt days journey, I paſt by many fine villages and pleaſant fields, eſpecially the vale Aleſſandro; where the Greeks told me their anceſtors were vanquiſhed in battle by the Macedonian conqueror. They alſo ſhewed me on the top of Mount Gargaſſo, the ruins of that temple, which had been of old dedicated to Jupiter. And, upon the ſecond day, I hired two fiſhermen in a little boat, to carry me over to Zante, being twenty-five miles diſtant.

Here in Zante a Greekiſh ſurgeon undertook the curing of my arm, and performed the condition within time.

Zante. The iſle of Zante was called *Zacinthus*, becauſe ſo was called the ſon of Dardanus who reigned there; and by ſome *Hyria*. It hath a city of a great length, bordering along the ſea-ſide, the chief ſeat of the iſle, and named *Zante*, over the door of whoſe *prætorium*, or judgement-hall, are inſcribed theſe verſes,

Hic locus, odit, amat, punit, conſervat, honorat,
Nequitiam, pacem, crimina, jura, probos.

This place hates, loves, chaſtens, conſerves, rewards,
Vice, peace, felony, laws, virtuous regards.

And on the top of a hill, above the town, ſtandeth a large and ſtrong fortreſs, (not unlike to the caſtle of Milan), wherein the providitor dwelleth, who governeth the iſland. This city is ſubject yearly to fearful earthquakes, eſpecially in the months of October and November, which often times ſubvert their houſes and themſelves, bringing deadly deſtruction on all. This iſle produceth good ſtore of raſina di Corintho, commonly called currants, olives, pomegranates, citrons, oranges, lemons, grenadiers, and melons, and is in compaſs ſixty-eight miles, being diſtant from the fore promontory of Morea ſixteen miles.

The iſlanders are Greeks, a kind of ſubtle people, and great diſſemblers; but the ſigniory thereof belongeth

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eth to Venice. And if it were not for that great provision of corn which is daily transported from the firm land of Peloponnesus to them, the inhabitants in a short time would famish.

I was credibly informed here by the better sort, that this little isle maketh yearly (besides oil and wine) only of currants, one hundred and sixty thousand zechins, paying yearly over and above for custom, twenty-two thousand piasters, every zechin of gold being nine shillings English, and every piaster, being white money, six shillings: A rent or sum of money which these silly Islanders could never afford, (they being not above sixty years ago, but a base beggarly people, and an obscure place), if it were not for some liquorish lips here in England of late, who forsooth can hardly digest bread, pasties, broth, and (*verbi gratia*) bag-puddings, without these currants. And as these rascal Greeks becoming proud of late with this lavish expence, contemn justly this sensual prodigality, I have heard them often demand the English, in a filthy derision, what they did with such liquorish stuff, and if they carried them home to feed their swine and hogs withal. A question indeed worthy of such a female traffick; the inference of which I suspend: there is no other nation, save this, thus addicted to that miserable isle.

Bidding farewel to Zante, I imbarked in a frigato, going to Peteraffo in Morea, which of old was called *Peloponnesus*; and by the way, in the gulf Lepanto (which divideth Ætolia and Morea. The chief city in Ætolia is called *Lepanto*; from whence, westward by the sea-side is Delphos, famous for the oracle of Apollo), we sailed by the isles Echinades, but by modern writers Curzolari, where the Christians obtained the victory against the Turks; for there did they fight after this manner.

Christian generals.

In the year 1571, and the 6th of October, Don John of Austria, general for the Spanish gallies; Marco Antonio Colonna, for Pope Pius V.; and Sebastiano Venieco, for the Venetian army; convened altogether

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together in Largoſtolo at Cephalonia; having of all two hundred and eight gallies, ſix galleſſes, and twenty-five frigates.

After a moſt reſolute deliberation, theſe three generals went with a valiant courage to encounter with the Turkiſh armado, on the Sunday morning, the 7th of October; who, in the end, through the help of Chriſt, obtained a glorious victory. In that fight there was taken and drowned one hundred and eighty of Turkiſh gallies, and there eſcaped about the number of ſix hundred and fifty ſhips, galleys, galleots, and other veſſels: There was fifteen thouſand Turks killed, and four thouſand taken priſoners, beſides four thouſand pieces of ordnance, and twelve thouſand Chriſtians delivered from their ſlaviſh bondage. In all, the Chriſtians loſt but eleven gallies, and five thouſand ſlain. At their return to Largoſtolo, after this victorious battle, the three generals divided innumerable ſpoils, to their well-deſerving captains, and worthy ſoldiers.

The battle of Lepanto.

And notwithſtanding Don John led that Armado, yet ambition led him, in the midſt of that famous victory, to conceive a treacherous deſign to ſeize upon the caſtles of Corfu, under ſhew of the Venetian colours; which being diſcovered, and he diſappointed, he died for diſpleaſure in his return to Meſſina in Sicilia; where there his ſtatue ſtandeth to this day.

After my arrival in Peteraſſo, the metropolitan of Peloponneſus, I left the turmoiling dangers of the intricated iſles, of the Ionean and Adriatic ſeas, and reſolved to travel in the firm land of Greece, with a caravan of Greeks that was bound for Athens.

Peteraſſo is a large and ſpacious city, full of merchandiſe, and greatly beautified with all kind of merchants. Their chief commodities are raw ſilks, cloth of gold and ſilver, ſilken growgranes, rich damas, velvets of all kinds, with ſattins and taffeties, and eſpecially a girnel for grain: The Venetians, Raguſans, and Marſeilians, have great handling with them. Here I remember

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remember there was an Engliſh factor lying, whom the ſubbaſhaw, or governor of the town, a Turk, cauſed privately afterward, upon malice, to be poiſoned, even when I was wintering at Conſtantinople; for whoſe death the worthy and generous ambaſſador, Sir Thomas Glover, my patron and protector, was ſo highly incenſed, that he went thither himſelf to Peteraſſo, with two Janiſaries, and a warrant ſent with him from the Emperor, who, in the midſt of the market-place of Peteraſſo, cauſed one of the two Janiſaries to ſtrike off the head from the ſhoulders of that ſanzack; and put to death divers others alſo that had been acceſſory to the poiſoning of the Engliſh conſul; and the ambaſſador returning again to Conſtantinople, was held in ſingular reputation even with the Turks, for proſecuting ſo powerfully the courſe of juſtice, and would not ſhrink for no reſpect; I being domeſtic with him the ſelf ſame time.

Morea in Greece.

Peloponneſus, now called Morea, a peninſula, is all environed with the ſea, ſave only at a narrow ſtrait, where it is joined to the continent by an iſthmus of five miles in breadth; which the Venetians, then lord of it, fortified with five caſtles, and a ſtrong wall from creek to creek, which eaſily were ſubverted by the Turkiſh batteries, the defect only remaining in the defendant's weakneſs, and want of men. Corinth and its gulf lieth at the eaſt end of this iſthmus, and the gulf Lepanto on the weſt, dividing Ætolia and Epire. The wall which traverſed this ſtrait of Morea, was called *Pentamile*, five miles long: Truly it is one of the moſt famous *diſtroit du terre en Europe*. Morea itſelf is in length one hundred and ſixty eight, and in compaſs five hundred and forty-ſix miles, and is at this day the moſt fertile, and beſt inhabited province, of all the empire of Greece. The chief rivers here are, Arbona and Ropheus: Argos here is watered with the river Planizza, near which ſtandeth the town of Epidaure, wherein the temple of Eſculapius was ſo renowned for reſtoring of health to diſeaſed perſons. It

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was anciently called *Agalia*, from Agalius the firſt king, *anno mundi* 1574, and alſo intitled, from two kings, *Sicionia* and *Apia*, then Peloponneſus from Pelops, and now Morea. It is divided in five territories, or petty provinces, Laconia, Arcadia, Argolis, Miſenia, and Eliſo, the proper territory of Corinth; of which city it was ſaid,

Let men take heed of Lais, Corinth's whore,
Who earn'd ten thouſand drachmas in an hour. *Hor.*

The Strait of Morea.

It is ſaid by Æneas Silvius, in his Coſmographical Treatiſe of Europe, that divers kings went about to dig through this iſthmus, to make it an iſland, namely, King Demetrius, Julius Cæſar, Caius Caligula, and Domitius Nero; of all whom he doth note, that they not only failed of their purpoſe, but that they came to violent and unnatural deaths.

But before the aforeſaid Caravan at Peteraſſo admitted me into his company, he was wonderful inquiſitive to know for what cauſe I travelled alone, and of what nation I was. To whom I ſoberly excuſed, and diſcovered myſelf with modeſt anſwers, which pacified his curioſity, but not his avaricious mind; for, under a pretended protection he had of me, he extorted the moſt part of my money from my purſe, without any regard of conſcience.

In the firſt, ſecond, and third days journeying, we had fair day, hard lodging, but good cheer, and kind entertainment for our money; which was the country Laconia: but on the fourth day, when we entered in the hilly and barren country of Arcadia, where, for a day's journey, we had no village, but ſaw abundance of cattle without keepers; and in that place it is thought the great battle of Pharſalia was fought, between Julius Cæſar and Pompey the Great.

Arcadia.

Arcadia is bounded on the eaſt with Eliſo, on the weſt with Miſena, on the north with Achaia inferior, and on the ſouth

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ſouth with a part of Laconia, and the ſea: it was formerly termed *Pelaſgia*, and laſtly it took the name from Arcas, the ſon of Jupiter and Caliſto; the people whereof did long imagine, they were more ancient than the moon.

This ſoil of whom Arcas great patron was,
In age the moon excell'd, in wit the aſs.

But becauſe it is a tradition of more antiquity than credit, I do rather note it than affirm it. And as men ſhould dread the thunder-bolt, when they ſee the lightning; ſo ignorance and idolatry placed among us, and round about us, may be a warning to the profeſſors of the truth, to take heed to the venom, leſt, by their Arcadian antiquity ſurpaſſing the moon, they become novices to ſome new intended maſſacre: for as powder failed them, but alas! not poiſon; ſo now with policy they prevail in all things: how long the Holy One of Iſrael knoweth, but certainly our ſins are the cauſes of their domineering, and of our careleſs drooping.

In this deſert way I beheld many ſingular monuments, and ruinous caſtles, whoſe names I knew not, becauſe I had an ignorant guide: But this I remember, amongſt theſe rocks my belly was pinched, and wearied was my body, with the climbing of ſteep mountains, which bred no ſmall grief to my breaſt. Yet notwithſtanding of my diſtreſs, the remembrance of theſe ſweet-ſeaſoned ſongs of Arcadian ſhepherds, which pregnant poets have ſo well penned, did recreate my wearied body with many ſugared ſuppoſitions. Theſe ſterile bounds being paſt, we entered in the eaſtern plain of Morea, called anciently *Sparta*, where that ſometime famous city of Lacedemon flouriſhed, but now ſacked, and the lumps of ruins and memory only remains. Marching thus, we left Modena and Napoli on our right hand, toward the ſea-ſide, and on the ſixth day at night, we pitched our tents in the uninhabited villages of Argo and Mycenæ, from the which unhappy Helen was raviſhed.

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This curſed cuſtom of baſe proſtitution is become ſo frequent, that the greater ſort of her mercenary ſex, following her footſteps, have outgone her in their loathſome journeys of libidinous ways. She, being of ſuch an infinite and voluptuous crew the arch-miſtreſs and ringleader to deſtruction, did invite my muſe to inveigh againſt the laſcivious immodeſty, as the inordinate pattern of all willing and licentious rapes.

The rape of Helen.

I would thy beauty (faireſt of all dames)
Had never caus'd the jealous Greeks to move;
Thy eyes from Greece to Ilion caſt flames,
And burnt that Trojan with adult'rate love.
He, captive-like, thy mercy came to prove,
And thou divorced, was raviſh'd with a toy;
He ſwore fair Helen was his deareſt dove,
And thou a Paris ſwore for to enjoy.
Mourn may the ghoſts of ſometime ſtately Troy,
And curſe that day thou ſaw the Phrygian coaſt:
Thy letcherous luſt did Priam's pride deſtroy,
And many thouſands for thy ſake were loſt.
Was't nature, fortune, fancy, beauty, birth,
That croſs'd thee ſo, to be a croſs on earth.
Some of thy ſex, baptis'd with thy curs'd name,
Crown'd with thy fate, are part'ners in thy ſhame:
Helens are ſnakes which breed their lovers pain,
The maps of malice, murder, and diſdain:
Helens are gulphs, whence ſtreams of blood do flow,
Rapine, deceit, treaſon, and overthrow:
Helens are whores, whiles in a virgin's maſk,
They ſuck from Pluto, ſtern Proſerpine's taſk.
Curs'd be thou hell, for helliſh Heleps ſakes,
Still croſs'd and curs'd be they, that truſt ſuch ſnakes.

Here in Argos, I had the ground to be a pillow, and the world's wide fields to be a chamber, the whirling windy ſkies, to be a roof to my winter-blaſted lodging, and the humid vapours of cold Nocturna, to accompany the unwiſhed-for bed of my repoſe. What ſhall I

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I say then, the solid and sad man is not troubled with the floods and ebbs of fortune, the ill employed power of greatness, nor the fluctuating motions of the humourous multitude; or, at least, if he be sensible of his own, or their irregularities or confusions, yet his thoughts are not written in his face, his countenance is not significant, nor his miseries further seen than in his own private suffering; whereas the face and disposition of the feeble one, ever resembleth his last thoughts, and upon every touch, or taste of that which is displeasant, and follows not the streams of his appetite, his countenance deformeth itself, and, like the moon, is in as many changes as his fortune: but the noble resolution must follow Æneas's advice in all his adventures.

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus in Latium, &c.

By divers ways, and dangers, great we mind
To visit Latium, and Latinus kind.

In all this country of Greece, I could find nothing to answer the famous relations given by ancient authors of the excellency of that land, but the name only; the barbarousness of Turks and time having defaced all the monuments of antiquity. No shew of honour, no habitation of men in an honest fashion, nor professors of the country in a principality; but rather prisoners shut up in prisons, or addicted slaves to cruel and tyrannical masters; so deformed is the state of that once worthy realm, and so miserable is the burden of that afflicted people; which, and the appearance of that permanency, grieved my heart to behold the finister-working of blind Fortune, which always plungeth the most renowned champions, and their memory, in the profoundest pit of all extremities and oblivion.

Let the ghosts of that Theban Epaminondas, that Mirmidonean Philip, and these Epirean worthies, Pyrrhus and Scanderberg, be witnesses hereto; but especially that Macedonian Alexander, whose fortunes *Greek champions.*

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ever followed him, rather than fled him, till his diſſolution: wherein I may ſay, his greatneſs roſe like to a mighty and huge oak, being clad with the ſpoils and trophies of enemies, fenced with an army of boughs, garniſhed with a coat of bark, as hard as ſteel; deſpiſing the force and power of the winds, as being only able to dally with the leaves, and not to weaken the root. But the northern wind, that ſtrong champion of the airy region, ſecretly lurking in the vault of ſome hollow clouds, doth firſt murmur at this aſpiring oak, and then ſtriketh his creſt with ſome greater ſtrength; and laſtly, with the deepeſt breath of his lungs, doth blow up the root: even ſo it was with Alexander, who from a ſtripling came to be a cedar, and from the ſorrow of no more worlds, was ſoon cut off from the world he was in: For deſtiny is no man's drudge, and death is every man's conqueror, marching the ſceptre with the ſpade, and the crowned prince with the oppreſſed peaſant. And, in a word, there was never any to whom fortune did ſooner approach, nor never any from whom ſhe did ſo ſuddenly flee, than from Alexander, leaving a clear mirrour of the world's inconſtancy.

The Beglerbeg of Greece.

Now, as concerning the government of Greece, termed by the Turks *Rum Ili*, that is, the Roman country, it is ruled by a Beglerbeg, or Baſhaw. This word *Beglerbeg*, imports Lord of lords, in regard of the ſanzacks or Subbaſhaws under them, who alſo are termed *lords*; which is a barbarous pride in an ambitious ſtyle: This Beglerbeg of Greece retaineth his reſidence at Sophia, the metropolis of Bulgaria, formerly Dacia, and is the greateſt commander of all other Baſhaws in the Turkiſh provinces of Europe.

All other beglerbegs are changed every third year, or continued according to the imperial pleaſure, neither may they return from their ſtation during this time. But this baſhaw of Greece keepeth his government for his lifetime, and remaineth moſt at court: He reſerveth under his command, forty thouſand Timariots,

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mariots, or horſemen, led under the conduct of twenty-two ſanzacks, or judges deputies of juriſdictions; to wit, two in Albania, at the towns Ilcodera and Ancolina; two in Achaia, at Deluina and Albaſſan; three in Theſſalia, at Priaſim, Salonica, and Trichola; two in Sparta, at Miſietra and Paleopatra; three in Macedonia, at Carmona, Seliſtria, and Giaſtandila; one in Moldavia, at Acheranma; in Bulgaria, one at Sophia; in Thracia, one at Viazza; in Epyre, one at Ducagina; in Ætolia, one at Ioanina; in Peloponneſus, one at Peteraſſo; the reſt are, Uſopia, Nycopolis, Corinth, and Bandera, towards the Black ſea, and towards the northward of Danubio, at his kiſſing the Euxine waves. This much for the Beglerbeg-ſhip of Greece, and the provinces thereunto adjoining.

Departing from Argos, upon the ſeventh day we arrived at Athens. Athens is ſtill inhabited, ſtanding on the eaſt part of Peloponneſus, near to the frontiers of Macedon, or Theſſaly, by the ſea-ſide. It was firſt called *Cecropia*, of one Cecrops, the firſt king thereof, who [illegible] founded it *anno mundi* 2409. It was after mightily enlarged by Theſeus, and well provided with good laws by Solon, and laſtly Athens of Minerva: in whoſe honour, for a long time, were celebrated ſolemn plays, called *Panathanaia*. Athens is now termed *Salenos*, and was once the ſhrill ſounding trumpet of Mars, yielding more valiant captains and commanders, than any city in the world, Rome excepted. It was a cuſtom here, that when any man was grown too wealthy or potent, he was baniſhed thence for ten years. This exile was intitled *oſtraciſm*, becauſe his name who was abandoned, was written in an oyſter-ſhell. Great combuſtions and mutinies have happened between Lacedemon and Athens; at laſt it was ſacked by Lyſander, and her virgin-body proſtituted to the luſt of thirty inſulting tyrants; not long after whoſe expulſion, it was utterly ſubdued by the Macedonians. *Athens.*

And, in a word, Athens being ſtained with inteſtine bloodſheds, and grievouſly diſcontented with the death of

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of her children; her babes were brought forth for the ſword to glut upon, the bodies of her ancients were made as pavements to walk upon, her matrons became a prey and prize to every raviſher, and her prieſts and ſacrificers were ſlain before the gates of their temples.

This city was the mother and well-ſpring to all liberal arts and ſciences; and the great ciſtern of Europe, whence flowed ſo many conduit-pipes of learning every where, but now altogether decayed. The circuit of old Athens hath been, according to the fundamental walls yet extant, about ſix Italian miles; but now of no great quantity, nor many dwelling-houſes therein, being within two hundred fire-houſes, having a caſtle, which formerly was the temple of Minerva. They have abundance of all things requiſite for the ſuſtenance of human life, of which I had no ſmall proof: For theſe Athenians or Greeks, exceeding kindly banquetted me four days, and furniſhed me with neceſſary proviſion for my voyage to Creta; and alſo tranſported me by ſea in a brigandino freely, and on their own charges to Serigo, being forty-four miles diſtant.

After my redounded thanks, they having returned the contemplation on their courteſies, brought me in remembrance, how curious the old Athenians were to hear of foreign news, and with what great regard and eſtimation they honoured travellers, of which, as yet, they are no wiſe defective.

Serigo is an iſland in the ſea Cretico. It was anciently called *Cytherea*, of Cithero, the ſon of Phæniſe; and of Ariſtotle *Porphyris*, or *Schotera*, in reſpect of the fine marble that is got there: It is ſixty miles in circuit, having but one caſtle called *Capſallo*, which is kept by a Venetian captain. Here it is ſaid, that Venus did firſt inhabit; and I ſaw the ruins of her demoliſhed temple, on the ſide of a mountain yet extant.

Serigo.

A little more downward, below this old adored temple of Venus, are the relicks of that place wherein Menelaus did dwell, who was king of Sparta, and Lord of

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of this isle. The Greeks of this island told me there were wild asses there, who had a stone in their heads, which was a sovereign remedy for the falling sickness, and good to make a woman be quickly delivered of her birth. I made afterwards deeper inquiry for it, to have either seen or bought it, but for my life I could never attain to any perfect knowledge thereof.

In the time of my abode at the village of Capsallo, (being a haven for small barks, and situate below the castle), the captain of that same fortress killed a seminary priest, whom he had found in the night with his whore in a brothel-house; for the which sacrilegious murder, the governor of the isle deposed the captain, and banished him, causing a boat to be prepared to send him to Creta. O! if all the priests which do commit incest, adultery, and fornication, (yea, and worse; *Il peccato carnale contra natura*), were thus handled and severely rewarded, what a sea of Sodomitical irreligious blood would overflow the [illegible] of Europe, to stain the spotted colour of that Roman beast. Truly, and yet more, these lascivious friars are the very epicures or offscourings of the earth; for how oft have I heard them say, one to another? *Allegre, allegre, mio caro fratello, chi ben mangia, ben beve, &c.* That is, "Be chearful, be chearful, dear brother, he that eateth well drinketh well, he that drinketh well sleepeth well, he that sleepeth well sinneth not, and he that sinneth not, goeth straight through purgatory to paradise." This is all the care of their living, making their tongues to utter what their hearts thus profanely think, *Ede, bibe, dormi, post mortem nulla voluptas*; and it is well observed of this monachal and licentious life,

A priest slain in a brothel.

Non male sunt Monachis grato indita nomina patrum,
Cum numerent natos hic et ubique suos.

Unjustly, no! monks be call'd fathers, why?
Their bastards swarm as thick as stars in sky.

In

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In the aforeſaid boat I alſo imbarked with the captain, and ſailed by the little Iſoletta of Serigota. Leaving Capo di Spado on our left hand, we arrived at Carabuſa with extreme fortune, being fiercely purſued by three Turkiſh galleots. Between Serigo and Carabuſa, we had one hundred and fifty-two miles of dangerous and tempeſtuous ſeas.

PART

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PART III.

Now Creta comes, the Mediterranean queen,
To my fought view, where golden Ida's ſeen,
Cut with the lab'rinth of th' old Minotaur.
Thence trac'd I all the Cyclads fifty four:
With Nigropont and Theſſaly amain,
Macedon, Parnaſſus, the Achaian plain;
Tenedos and Troy, long Phrygia fix'd,
Seſtos, Abidos, Adrianople vex'd;
Colchis, fall'n Thebes, Helleſpont, and more,
Conſtantinople, earth's beſt ſovereign glore,
The Euxine ſea, and Pompey's pillar preſt;
In Peru then I'll take my winter's reſt.

THE iſle of Candy, formerly called *Creta*, hath to the north, the Ægean ſea; to the weſt, the Ionian ſea; to the ſouth, the Libique ſea; and to the eaſt, the Carpathian ſea. It lieth mid-way betwixt Achaia in Greece, and Cyrene in Afric, not being diſtant from the one, nor from the other, above two days ſailing. It is a moſt famous and ancient kingdom. By modern writers it is called *Queen of the Mediterranean iſles*. It had of old an hundred cities, whereof it had the name *Hecatompolis*, but now only four, Candia, Canea, Rethimos, and Scythia; the reſt are but villages and bourges. It is of length, to wit, from Capo Ermico in the weſt, called by Pliny *Frons arietis*, and Capo Salamone in the eaſt, two hundred and forty miles, ſixty broad, and of circuit ſix hundred and fifty miles. *The antiquity of Candy.*

This is the chief dominion belonging to the Venetian republic. In every one of theſe four cities there is a governor, and two counſellors, ſent from Venice every

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very two years. The country is divided into four parts, under the jurisdiction of the four cities, for the better administration of justice. And they have a general, who commonly remaineth in the city of Candy, (like to a viceroy), who deposeth or imposeth magistrates, captains, soldiers, officers, and others whatsoever, in the behalf of St Mark, or Duke of Venice. The Venetians detain continually a strong guard, divided in companies, squadrons, and garrisons, in the cities and fortresses of the island; which do extend to the number of twelve thousand soldiers, kept, not only for the incursion of Turks, but also for fear of the Cretes, or inhabitants, who would rather (if they could) surrender to the Turks, than live under the subjection of Venice, thinking thereby to have more liberty, and less taxed under the Infidel, than now they are under the Christian.

This isle produceth the best Malvasie, Muscadine, and Leatic wines, that are in the whole universe. It yieldeth oranges, lemons, melons, citrons, grenadiers, Adam's apples, raisins, olives, dates, honey, sugar, Vua di tre volte, and all other kinds of fruit in abundance. But the most part of the corns are brought yearly from Archipelago and Greece. The chief rivers are Cataracho, Melipotomos, Escasino; being all of them shallow and discommodious for shipping, in respect of their short courses, and rocky passages; and the principal cities of old were Gnassus, where Minos kept his court, 2. Cortina, 3. Aphra and Cydonia. This country was by Marcellus made subject to the Romans. It was afterward given by Baldwin Earl of Flanders, the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, to Boniface of Montferrat, who sold it *anno* 1194 to the Venetians.

The rivers of Candy.

Thus much of the isle in general; and now in respect of my travelling two times through the bounds of the whole kingdom, which was never before atchieved by any traveller in Christendom; I will, as briefly as I can, in particular, relate a few of those miseries endured by

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by me in this land, with the nature and quality of the people.

This aforesaid Carabusa is the principal fortress of Creta, being of itself invincible, and is not unlike to the castle of Dunbarton, which standeth at the mouth of Clyde; upon which river the ancient town of Lanerk is situated. For this fort is environed with a rock higher than the walls, and joineth close with Capo Ermico. Having learned of the thievish way I had to Canea, I advised to put my money in exchange; which the captain of that strength very courteously performed; and would also have dissuaded me from my purpose, but I by no persuasion of him would stay. From thence departing all alone, scarcely was I advanced twelve miles in my way, when I was beset on the skirt of a rocky mountain, with three Greek murdering renegadoes, and an Italian bandido; who laying hands on me, beat me most cruelly, robbed me of my cloaths, and stripped me naked, threatening me with many grievous speeches.

The old and famous town of Lanerk.

At last the respective Italian, perceiving I was a stranger, and could not speak the Cretan tongue, began to ask me, in his own language, where was my money? To whom I soberly answered, I had no more than he saw, which was eighty bagantines; which scarcely amounted to two groats English. But he not giving credit to these words, searched all my cloaths and budgeto, yet found nothing except my linen, and letters of recommendation I had from divers princes of Christendom, especially the Duke of Venice, whose subjects they were, if they had been lawful subjects. Which, when he saw, did move him to compassion, and earnestly intreated the other three thieves to grant me mercy, and to save my life. A long deliberation being ended, they restored back again my pilgrim's cloaths, and letters, but my blue gown and bagantines they kept. Such also was their thievish courtesy toward me, that, for my better safeguard in the way, they gave

A happy deliverance.

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gave me a ſtamped piece of clay, as a token to ſhow any of their companions, if I encountered with any of them; for they were about twenty raſcals of a confederate band that lay in this deſart paſſage.

Leaving them with many counterfeit thanks, I travelled that day ſeven and thirty miles, and at night attained to the unhappy village of Pickehorno, where I could have neither meat, drink, lodging, nor any refreſhment to my wearied body. Theſe deſperate Candiots thronged about me, gazing (as though aſtoniſhed) to ſee me both want company, and their language, and by their cruel looks they ſeemed to be a barbarous and uncivil people; for all theſe highlanders of Candy are tyrannical, blood-thirſty, and deceitful. The conſideration of which, and the appearance of my death, ſignified to me ſecretly by a pitiful woman, made me to ſhun their villany, in ſtealing forth from them in the dark night, and privately ſought for a ſecure place of repoſe in an umbrageous cave by the ſea ſide, where I lay till morning, with a fearful heart, a crazed body, a thirſty ſtomach, and a hungry belly.

Cruel Candiots.

Upon the appearing of the next Aurora, and when the welkin had put aſide the vizard of the night, the ſtars being covered, and the earth diſcovered by the ſun, I embraced my unknown way, and about midday came to Canea. Canea is the ſecond city of Crete, called anciently *Cydon*, being exceeding populous, well walled, and fortified with bulwarks. It hath a large caſtle, containing ninety-ſeven palaces, in which the rector and other Venetian gentlemen dwell. There lie continually in it ſeven companies of ſoldiers, who keep centinel on the walls, guard the gates and market-places of the city. Neither in this town nor Candia may any country peaſant enter with weapons, (eſpecially harquebuſſes), for that conceived fear they have of treaſon. Truly this city may equal in ſtrength either Zara in Dalmatia, or Luka, or Leghorn, both in Tuſcany, or matchleſs Palma in Friuli; for theſe five

Invincible Canea.

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five cities are so strong, that in all my travels I never saw them matched. They are all well provided with abundance of artillery, and all things necessary for their defence; especially Luka, which continually reserves in store provision of victuals for twelve years siege.

In my first abode in Canea, being a fortnight, there came six galleys from Venice; upon one of which there was a young French gentleman, a Protestant, born near Montpellier in Languedock; who being by chance in company with other four of his countrymen in Venice, one of them killed a young noble Venetian, about the quarrel of a courtesan. Whereupon they flying to the French ambassador's house, the rest escaped, and he only apprehended by a fall in his flight, was afterward condemned by the senators to the galleys during life. Now, the galleys lying here six days, he got leave of the captain to come ashore with a keeper, when he would, carrying an iron bolt on his leg. In which time we falling in acquaintance, he complained heavily of his hard fortune, and how, because he was a Protestant, (besides his slavery), he was severely abused in the galley, sighing forth these words with tears, "Lord have mercy upon me, and grant me patience; for neither friends nor money can redeem me." At which expression I was both glad and sorrowful, the one moving my soul to exult in joy for his religion, the other, for his misfortunes, working a Christian compassion for intolerable affliction. For I was in Venice at the same time when this accident fell out, yet would not tell him so much; but pondering seriously his lamentable distress, I secretly advised him the manner how he might escape, and how far I would hazard the liberty of my life for his deliverance, desiring him to come ashore early the next morning. Meanwhile I went to an old Greekish woman, with whom I was friendly inward, for she was my landress; and reciting to her the whole business, she willingly condescended to lend me an old gown, and a black veil for his disguise.

A religious comfort.

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The time come, and we met, the matter was difficult to ſhake off the keeper; but ſuch was my plot, I did invite him to the wine, where, after tractal diſcourſes, and deep draughts of Leatic, reaſon failing, ſleep overcame his ſenſes. Whereupon, conducting my friend to the appointed place, I diſburdened him of his irons, cloathed him in a female habit, and ſent him out before me, conducted by the Greekiſh woman; and when ſecurely paſt both guards and gate, I followed, carrying with me his cloaths, where, when accoſting him by a field of olives, and the other returned back, we ſpeedily croſſed the vale of Suda, and interchanging his apparel, I directed him the way, over the mountains, to a Greekiſh convent, on the ſouth ſide of the land, a place of ſafe-guard, commonly called *the monaſtery of refuge*; where he would kindly be entertained, till either the galleys, or men of war of Malta, arrived; it being a cuſtom, at their going or coming from the Levant, to touch here, to relieve and carry away diſtreſſed men. This is a place whereunto banditti, men-ſlayers, and robbers, repair for relief.

A place of refuge.

After receiving many joyful thanks from him, I returned, keeping the highway, where immediately I encountered two Engliſh ſoldiers, John Smith and Thomas Hargrave, coming of purpoſe to inform me of my imminent danger, ſhewing me, that all the officers of the galleys, with a number of ſoldiers, were in ſearching the city, and hunting all over the fields for me. After which relation, conſulting with them what way I could come to the Italian monaſtery, St Salvator, for there I lay, (the town affording neither lodging nor beds), they anſwered me, they would venture their lives for my liberty, and I ſhould enter at the eaſtern (the leaſt frequented) gate of the city, where three other Engliſhmen were that day on guard; for ſo there were five of them here in garriſon: where, when we came, the other Engliſh, accompanied with eight French ſoldiers, their familiars, came along with us alſo. And having

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having passed the market-place, and near my lodging, four officers, and six galley-soldiers, run to lay hands on me; whereat the English and French unsheathing their swords, valiantly resisted their fury, and deadly wounded two of the officers; meanwhile fresh supply coming from the galleys, John Smith run along with me to the monastery, leaving the rest at pell-mell, to intercept their following. At last the captains of the garrison approaching the tumult, relieved their own soldiers, and drove back the other to the galleys. A little thereafter the general of the galleys came to the monastery, and examined me concerning the fugitive; but I clearing myself so, and quenching the least suspicion he might conceive, (notwithstanding of my accusers), he could lay nothing to my charge. Howsoever it was, he seemed somewhat favourable, partly because I had the Duke of Venice his passport, partly because of my intended voyage to Jerusalem, partly because he was a great favourer of the French nation, and partly because he could not mend himself, in regard of my shelter, and the governor's favour; yet, nevertheless, I detained myself under the safeguard of the cloyster, until the galleys were gone.

Cloysters are safeguards.

Being here disappointed of transportation to Archipelago, I resolved to visit Candy; and in my way I passed by the large haven of Suda, which hath no town or village, save only a castle, situated on a rock in the sea, at the entry of the bay. The bounds of that harbour may receive at one time above two thousand ships and galleys, and is the only key of the island; for the which place the King of Spain hath oft offered an infinite deal of money to the Venetians, whereby his navy, which sometimes resort in the Levant, might have access and relief; but they would never grant him his request: which policy of his was only to have surprised the kingdom.

South-west from this famous harbour, lieth a pleasant plain, named *the valley of Suda*. It is twenty Italian miles long,

The pleasant valley of Suda

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and two of breadth; and I remember, as I descended to cross the valley, and pass the haven, I thought the whole plain resembled to me a green sea; and that was only by reason of infinite olive-trees growing there, whose boughs and leaves overtop all other fructiferous trees in that plain. The villages, for loss of ground, are all built on the skirts of rocks upon the south side of the valley; yea, and so difficult to climb them, and so dangerous to dwell in them, that I thought their lives were in like peril, as he who was adjoined to sit under the point of a two-handed sword, and it hanging by the hair of a horse's tail.

I told along these rocks, at one time, and within my sight, sixty-seven villages; but when I entered the valley, I could not find a foot of ground unmanured, save a narrow passing way wherein I was. The olives, pomegranates, dates, figs, oranges, lemons, and pomi del Adamo, growing all promiscuously. And at the roots of which trees grew wheat, malvasie, muscadine, Leatic wines, grenadiers, carnobiers, melons, and all other sorts of fruits, herbs, the earth can yield to man, that for beauty, pleasure, and profit, it may be called the garden of the whole universe, being the goodliest plot, the diamond spark, and the honey spot, of all Candy. There is no land more temperate for air, for it hath a double spring-tide; no soil more fertile, and therefore it is called *the combat of Bacchus and Ceres*; no region or valley more hospitable, in regard of the sea, having such a noble haven cut through its bosom, being, as it were, the very resting place of Neptune.

Upon the third days journey from Canea, I came to Rethimos. This city is somewhat ruinous, and unwalled, but the citizens have newly builded a strong fortress; but rather done by the State of Venice, which defendeth them from the invasion of pirates. It standeth by the sea side; and in the year 1597, it was miserably sacked and burned with Turks.

Mount Ida. Continuing my voyage, I passed along the skirt of Mount Ida, accompanied with

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with Greeks, who could ſpeak the Italian tongue; on which, firſt, they ſhewed me the cave of King Minos, but ſome hold it to be the ſepulchre of Jupiter. That grotto was of length eighty paces, and eight broad. This Minos was ſaid to be the brother of Radamanthus and Sarpedon; who, after their ſucceſſion to the kingdom, eſtabliſhed ſuch equitable laws, that, by poets, they are feigned, with Æacus, to be the judges of hell. I ſaw alſo there, the place where Jupiter (as they ſay) was nouriſhed by Amalthea, which by Greeks is recited, as well as Latin poets.

Thirdly, they ſhewed me the temple of Saturn, which is a work to be admired, of ſuch antiquity, and as yet undecayed; who (ſay they) was the firſt king that inhabited there, and father to Jupiter. And near to it is the demoliſhed temple of Matelia, having this ſuperſcription above the door, yet to be ſeen: "Make clean your feet, waſh your hands, and enter." Fourthly, I ſaw the entry into the labyrinth of Dedalus, which I would gladly have better viewed; but becauſe we had no candle light, we durſt not enter; for there are many hollow places within it; ſo that if a man ſtumble or fall, he can hardly be reſcued: it is cut out with many intricating ways, on the face of a little hill, joining with Mount Ida, having many doors and pillars. Here it was where Theſeus, by the help of Ariadne, the daughter of King Minos, taking a bottom of thread, and tying the one end at the firſt door, did enter and ſlay the Minotaurus, who was included there by Dedalus. This Minotaur is ſaid to have been begot by the lewd and luxurious Paſiphae, who doted on a white bull. *Dedalus's labyrinth.*

Mount Ida is the higheſt mountain in Creta; and, by the computation of ſhepherds feet, amounteth to ſix miles of height: It is overclade even to the top with cypreſs trees, and good ſtore of medicinable herbs; inſomuch, that the beaſts which feed thereupon, have their teeth gilded like to the colour of gold. Mount Ida, of old, was called *Phelorita*, by ſome *Caduſſa*, but

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modernly *Madura*. It is ſaid by ſome hiſtorians, that no venemous animal can live in this iſle; but I ſaw the contrary; for I killed on a Sunday morning, hard by the ſea-ſide, and within two miles of Rethimos, two ſerpents and a viper; one of which ſerpents was above a yard and half in length; for they being all three rolling within the coverture of the dry ſands, my right leg was almoſt in their reverence, before I remarked the danger: Wherefore many build upon falſe reports, but experience teacheth men the truth.

Hiſtorian errors.

Some report, that if a woman here bite a man any thing hard, he will never recover; and that there is an herb, called *Allimos*, in this iſland, which if one chew in his mouth, he ſhall not feel hunger for four and twenty hours; all which are mere fables; ſuch is the darkneſs of cloudy inventions.

Deſcending from this mountain, I entered into a fair plain, beautified with many villages; in one of which, I found a Grecian biſhop, who kindly preſented me with grapes of malvaſie, and other things, for it was in the time of their vintage. To carry theſe things he had given me, he cauſed to make ready an aſs, and a ſervant, who went with me to Candy, which was more than fifteen miles from his houſe. True it is, that the beſt ſort of Greeks, in viſiting other, do not uſe to come empty handed, neither will they ſuffer a ſtranger to depart without both gifts and convoy.

I remember along this faſſinous and marine paſſage, I found three fountains guſhing forth of a rock, each one within a yard of other, having three ſundry taſtes: the firſt water was exceeding light and ſweet; the middle, or ſecond, marvellous ſour and heavy; the third was bitter, and extraordinary ſalt; ſo that in ſo ſhort bounds, ſo great difference I never found before nor afterward.

Candy is diſtant from Canea a hundred miles, Rethimos being half way betwixt both; ſo is Candy half way, in the ſame meaſure, betwixt Rethimos and Scythia;

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thia; and Canea the like betwixt Rethimos and Carabuſa, being in all two hundred miles.

Candy is a large and famous city, formerly called *Matium*, ſituated on a plain by the ſeaſide, having a goodly haven for ſhips, and a fair arſenal wherein are thirty-ſix galleys: It is exceeding ſtrong, and daily guarded with two thouſand ſoldiers, and the walls in compaſs are about three leagues. *The city of Candy.*

In this time there was no viceroy, the former being newly dead, and the place vacant, the ſoldiers kept a bloody quarter among themſelves, or againſt any whomſoever their malignity was intended; for in all the time I ſtaid there, being ten days, it was nothing to ſee every day four or five men killed in the ſtreets: neither could the rector nor the captains help it, ſo tumultuous were the diſordered ſoldiers, and the occaſions of revenge and quarrellings ſo frequent. This commonly they practiſed in every ſuch vacation, which, otherwiſe, they durſt never attempt without death, and ſevere puniſhment; and truly I thought it was as barbarous a governed place, for the time, as ever I ſaw in the world; for hardly could I ſave my own life free from their dangers, in the which I was twice miſerably involved.

Candy is diſtant from Venice thirteen hundred miles, from Conſtantinople ſeven hundred, from Famaguſta in Cyprus ſix hundred, from Alexandria in Egypt five hundred, from Tripoli in Syria ſeven hundred, from Naples nine hundred, from Malta five hundred, from Smyrna in Carmania of Natolia four hundred, and from the city of Jeruſalem nine hundred miles. The Candiots, through all the iſland, make muſter every eighth day, before the ſerjeant-majors, or officers of the general, and are well provided with all ſorts of armour; yea, and the moſt valorous people that have the name of Greeks. It was told me by the rector of Candy, that they may raiſe in arms of the inhabitants, (not reckoning the garriſons), *Diſtances from Candy.*

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above ſixty thouſand men all able for wars, with fifty-four galleys, and twenty-four galleots for the ſea.

In all my travels through this realm, I never could ſee a Greek come forth of his houſe unarmed; and after ſuch a martial manner, that on his head he weareth a bare ſteel-cap, a bow in his hand, a long ſword by his ſide, a broad poniard athwart his belly, and a round target hanging at his girdle. They are not coſtly in apparel, for they wear but linen cloaths, and uſe no ſhoes, but boots of white leather, to keep their legs, in the fields, from the pricks of a kind of thiſtle, wherewith the country is overcharged, like unto little buſhes, or ſhort ſhrubs, which are marvellous ſharp and offenſive unto the inhabitants, whereof, often in a day, to my great harm, I found their bloody ſmart: The women generally wear linen breeches, as men do, and boots after the ſame manner, and their linen coats no longer than the middle of their thighs, and are inſatiably inclined to venery; ſuch is the nature of the ſoil and climate. The ancient Cretans were ſuch notable liars, that the Heathen poet Epimenides, yea, and the apoſtle Paul, in his epiſtle to Titus, did term them to have been, "ever liars, evil beaſts, and ſlow bellies;" whence ſprung theſe proverbs; as, *Cretenſe mendacium*; and, *Cretiſandum eſt cum Cretenſibus*.

Cretes turn critics.

The Candiots are excellent good archers, ſurpaſſing all the oriental people therein, courageous and valiant upon the ſea, as in former times they were; and they are naturally inclined to ſinging; ſo that commonly after meat, man, wife, and child, of each family, will, for the ſpace of an hour, ſing with ſuch an harmony, as is wonderful melodious to the hearer; yea, and they cannot forgo the cuſtom of it.

Their harveſt is our ſpring; for they manure the ground and ſow the ſeed in October, which is reaped in March and April. Being fruſtrate of my intention at Candy, I was forced to return to Canea the ſame way I went; when come, I was exceeding merry with my

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my old friends the Engliſhmen: Mean while there arrived from Tunis, in Barbary, an Engliſh runagate, named *Wolſon*, bound for Rhodes; where, after ſhort acquaintance with his natives, and underſtanding what I was, he imparted theſe words; "I have had my elder brother, ſaid he, the maſter (or captain) of a ſhip, ſlain at Burntiſland in Scotland, by one called *Keere*; and notwithſtanding he was beheaded, I have long ſince ſworn to be revenged of my brother's death, on the firſt Scotiſhman I ever ſaw or met; and my deſign is to ſtab him with a knife this night, as he goeth late home to his lodging, deſiring their aſſiſtance: but Smith, Hargrave, and Horſperld refuſed, yet Cook and Rollands yielded. Meanwhile, Smith knowing where I uſed ſometimes to diet, found me at ſupper in a ſutler's, a ſoldier's houſe, where, acquainting me of this plot, the hoſt, he, and three Italian ſoldiers, conveyed me to my bed, paſſing by the arch villain and his confederates, where he was prepared for the miſchief, which, when he ſaw his treachery was diſcovered, he fled away, and was ſeen no more here.

An Engliſh runagate.

Remarking the fidelity and kindneſs that Smith had twice ſhewed me, firſt in freeing me from the danger of galley-ſlavery, and now in ſaving my life, I reſolved to do him a good deed in ſome part of acquittance; and thus it was: At his firſt coming to Venice, he was taken up as a ſoldier for Candy; where, when tranſported, within a ſmall time he found the captain's promiſe and performance different, which forced him at the beginning to borrow a little money of his lieutenant: the five years of their abode expired, and freſh companies came from Venice to exhibit the charge, Smith, not being able to diſcharge his debt, was turned over to the new captain for five years more, who paid the old captain his money; and his time alſo worn out, the third captain came, where likewiſe he was put in his hands, ſerving him five years longer.

Smith relieved from a long bondage.

Thus

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Thus having ſerved three captains fifteen years, and never likely able (for a ſmall trifle) to attain his liberty, I went to the captain and paid his debt, obtaining alſo of the rector his licence to depart; and the allowance of the ſtate for his paſſage, which was wine and biſcuit-bread: Thereafter I embarked him for Venice in a Flemiſh ſhip, the maſter being a Scotchman, John Allan, born in Glaſgow, and dwelt at Middleborough in Zeland. His debt was only forty-eight ſhillings Sterling.

Here I ſtaid in Canea twenty-five days before I could get paſſage for the Arch-iſlands, being purpoſed for Conſtantinople; but gladly would not have left the monaſtery of theſe four friars, with whom I was lodged, if it had not been for my deſigns; in regard of their great cheer, and deep draughts of Malvaſie I received hourly, and oftentimes againſt my will. Every night after ſupper, the friars forced me to dance with them, either one gagliard or other. Their muſic in the end was ſound drunkenneſs, and their ſyncopa turned to ſpew up all, and their bed converted to a board, or elſe the hard floor; for theſe beaſtly ſwine, were nightly ſo full, that they had never power to go to their own chambers, but where they fell, there they lay till the morn. The cloyſter itſelf had two fair courts, the leaſt of which might have lodged any king of Europe. The church was little, and, among the four friars, there was but one maſs-prieſt, being a Greek, born and turned to the Roman faction; his new name was Pattarras Matecarras, Pater Libenter, or father of free will, indeed a right name for ſo ſottiſh a fellow, for he was ſo free of his ſtomach, to receive in ſtrong liquor, that for the ſpace of twenty days of my being there, I never ſaw him, nor any one of the other three, truly ſober. Many odd merriments and jeſts have I obſerved of theſe friars of Candy, but time will not ſuffer me to relate them; only remitting the reſt of my private diſcourſe, a fig for their folly.

Drunken friars.

I travelled on foot in this iſle more than four hundred

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dred miles, and upon the fifty-eighth day after my first coming to Carabusa, I imbarked in a fisher-boat that belonged to Milo, being a hundred miles distant, which had been violently driven thither with stormy weather.

And in our passing thither, we were in danger to be over-run, two several times, with two huge broken seas, which twice covered the body of the close boat; yet with extreme fortune we arrived at Milo, in a bay of the east corner of the isle, being about St Andrew's day where the poor Greeks took me up to their village, two miles distant from this creek, and I abode with them four days.

Milo was called by Aristotle *Melada*, and by others *Mimalida*, *Melos*; and lastly, *Milo*, because of the fine mill-stones that are got there, which are transported to Constantinople, Greece, and Natolia. This isle is one of the isles Cyclades or Sporades, but more commonly Archipelago, or the Arch-islands, and standeth in the mouth of the Ægean sea: The inhabitants are Greeks, but slaves to the Turk, and so are all the fifty-four isles of the Cyclades, save only Tino, which holdeth of the Venetians. *Milo.*

From Milo I came to Zephano in a small boat, an island in circuit about twenty miles, and ten miles distant from Milo. The inhabitants are poor, yet kind people. There are an infinite number of partridges within this isle, of a reddish colour, and bigger than ours in Britain. They are wild, and only killed by small shot; but I have seen, in other islands, flocks of them feeding in the fields, and usually kept by children. Some others I have seen in the streets of villages, without any keeper, even as our hens do with us. I saw fountains here that naturally yield fine oil, which is the greatest advantage the islanders have.

Zephano did once produce the calamita, and was renowned for the fine mines of gold and silver, of which now it is altogether desolate. There is also fine sulphur here, *Zephano.*

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and exceeding good marble; from whence Lucullus was the firſt that tranſported it to Rome. There is a certain ground in this iſle, where, it is ſaid, that if any take it away, or dig deep holes, the earth of itſelf, in a ſmall time, will ſurcreaſe without any aid of man. Eaſt from Milo and Zephano lie the iſles Policando, and Chriſtiana, formerly Laguſo, Sicandro; and Safurnino, anciently Caliſtha, famous for the birth of the poet Callimachus.

Parir.

From thence I imbarked, and arrived at Anguſa in Parir. This iſle is forty miles long, and ſix miles broad, being plentiful enough in all neceſſary things for the uſe of man. It was anciently called Demetriado, whoſe length lieth ſouth-weſt and north eaſt: And hard by the high mountain of Camphaſia, near to Anguſa, on a fair valley, ſtandeth the ancient temple of Venus, never a whit decayed to this day. This iſle was given to the Venetians by Henry the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor, and brother to Baldwin Earl of Flanders, and it was ſeized upon by Mahomet, when Nigropont, and divers other iſles, were ſurprized from the Venetians.

In Anguſa I ſtaid ſixteen days ſtorm-ſted with northerly winds; and in all that time I never went to bed: for my lodging was in a little chapel, a mile without the village, on hard ſtones; where I alſo had a fire, and dreſſed my meat. The Greeks viſited me oftentimes, and intreated me above all things, I ſhould not enter within the bounds of their ſanctuary; becauſe I was not of their religion. But I, in regard of the longſome and cold nights, was forced every night to creep in, in the midſt of the ſanctuary, to keep myſelf warm, which ſanctuary was nothing but an altar hemmed in with a partition-wall, about my height, dividing the little room from the body of the chapel.

Theſe miſerable iſlanders, are a kind of ſilly poor people, which, in their behaviour, ſhewed me the neceſſity they had to live, rather than any pleaſure in their living. From thence I imbarked in a ſmall bark of ten tuns, come from Scythia in Candy, and loaden with

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with oil; and about mid day we arrived in the isle of Mecanto, where we but only dined, and so set forward to Zea.

This Mecanto was formerly called Delos, famous for the temple of Apollo, being the chief isle of the Cyclades, the rest of the fifty-four encircling it. Delos signifieth apparent, because, at the request of Juno, when all the earth had abjured the receipt of Latona, this island, then under the water, was by Jupiter erected aloft, and fixed to receive her; wherein she was delivered of Apollo and Diana.

Latona received in Delos.

——*erratica Delos, &c.* Ovid.

Unsettled Delos, floating on the main,
Did wand'ring Laton kindly entertain;
In spite of Juno, farned with Jove's balm;
Was brought to bed, under Minerva's palm.

In this isle they retain a custom, neither permitting men to die, or children to be born in it; but always when men fall sick, and women grow great bellied, they send them to Rhena, a small isoletta, and two miles distant.

Zea, to which we arrived from Mecano, was so called of Zelo, the son of Phebo, and of some *Tetrapoli*, because of the four cities that were there of old. Simonides the poet, and Erasistrato the excellent physician, were born in it. The next isle of any note we touched at was Tino. This island is under the signiory of Venice, and was some time beautified with the temple of Neptune. By Aristotle it was called *Idrusa*, of Demosthenes and Eschines *Erusea*. It hath an impregnable castle, built on the top of a high rock, towards the east end or promontory of the isle, and ever provided with three years provision, and a garrison of two hundred soldiers; so that the Turks by no means can conquer it. The island itself is twenty miles in length,

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length, and a great refuge for all Christian ships and galleys that haunt in the Levant.

From this isle I came to Palmosa, formerly Patmos, which is a mountainous and barren island. It was here that St John wrote the Revelation, after he was banished by Domitianus the Emperor. Thence I imbarked to Nicaria, and sailed by the isle Scyro, which of old was the signiory of Licomedes; and in the habit of a woman was Achilles brought up here, because his mother being by an oracle premonished, that he should be killed in the Trojan war, sent him to this island; where he was, maiden-like, brought up among the King's daughters, who, in that time, begot Pyrrhus upon Deidamia, the daughter of Licomedes; and where the crafty Ulysses afterward did discover this fatal prince to Troy. As we came in sight of Nicaria, we espied two Turkish galleots, who gave us the chace, and pursued us straight to a bay, betwixt two mountains, where we left the loaden boat, and fled to the rocks, from whence we mightily annoyed, with huge tumbling stones, the pursuing Turks. But in our flying the master was taken, and other two old men, whom they made captives and slaves; and also seized upon the boat, and all their goods. The number of us that escaped were nine persons.

The isle of Patmos.

This isle Nicaria was anciently called *Doliche* and *Ithiosa*, and is somewhat barren, having no sea-port at all. It was here, the poets feigned, that Icarus the son of Dedalus fell, when, as he took flight from Creta with his borrowed wings, of whom it hath the name; and not following directly his father Dedalus, he was here drowned.

Dum petit infirmis nimium sublimia pennis
Icarus, Icariis nomina fecit aquis. Ovid de Trist.

Whiles Icarus weak wings too high did flee,
He fell, and baptiz'd the Icarean sea;

So

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So many more, experience may account,
That both above their minds and means would mount.

Waiting some days here in a village called *Laphantos*, for paſſage to Sio, at laſt I found a brigandino bound thither, that was come from the fruitful iſle of Stalimene, of old Lemnos. This iſle of Stalimene is in circuit ninety miles, where, in Hepheſtria its metropolis, Vulcan was mightily adored; who, being but a homely brat, was caſt down hither by Juno, whereby it was no marvel if he became crooked, and went a-halting. The ſovereign mineral againſt infections, called *Terra Lemnia*, or *Sigillata*, is digged here. The former name proceedeth from the iſland; the latter is in force, becauſe the earth being made up in little pellets, is ſealed with a Turkiſh ſignet, and ſo ſold and diſperſed over Chriſtendom. Having imbarked in the aforeſaid brigandino, we ſailed by the iſle Samos, which is oppoſite to Caria, in Aſia Minor, where the tyrant Polycrates lived ſo fortunate, as he had never any miſchance all this time, till at laſt Orientes, a Perſian, brought him to a miſerable death; leaving us an example, that fortune is certain in nothing but uncertainties, who, like a bee with a ſharp ſting, hath always ſome miſery following a long ſeries of felicities. It is of circuit one hundred and ſixty, and of length forty miles. It was of old named *Driuſa*, and *Melanphilo*, in which Pythagoras the philoſopher, and Lycaon the excellent muſician, were born.

Vulcan's birth

Upon our left hand, and oppoſite to Samos, lieth the iſle of Nixia, formerly Maxos, in circuit ſixty-eight miles. It was alſo called the *iſle of Venus and Dioniſia*, and was taken from the Venetians by Selim, the father of Soliman. Eaſt from Nixia lieth the iſle Amurgoſpolo, in circuit twenty leagues. It hath three commodious ports, named *St Anna*, *Calores*, and *Cataplino*. A little from hence, and in ſight of Natolia, lieth the iſle Calamo,

Nixia.

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lamo, formerly Claros, in circuit thirty miles; and eastward thence the little isle of Lerno, five leagues in circuit; all inhabited with Greeks, and they the silly ignorants of nature. South-east from this lieth the isle of Coos, now Lango, by the Turks called *Stanccow*. The capital town is Arango, where Hypocrates and Apelles the painter were born. In this isle there is a wine named by the Greeks *Hyppocon*, that excelleth in sweetness all other wines, except the Malvasie; and it aboundeth in cypress and turpentine trees. There is here a part of the isle disinhabited, in regard of a contagious lake that infecteth the air, both summer and winter. There is abundance of alloes found here, so much esteemed by our apothecaries. The rest of this isle shall be touched in its proper place. And near to Lango lieth the isle Giara, now Stopodia. It is surrounded with rocks and deserts, unto which the Romans were wont to send in banishment such as deserved death. In general of these isles Cyclades, because they are so near one to another, and each one in sight of another, there are many corsairs and Turkish galleots that still afflict these islanders; insomuch that the inhabitants are constrained to keep watch day and night, upon the tops of the most commodious mountains, to discover these pirates; which they easily discern from other vessels, both because of their sails and oars; and whensoever discovered, according to the number of cursory boats, they make as many fires, which giveth warning to all the ports to be on guard. And if the sea-voyagers, in passing, see no sign on these isles of fire or smoke, then they perfectly know these dangerous seas are free from pernicious robbers.

The isle of Lango.

The danger of Turkish

As we left the isle Venico on our left hand, and entered in the gulf between Sio and Æolida, the firm land is called *Æolida*, there fell down a deadly storm, at the Greco e Levant, or at the north-east, which split our mast, carrying sails and all overboard. Whereupon every man looked (as it were) with the stamp of death in

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in his pale visage. The tempest continuing, (our boat not being able to keep the seas), we were constrained to seek into a creek, betwixt two rocks, for safety of our lives; where, when we entered, there was no likelihood of relief; for we had a shelvy shore; and giving ground to the anchors, they came both home.

The sorrowful master, seeing nothing but shipwreck, took the helm in hand, directing his course to rush upon the face of a low rock: whereupon the sea most fearfully broke. As we touched, the mariners contending who should first leap out, some fell overboard, and those that got land were pulled back by the recoiling waves. Neither in all this time durst I once move; for they had formerly sworn, if I pressed to escape before the rest were first forth, they would throw me headlong into the sea. So being two ways in danger of death, I patiently offered up my prayers to God. *A fearful shipwreck.*

At our first encounter with the rocks, (our foredecks and boat's gallery being broke, and a great leak made), the recoiling waves brought us back from the shelves a great way; which the poor master perceiving, and that there were seven men drowned, and eleven persons alive, cried out with a loud voice, "Be of good courage, take up oars, and row hastily; it may be, before the bark sink, we shall attain to yonder cave," which then appeared to our sight. Every man working for his own deliverance, (as it pleased God), we got the same with good fortune; for no sooner were we disimbarked, and I also left the last man, but the boat immediately sunk. There was nothing saved but my coffino, which I kept always in my arms, partly that it might have brought my dead body to some creek, where being found, might have been by the Greeks buried, and partly I held it fast also, that saving my life, I might save it too. It was made of reeds, and would not easily sink, notwithstanding of my papers and linen I carried in it; for the which safety of my things, the Greeks were in admiration. *A happy deliverance from shipwreck.*

tion. In this cave, which was thirty paces long within the mountain, we abode three days without either meat or drink. Upon the fourth day, at morn, the tempeſt ceaſing, there came fiſher-boats to relieve us, who found the ten Greeks almoſt famiſhed for lack of food; but in that hunger-ſtarving fear, I fed upon the expectation of my doubtful relief.

A miſerable thing it is, indeed, for man to grow an example to others in matters of affliction; yet it is neceſſary that ſome men ſhould be ſo. For it pleaſed God, having ſhown a ſenſible diſpoſition of favour upon me, in humbling me to the very pit of extremities, to teach me, by ſuch an unexpected deliverance, both to put my confidence in his eternal goodneſs, and to know the frailty of my own ſelf, and my ambition, which drove me often to ſuch diſaſters.

The dead men being found on ſhore, we buried them; and I learned at that inſtant of time, there were ſeventeen boats caſt away on the coaſt of this iſland, and never a man ſaved. In this place the Greeks ſet up a ſtone-croſs, in the memorial of ſuch a woful miſchance, and mourned heavily, faſting and praying. I, rejoicing and thanking God for my ſafety, (leaving them ſorrowing for their friends and goods), took journey through the iſland to Sio, for ſo is the city called, being thirty miles diſtant. In my way I paſſed by an old caſtle ſtanding on a little hill, named *Garbos*, now *Helias*; where (as I was informed by two Greeks in my company), the ſepulchre of Homer was yet extant. For this Sio is one of the ſeven iſles and towns that contended for his birth.

Septem urbes certant de ſtirpe inſignis Homeri.

Theſe cities ſeven (I undername) did ſtrive,
Who firſt brought Homer to the world alive.

Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ: the which I willing to ſee, I intreated my aſſociates to accompany me thither; where, when we

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we came, we descended by sixteen degrees into a dark cell; and passing that, we entered into another four-squared room, in which I saw an ancient tomb, whereon were engraven in Greek letters, which we could not understand for their antiquity: but whether it was his tomb or not, I do not know; but this they related, and very likely it has been his sepulchre. *Homer's sepulchre.*

This isle of Sio is divided into two parts, viz. Appanomera, signifying the higher or upper parts of it; the other Catomerea, that is, the level, or lower parts of the isle. It was first called *Ethalia*. It aboundeth so in oranges and lemons, that they fill barrels and pipes with the juice thereof, and carry them to Constantinople, which the Turks use at their meat, as we do verges. And also called *Pythiosa*; next *Cios*, Acts xx. 15.; and by Methrodorus *Chio*, of Chione; but at this day *Sio*. Not long ago it was under the Genoese; but now governed by the Turks. It is of circuit an hundred miles, and famous for the medicinal mastic that groweth there on trees. I saw many pleasant gardens in it, which yield in great plenty oranges, lemons, apples, pears, prunes, figs, olives, apricocks, dates, Adam's apples, excellent herbs, fair flowers, sweet honey, with store of cypress and mulberry trees; and exceeding good silk is made here. *Sio.*

At last I arrived at the city of Sio; where I was lodged and kindly used with an old man, of the Genoese race, for the space of eight days. I found here three monasteries of the order of Rome, one of the Jesuits, another of St Francis, and the third of the Dominican friars, being all come from Genoa; and because the greatest part of the city is of that stock, and of the Papal see, these cloysters have a better life for good chear, fat wines, and delicate leachery, than any sort of friars can elsewhere find in the world.

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The fair dames of Sio.

The women of the city Sio are the moſt beautiful dames (or rather angelical creatures) of all the Greeks upon the face of the earth, and greatly given to venery.

If Venus foe ſaw Sio's fair-fac'd dames,
His ſtomach cold, would burn in luſt-ſpread flames.

They are for the moſt part exceeding proud and ſumptuous in apparel, and commonly go (even artificers wives) in gowns of ſattin and taffety; yea, in cloth of ſilver and gold, and are adorned with precious ſtones and gems, and jewels about their necks and hands, with rings, chains, and bracelets. Their huſbands are their pandors; and when they ſee any ſtranger arrive, they will preſently demand of him, if he would have a miſtreſs; and ſo they make whores of their own wives, and are contented, for a little gain, to wear horns. Such are the baſe minds of ignominious cuckolds. If a ſtranger be deſirous to ſtay all night with any of them, their price is a zechin of gold, nine ſhillings Engliſh; out of which this companion receiveth his ſupper, and for his pains a bellyful of ſinful content. This city of Sio hath a large and ſtrong fortreſs, which was built by the Genoeſe, and now detained by a garriſon of Turks, containing a thouſand fire-houſes within it; ſome whereof are Greeks, ſome Genoeſe, ſome Turks and Moors. The city itſelf is unwalled, yet a populous and a ſpacious place, ſpread along by the ſea-ſide, having a goodly harbour for galleys and ſhips. The chief inhabitants there are deſcended of the Genoeſe, and profeſs the ſuperſtition of Rome; the people whereof were once lords of the Ægean ſea, maintaining a navy of eighty ſhips. In the end they became ſucceſſively ſubject to the Roman and Greek princes, till Andronico Paleologus gave them and their iſle to the Juſtinians, a noble family of the Genoeſe; from whom it was taken by Solyman

The fortreſs of Sio.

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Solyman the magnificent, on Eaſter-day 1566, being the ſame year that our late gracious and ſovereign Lord King James, of bleſſed memory, was born. This citadel or fortreſs of Sio, ſtanding full between the ſea and the harbour, was invaded by eight hundred Florentines, ſent hither by the great Duke Ferdinando, brother to the Queen-mother of France, and our own Queen Mary's uncle, *anno* 1600, Auguſt 7. The manner was thus: The Genoeſe had ſold the fort unto the Duke of Florence; whereupon he ſent his galleys and theſe gallants thither: where, when arrived in the night, they ſcaled the walls, ſlew the watches, and unhappily ſpiked up all the cannon; and then entering the fort, put all the Turks to the ſword, and among them too many Chriſtians. The galleys all this time, being doubtful how it went, durſt not enter the harbour; but a ſtorm falling down, they bore up to an iſolet for anchorage, in the Æolian gulf, and three miles diſtant. The next morning, the Turkiſh baſhaw, the city, and all the iſlanders, were in arms. The Florentines being deprived of their galleys, grew diſcouraged, and trying the cannon, which they had ſpoiled at their firſt ſcallade, they were of no uſe. Meanwhile the baſhaw entered in parley with them, and promiſed faithfully to ſend them ſafe to the galleys, if they would ſurrender. Upon the third day they yielded. As they iſſued forth along the draw-bridge, and the baſhaw ſet in a tent to receive them as they came in, one by one, he cauſed to ſtrike off all their heads. This done, there was a pinnacle reared upon the walls of the fort with their bare ſculls, which ſtand to this day.

The heads of 800 Florentines cut off.

But Ferdinand, in perſon, the year following, was more than revenged of ſuch a cruel and faithleſs proceeding. He overmaſtered a Turkiſh town and caſtle, put two thouſand Turks to the ſword, ſparing neither old nor young; and making himſelf maſter of the infinite riches and ſpoils of the town, he brought home

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their heads with him to Leghorn, and ſet them up there for a mercileſs monument.

After ſome certain days attendance, I imbarked in a carmoeſalo, bound for Nigropont, which was out of my way to Conſtantinople; but becauſe I would gladly have ſeen Macedonia and Theſſaly, I followed that determination. In our way we touched at Mytelene, an iſland of old called *Iſa*, next *Leſbos*, and laſtly *Mytelene*, of Milet the ſon of Phœbus. Pittacus, one of the ſeven ſages of Greece, the moſt valiant Antimenides, and his brother Alceus the lyric poet, Theophraſtus the peripatetick philoſopher, Arion the learned harper, and the poteſs Sappho, were born in it.

The iſle of Mytelene.

This iſle of Leſbos, or Mytelene, containeth in compaſs one hundred and forty-ſix miles. The eaſt parts are level and fruitful, the weſt and ſouth parts mountainous and barren. The chief cities are Mytelene and Methimnos. It was long under ſubjection of the Roman and Greek emperors, till Calo Joannes, *anno* 1355, gave it in dowry with his ſiſter to Catalufio, a nobleman of Genoa; whoſe poſterity enjoyed it till Mahomet (ſirnamed the *Greek*) did ſeize on it 1462.

Theſe iſles, Sporades, are ſcattered in the Ægean ſea, like as the iſles Orcades are in the north ſeas of Scotland; but different in climate and fertility: for theſe ſouth-eaſtern iſles in ſummer are extreme hot, producing generally (Nigroponti excepted) but a few wines, fruits, and corns, ſcarce ſufficient to ſuſtain the iſlanders. But thoſe north-weſtern iſlands, in ſummer, are neither hot nor cold, having a moſt wholeſome and temperate air, and do yield abundance of corn, even more than ſufficient for the inhabitants; which is yearly tranſported to the firm land, and ſold. They have alſo a great ſtore of good cattle, and cheap; and the beſt fiſh that the whole ocean yieldeth is upon the coaſts of Orkney and Zetland.

A compariſon of iſles.

In

In all these separated parts of the earth, (which of themselves, of old, made up a little kingdom), you shall always find strong March-ale, surpassing fine aqua vitæ, abundance of geese, hens, pigeons, partridges, muir-fowl, mutton, beef, and termigants, with an infinite number of conies, which you may kill with a cross-bow, or harquebuss, every morning, out of your chamber-window, according to your pleasure in that pastime, which I have both practised myself, and seen practised by others; for they multiply so exceedingly, that they dig even under the foundations of dwelling-houses. Such is the will of God to bestow upon several places particular blessings; whereby he demonstrateth to man, the plentiful storehouse of his gracious providence, so many manner of ways upon earth distributed: all glory be to his incomprehensible goodness therefor. I have seldom seen, in all my travels, more toward and tractable people, (I mean their gentlemen), and better housekeepers, than these Orcadians and Zetlanders are; whereof, in the prime of my youth, (by two voyages amongst these northern isles), I had the full proof and experience.

The plentifulness of Orkney and Zetland.

And now certainly, as it is a sign of little wisdom, and great folly, for a man to answer suddenly to every light question; so it is as great shame and stupidity in a man to keep silence, when he should and may deservingly speak: wherefore damnifying the one, and vilifying the other, I come forth between both, (*pugno pro patria*), to have a single bout with the ignorant malice of an imperious and abortive geographer, brought up in the schools near Thames, and westward Ho at Oxford; who blindly, in an absurd description of the world, hath produced many errors, and manifest untruths, to the world.

Dr Heylin, in his Microcosmus, in his description of Scotland and Isle of Man.

And these amongst thousands more, which I justly can censure to be false; namely, he reporteth the Arcadians

cadians to be a cruel and barbarous people, and that the moſt part of Scotland regarded neither king nor law; terming us alſo to have monſtrous backs againſt the execution of juſtice: And becauſe (ſaith he) they reſemble us ſomewhat in viſage and ſpeech, the Scots are deſcended of the Saxons; where, when the black wings of the eagle ſpread in the ſouth, they fled thither, thinking rather to enjoy penurious liberty, than rich fetters of gold: Moreover, that the ſcurvy iſle of Man, is ſo abundant in oats, barley, and wheat, that it ſupplieth the defects of Scotland. So venomous alſo is the wormwood of his brain, that he impugneth Hector Boetius to have mentioned a rabble of Scottiſh kings before Kenneth, the firſt monarch of all Scotland; but were he faſt rabbled in a rope, I think his preſumptuous and impertinent phraſe were well recompenſed. Yea, further, he dares to write, that if the mountains, and inacceſſible woods, had not been more true to the Scots than their own valour, that kingdom had long ſince been ſubdued.

Falſe aſperſion upon Scotland

Many other introductions flow from his ſhallow baſe-branded apprehenſion, which I purpoſely omit. To this his perverſe malignity (without partial or particular conſtruction) I generally anſwer, that for courteous penetrating lenity, induſtrious tractability, prompt and exquiſite ingenuity, nobly taught, vivacious, and virtuous gentility; humane and illuſtrious generoſity; inviolate, and uncommixed national pedigree; learned, academical, and eccleſiaſtic clergy; for ſincere religion, and devout piety; affable and benevolent hoſpitality; civil and zealous orders in ſpirituality; ſo docible a people to ſupreme regality; and for true valour, courage, and magnanimity, there is no kingdom, or nation, within the compaſs of the whole univerſe, can excel, or compare with it.

Now what a ſelf Loſungeous fellow hath this fuſtian companion proved, when the flat contrary of his abjured impoſitions is infallibly known to be of undoubted truth. And how often hath Europe, the ſeat of Chriſtendom,

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Chriſtendom, and miſtreſs of the world, had the full experience, in all her diſtreſſed corners, of the valiant, faithful ſervice, and irreſiſtible valour of the people, of that never conquered nation, the teſtimonies are evident. For my part I deſiſt, and will not meddle to perambule through peremptory inferences on particular kingdoms, although I acquittingly can; howſoever this pertinacious Buffoon dare, and falſely will do it.

Each baſe fantaſtic brain dare forge new ſtiles,
And alter regions, cuſtoms, towns, and iſles:
Strip'd in a bravade, he can join (disjoin
Contiguous kingdoms) diſtant lands in one.
Firſt, broker-like, he ſcrapes rags, ſnips and bites,
Then plays the ruffian, ſhifting with his wits:
Laſt, ſerpent-like, he caſts a winter-ſkin,
And, like a ſtrumpet, boldly enters in.
This charling ape, which counterfeits and lies,
And blandements, would feed the world's wide eyes.
Thus, like a ſtupid aſs, this blockhead fool
Muſt turn a coxcomb, ſtudying in the ſchool.
Would he be wiſe, and exerciſe his brains,
Go travel firſt, experience knowledge gains.
Dare he to write of kingdoms, that ne'er ſaw
His father's ox, perhaps the plough to draw;
And ſcarce can tell, even of the bread he eats,
How many frames it ſuffers, toil, and ſweats;
Nor ne'er ten miles once travell'd from his cradle,
Yet fain would fit the fleer'd Pegaſian ſaddle:
Whiles loit'ring in a college, thus he dare,
Sow lies, reap ſhame, build lott'ries in the air.
Go, doating gull; go, blot away thy name,
And let thy labours periſh with thy fame.

This iſle of Mytelene, is by the Turks called *Sarcum*, lying without the mouth of the gulf of Smyrna, and oppoſite to the weſtern coaſt of Phrygia minor; where, beſides excellent wine and corns, there are two ſorts of dregs made there, which the Turks uſe to put in their pottage: In Turkiſh, the one is called *Trachana*, the other

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other *Bouhort*, which the Romans anciently named *Crimmon* and *Mazza*. Whence loosing from Mytelene, in the aforesaid carmoesalo, we touched at Dalamede, in the isle Androsia, the northmost isle of the Cyclades, toward Thessalia: It is indifferent copious of all things necessary for human life, and round sixty miles. The Athenians of old (as Plutarch mentioneth) sent hither Themistocles to demand tribute: Themistocles told them, he came to inflict some great imposition upon them, being accompanied with two goddesses; the one was Eloquence, to persuade them; and the other was Violence, to enforce them. Whereunto the Androsians replied, That on their side, they had two goddesses as strong; the one whereof was Necessity, whereby they had it not; and the other Impossibility, whereby they could not part with that they never enjoyed.

The isle Androsia.

This Ægean sea, or mare Ægeum, had its denomination from Ægeus, the father of Theseus, who, misdoubting his son's return from the minotaur of Crete, here leaped in, and drowned himself. The greatest part of these sixty-nine kings that Agamemnon took with him to the siege of Troy, were only kings of these little islands. By some they are divided into two parts, Cyclades, and Sporades; the former containing fifty-four, and the latter twelve isles: modernly they are all called *Archipelago*, or *the Arch-islands*.

Hoisting sail from Dalamede, we set over to Nigroponti, being sixty miles distant; and bearing up eastward to double the south cape, we straight discovered two Turkish galleots pursuing us; whereupon, with both sails and oars, we sought into the bottom of a long creek, on the west side of the cape, called *Bajo di piscatori*; whether also fled nine fisher boats for refuge. The galleots fearing to follow us in, went to anchor at a rocky islet in the mouth of the bay, and then within night were resolved to assail us. But night come, and every night of six, (for there six days they expected

Two Turkish galleots.

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expected us), we made such bonfires, that so affrighted them, (being two miles from any village), they durst never adventure it; yet I being a stranger, was exposed by the untoward Greeks to stand centinel every night, on the top of a high promontory, it being the dead time of a snowy and frosty winter, which did invite my muse to bewail the toiling of my toilsome life, my solitary wandering, and the long distance of my native soil.

Carmina secessum scribentis et otia quærunt;
Me mare, me venti, me fera jactat hyems.

I Wander in exile,
As though my pilgrimage
Were sweet comedian scenes of love,
Upon a golden stage.
Ah, I, poor I, distress'd,
Oft changing to and fro,
Am forc'd to sing sad obsequies
Of this my swan-like woe.
A vagabonding guest,
Transported here and there,
Led with the mercy-wanting winds
Of fear, grief, and despair.
Thus ever moving I,
To restless journies thrald,
Obtains by times triumphing frowns,
A calling, unrecall'd.
Was I preordained so,
Like Tholo's ghost, to stand
Three times four hours, in twenty-four,
With musket in my hand,
O'er-blasted with the storms
Of winter-beating snow,
And frosty pointed hail-stones hard
On me, poor wretch, to blow?
No, architecture, lo,

But

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But whirling windy ſkies,
O'erfill'd with thundering claps of clouds,
Earth's centre to ſurpriſe.
Ay, ay, it is my fate,
Allots this fatal croſs,
And reckons up in characters,
The time of my time's loſs.
My deſtiny is ſuch,
Which doth predeſtine me,
To be a mirrour of miſhaps,
A map of miſery.
Extremely do I live,
Extremes are all my joy,
I find in deep extremities,
Extremes extreme annoy.
Now, all alone I watch,
With Argos eyes and wit;
A cypher 'twixt the Greeks and Turks,
Upon this rock I ſit.
A conſtrain'd captive I,
'Mongſt incompaſſionate Greeks,
Bare-headed, downward bows my head,
And liberty ſtill ſeeks.
But all my ſuits are vain,
Heaven ſees my woful ſtate,
Which makes me ſay, my world's eye-ſight
Is bought at too high a rate.
Would God I might but live,
To ſee my native ſoil;
Thrice happy in my happy wiſh,
To end this endleſs toil.
Yet ſtill when I record
The pleaſant banks of Clyde,
Where orchards, caſtles, towns, and woods,
Are planted by his ſide;
And chiefly Lanerk thou,
Thy country's laureat lamp,
In which this bruiſed body now
Did firſt receive the ſtamp.

Then

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Then do I ſigh and ſwear,
Till death or my return,
Still for to wear the willow-wreath,
In ſable weed to mourn.
Since in this dying life,
A life in death I take,
I'll ſacrifice in ſpight of wrath,
Theſe ſolemn vows I make.
To thee, ſweet Scotland, firſt,
My birth and breath I leave:
To heaven my ſoul, my heart King James,
My corps to lie in grave.
My ſtaff to pilgrims I,
And pen to poets ſend,
My hair-cloth robe, and half-ſpent goods,
To wandering wights I lend.
Let them diſpoſe as though
My treaſure were of gold,
Which values more in pureſt prize,
Than droſs ten thouſand fold.
Theſe trophies I erect,
Whiles memory remains:
An epitomis'd epitaph,
On Lithgow's reſtleſs pains.
My will's inclos'd with love,
My love with earthly bliſs,
My bliſs in ſubſtance doth conſiſt,
To crave no more but this.
Thou firſt, is, was, and laſt,
Eternal, of thy grace,
Protect, prolong, Great Britain's king,
His ſon, and Royal race.

AMEN.

Upon the ſeventh day, there came down to viſit us two gentlemen of Venice, cloathed after the Turkiſh manner; who, under exile, were baniſhed their native territories ten years for ſlaughter; each of them having two ſervants, and all of them carrying ſhables, and two

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two guns a-piece: which, when I underſtood they were Italians, I addreſſed myſelf to them, with a heavy complaint againſt the Greeks, in detaining my budgeto, and compelling me to endanger my life for their goods; whereupon they accuſing the patron, and finding him guilty of this oppreſſion, belaboured him ſoundly with handy-blows, and cauſed him to deliver my things, carrying me with them five miles to a town, where they remained, called *Rethenos*, formerly *Caraſtia*, where I was exceeding kindly entertained ten days: and moſt nobly (as indeed they were noble) they beſtowed on me forty zechins of gold at my departure, for the better advancement of my voyage; which was the firſt gift that ever I received in all my travels. For if the darts of death had not been more advantageous to me than Aſiatic gifts, I had never been able to have undergone this tributary, tedious, and ſumptuous peregrination. The goodneſs of the divine providence, in allotting me means, from the loſs of my deareſt companions, gave me, in the deepneſs of my ſorrow, a thankful rejoicing.

The iſle Nigroponti.

Nigroponti was formerly called *Eubœa*, next *Albantes*, and is now named *the Queen of Archipelago*. The Turks call this iſle *Egribos*. The town of Nigropont, from which the iſle taketh the name, was taken in by Mahomet II. *anno* 1451; and in this iſle is found the amianten ſtone, which is ſaid to be drawn in threads, as out of flax, whereof they make napkins, and other like ſtuffs; and to make it white, they uſe to throw it in the fire, being ſalted. The ſtone alſo is found here, called by the Greeks *Ophites*, and by us *Serpentine*. The circuit of this iſle is three hundred and forty-ſix miles. It is ſeparated from the firm land of Theſſalia, from the which it was once rent by an earthquake, with a narrow channel; over the which, in one place, there is a bridge, that paſſeth between the iſle and the main continent, and under it runneth a marvellous ſwift current or euripus, which ebbeth and flaweth

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floweth fix times night and day. Within half a mile of the bridge, I ſaw a marble column, ſtanding on the top of a little rock, whence (as the iſlanders told me) Ariſtotle leaped in, and drowned himſelf, after that he could not conceive the reaſon why this channel ſo ebbed and flowed; uſing theſe words, *Quia ego non capio te, tu capias me.* This iſle bringeth forth in abundance all things requiſite for human life, and is adorned with many goodly villages. *Ariſtotle's death.*

The chief cities are Nigropont and Calchos: The principal rivers, Cyro and Nelos; of whom it is ſaid, if a ſheep drink of the former, his wool becometh white; if of the latter, coal black. From thence, and after twenty-two days abode in this iſle, I arrived at a town in Macedonia, called *Salonica*, but of old *Theſſalonica*, where I ſtaid five days, and was much made of by the inhabitants, being Jews.

Salonica is ſituated by the ſea-ſide, between the two rivers Chabris and Ehedora. It is a pleaſant, large, and magnificent city, full of all ſorts of merchandiſe; and it is nothing inferior in all things (except nobility) unto Naples in Italy. It was formerly under the ſignory of Venice, till Amurach, the ſon of Mahomet, took it from this republic, and is the principal place of Theſſaly, which is a province of Macedon, together with Achaia, and Myrmedon, which are the other two provinces of the ſame. *Salonica.*

This city of Salonica is now converted into an univerſity for the Jews, and they are abſolute ſigniors thereof under the great Turk, with a large territory of land lying without and about them. It hath been ever in their hands ſince Soliman took in Buda in Hungary, *anno* 1516, Auguſt 20: to whom they lent two millions of money; and for warrandice whereof, they have this town and province made faſt to them. They ſpeak vulgarly and maternally here the Hebrew tongue, man, woman, and child, and not elſewhere in all the world. All their Synagogian, or Levitical prieſts, are bred

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bred here, and from hence disperſed to their ſeveral ſtations.

Theſſaly. Theſſaly, along the ſea-ſide, lieth between Peloponneſus and Achaia; wherein ſtandeth the hill Olympus, on which Hercules did inſtitute the Olympian games; which inſtitution was of long time the Grecian epocha, from whence they reckoned their time.

Macedon is now called by the Turks *Calethiros*, ſignifying a mighty and warlike nation. Macedonia, containing Theſſaly, Achaia, and Mirmidonia, lieth as a centre to them, having Achaia to the eaſt, Theſſalia to the ſouth, Mirmidonia, bordering with Ætolia, to the weſt; and a part of Hœmus, whence it was called *Hœmonia*, and ſome of Miſia ſuperior to the north: It was alſo called *Amathia*, from Amathus, once king thereof, and then *Macedonia*, from the King Macedo. The chief cities are Andoriſta, Andeſſo, Sydra, Sederaſpen, where the mines of gold and ſilver be, which enrich the Turk ſo monthly, receiving thence ſometimes eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty thouſand ducats; and Pellia, where Alexander the Great was born. Bajazet I. won this country from the Conſtantinopolitans. About this city of Salonica is the moſt fertile and populous country in all Greece.

The viciſſitude of Greece. Greece, of all kingdoms in Europe, hath been moſt famous, and highly renowned for many noble reſpects; yet more ſubject to the viciſſitude of fortune than any others; who changing gold for braſs, and loathing their own princes, ſuffered many tyrants to rule over them, paying for their folly with their fall, and curing a feſtered ſore with a poiſoned plaiſter: whence ſucceeded a diſmal diſcord; which beginning when the ſtate of Greece was at the higheſt, did not expire till it fell to the loweſt ebb; ſticking faſt in the hands of a grievous deſolation; which former times, if a man would retroſpectively meaſure, he might eaſily find, and not without admiration, how the mighty power of the Divine Majeſty doth ſway the moments of things, and

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and forteth them in peremptory manner to ſtrange and unlooked for effects; making reaſon blind, policy aſtoniſhed, ſtrength feeble, valour daſtardly, turning love into hatred, fear into fury, boldneſs into trembling, and, in the circuit of one minute, making the conqueror a conquered perſon.

Greece, now termed by the Turks *Rum-Ili*, the Roman country, was firſt called *Helles*, next Grecia of Grecus, who was once king thereof. The Greeks, of all other Gentiles, were the firſt converted Chriſtians, and are wonderful devout in their profeſſed religion. The prieſts wear the hair of their heads hanging over their ſhoulders: Theſe that be the moſt ſincere religious men, abſtain always from eating of fleſh or fiſh, contenting themſelves with water, herbs, and bread. They differ much in ceremonies and principles of religion from the Papiſts; and the computation of their kalendar is as ours.

Four patriarchs in the Greekiſh church.

They have four patriarchs, who govern the affairs of their church, and alſo any civil diſſenſions which happen amongſt them, viz. one in Conſtantinople, another in Antiochia, the third in Alexandria, and the fourth in Jeruſalem. It is not needful for me to penetrate further into the condition of their eſtate, becauſe it is no part of my intent in this treatiſe. In a word, they are wholly degenerate from their anceſtors in valour, virtue, and learning. Univerſities they have none, and civil behaviour is quite loſt. Formerly, in deriſion, they termed all other nations *Barbarians*; a name now moſt fit for themſelves, being the greateſt diſſembling liars, inconſtant, and uncivil people, of all other Chriſtians in the world.

Falſe teſtimonies of vagabond Greeks.

By the way, I muſt give the king's ſubjects a caveat here, concerning vagabond Greeks, and their counterfeit teſtimonials. True it is, there is no ſuch matter, as theſe lying raſcals report unto you, concerning their fathers, their wives, and children,

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taken captives by the Turk, O damnable invention! How can the Turk prey upon his own ſubjects, under whom they have as great liberty, ſave only the uſe of bells, as we have under our princes, the tithe of their male children being abſolutely abrogated by Achmet, this Amurath's father, and the half alſo of their female dowry at marriages: And far leſs for religion can they be baniſhed, or deprived of their benefices, as ſome falſe and diſſembling fellows, under the title of *biſhops*, make you believe; there being a free liberty of conſcience for all kinds of religion, through all his dominions, as well for us free-born Franks, as for them, and much more them, the Greeks, Armenians, Syriacs, Amoronits, Copties, Georgians, or any other oriental ſort of Chriſtians: And therefore look to it, that you be no more gulled, by giving them money ſo faſt as you have done, leſt, for your pains, you prove greater aſſes than they do knaves.

In Salonica I found a germo bound for Tenedos, in which I imbarked. As we ſailed along the Theſſalonian ſhore, I ſaw the two-topped hill Parnaſſus, which is of a wondrous height, whoſe tops even kiſs the clouds.

Mons ibi cervicibus petit arduus aſtra duabus,
Nomine Parnaſſus, ſuperatque cacumine nubes.

Through thickeſt clouds Parnaſſus bends his height,
Whoſe double tops do kiſs the ſtars ſo bright.

Here it was ſaid the nine muſes haunted: but as for the fountain Helicon, I leave that to be ſearched and ſeen by the imagination of poets; for if it had been expoſed to my ſight, like an inſatiable drunkard, I ſhould have drunk up the ſtreams of poeſy, to have enlarged my dry poetical ſun-ſcorched vein *.

The

* Parnaſſus, a craigy mountain of ancient Greece, rendered famous by the poets, and ſacred to Apollo and the muſes. It lies in the weſt part of Achaia, the modern Livadia, a province of European Turkey, and north of the gulf of Lepanto. Its high tops terminating

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The mountain itſelf is ſomewhat ſteep and ſteril, eſpecially the two tops, the one whereof is dry and ſandy, ſignifying that poets are always poor and needy; the other top is barren and rocky, reſembling the ingratitude of wretched and niggardly patrons; the vale between the tops is pleaſant and profitable, denoting the fruitful and delightful ſoil, which painful poets, the muſes plough-men, ſo induſtriouſly manure. A little more eaſtward, as we fetched up the coaſt of Achaia, the maſter of the veſſel ſhewed me a ruinous village and caſtle, where he ſaid the admired city of Thebes had been: Whoſe former glory who can truly write of? for as the earth, when ſhe is diſrobed of her budding and fructifying trees, and of her amiable verdure, which is her only grace and garment royal, is like a naked table wherein nothing is painted; even ſo is Thebes and her paſt triumphs defaced, and bereft of her luſty and young gentlemen, as if the ſpring tide had been taken from the year. But what ſhall I ſay to know the cauſe of ſuch like things, they are ſo ſecret and myſtical? being the moſt remote objects to which our underſtanding may aſpire, that we may eaſily be deceived, by diſguiſed and pretended reaſons, whilſt we ſeek for the true and eſſential cauſes: for to report things that are done is eaſy, becauſe the eye and the tongue may diſpatch it; but to diſcover and unfold the cauſes of things, requireth brain, ſoul, and the beſt progreſs of nature. And as there is no evil without excuſe, nor no pretence without ſome colour of reaſon, nor wiles wanting to malicious and wrangling wits, even ſo was there occaſion ſought for, what from Athens, and what from Greece, whereby the peace and *Thebes.*

terminating in two points, peaks, it was hence of old called *Biceps Parnaſſus.* Between theſe abundance of water falls after rain or ſnow. Here is likewiſe a plentiful fountain, continually iſſuing out from among the rocks, and ſuppoſed to be the ancient Caſtalia of which the Pythian prophets, and the poets who pretended to inſpiration, uſed to drink, and whither they went to bathe themſelves. —— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary, on the word *Parnaſſus.*

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happineſs of Thebes might be diſſolved, and diſcord raiſed to the laſt ruins of her deſolation.

Geographical errors.

This Achaia is by ſome ignorant geographers placed in the middle between Epire, Theſſaly, and Peloponneſus; where, contrariwiſe, it is the eaſtmoſt province of Greece, except Thrace, lying along betwixt it and Theſſaly, by the ſea-ſide; which part of the country ſome late authors have falſely named *Migdonia*, which is a province that lieth north from Thracia, eaſt from Macedon, and ſouth from Miſia, having no affinity with the ſea. The chief cities in Achaia are Neapolis, Appollonia, and Nicalide, where the famous philoſopher Ariſtotle was born. Here is the huge and high hill Athos, containing in circuit ſeventy miles, and, as ſome affirm, three days journey long, whoſe ſhadow was abſurdly ſaid to have extended to Lemnos, an iſland lying near the Carpathian ſea.

Achaia was formerly called *Aylaida*, but now by the Turks *Levienda*. Athos, in Greek, is called *Agios oros*, to wit, a holy mountain. The top of it is half a day's journey broad, and fourteen Italian miles high. There are twenty monaſteries upon it of Greekiſh coleires, a laborious kind of ſilly friars, and kind to ſtrangers; the chief of which cloiſters are called *Victopodos*, and *Agios laura*, being all of them ſtrongly walled and fencible.

Upon the third day from Salonica we arrived in the road of Tenedos, which is an iſland in the ſea Pontus, or Propontis. It is a city called *Tenedos*, built by Tenes, which is a gallant place, having a caſtle, and a fair haven for all ſorts of veſſels. It produceth good ſtore of wines, and the beſt ſuppoſed to be in all the ſouth-eaſt parts of Europe, or yet in Aſia. The iſland is not big, but exceeding fertile, lying three miles from the place where Troy ſtood, as Virgil reported, Æneid 2.

Eſt in conſpectu Tenedos, notiſſima fama inſula.

In ſight of Troy a ſtately iſle I fand,
Shut up with Pontus from the Trojan land;

Whoſe

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Whoſe beauteous bounds made me wiſh there to ſtay,
Or that I might tranſport the ſame away;
Elſe like Tritonean rude Propontic charms,
T' embrace ſweet Tenes always in my arms.

And again,

Inſula dives opum; Priami dum regna manebant.

An iſle moſt rich, in ſilks, delicious wine,
When Priam's kingdom did in glory ſhine;
Where Ceres now and Bacchus love to dwell,
And Flora too, in Berecinthia's cell.

In Tenedos I met by accident two French merchants of Marſeilles, intending for Conſtantinople, who had loſt their ſhip at Sio, when they were buſy at venerable tilting with their new-elected miſtreſſes, and for a ſecond remedy were glad to come thither in a Turkiſh carmoeſalo. The like of this I have ſeen fall out with ſea-faring men, merchants, and paſſengers, who ſometimes buy their too much folly with too dear a repentance. They and I reſolving to view Troy, did hire a janizary to be our conductor and protector, and a Greek to be our interpreter; where, when we landed, we ſaw here and there many relicts of old walls, as we travelled through theſe famous bounds. And as we were advanced toward the eaſt part of Troy, our Greek brought us to many tombs, which were mighty ruinous; and pointed us particularly to the tombs of Hector, Ajax, Achilles, Troilus, and many other valiant champions, with the tombs alſo of Hecuba, Creſſeid, and other Trojan dames. Indeed I ſaw a great number of old ſepulchres; but for their particular names, and nomination of them, I ſuſpend; neither could I believe my interpreter, ſince it is more than three thouſand and odd years ago that Troy was deſtroyed. *The tombs of Trojans.*

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Here tombs I view'd, old monuments of times,
And fiery trophies, fix'd for bloody crimes;
For which Achilles ghoſt did ſigh and ſay,
Curs'd be the hands that ſakeleſs Trojans ſlay;
But more fierce Ajax, more Ulyſſes horſe,
That wrought griefs ruin, Priam's laſt divorce.
And here inclos'd within theſe clods of duſt,
All Aſia's honour, and croſs'd Paris luſt.

Priam's palace. He ſhewed us alſo the ruins of King Priam's palace, and where Anchiſes, the father of Æneas, dwelt. At the north-eaſt corner of Troy, which is in ſight of the caſtles of Helleſpont, there is a gate yet ſtanding, and a piece of a reaſonable high wall; upon which I found three pieces of ruſty money, which afterward I gave two of them to the younger brethren of the Duke of Florence, then ſtudying in Pretolino. The other being the faireſt, with a large picture on the one ſide, I beſtowed it at Aiſe in Provence, upon a learned ſcholar, Mr Strachan, my countryman, then mathematician to the Duke of Guiſe; who preſently did preſent his Lord and Prince with it.

Where the pride of Phrygia ſtood, it is a moſt delightful plain, abounding now in corns, fruits, and delicate wines, and may be called the garden of Natolia; yet not populous; for there are but only five ſcattered villages in all that bounds. The length of Troy hath been, as may be diſcerned by the fundamental walls yet extant, about twenty Italian miles, which I reckon to be ten Scottiſh, or fifteen Engliſh miles, lying along the ſea-ſide, between the three papes of Ida and the fartheſt end eaſtward of the river Simois; whoſe breadth, all the way, hath not outſtripped the fields above two miles. The inhabitants of theſe five ſcattered boroughs therein are for the moſt part Greeks; the reſt are Jews and Turks.

A deſcription of Troy.

And ſo in the frontiſpiece is my effigy affixed, with my

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my Turkish habit, my walking staff, and my turban upon my head, even as I travelled in the bounds of Troy, and so through all Turky. Before my face, on the right hand, standeth the eastern and sole gate of that formerly noble city, with a piece of a high wall as yet undecayed; and without this port runneth the river Simois (inclosing the old Grecian camp) down to the marine, where it embraceth the sea Propontis. A little below are bunches of grapes, denoting the vineyards of this fructiferous place, adjoining near to the fragments and ruins of Priam's palace, called *Ilium*: and next to it a ravenous eagle; for so this part of Phrygia are full of them. So beneath my feet the two tombs of Priamus, and Hecuba his queen; and under them the incircling hills of Ida, at the west south-west end of this once regal town; and at my left hand the delicious and pleasant fields of olives and fig-trees, wherewith the bowels of this famous soil are interlarded. And here this piece or portraiture deciphered, the continuing discourse enlarging both mean and manner. *The author's portraiture.*

Troy was first built by Dardanus, son to Corinthus king of Corinth; who having slain his brother Jasius, fled to this country, and first erected it, intitling it *Dardania*. Next it was called *Troy*, of Tros, from whom the country was also named *Troas*. It was also termed *Ilion*, of Ilus, who built the regal palace, called *Ilium*. This city was taken and defaced by Hercules, and the Grecians, in the time of Laomedon, himself being killed the latter time. Lastly, Troy was rebuilt by Priamus, who, giving leave to his son Paris to ravish Helena, Menelaus's wife, enforced the Greeks to renew the ancient quarrel; where, after ten years siege, the town was utterly subverted, *anno mundi* 1783.

Whence princely Homer, and that Mantuan born,
Sad tragic tunes erected for Troy forlorn;

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And ſad Æneas fled to the Afric coaſt,
Where Carthage groan'd to hear how Troy was loſt.
But more kind Dido, when this wand'ring prince,
(Had left Numidia, ſtole away from thence)
Did worſer groan; who, with his ſhearing ſword,
Herſelf ſhe gor'd, with many weeping word.
O dear Æneas, dear Trojan, art thou gone?
And then ſhe fell, death ſwallow'd up her moan.
They land at Cuma, where Latinus king
Did give Æneas Lavinia, with a ring.
Where now in Latium, that old Dardan ſtock,
Is extant yet, though in the deſcent broke.

Raſh judgement.

On the ſouth-weſt ſide of Troy ſtandeth the hill Ida, having three heads; on which Paris, out of a ſenſual delight, rejecting Juno and Pallas, judged the golden ball to Venus, fatal in the end to the whole country; the ruins of which are come to that poetical proverb, *Nunc ſeges eſt ubi Troja fuit.*

Now corn doth grow, where once fair Troy hath ſtood,
And ſoil made fat with ſtreams of Phrygian blood.

Leaving the fields of noble Ilium, we croſſed the river of Simois, and dined at a village named *Extetaſh*. I remember, in diſcharging our covenant with the janizary, who was not contented with the former condition, the Frenchmen making obſtacle to pay that which I had given, the wrathful janizary belaboured them both with a cudgel, till the blood ſprung from their heads, and compelled them to double his wages. This is one true note to a traveller, (whereof I had the full experience after), that if he cannot make his own part good, he muſt always, at the firſt motion, content theſe raſcals, otherwiſe he will be conſtrained, doubtleſs, with ſtrokes, to pay twice as much: for they make no account of conſcience, nor are ruled by the law of compaſſion; neither regard they a Chriſtian more than a dog; but

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but whatſoever extortion or injury they uſe againſt him, he muſt be, French like, contented, bowing his head, and making a counterfeit ſhew of thanks, and happy too oftentimes if ſo he eſcape.

Hence we arrived at the caſtles, called of old *Seſtos* and *Abydos*, in a ſmall frigate, which are two fortreſſes oppoſite to other; Seſtos in Europe, where Thracia beginneth; and Abydos in Aſia, where Bithynia likewiſe commenceth, being a ſhort mile diſtant, and both of them four leagues from Troy. They ſtand at the beginning of Helleſpont, and were alſo denominated the caſtles of Hero and Leander, which were erected in a commemoration of their admirable fidelity in love. *Seſtos and Abydos.*

Which curling tops, Leander cut in two,
And through proud billows made his paſſage go,
To court his miſtreſs: O Hero the fair!
Whom Helleſpont to ſtop was forc'd to dare.
Sweet was their ſight to other, ſhort their ſtay,
For ſtill Leander was recall'd by day.
At laſt ſtern Æole, put on Neptune's pride,
And gloomy Helleſpont their loves divide.
He ſwims, and ſinks, and in that glutting down,
The angry fates did kind Leander drown.
Of which when Hero heard, judge you her part,
She ſmote herſelf, and rent in two her heart.

But now they are commonly called the caſtles of Gallipoli, yea, or rather the ſtrength of Conſtantinople; between which no ſhips may enter, without knowledge of the captains, and are by them ſtrictly and warily ſearched, leſt the Chriſtians ſhould carry in men, ammunition, or furniture of arms; for they ſtand in fear of ſurpriſing the town. And at their return they muſt ſtay three days before they are permitted to go through, becauſe of tranſporting away any Chriſtian ſlaves, or if they have committed any offence in

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in the city, the knowledge thereof may come in that time.

Chriſtian ſlaves fled from Conſtantinople.

At that ſame inſtant of my abode at Abydos, there were eighty Chriſtian ſlaves, who having cut their captain's throat, with the reſt of the Turks, run away from Conſtantinople with the galley. And paſſing here the ſecond day thereafter, at midnight, were diſcovered by the watch of both caſtles, where the cannon never left thundering for two hours; yet they eſcaped with ſmall hurt, and at laſt arrived in the road of Zante, deſiring landing and ſuccour, for their victuals were done. Victuals they ſent them; but the governor would not ſuffer them to come on land. In the end, the ſea growing ſomewhat boiſterous, the ſlaves, for an excuſe, cut their cables, and run the galley aſhore. Upon this they were entertained in ſervice; but the providitor cauſed to burn the galley, fearing leſt the Turks ſhould thereby forge ſome quarrel. The year following, another galley attempted the ſame; but the poor ſlaves having paſſed the caſtles, had been ſo wounded and killed with the great ſhot, and the galley ready to ſink, they were forced to run aſhore, whereby the next morning being apprehended, they were miſerably put to death. Betwixt the caſtles and Conſtantinople is about forty leagues. Over this ſtrait Xerxes did make a bridge of boats to paſs into Greece; whence, when a ſudden tempeſt had ariſen, he cauſed the ſea to be beat with three hundred ſtripes.

The ſorrow of Xerxes.

And at that ſame time Xerxes paſſing over the Helleſpont, and ſeeing all the ſea clad with his army, his horſes, chariots, and ſhips, the tears burſt from his eyes; and being demanded the cauſe of his grief, anſwered, "O," ſaid he, "I weep becauſe within a hundred years all this great and glorious ſight ſhall be diſſolved to nothing, and neither man nor beaſt ſhall be alive, nor chariot, nor engine of war, but ſhall be turned to duſt; and ſo I ſorrow to ſee the ſhort mortality

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tality of nature." Indeed it was a worthy saying, from such a heathenish monarch, who saw no further than the present misery of this life.

Here I left the two Frenchmen with a Greek barber, and imbarked for Constantinople in a Turkish frigato. The first place of any note I saw within these narrow seas, was the ancient city of Gallipolis, the second seat of Thracia, which was first built by Caius Caligula, and sometime had been inhabited by the Gauls. It was the first town in Europe that the Turks conquered, and was taken by Solyman, son to Orchanes, *anno* 1438.

North from Thracia lieth the province of Bulgaria, commonly Volgaria, and was called so of certain people that came from a country near to the river Volgo in Russia, about the year 666. It lieth between Servia, Thracia, and Danubio; and by the ancients it was thought to be the Lower Mysia, but more justly the region of Dacia. The chief town is Sophia, which some hold to be that town which Ptolomeus named *Tibisca*.

Here in Thracia lived the tyrant Polymnestor, who treacherously murdered Polydorus, a younger son of Priamus. For which fact Hecuba, the young prince's mother, scratched him to death. Here also reigned the worthy King Cotis, whom I propose as a pattern of rare temper, in mastering and preventing passion. To whom, when a neighbouring prince had sent him an exquisite present of accurately-wrought glasses, he (having dispatched the messenger with all due compliments and gratitude of majesty) broke them all to pieces, lest by mishap any of his servants doing the like, might stir or move him to an intemperate choler.

The Greeks here, and generally through all Greece, bear as much reverence and respect to Mount Athos, as the Papists bear to Rome. All of whose religious coleires and friars must toil and labour for their living, some in the vines, some in the corn-fields, and others at home in their monasteries, or elsewhere abroad, and

Mount Athos.

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are always occupied for the maintaining of their families. They are but poorly clad, yet wonderful kind to all Viadants: So that whoſo have occaſion to paſs that mountain are there lodged, and furniſhed of all neceſſary proviſion of food, by theſe ſequeſtrate or ſolitary livers, whoſe ſimple and harmleſs lives may be termed to be the very emblems of piety and devotion; knowing nothing but to ſerve God, and to live ſoberly in their carriage.

The chief cities of Thrace are, Conſtantinople, Abdera, where Democritus was born, who ſpent his life in laughing, Seſtos, Gallipoli, Trajanople, Galata, and Adrianopolis, which was taken by Bajazet *anno* 1362.

As we ſailed between Thracia and Bithynia, a learned Grecian, brought up in Padua, that was in my company, ſhowed me Colchis, whence Jaſon, with the aſſiſtance of the Argonautes, and the aid of Medea's ſkill, did fetch the golden fleece. This ſea Helleſpont took the name of *Helle*, daughter to Athamas King of Thebes, who was here drowned; and of the country Pontus, joining to the ſame ſea, wherein are theſe three countries, Armenia minor, Colchis, and Cappadocia. After we had come up to the famous city of Chalcedon, in Bithynia, on our right hand, I beheld on our left hand the proſpect of that little world, the great city of Conſtantinople; which indeed yieldeth ſuch an outward ſplendor to the amazed beholder, of goodly churches, ſtately towers, gallant ſteeples, and other ſuch things, whereof now the world make ſo great account, that the whole earth cannot equal it. Beholding theſe delectable objects, we entered into the channel of Boſphorus, which divideth Perah from Conſtantinople; and arriving at Tapanau, where all the ammunition of the great Turk lieth, I addreſſed myſelf to a Greek lodging, to refreſh myſelf till morning.

The ſea of Helleſpont.

But I had a hard welcome in my landing. For bidding farewel to the Turks, who had kindly uſed me three days, in our paſſage from the caſtles, the maſter

A harſh arrival.

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ſter of the boat ſaying, *adio Chriſtiano*, there were four French runnagates ſtanding on the key, who hearing theſe words, fell deſperately upon me, blaſpheming the name of Jeſus, and throwing me to the ground, beat me moſt cruelly; and if it had not been for my friendly Turks, who leaped out of their boat, and relieved me, I had doubtleſs there periſhed. The other infidels ſtanding by, ſaid to me, "Behold what a Saviour thou haſt, when theſe that were Chriſtians, now turned Mahometans, cannot abide nor regard the name of thy God." Having left them, with many a ſad blow they had left me, I entered a Greek lodging, where I was kindly received, and much eaſed of my blows, becauſe they cauſed them to be anointed with divers oils, and refreſhed me alſo with their beſt entertainment *gratis*, becauſe I had ſuffered ſo much for Chriſt's ſake; and would receive no recompence again. The day following I went to ſalute, and do my duty to the Right Worſhipful Sir Thomas Glover, then Lord Ambaſſador for our late gracious ſovereign King James, of bleſſed memory, who moſt generouſly and courteouſly entertained me three months in his houſe, to whoſe kindneſs I was infinitely obliged; as hereafter in my following diſcourſe of the fourth part of this hiſtory, ſhall be more particularly avouched: for certainly I never met with a more complete gentleman in all my travels, nor one in whom true worth did more illuſtrate virtue.

PART

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PART IV.

Now ſing I of Byzantium; Boſphor's tides,
'Twixt Europe and the Leſſer Aſia glides.
Their Hippodrome, adorn'd with triumphs paſt,
And blackiſh ſea, the Iadileck more faſt:
The Galata, where Chriſtian merchants ſtay,
And five ambaſſadors for commerce ay:
The Turkiſh cuſtoms, and their manners rude,
And of their deſcent from the Scythian blood:
Their harſh religion, and their ſenſe of hell,
And Paradiſe, their laws I ſhall you tell:
Then laſt of Mahomet, their God on earth,
His end, his life, his parentage and birth.

CONſtantinople is the metropolitan of Thracia, ſo called of Conſtantine the emperor, who firſt enlarged the ſame. It was called of old *Byzantium*, but now by the Turks Stambolda, which ſignifies, in their language, a large city. It was alſo called *Ethuſe*, and by the Greeks *Stymbolis*. This city (according to ancient authors) was firſt founded by the Lacedemonians, who were conducted from Lacedemon, by one Pauſanias, about the year of the world 3294, which after their conſultation with Apollo, where they ſhould ſettle their abode and dwelling-place, they came to Bithynia, and builded a city which was called *Chalcedon*. But the commodity of fiſhing falling out contrary to their expectation, in reſpect that the fiſhes were afraid of the white banks of the city; the Captain Pauſanias left that place, and builded Byzantium in Thracia, which firſt was by him intitled *Ligos*. By Pliny, Juſtin, and Strabo, it was ſurnamed *Urbs Illuſtriſſima*, becauſe it is repleted with all the bleſſings earth can give to man; yea, in the moſt fertile ſoil of Europe.

Zonoras

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Zonoras reporteth, that the Athenians, in an ambitious and insatiable desire of sovereignty, won it from the Lacedemonians. They thus being vanquished, suborned Severus the Roman emperor to besiege the same. But the city Byzantium being strongly fortified with walls, the Romans could not take it in, until extreme famine constrained them to yield, after three years siege; and Severus, to satisfy his cruelty, put all to the sword that were within, and razed the walls, giving it in possession to the neighbouring Perinthians. This city thus remained in calamity till Constantine (resigning the city of Rome, and a great part of Italy, to the popish inheritance of the Roman bishops) rebuilded the same, and translated his imperial seat into the east, and reduced all the empire of Greece to an entire tranquillity, with immortal reputation, which the Parthians and Persians had so miserably disquieted.

Byzantium rebuilded by Constantine.

But these disorders were at length reformed by the severe administration of justice; for the which, and other worthy respects, the said Constantine, son of St Helen, and emperor of Rome, (which afterward the Pope usurped), was surnamed *the Great*. He first, in his plantation, called this city *New Rome*; but when he beheld the flourishing and multiplying of all things in it, and because of the commodious situation thereof, he called it *Constantinopolis*, after his own name. This emperor lived there many prosperous years, in most happy estate; likewise many of his successors did, until such time that Mahomet, the second of that name, and emperor of the Turks, living in a discontented humour to behold the great and glorious dominions of Christians, especially this famous city, that so flourished in his eyes, by momental circumstances, collected his cruel intentions to the full height of ambition, whereby he might abolish the very name of Christianity, and also puffed up with a presumptuous desire to enlarge his empire, went with a marvellous power, both by sea and land, unto this magnificent mansion.

The

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The iſſue whereof was ſuch, that, after divers battaries and aſſaults, the irreligious infidels broke down the walls, and entered the city; which breach was about forty paces long, as by the new colour, being built up again, is eaſily known from the old walls; where when they entered, they made a wonderful maſſacre of poor afflicted Chriſtians, without ſparing any of the Roman kind, either male or female. In the mercileſs fury of theſe infernal imps, the Emperor Conſtantine was killed, whoſe head being cut off, was carried upon the point of a lance through all the city, and camp of the Turks, to the great diſgrace and ignominy of Chriſtianity. His Empreſs, daughters, and other ladies, after they were abuſed in their bodies, were put to death in a moſt cruel and terrible manner.

By this overthrow of Conſtantinople, this Mahomet took twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities from the Chriſtians, which is a lamentable loſs of ſuch an illuſtrious empire. Thus was that imperial city loſt, in the year 1453, May 29th, when it had remained under the government of Chriſtians 1198 years. It is now the chief abode of the great Turk, Sultan Achmet, the fifteen grand Cham, of the line of Ottoman, who was then about twenty-three years of age; whoſe ſon Oſman ſince, and after his death, was murdered by the Janizaries, being fourteen years of age, after his return to Conſtantinople from Podolia in Poland; and in his place his uncle Muſtaffa made emperor, whoſe weakneſs and unworthineſs being ſoon diſcovered, he was diſplaced, and Amurath, Oſman's brother, made Grand Signior, who preſently reigneth, and not without great fear of his Janizaries and Timariots, who twice in three years have lately made inſurrection againſt him. This Emperor Achmet, who was alive when I was there, was more given to venery, than to war, which gave a greater advantage to the Perſians in their defenſive wars.

Four emperors one after another diſtreſſed.

Concerning the empire we may obſerve ſome fatal contrarieties

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contrarieties in one and the ſame name: For Philip, the father of Alexander, laid the firſt foundation of the Macedonian monarchy, and Philip, the father of Perſeus, ruined it. So was this town built by a Conſtantine the ſon of Helena, a Gregory being patriarch; and was loſt by a Conſtantine the ſon of Helena, a Gregory being alſo patriarch. The Turks have a prophecy, that as it was won by a Mahomet, ſo it ſhall be loſt by a Mahomet. *Contrarities of fortune.*

The form or ſituation of this city is like unto a triangle, the ſouth part whereof, and the eaſt part, are environed with Helleſpontus, and Boſphorus Thracius; and the north part adjoining to the firm land. It is in compaſs about the walls eſteemed to be eighteen miles: In one of theſe triangled points, being the ſouth-eaſt part, and at the joining of Boſphore and Helleſpont, ſtandeth the palace of the great Turk, called *Seraglio*, and the foreſt wherein he hunteth, which is two miles in length.

The ſpecial object of antiquity I ſaw within this city, was the incomparable church of St Sophia, whoſe ornaments and hallowed veſſels were innumerable, in the time of Juſtinian the emperor, who firſt builded it; but now converted to a Moſque, and conſecrate to Mahomet, after a diabolical manner *.

I ſaw alſo the famous Hippodrome, and the theatre whereon the people ſtood, when the emperors uſed to run their horſes, and make their princely ſhews on ſolemn days, which is now altogether decayed. There is a great column in that ſame place, in which all the memorable things which have been done in this Hippodrome are ſuperficially carved †. *Hippodrome.*

Upon

* The dome of St Sophia is ſaid to be one hundred and thirteen feet diameter, built upon arches ſuſtained by vaſt pillars of marble; the pavement and ſtair-caſe marble. There are two rows of galleries ſupported with pillars of parti-coloured marble, and the whole roof Moſaic work.——Lady Mary Wortley Montague's letters.

† This was the Hippodrome in the reign of the Greek emperors.

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Upon the weſt corner of the city, there is a ſtrong fortreſs, fortified with ſeven great towers, and well furniſhed with ammunition, called by Turks *Iadileke*. In this priſon are baſhaws and ſub-baſhaws impriſoned, and alſo great men of Chriſtians, if any offence committed. Their place of exchange is called *Bezaſtan*, wherein all ſorts of commodities are to be ſold; as ſattins, ſilks, velvets, cloth of ſilver and gold, and the moſt exquiſitely wrought handkerchiefs that can be found in the world; with infinite other commodities, the relation of which would be tedious.

I have ſeen men and women as uſually ſold here in markets, as horſes and other beaſts are with us; the moſt part of which are Hungarians, Tranſylvanians, Carindians, Iſtrians, and Dalmatian captives, and of other places beſides, which they can overcome; whom, if no compaſſionate Chriſtian will buy or relieve, then muſt they either turn Turk, or be addicted to perpetual ſlavery. Here I remember of a charitable deed, done for a ſinful end, and thus it was. A ſhip of Marſeilles, called the great *Dolphin*, lying here forty days at the Galata, the maſter gunner, named *Monſieur Nerack*, and I falling in familiar acquaintance, upon a time he told me ſecretly, that he would gladly, for conſcience and merit's ſake, redeem ſome poor Chriſtian ſlave from Turkiſh captivity. To the which, I applauded his advice, and told him the next Friday following, I would aſſiſt him to ſo worthy an action. Friday comes, and he and I went to Conſtan-

A French palliard.

In the midſt of it is a brazen column of three ſerpents, twiſted together with their mouths gaping. It is impoſſible to learn, why ſo odd a pillar was erected; the Greeks can tell nothing but fabulous legends, when they are aſked the meaning of it, and there is no ſign of its having ever had any inſcription. At the upper end is an obeliſk of porphyry, probably brought from Egypt, the hieroglyphics all very entire, which I look upon as mere ancient puns. It is placed on four little brazen pillars, upon a pedeſtal of ſquare free-ſtone, full of figures in baſs-relief; on two ſides, one ſquare repreſenting a battle, another an aſſembly; the others have inſcriptions in Greek and Latin.——Lady Mary Wortley Montague's letters.

tinople,

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tinople, where the market of the ſlaves being ready, we ſpent two hours in viewing and reviewing five hundred males and females. At laſt I appointed him to have bought an old man or woman, but his mind was contrary ſet, ſhewing me, that he would buy ſome virgin or young widow, to ſave their bodies undeflowered with infidels. The price of a virgin was too dear for him, being an hundred duckets, and widows were far under, and at an eaſier rate. When we did viſit and ſearch them that we were mindful to buy, they were ſtripped ſtark naked before our eyes, where the ſweeteſt face, the youngeſt age, and whiteſt ſkin was in greateſt value and requeſt. The Jews ſold them, for they had bought them from the Turks. At laſt we fell upon a Dalmatian widow, whoſe pitiful looks, and ſhrinkling tears, ſtruck my ſoul almoſt to death for compaſſion; whereupon I grew earneſt for her relief, and he yielding to my advice, ſhe is bought and delivered unto him, the man being ſixty years of age, and her price thirty-ſix duckets. We leave the market, and come over again to Galata, where he and I took a chamber for her, and leaving them there, the next morning I returned early, ſuſpecting greatly the diſſembling devotion of the gunner to be nought but luxurious luſt, and ſo it proved. I knocked at the chamber-door that he had newly locked, and taken the key with him to the ſhip, for he had tarried with her all that night; and ſhe anſwering me with tears, told me all the manner of his uſage, wiſhing herſelf to be again in her former captivity; whereupon I went a ſhip-board to him, and in my grief I ſwore, That if he abuſed her any more after that manner, and not returned to her diſtreſs her Chriſtian liberty, I would firſt make it known to his maſter, the captain of the ſhip, and then to the French ambaſſador; for he was mindful alſo, his luſt being ſatisfied, to have ſold her over again to ſome other. At which threatening, the old palliard became ſo fearful, that he entered into a reaſonable condition with me, and the ſhip departing thence ſix days after, he

The Dalmatian widow re-relieved.

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freely reſigned to me her life, her liberty, and freedom; which being done, and he gone, under my hand, before divers Greeks, I ſubſcribed her liberty, and hired her in the ſame tavern for a year, taking nothing from her; for as little had ſhe to give me, except many bleſſings and thankful prayers. This French gunner was a papiſt, and here you may behold the dregs of his devotion, and what ſeven nights lechery coſt him; you may caſt up the reckoning of thirty-ſix ducats.

In Conſtantinople there have happened many fearful fires, which often have conſumed to aſhes the moſt part of the rareſt monuments there, and the beauty of infinite palaces; as Zonoras the Conſtantinopolitan hiſtoriographer, in his hiſtories mentioneth. And now lately, in the year 1607, October 14. there were burnt above three thouſand houſes, of which I ſaw a number of ruins (as yet) unrepaired. It is ſubject alſo to divers earthquakes, which have often ſubverted the towers, houſes, churches, and walls of the city, to the ground. Eſpecially in the year 1509, in the reign of Bajazeth, the ninth emperor of the Turks, in which time, more than thirteen thouſand perſons were all ſmothered and dead, and laid up in heaps unburied. And commonly every third year, their peſtilence is exceeding great in that city, and after ſuch an odious manner, that thoſe who are infected (before they die) have the half of their one ſide rotten, and fall away; ſo that you may eaſily diſcern the whole intrails of their bowels. It is not permitted here, nor elſewhere in all Turky, that any Chriſtian ſhould enter into their moſques, or churches, without the conduct of a Janizary; the trial whereof I had, when I viewed that glorious and great church of Sancta Sophia, once the beauty and ornament of all Europe, and is now the chief place to which the great Turk or Emperor goeth every Friday, their ſabbath-day, to do his devotion, being accompanied with three thouſand Janizaries, beſides Baſhaws, Chowſes, and Hagars. Truly, I may ſay of Conſtantinople,

Peſtilence and earthquakes.

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Conſtantinople, as I ſaid once of the world, in the Lamentado of my ſecond pilgrimage;

A painted whore, the maſk of deadly ſin,
Sweet fair without, and ſtinking foul within.

For indeed outwardly it hath the faireſt ſhow; and inwardly, the ſtreets being narrow, and moſt part covered, the filthieſt and moſt deformed buildings in the world. The reaſon of its beauty is, becauſe being ſituate on moderate proſpective heights, the univerſal tectures afar off yield a delectable ſhow, the covertures being erected like the back of a coach after the Italian faſhion, with guttered tile. But being entered within, there is nothing but a ſtinking deformity, and a loathſome contrived place; without either internal domeſtic furniture, or the external decorations of fabricks extended like a palace. Notwithſtanding that, for its ſituation, the delicious wines and temperate climate, the fertile circumjacent fields, the Helleſpont ſea, and pleaſant Aſia on the other ſide; it may truly be called the paradiſe of the earth.

Perah is over-againſt Conſtantinople, called of old *Cornubizantii*, but by the Turks *Galata*, being both a quarter of a mile diſtant, and the Thracian Boſphore dividing the two. It is the place at which Chriſtian ſhips touch, and where the ambaſſadors of Chriſtendom lie. The number of the Chriſtian ambaſſadors that then lay there, and now do, were theſe; firſt the Roman Emperor's, then the French, thirdly the Engliſh, fourthly the Venetian, and laſtly the Dutch ambaſſadors, with whom often I was familiar in diſcourſe, although with Noble Sir Thomas Glover I was ſtill domeſtic for twelve weeks, whoſe ſecretary for that time was my countryman, Mr James Rollock, who now, as I take it, is reſiding in Stirling. He was the laſt Scotſman I ſaw till my return to Malta, after my departure from Conſtantinople.

The Chriſtian ambaſſadors of Perah.

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From thence I went to the Black ſea, commonly called *Mare Euxinum*, where I ſaw Pompey's pillar of marble, ſtanding near the ſhore, upon a rocky iſland*; and not far from thence is a lanthorn higher than any ſteeple, whereon there is a pan full of liquor that burneth every night to give warning unto ſhips how near they come to the ſhore. It is not much unlike theſe lanthorns of Leghorn and Genoa. The water of this ſea is no blacker than that of other ſeas; but it is called black, in reſpect of the dangerous accidents which happen there in dark and tempeſtuous nights, and becauſe of the rocks and ſands which lie at a great diſtance from the main ſhore, upon which great numbers of veſſels are often caſt away. The Black ſea is not far from Galata; for I both went and returned in one day, being forty miles out and in: for I went by boat, and not by land, through the pleaſant euripus that runneth between the Euxine ſea and Helleſpont. And by the way I cannot but regret the great loſs Sir Thomas Glover received by the Duke of Moldavia, who chargeably entertained him two years in his houſe, and furniſhed him with money, and other neceſſaries fit for his eminency. This Duke or Prince of Bugdonia was deprived of his principalities by Achmet, and fled hither to the Chriſtian ambaſſadors for relief. To whom, when all the reſt had refuſed acceptance, only Noble Sir Thomas received him, maintained him, and ſeriouſly wrought with the Grand Signior and his council to have had him reſtored again to his lands; but could not prevail.

Pompey's pillar.

In the end, Sir Thomas Glover's five years time of ambaſſadry being expired, and the Duke hearing privately that Sir Paul Pinder was to come in his place, as indeed he came too ſoon, this Moldavian prince ſtole

* Pompey's pillar, ſtill ſtanding on a high hill, two hundred paces from Alexandria in Lower Egypt, a province of Africa. It is one entire ſtone, one hundred and twenty-five feet high, and of the Corinthian order. —— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

early

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early away in the morning over to Conſtantinople, and long before mid-day turned Turk, and was circumciſed, contenting himſelf only, for all his great dukedom, with a palace, and a yearly penſion of twelve thouſand zechins of gold, during his life. Which, when we heard, the ambaſſador and we were all amazed and diſcontented. He was indebted to the ambaſſador above fifteen thouſand zechins of gold; yet before my leaving Galata, I went twice over with Sir Thomas, and ſaw him, and found him attended with a number of Turks; who, when he ſaw me, took me kindly by the hand; for we had been two months familiar in the ambaſſador's houſe before.

The Duke of Moldavia turned Turk.

The Engliſh ambaſſador, within half a year, recovered the half of his money, the other half he was forced to diſpenſe with, for divers important reaſons. Nay, I muſt ſay one thing more of this knight: He relieved more ſlaves from the galleys, paid their ranſoms, and ſent them home freely to their Chriſtian ſtations, and kept a better houſe, than any ambaſſador did that ever lay at Conſtantinople, or ever ſhall to the world's end.

His mother was a Polonian, who coming from Dantzick to London, was delivered of him upon the ſea. Afterward he was brought up at Conſtantinople from a boy, and ſpoke and wrote the Sclavonian tongue perfectly. And thence returning for London, he was the firſt ambaſſador King James, of bleſſed memory, ſent to Conſtantinople, after his coming to the crown of England. And thus much for this worthy and ever-renowned knight, whoſe praiſe and fame I cannot too much celebrate.

The Turks have no bells in their churches, neither the uſe of a clock, nor numbering of hours; but they have high round ſteeples; for they contradict all forms of Chriſtians. When they go to pray, they are called together by the voice of crying men; who, going upon the bartizings of their ſteeples, ſhouting and crying

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with a ſhrill voice, *La illa, Eillalla, Mahomet Rezul allah*; that is, "God is a great God, and Mahomet is his prophet;" or otherwiſe, "There is but one God."

In Conſtantinople, and all other places of Turky, I ever ſaw three ſabbaths together in one week; the Friday for the Turks, the Saturday for Jews, and the Sunday for Chriſtians. But the Turks ſabbath is worſt kept of all; for they will not ſpare to do any labour on their holiday. They have meetings at their public prayers, every day five ſeveral times: the firſt is, before the riſing of the ſun; the ſecond is, a little before mid-day; the third is, at three of the clock in the afternoon; the fourth is, at the ſunſetting, ſummer and winter; fifthly, the laſt hour of prayer is always two or three hours within night. Many of them will watch for that time, and not ſleep; and others ſleeping, will awake at the voice of the cryer, and go to church.

Times of Turkiſh prayers.

In ſign of reverence, and in a ſuperſtitious devotion, before they go into their Moſques, they waſh themſelves in a Lavotoio, beginning at the privy members, next their mouths, faces, feet, and hands; and entering, they incline their heads downward to the earth; and falling on their knees, do kiſs the ground three times. Then the Talaſumany, which is the chief prieſt, mounteth upon a high ſtone, where he maketh many orations to Mahomet; and the reſt, to aſſiſt him, continue a long time ſhaking their heads, as though they were out of all their natural underſtanding, repeating of this word *Haylamo, Haylamo*; and after that will ſigh grievouſly, ſaying, *Houpek*; and ſometimes will abruptly ſing the pſalms of David in the Arabic tongue, but to no ſenſe nor verity of the ſcriptures. And at their devotion, they will not tolerate any woman in their company, leſt they ſhould withdraw their minds and affections from their preſent zeal. But the men obſerve their turns and times, and the women theirs, going always when they go, either of them alone to their devotion. The like cuſtom, but not after the ſame

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ſame manner, have I ſeen obſerved among the Proteſtants in Tranſilvania, Hungaria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Sileſia, who, when they come to church on the ſabbath-day, there is a taffaty curtain drawn from the pulpit to the church-wall over againſt it; the men ſitting on the right hand of the preacher, the women on the left, whoſe eyes and faces cannot ſee other during divine ſervice, ſave only the miniſter, that overtoppeth both ſides; and truly I thought it was a very modeſt and neceſſary obſervation. The Turks are generally circumciſed after the manner of the Jews, but not after eight days, but after eight years. The churchmen are called *Hadach Carſeis*, or *Derviſes*, who wear on their heads green ſaſhes, to make diſtinction between them and others; for they are accounted to be of Mahomet's kindred.

The Turks are circumciſed.

They hold all madmen in great reverence, as prophets or ſaints; and if they intend any far journey, private purpoſes, or otherwiſe, before they go to battle, they come to crave counſel of the Santones, to know if they ſhall proſper, or not, in their attempts. And whatſoever anſwer theſe bedlam-prophets give, it is holden to be as credible as if an oracle had ſpoken it. The Turkiſh prieſts are for the moſt part Moors, whom they account to be a baſe people, in reſpect of themſelves, calling them *Totſeks*. Their principal church-governor is called *Mufti*, whoſe definitive ſentence in law or religion is fixed, and abſolutely irrevokable. Neither abaſeth he himſelf to ſit in the Divano, nor affordeth more reverence to the Emperor than he to him. The other ſort of churchmen are the Naipi, or young doctors, the Caddi, whereof there are two or three in every city to judge the offences; the Calſi, or readers; and the Mudreſſi, which uſe to overſee the Cadeis in their office. They were all formerly idolatrous Pagans, and were faſt initiated in Mahometaniſm, when they got the ſovereignty of the Perſian ſceptre, by the great battle, and fortunate

The Turkiſh churchmen.

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tunate conduct of Tangrolipix, in overthrowing Mahomet, a Saracenical sultan of Persia, who enthroned himself in the Persian chair of state *anno* 1030. This prerogative title of *Mufti* was first intitled *Caliph*, whose residence was in Babylon, and wholly supreme over the Mahometans. But the Egyptians, after the death of Mot adi Bila, withdrew themselves from this Babylonian obedience, and chused one of their own, to whom the Moors of Barbary submitted themselves.

Babylon recovered by the Persians.

But now since Bagdat, or Babylon, hath been recovered by the Persians, about four years ago, their Mahometan Mufti, or Caliph, that then was resident there, is now retired to Constantinople, where he sitteth in a more secure place, thinking rather to follow the grandeur of the Turk, than the broken estate of the Persian, whence I may truly say, he is Fortune's page, that favoureth them most who have most favourers.

This unwieldy body, having two heads, began to decline; for Allan, a Tartarian captain, starved Mustazem, the last divided Babylonian Caliph to death, and rooted out all his posterity. And then Sarancon, the first Turkish king in Egypt, brained the last Egyptian Caliph with his mace, leaving none of the issue, or kindred, surviving. The office of the Caliph is now executed in Turkey, under the name of *Mufti*, or high priest. All Turks do detest the colour of black, and think those that wear it shall never enter into paradise. But the colour of greatest request among them is green; wherewith if any Christian be apparelled, he should be sure of bastinadoes, and other punishments. Neither may he use the name of their prophet Mahomet in his mouth, (under the pain of cruel censure to be inflicted upon him), whom they so much adore and honour.

This Mahomet was born *anno Domini* 591, in Itruria,

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pia, a beggarly village in Arabia, whoſe father was Abdillas, an Iſhmaelite, and his mother Cadiges, a Jew, both different in religion, and alſo of divers countries. In his youth he was partly taught the Judaical law, and partly the ſuperſtition of the Gentiles. Many alledge his parentage was never known (being ſo baſe) until his riper years betrayed the ſame. I alſo learned, that his parents died whilſt he was a young child, and was turned over to his uncle, who afterward ſold him to one Abdeminoples, a merchant in Paleſtina; and he, after a little time, having remarked his ready and prompt wit, ſent him down to Egypt, to be a factor in his merchandiſe; where, by his diſſimulate behaviour, he creeped in favour with Chriſtians, Jews, and Gentiles. He was in proportion of a mean ſtature, lively faced, big headed, eloquent in language, of a ſanguine complexion, and a courageous diſpoſition, in all attempts exceeding deſperate. He was alſo deceitful, variable, and fraudulent; as may appear in his ſatanical fables, expreſſed in his Alcoran, where oft one ſaying contradicteth another, both in words and effect.

Mahomet's birth.

About this time there was one Sergius, an Italian born, baniſhed from Conſtantinople becauſe he allowed of the Arian ſect; who afterward having come to Paleſtina, and frequented the houſe of Abdeminoples, fell in acquaintance with the young man Mahomet; and this friar, perceiving the aſpiring quickneſs of his brain, bore a great affection to his natural perfections. Shortly after this, his maſter dying without heirs, and his miſtreſs enjoying many rich poſſeſſions, ſhe, for theſe his extraordinary qualities, from the degree of a ſervant, advanced him to be her own huſband.

That unhappy match was no ſooner done, but ſhe repeated it with tears; for he being ſubject to the falling-ſickneſs, would often fall flat on the ground before her, ſtaring, gaping, and foaming at the mouth; ſo that his company became loathſome and deteſtable. The which begun contempt in his bed-

Mahomet poſſed with the falling ſickneſs.

fellow:

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fellow: Being to him manifeſted, he ſtrove (under the ſhadow of invented lies) to mitigate the fury of her hateful diſdain, feigning, and atteſting, that when he fell to the ground, it was the great God ſpoke with him, before whoſe face (ſaith he) I am not able to ſtand: ſuch is the ſoliciting of me, with words of terror and majeſty, to reform the ways of the degenerate people with fire and ſword, ſince Moſes and Chriſt (notwithſtanding of their miracles) have been rejected by the world. The old Trot, believing all theſe flattering ſpeeches, was not only appeaſed of her former conceit, but alſo loving him more than a huſband, reverenced him for a divine prophet, imparting the ſame unto her neighbours and goſſips. After they had lived two years together, the bewitched matron dying, left all her poſſeſſions to Mahomet; both becauſe ſhe accounted him to be a prophet, and next, for that loving regard ſhe had of his tender body, being but thirty years of age. He being thus left with great riches, was puffed up in pride and haughty deſires, ſtriving, by all inordinate means, to bring his new deviſed plots to perfection. For the better performance whereof, he conſulted with this Sergius, a Neſtorian monk, and Atodala, another Thalmudiſt, a diverted Jew. Hereupon theſe two hell-hounds, and the other perverſe runagate, patched up a moſt monſtrous and deviliſh religion to themſelves, and to their miſcreant believers; partly compoſed of the Judaical law, partly of Arianiſm, partly intermixed with ſome points of Chriſtianity, and partly of other fantaſtical fopperies, which his own invention ſuggeſted unto him.

The law of Mahomet.

The book of this religion is named the *Alcoran*; the whole body of which, is but an expoſition and gloſs on the eight commandments he affixed; whereupon dependeth the whole Mahometan law. "Firſt, Every one ought to believe, that God is a great God, and only God, and Mahomet is his prophet. Secondly, Every man muſt marry to increaſe the ſectaries of Mahomet. Thirdly, Every one muſt give of his wealth to the

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the poor. Fourthly, Every one muſt make his prayers ſeven times a day. Fifthly, Every one muſt keep a lent one month in the year; (this lent is called *Birham*, or *Ramazan*). Sixthly, Be obedient to thy parents; (which law is ſo neglected, that never any children were, or are, more unnatural than the Turkiſh be.) Seventhly, Thou ſhalt not kill; (which they inviolably keep among themſelves, but the poor Chriſtians feel the ſmart thereof). Laſtly, and eightly, Do unto others, as thou wouldſt be done unto thyſelf." The performers of which have large ſophiſtical promiſes aſcribed them *.

This new coined doctrine was no ſooner wrapped up in his execrable Alcoran, but he began to ſpit forth

* The rites, doctrines, and laws, of the Turkiſh religion, are founded in three books, which may not improperly be called the *codes* and *pandects* of the Mahometan conſtitutions.

The firſt is the Alcoran; the ſecond the conſent or teſtimony of wiſe men, called the *Aſſonah*, or the *traditions of the prophets*; and the third the inferences or deductions of one thing from another. Mahomet wrote the Alcoran, and preſcribed ſome laws for the civil government: the other additions, or ſuperſtructures, were compoſed by their doctors that ſucceeded; which were, Ebbubech, Omar, Ozman, and Haly. The Caliphs of Babylon and Egypt, were other doctors and expoſitors of their laws, whoſe ſentences and poſitions were of divine authority among them; but their eſteem of being oraculous failing with their temporal power, that dignity and authority, of infallible determination, was, by force of the ſword, transferred to the Turkiſh Mufti. And though there is great diverſity amongſt the doctors, as touching the explication of their law, yet he is eſteemed a true believer who obſerves theſe five articles or fundamentals of the law, to which every true Turk is obliged. The firſt is cleanneſs in the outward parts of their body and garments; ſecondly, to make prayers five times a day; thirdly, to obſerve the Ramazan, or monthly faſt; fourthly, to perform faithfully Zekat, or giving of alms, according to the proportion preſcribed in a certain book, wrote by the four doctors of theirs, called *Aſan*, *Embela*, *&c.*; fifthly, to make their pilgrimage to Mecca, if they have means and poſſibility to perform it: but the article of faith required to be believed is but one, viz. That there is but one God, and Mahomet his prophet. Other rites, as circumciſion, obſervation of Friday for a day of devotion, abſtinence from ſwines fleſh, and from blood, are not reckoned (as they ſay) amongſt the five principal points, becauſe they are enjoined as trials and proofs of a man's obedience to the more neceſſary law.——*Rycaut's Hiſtory of the Turks.*

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his abominable and blaſphemous hereſies; affirming, that Chriſt was not the Son of the Moſt High, nor the Meſſiah looked for; denying alſo the Trinity; with many other profane blaſphemies. The work concluded, for the better advancement of his purpoſe, he married the daughter of the chief prince of his own tribe: By which new affinity, he not only ſeduced his father-in-law, but alſo the whole lineage of that family: by whoſe acceptance and converſion, he confederated with other aſſociates, and waxed daily ſtronger. Contending continually to divulge his name more and more, he aſſembled his new Alcoraniſts; exhorting them to aſſiſt him in the beſieging of Mecca, which citizens had in deriſion rebuked his law, and abſolutely diſdained his Mahometan illuſions: and promiſed to them, in ſuch a well-deſerving attempt, both eternal felicity, and the ſpoils of theſe his contradictors; perſuaſively aſſuring them, that God would deliver all the gainſayers of his Alcoran into his hands. By which allurements they being moved, roſe to the number of 3000 in arms, and menaced Mecca; but the citizens put him to flight, and ſo was he thrice ſerved, till in the end he won their city; wherein after his death he was intombed in an iron coffin, which, between two adamants, hangeth to this day, (as I have been informed of ſundry Turks, who ſaw it); which confirmed in them a ſolid belief of his erroneous doctrine.

Mahomet's tomb.

But now of late, the Turks growing more circumſpect than they were, and underſtanding the deriſion of Chriſtians concerning their hanging tomb, and becauſe the Turkiſh pilgrims were often ſuffocate to death, with a fabulous deſert in going to Mecca, they have tranſported Mahomet's tomb now to Medina; which is a great deal nearer to Damaſcus, and at the entry of Arabia Felix, in a glorious moſque, where the tomb being cloſs ground ſet, and richly covered with a golden canopy: they have prohibited any Chriſtian to come near it by two courſes, to wit, twenty-four miles, under the pain of death; which indeed they keep more ſtrictly

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ſtrictly in execution, than princely proclamations are obeyed, obſerved, or regarded with us, either for regal ſtatutes, or general benefits of commonwealth; their continuance being but like the miracle of nine days wonder; return again from whence they came, fruſtrate of power, and robbed of obedience. From this time that he vanquiſhed Mecca, caſting out the Greek officers, (for then all Arabia was under the Conſtantinopolitan empire), the Saracens began their computation of years, (as we from Chriſt's nativity), which they call *Hegira*, and begun about the year of our redemption ſix hundred and ſeventeen. Concerning which time that Mahomet compiled his deviliſh Alcoran, beginning his empire nigh about the ſame time, it is obſerved, that Boniface III. began his empire, and Antichriſtian title; for Phocas having killed the Emperor Mauritius his wife and children, to ſecure himſelf of Italy, ready to revolt from ſuch a tyrant, made Boniface univerſal biſhop and head of the church.

This Boniface was the ſixty-fourth Biſhop, and firſt Pope of Rome; which was immediately thereafter confirmed by Pippin the French King, who alſo had murdered his maſter and prince; and laſtly was ratified by Paleologus, whoſe ſon Conſtantine, about fourteen years after, had his head ſtruck off, his wife and daughters put to cruel death, his empire quite ſubverted, in the loſs of twelve kingdoms and two hundred cities, being the juſt judgements of God upon the ſon, for the father's ſake, who aſſigned ſuch an ambitious charge unto that perverſe papality. After which predominant titles and falſified power, what long controverſies and diſputes were between the Pope and the councils of Carthage, Chalcedon, Epheſus, Alexandria, and Nice? This papal prerogative began with blood and murder, continueth in blood and maſſacres, and, doubtleſs, in the end ſhall periſh, and be confounded with blood and abominable deſtruction. *The firſt title of Pope.*

And what great debate was of old by the Roman emperors, in aboliſhing out of their churches the images

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ges and idols of ſtone, iron, and timber, &c. that for many hundred years they were not ſuffered to be ſeen? And at the beginning of the papality, and a long time after, the emperors prohibited them, and divers Popes have confirmed, and approved the ſame; yet ſucceeding Popes, and the empire, being divided in eaſt and weſt, introduced again the dregs of their old Heatheniſh and Roman idolatry; and yet they will not be content with the bare name of images, but they impoſe a ſirname, or epithet of ſanctity, terming them *holy images*. Truly I may ſay, if it were not for theſe images, and ſuperſtitious idolatries, they aſſign to them, the Turks had long ago been converted to the Chriſtian faith.

Romiſh idolatry.

I have ſeen ſometimes two thouſand Turks travelling to Mecca in pilgrimage, which is in Arabia Felix; where many, in a ſuperſtitious devotion, having ſeen the tomb of Mahomet, are never deſirous to ſee the vanities of the world again; for, in a frantic piety, they cauſe a ſmith to pull forth their eyes: and theſe men are called afterward *Hoggeis*, that is, *holy men*, whom the Turks much honour and regard; and are always led about from town to town by mens hands, and fed and regarded like unto princes, or like the capuchins that ſcourge themſelves on Good-Friday, are met, and homaged at every paſſing ſtreet, with prayers, gifts, and adorations.

Turkiſh pilgrims.

Some write, that Mahomet, in his youth, was a ſoldier, under the conduct of Heraclius; who, employing certain Arabians in an expedition to Perſia, not only denied them their wages, but told them, that that was not to be given to dogs which was provided for the Roman ſoldiers. Hence ſome mutinies ariſing in the army, he, with certain Arabians, his countrymen, by faction, ſeparated themſelves, and revolted: whereupon Mahomet, encouraging them in their defection, was choſen their captain; and ſo for a certain time they continued rebellious runagates, thieves, and robbers

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bers of all people. The ſubtilty of this diſſembler was admirable, who knowing that he was deſtitute of heavenly gifts to work miracles, feigned that God ſent him with the ſword. He alſo promiſed, at the end of a thouſand years, to return, and bring them to paradiſe; but he hath falſified his promiſe, for the time is expired forty years ago. And they imagining, that he is either diſeaſed, or become lame in his journey, have aſcribed to him another thouſand years to come. But long may their wicked and faithleſs generation gape before he come, until ſuch time, that, in a general convocation, they be partakers of his endleſs damnation in hell; unleſs it pleaſe the Lord, in his mercy, to convert them before that time.

Mahomet hath broke his promiſe.

Mahomet chiefly prohibiteth in his Alcoran the eating of ſwines fleſh, and drinking of wine; which indeed the beſt ſort do, but the baſer kind are daily drunkards. Their common drink is ſherpet, compoſed of water, honey, and ſugar, which is exceeding pleaſant to the taſte. And the uſual courteſy they beſtow on their friends who viſit them, is a cup of coffa, made of a kind of ſeed called *coava*, and of a blackiſh colour, which they drink as hot as poſſibly they can, and is good to expel the crudity of raw meats, and herbs, ſo much by them frequented. And thoſe that cannot attain to this liquor, muſt be contented with the cooling ſtreams of water.

It is incident to Turks, who have not the generoſity of mind to temper felicity, to be glutted with the ſuperfluous fruits of doubtful proſperity. Neither have they a patient reſolution to withſtand adverſity, nor hope to expect the better alteration of time. But by an infuſed malice in their wicked ſpirits, when they are any way diſtreſſed, will, with importunate compulſion, cauſe the poor ſlaviſh ſubjected Chriſtians ſurrender all they have, the half, or ſo, ſometimes with ſtrokes, menacings, and ſometimes death itſelf; which plainly

Oppreſſion of Turks.

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doth demonſtrate their exceſſive cruelty, and the poor Chriſtians inevitable miſery. And yet being complained upon, they are ſeverely puniſhed, or elſe put to death, for committing of ſuch unallowable riots, being expreſsly againſt the imperial law of the Turks, concerning the quietneſs and liberty of the Chriſtians.

I have often heard Turks brawl one with another, moſt vilely, but I never ſaw, nor heard, that they, either in private or public quarrels, durſt ſtrike one another; neither dare they, for fear of ſevere puniſhment impoſed on ſuch quarrellers: but they will injure and ſtrike Chriſtians, who dare not ſay it is amiſs, or ſtrike again. It is a common thing with them to kill their ſervants for a very ſmall offence; and when they have done, throw them like dogs in a ditch. And oftentimes, if not ſo, will lay them down on their backs, hoiſting up their heels, bind their feet together, and faſten them to a poſt, and with a cudgel give them three or four hundred blows on the ſoles of their feet; whereupon, peradventure, ſome ever go lame after. Their ſervants are bought and ſold like brute beaſts in markets; neither can theſe miſerable drudges ever recover liberty, except they buy themſelves free, either by one means or other. Their wives are not far from the like ſervitude; for the men, by the Alcoran, are admitted to marry as many women as they will, or their ability can keep. And if it ſhall happen, that any one of theſe women, I mean either wife or concubine, proſtituteth herſelf to another man beſides her huſband, then may he, by authority, bind her hands and feet, hang a ſtone about her neck, and caſt her into a river, which by them is uſually done in the night.

But when theſe infidels pleaſe to abuſe poor Chriſtian women againſt their huſband's will, they little regard the tranſgreſſion of the Chriſtian law; who as well deflower their daughters as their wives; yet the devout Mahometans never meddle with them, accounting themſelves damned to copulate, as they think, with the offspring of dogs. The Turks generally, when they commit any copulation with Chriſtians, or their own ſex,

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ſex, they waſh themſelves in a ſouth running fountain, before the ſun-riſing, thinking thereby to waſh away their ſins.

If a Turk ſhould happen to kill another Turk, his puniſhment is thus: After he is adjudged to death, he is brought forth to the market-place; and a block being brought hither of four feet high, the malefactor is ſtripped naked, and then laid thereupon with his belly downward: they draw in his middle together ſo ſmall with running cords, that they ſtrike his body in two with one blow; his hinder parts they caſt to be eaten by hungry dogs kept for the ſame purpoſe; and the fore-quarter and head, they throw into a grievous fire, made there for the ſame end. And this is the puniſhment for man-ſlaughter. *The Turks juſtice.*

But for murder, or treaſon, he is more cruelly uſed; for, convicted and condemned, he is brought forth before the people, where, in the ſtreet, there is an exceeding high ſtripad erected, much like to a May-pole; which tree from the root, till it almoſt come to the top, is all ſet about full of long ſharp iron pikes, and their points upward. The villain being ſtripped naked, and his hands bound backward, they bind a ſtrong rope about his ſhoulders and cleaving; and then hoiſting him up to the pillow, or top of the tree, they let the rope flee looſe; whence down he falls with a rattle among the iron-pikes, hanging either by the buttocks, by the breaſts, by the ſides, or ſhoulders; and there ſticking faſt in the air, he hangeth till his very bones rot and fall down, and his body be devoured, being quick, with ravenous eagles, kept to prey upon his carcaſs for the ſame purpoſe.

But now I come to their nuptial rites. Their cuſtom and manner of marriage is this: If a man affecteth a young maid, he buyeth her of her parents, and giveth a good ſum of money for her; and after ſhe is bought, he inrolls her name in the Cadies book, witneſſing ſhe is his bound wife, bought of her father. *Turkiſh marriages.*

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Lo, this is all the form of their marriage. This being done, the father of the woman ſendeth houſehold-ſtuff home with the bride, which is carried through the ſtreets on mulets or camels backs; the two new married folks marching before, are conveyed with muſic, their own acquaintance and friends unto his houſe.

The Turks, in general, whenever they loath or diſlike their wives, uſe to ſell them in markets, or otherwiſe beſtow them on their men-ſlaves: And although their affection were never ſo great towards them, yet they never eat together; for commonly the women ſtand and ſerve their huſbands at meat, and after that, they eat apart by themſelves ſecretly, without admitting any man in their company, if they be above fourteen years of age. They go ſeldom abroad, unleſs it be each Thurſday at night, when they go to the grave to mourn for the dead, always covering their faces very modeſtly, with white or black maſks, which are never uncovered, till they return to their houſes. Many other ceremonies they have, which would be too prolix for me to recite. And notwithſtanding of all this external gravity among theſe hirelings, yet there are in Conſtantinople above forty thouſand brothel-houſes, Turkqueſki as libertines; in any of which, if a Chriſtian (eſpecially Franks) be apprehended, he muſt either turn Turk or ſlave all his life. But the women, by policy, apply a counter-poiſon to this ſecurity; for they accuſtomably come to the chambers of their benefactors and well-willers, or other places appointed ſecretly, where ſo they learn either a French Syncopa, or an Italian Bergamaſko.

The Emperor's concubines.

As for the Great Turk's concubines, they are of number eight hundred, being of the moſt part Emerees, Baſhaws, and Timariot's daughters. The third and inmoſt part of the ſeraglio is allotted for their reſidence, being well attended at all times with numbers of eunuchs, and other gelded officers. Every morning they are ranked in a great hall, and ſet on high and open ſeats; where, when he cometh, and ſelecting the youngeſt

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youngeſt and faireſt, he toucheth her with a rod; and immediately ſhe followeth him into his cabin of lechery, where, if any action be done, ſhe receiveth from the head clerk her approbation thereupon; which ever afterwards ſerveth her for a conditional dowry to her marriage, with much honour and reputation beſides. And if any of them conceive, and the child born, it is ſuddenly diſpatched from this life. The oldeſt hundred, every firſt Friday of the month, are turned out, and another new hundred come in to make up the number. Their entry and iſſue is always at one of the poſtern gates of the park towards the ſea-ſide, and joining nigh to their palace: whence croſſing Boſphore, in an appointed barge, they both go and come in one day, from and to the Galata, which I myſelf did ſee three ſeveral times. The oldeſt and laſt hundred that are every month diſmiſſed, they depart from the Galata home to their parents and ſeveral countries, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to be choſen, and entertained to be their emperor's concubines. The cuſtom of the great Turk is, every Friday, being their Sabbath day, after divine ſervice and dinner, to run at the glove, in an open place, before all the people, with ſome Hagars, or young ſtriplings, that accompany him; who have the glove hanging as high on a ſtick, as we have the ring with us. And truly, of all the Turkiſh emperors that ever were, this Achmet was the moſt gentle and favourable to Chriſtians, who rather, for his bounty and tenderneſs, might have been intitled the Chriſtian Emperor, than the Pagan King; for he diſannulled all the exactions that had been inflicted by his predeceſſors upon his tributary Chriſtian ſubjects, and cancelled the cuſtom or tythe of their male children, abrogating alſo that impoſition on their female dowries.

A hundred concubines changed every month.

The lent of the Turks is called *Byrham*, which continueth the ſpace of a month once in the year. In all which time, from the ſun-riſing to his ſetting, they neither eat nor drink: And at their prayers, eſpecially

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in this faſting, they uſe often to reiterate theſe words, *Hue, hue, hue*; that is, "He, he, he, alone is God;" or, "There is but one only ſupreme power;" which they do in deriſion of Chriſtians, who (as they ſay) adore three gods. They have alſo this ſiniſter opinion, that at the day of judgement, when Mahomet ſhall appear, there ſhall be three diſplayed banners, under the which all good people ſhall be conducted to paradiſe: The one of Moſes, under the which the children of Iſrael ſhall be: The ſecond of Jeſus, under which Chriſtians ſhall be: The third of Mahomet, under the which ſhall be the Arabs, Turks, and Muſſulmen. All which, they think, ſhall be elevated to ſeveral honours; and they in promotion ſhall be diſcerned from the reſt, by chambers made of reſplendent light, which God will give them; wherein they ſhall have banquetings, feaſtings, dancing, and the beſt melody that can be deviſed; and that they ſhall ſpend their time with amorous virgins, (whoſe manſion ſhall be near by), the men never exceeding the age of thirty years, and the virgins fifteen: and both ſhall have their virginities renewed as faſt as loſt.

The Turks paradiſe.

They hold alſo this, as a confident article of their belief, there are ſeven paradiſes in heaven, the pavements whereof are laid with gold, ſilver, pearls, precious ſtones, and garniſhed with ſtately buildings, and pleaſant gardens, wherein are all ſorts of fruit, and princely palaces; through which run rivers of milk, honey, and wine.

The firſt paradiſe they call it *Genete Alcholde*; the ſecond *Alfirduzy*; the third *Anthinack*; the fourth *Reduaſth*: the fifth *Azelem*; the ſixth *Alçoduſh*; that is, holy; and the ſeventh *Almega*, that is, the greateſt: and that in the midſt of this laſt paradiſe, there is a ſtately tree, called *Tubah*, the leaf of which is partly of gold, and partly of ſilver; whoſe boughs extend round about the walls of this ſeventh paradiſe, whereon the name of Mahomet is written, near to the name of God, in theſe words, *Alla, illa, he, allah, Mahomet rezul allah.*

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allah. The which words are in ſuch reverence amongſt the Turks, that if a Chriſtian ſhould happen, unadviſedly, to repeat them, he is adjudged to a moſt cruel death, or compelled to renounce his religion.

Their Lent laſteth thirty days, called *Byrham*, ſome name it alſo *Ramadan*; during which time they eat nor drink nothing from ſun-riſing to its ſetting down; but when night cometh, they gormandize at their ſelf-pleaſures. Their month of Lent is our January, where every day, after their ſeveral devotions, they go to ſolemn plays, and all kind of profane paſtimes; counting that beſt devotion, which is moſt ſuitable to their diſpoſitions; allotting fancy to follow their folly, and blindneſs to overtop the ignorance of nature, drawing all their drifts within the circle of deſtruction. But indeed, as they are blind in the true way of ſacred worſhip, yet they are maſked with a wonderful zeal to their devoted blindneſs, ſurpaſſing far, in ſhew and obſervations, the general profeſſors of Chriſtianity, and all the ceremonies that can be annexed thereunto; theirs running on with the floods of ignorant affection, and ours diſtracted with the uſeleſs novelties of ſuperfluous ſchool-queſtions; which indeed do more diſtemper the truth, than render God to be rightly glorified. *The Turks Lent.*

As concerning their opinion of hell, they hold it to be a deep gulf betwixt two mountains; from the mouth whereof are dragons, that continually throw fire, being large eight leagues, and hath a dark entry, where the horrible fiends meet the perplexed ſinners, conveying them till they come to a bridge, that is as narrow as the edge of a razor; whereupon theſe that have not committed heinous offences may paſs over to hell, but thoſe who have done buggery (as the moſt part of them do), and homicide, ſhall fall headlong from it, to the profoundeſt pit in hell, where they ſhall ſometimes burn in fire, and ſometimes be caſt into hot boiling waters to be refreſhed. And for the greater *The Turks opinion.*

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er punishment of the wicked, (say they), God hath planted a tree in hell, named *Saiaratash*, or *Roozo Saytanah*, that is the head of the devil, upon the fruit of which the damned continually feed. Mahomet, in one of the chapters of his Alcoran, calleth this tree, *the tree of malediction.*

They also think the tormented souls may one day be saved, provided they do endure the torched flames of hell patiently. Thus, as briefly as I could, have I laid open the opinions of the Turks concerning their heaven and hell, before the eyes of these, who, peradventure, have never been acquainted with such a ghostly discourse.

The number of all the emperors in the East and the West.

And now I think it not amiss to reckon you up in general, all the Roman and Greek emperors, that have been from the beginning to this present time, both in the East and in the West, with the number of the Turkish emperors also; beginning at Julius Cæsar, the first dictator or Roman emperor, to Constantine the Great, who transported the seat of the empire from Rome to Constantinople; he was the sixty-fourth emperor: And from Constantine the Great in the East, to the first made emperor in the West, there were thirty-nine emperors; of whom Constantine the sixth, son of Leo the third, with Irena his wife, was the last sole emperor, and she empress, of East and West. After whose death and overthrow, Charlemain was called into Italy to frighten the Lombards, who had oppressed that region, and the peace of the church, for two hundred years: He chased them from Rome, Apulia, and from all Italy, and was therefore declared by Pope Leo, the Roman emperor of the West; from Charlemain, to this present Ferdinando that now reigns, Charlemain being the hundred and fourth, there were forty and one emperors: So in all, with this Emperor Ferdinando, lately Duke of Grasse, the number amounts to, of these emperors, counting from Julius Cæsar to Constantine the Sixth, the last sole emperor of the East, and after

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after him, from Charlemain the first emperor of the West, to this time, their number have been an hundred and forty-six emperors.

Some whereof were Greeks, which cannot perfectly be set down, in regard some were empresses, and others suddenly elected, were as suddenly murdered or poisoned.

Now, to reckon the Turkish emperors, I will first begin from the time that the Turks took a monarchic name, under the name of *Ottoman*, even to Mahomet the second, the first Grecian emperor, beginning, I say, at Ottoman the son of Orthogule, the first emperor of the Turks, and the first that erected the glory of his nation. There were nine emperors to Mahomet the second; and from him to this present Amurath that now reigneth, there have been eleven emperors; the number of which are only twenty, and ere they come to thirty, they and theirs, I hope, shall be rooted from the earth.

The original of the Turks, is said to have been in Scythia, from whence they came to Arabia Petrea; and giving battle oft to the Saracens, in the end they subdued them, and so they multiplied, and mightily increased: The appearance of their further increasing is very evident, except God, of his mercy towards us, prevent their blood-sucking threatenings, with the vengeance of his just judgements. *The beginning of the Turks.*

The Saracens are descended of Esau, who, after he had lost the blessing, went and inhabited in Arabia Petrea; and his posterity, striving to make a clear distinction between them, the Ishmaelites and Jews called themselves (as come of Sara) *Saracens*; and not of Hagar, the hand-maid of Abraham, of whom came the Ishmaelites, neither of the race of Jacob, of whom came the Jews. But now the Saracens being joined with the Turks, their conquerors have both lost their name, and the right of their descent.

The Turks which are born and bred in the Lesser Asia,

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The Turks complexion.

Aſia, and eaſt parts of Europe, are generally well complexioned, proportionably compacted, no idle nor ſuperfluous talkers, ſervile to their Grand Signor, exceſſively inclined to venery, and zealous in religion; their heads are always ſhaven, reſerving only one tuft in the top above, by which they think one day to be caught to heaven by Mahomet, and covered on all ſides, counting it an opprobrious thing for any to uncover his head. They wear their beards long, as a ſign of gravity; for they eſteem them to be wiſe men who have long beards. The women are of a low ſtature, thick and round of growth, going ſeldom abroad, (unleſs it be each Thurſday at night, when they go to mourn upon the graves of their dead friends), and then they are modeſtly maſked; they are fearful and ſhame-faced abroad, but laſcivious within doors, and pleaſing in matters of incontinency; and they are accounted moſt beautiful who have the blackeſt brows, the wideſt mouths and the greateſt eyes.

The other Turks which are born in Aſia Major, and Egypt, (I ſpeak not of the Moors of Barbary), are of a great ſtature, tanny, cruel; a barbarous and uncivil people. The better ſort uſe the Sclavonian tongue, the vulgar ſpeak the Turkiſh language, which being originally the Tartarian ſpeech, they borrow from the Perſian their words of ſtate, from the Arabic their words of religion, from the Grecians their terms of war, and from the Italian their words and titles of navigation.

The power of the great Turk is admirable, yet the moſt part of his kingdoms in Aſia are not well inhabited, neither populous; but theſe parts which border with Chriſtians, are ſtrongly fortified with caſtles, people, and ammunition. If Chriſtian princes could agree, and conſult together, it were an eaſy thing in one year, to ſubdue the Turks, and root out their very names from the earth: Yea, moreover I am certified, that there are more Chriſtians, even ſlaves and ſubjects to the great Turk, which do inhabit his dominions, than might

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might overthrow and conquer these infidels, if they had worthy captains, governors, and furniture of arms, without the help of any Christian in Christendom.

And yet again, I think it not amiss to discourse more particularly of the Turkish manners, of their riches, and of their forces of wars, and the manner of their conducements.

The Turks are Tartarians.

The Turks being naturally descended of the Scythians or Tartars, are of the second stature of man, and robust of nature, circumspect and courageous in all their attempts, and no way given to industry or labour, but are wonderful avaricious and covetous of money above all the nations of the world. They never observe their promises, unless it be with advantage, and are naturally prone to deceive strangers; changing their conditional bargains, as time giveth occasion to their liking! They are humble one to another, but especially to their superiors, before whom they do not only great homage, but also keep great silence, and are wonderful coy during the time of their presence. They are extremely inclined to all sorts of lascivious luxury, and generally addicted, besides all their sensual and incestuous lusts, unto sodomy, which they account as a dainty to digest all their other libidinous pleasures. They hold that every one hath the hour of his death wrote on his fore-brow, and that none can escape the good or evil hour predestinated for them. This ridiculous error makes them so bold and desperate, yea, and often, to run headlong into the most inevitable dangers: They are not much given to domestic pastimes, as chess, cards, dice, and tables; but abroad and in travel, they are exceeding kind disposers of their meat and drink to any stranger without exception. The better sort of their women are sumptuously attired, and adorned with pearls and precious stones, and some of them are accustomed to turn their hands and hair into a red colour, but especially the nails of their

Libidinous Turks.

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their hands and feet; and are wont to go to bathe themſelves in ſtoves twice a-week, as well as men.

The true Turks wear on their heads white turbants, ſave a few that are eſteemed to be of Mahomet's kindred, and they wear green ſaſhes, being moſt part of them prieſts; the better part of the Turks in Aſia, care not for fiſh; but theſe Turks which remain in Europe love fiſh better than fleſh, eſpecially at Conſtantinople or Stambolda, where the beſt fiſhes, and the greateſt abundance of them are taken, that be in the world, and that in the Black ſea: They are very deſirous of taking advantage of their neighbours, which, if they cannot by force, they will, under colour of truce, accompliſh it with perfidiouſneſs. And if their enterpriſes find no happy event, they are never a whit aſhamed to take the flight, yet are they generally good ſoldiers, and well taught in martial diſcipline. Their armies, in marching, or camping, (notwithſtanding infinite multitudes), keep modeſty and ſilence, and are extremely obedient to their captains and commanders. When the Great Signor is abroad with his army at wars, the Turks at home within towns uſe great prayers and faſting for him and them: They ingeniouſly deſcribe the victories of their anceſtors, and joyfully ſing them in rhymes and ſongs: thinking thereby that faſhion, in recalling the valiant deeds of their predeceſſors, to be the only means to encourage their ſoldiers to be hardy, reſolute, and deſperate in all enterpriſes: They are not given to contemplation, nor ſtudy of letters or arts; yet they have divers fair ſchools, where the public lecture of their legal laws are profeſſed, and Mahometaniſm; to the intent that children, being elected to be brought up there for the nonce, may be inſtructed to be profitable expounders of their Alcoran, and judicious judges for the government of the commonwealth. It is ſeldom, and rarely ſeen, that a Turk will ſpeak with a woman in the ſtreets; nay, not ſo much as in

Turks are no Scholars.

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in their moſques one to be in ſight of another; and yet they are Lords and maſters of their wives and concubines, from whom they receive as great reſpect, ſervice, and honour, as from their bond and bought ſlaves.

Now, as concerning his riches, the three chief parts of commerce of all kind of merchandiſe, and that abound moſt in ſilver and gold in all the Turks dominions, as well in Aſia and Africa as Europe, are theſe, Conſtantinople in Thracia of Europe; Aleppo in Syria of Aſia major; and Grand Cairo in Egypt of Africk; for theſe are the three magazines of the whole empire, that draw the whole riches, money, and traffic, to them, of all the Imperial provinces. It is thought, that ordinarily and annually the rent of the Great Turk amounteth to ſixteen millions of gold, notwithſtanding that ſome do make it leſs. But becauſe it is ſo hard to judge of any monarch's rents, being like the infinite concavities of the earth, ſending and receiving ſo innumerable ways their ſtreams of riches, I will deſiſt from any other inſtances. And yet the Great Turk's revenues are no way anſwerable to his great and large dominions. The cauſes ariſing hereupon are many; of whom I will ſelect three or four of the chief reaſons. Firſt, the Turks being more given to arms, to conquer, to deſtroy and ruin, and to conſume the wealth of the people they overcome, leaving them deſtitute of nutriment, rather than any way to give courſe for their increaſing and eſtabliſhing of traffic, out of which ſhould flow the royal advantages. And the reaſon why they keep their ſubjects poor, and fruſtrate themſelves of great profits, is only to weaken and enfeeble them, whereby they ſhould not have wherewith to move inſurrection or rebellion againſt them. And, on the other part, the Greeks are as unwilling to be induſtrious in arts, traffic, or culture; ſeeing what they poſſeſs is not their own, but is taken from them, on all occaſions, with tyranny and oppreſſion. For what gains the ſower, if another reap the profit?

The Great Turk's yearly rent.

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profit. So, in the Ottoman's eſtate, there be great foreſts, and deſert countries, proceeding from the ſcarcity of people to inhabit there, the multitudes being drawn from Aſia, to ſtrengthen the frontiers of his dominions in Europe. And beſides, there is another reaſon for the want of people in theſe parts; to wit, when the great Turk's army is to march to a far country to make wars, then muſt their vulgar ſubdued peaſants, perhaps twenty or thirty thouſands, go along with them to carry their victuals, and all manner of proviſion, being taken from the plough, and conſtrained to his ſervitude, and, notwithſtanding, the half of them never return again, partly becauſe of the change of food and air, and partly becauſe of their long travel, and inſupportable ſervice, both in heat and cold. And to theſe of the firſt reaſon, there is another plain cauſe, to wit, that the whole commerce of all commodities in Turky, is in the hands of Jews and Chriſtians, to wit, Raguſans, Venetians, Engliſh, French, and Flemiſh; who ſo warily manage their buſineſs, that they enjoy the moſt profits of any trading there, diſappointing the Turk's own ſubjects of their due and ordinary traffic.

Parcels of ground for Timariots.

The laſt and principal reaſon, which is of a great deal more importance than his revenues, is, the great number of his Timars; for the Turkiſh Emperors being immediate maſters of the lands they overcome, they divide the ſame in Timars, or commandments, leaving little or nothing at all to the ancient inhabitants; they diſpoſe upon theſe proportions to valiant ſoldiers, that have done good ſervice; and with this condition, that they maintain, and have always in readineſs, horſes for the wars; which is an excellent good order for the preſervation of his empire; for if theſe Timariots were not rewarded with ſuch abſolute poſſeſſions of parcel-grounds, the eſtate of his power would ſuddenly run to ruin; for the profit of which lands, maintaining themſelves, their horſes, and their families, maketh them the more willing to concur in the

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the infallible ſervice of their Emperor. Theſe Timars, or grounds, entertain, through all his dominions, about two hundred and fifty thouſand horſes, that are ever in readineſs to march at the firſt advertiſement, without any charges to the great Signor, being bound to maintain themſelves during the wars. And yet theſe Timariots, and their horſes, cannot yearly be maintained under the value of ten millions of gold; the conſideration whereof makes me aſtoniſhed, when I recal the relations of ſome authors, who dare compare the great Turk's revenues unto our petty princes of Chriſtendom.

This eſtabliſhment of Timars, and the by-paſt election of Azamglians, or young children to be made Janizaries, have been the two ſtrong foundations that ſupported ſo inviolably the Turkiſh empire. The Roman emperors for a long time uſed the ſelf-ſame manner for the aſſuring of their perſons and eſtate, in election of young males to be their guard. They were called the *Prætorian army*; and this taxation of children was the firſt thing that moved the Flemiſh to revolt againſt the Romans.

As for the Turkiſh cavalry, they ſuſtain two important effects: firſt, they keep under awe and ſubjection the great Turk's ſubjects, who otherwiſe perhaps would revolt; and, next, they are ordained for any dependent enterpriſe for field-garriſons; yea, and the principal ſinews of the wars; and yet the election of the Grand Signor lieth moſt in the hands of the Janizaries, who cannot perfectly ſay he is Emperor before they confirm him in his throne. *Policies of Turks.*

The Turks have three things in their armies which are very fearful, to wit, the infinite number of men, great diſcipline, and plenty of ammunition. As for diſcipline, they are not only governed with great ſilence, and obedience, but they are ruled alſo with ſigns of eye; and being tractable, they are tied to main conducements: and although their multitudes have often bred confuſion to them, ſo that little armies have broke and

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and overcome them; yet in their flight they are so cautious, that a small number can do them no absolute violence, nor final overthrow; for as they assail, so they fly without fear.

The first residence of the Turkish Emperor, after his coming from Egypt, was at Prusa in Bithynia; thence it was transported to Adrianople, and then to Constantinople, where it abideth to this day. Besides, all his great bashaws in Europe, which are eight, one in Buda in Hungary, another in Moldavia, the third in Dacia, the fourth at Bagaviliezza in Bosna, &c. He hath also in Afric a bashaw in Algiers, another in Tunis, the third in Tripolis, and the fourth in Egypt, &c. And in Asia Major and Minor, to wit, one in Aleppo of Syria, one in Damascus, another in Balsora, the fourth at Mecca in Arabia Felix, the fifth in Carmania, the sixth in Cyprus, the seventh in Rhodes, the eighth at Arzeron in Armenia Major, ninth and tenth at Tesis and Upan, on the frontiers of Gurgestan and Persia, &c. For arsenals he hath four for sea, to wit, one at Perah, or Galata, containing a hundred and thirty-three galleys; the second at Galipoli, of twenty galleys; the third arsenal is at Savezza upon the Red sea, consisting of twenty-five galleys; and the fourth is at Balsora in Arabia Felix, towards the Persian gulf, consisting of fifteen galleys, which are kept there to afflict the Portuguese remaining in the isle of Ormus, and other parts adjacent there.

Beglerbegs or bashaws.

The Turks have a custom, when they are masters of any province, to exterminate all the native nobility, chiefly these of the blood-royal of the country; and, nevertheless, they permit to all and every one of theirs, to live and follow his own religion as he pleaseth, without violence or constraint.

Amongst the Turks there is no gentry nor nobility, but are all as ignoble and inferior members to one main body, the Great Turks, lineally descending of the house of Ottoman; whose magnificence, puissance, and power, is such, that the most eloquent tongue cannot sufficiently

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sufficiently declare. His thousands of Janizaries, Shouses, and others, daily attending him, which are the nerves and sinews of the warlike body of his whole monarchy and imperial estate; his hundreds (besides his queen) of concubines, hourly maintained by his means, and monthly renewed; his armies, bashaws, emirs, vizier-bashaws, sanzacks, garrisons, and forces, here and there dispersed amongst his dominions, would be impossible for me briefly to relate. The inhuman policy of the Turks, to avoid civil dissention, is such, that the seed of Ottoman (all except one of them) are strangled to death: Wherefore, as Augustus Cæsar said of Herod in the like case, it is better to be the Great Turk's dog than his son. His daughters or sisters are not so used, but are given in marriage to any bashaw whom so they affect; yet with this condition, the King saith to his daughter or sister, "I give thee this man to be thy slave; and if he offend thee in any case, or be disobedient to thy will, here I give thee a dagger to cut off his head;" which always they wear by their sides for the same purpose.

Noble Persians.

The Persians differ much from the Turks in nobility, humanity, and activity, and especially in points of religion; who, by contention, think each other accursed; and notwithstanding both factions are under the Mahometan law. Neither are the sons of the Persian kings so barbarously handled as theirs; for all the brethren (one excepted) are only made blind, wanting their eyes, and are always afterward gallantly maintained like princes. And it hath oftentimes fallen out, that some of these kings dying without procreate heirs, there have of these blind sons succeeded to the empire, who have restored again the seed of the royal family.

And now the great advantage that the Turks have daily over the Persians, is only because of their infantry, which the Persians are no wise accustomed with, fighting always on horseback. Neither are the Persians

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addicted or given to build forts, or fortifications. Neither have they any great use of ammunition; but exposing themselves ever to the field in the extreme hazard of battle, become ever doubtful in their victories; whose courage and valour cannot be paralleled among all the people of the eastern world; as Babylon, in their late and last fortunes, may give sufficient testimony thereof.

Babylon regained by the Persians.

PART

PART V.

Cloſe bounded Helleſpont, Earth's mother ſport,
I leave: 'longſt the Æolid liſts, I Smyrna court:
Thence Samothrace and Rhodes I accoſt,
Which Lilidamus Villiers manly loſt:
The Lycian bounds, and ſteep Pamphilian ſhores
I ſtrictly view: The ſea Carpathian roars,
I land at Cyprus: Seline is the place
Whence I that kingdom to Nicoſia trace:
From Famaguſt, fair Aſia then I courted,
And Lebanon, whence cedars were tranſported
For Sion's temple: And, my toils to crown,
I ſight great Aleppo, Syria's lady-town.
Then paſſing Meſopotame, Chelfane's land,
I ſtay at Beerſhack, on Euphrate's ſtrand.
Thence back by Damas, Arabia Petrea,
Galilee, Samaria, mountainous Judea,
I toiling came; and at Jeruſalem,
I lodg'd near Moriah, in a cloyſtered frame.

THE winter expired, and the ſpring gone, time ſummoned me, after three months repoſe, to embrace the violence of a fiery-faced ſeaſon; where, having dutifully taken my leave of many worthy friends, who both kindly and reſpectfully had uſed me, eſpecially the aforeſaid Engliſh ambaſſador, Sir Thomas Glover, and the new ambaſſador Sir Paul Pindar, who had lately arrived there before my departure, and had been formerly conſul in Aleppo five years, I left Conſtantinople, and imbarked in a ſhip belonging to London, named the *Allathya*, whereof one Mr Wylds, in Ratcliff, was maſter; where indeed both he and his company kindly and reſpectfully uſed me for the ſpace

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of twelve days, being bound for Smyrna; and ſo we ſailed along the coaſt of Bithynia in Aſia Minor.

Bithynia hath, on the north, Helleſpont; on the weſt, Phrygia; on the eaſt, Pontus; and on the ſouth, Cappadocia, or Leuco-Syria. The chief cities are Chalcedon, where, by the command of the Emperor Martianus, the fourth general council was aſſembled, to repel the hereſy of Neſtorius. Nigh unto the ſide of Helleſpont, is Mount Stella, famous for that victory which Pompey had over Mithridates, and where Tamerlane, with eight hundred thouſand Tartarians, encountered Bajazet, whoſe army conſiſted of five hundred thouſand men, of which two hundred thouſand loſt their lives that day; and Bajazet being taken, was carried about in an iron cage; on whoſe neck Tamerlane uſed to ſet his foot, when he mounted on horſeback; and at laſt beat out his own brains againſt the bars of the iron cage. The next cities are Nicomedia and Nyce, where the firſt general council was kept *anno* 314, to which there aſſembled three hundred and eighteen biſhops to beat down the Arian hereſy. The other towns are Pruſa and Labiſſa. The former was built by Pruſias King of Bithynia, who betrayed Hannibal when he fled to him for ſuccour; in the latter Hannibal lieth buried. Pruſa was a long time the ſeat of the Ottoman kings, till Mahomet I. began to keep his reſidence at Adrianople. The chief rivers are, Aſcanius, Sangaro, and Granico, nigh unto which Alexander obtained the firſt victory againſt the Perſians.

Bajazet taken by Tamerlane.

Having paſſed Bithynia, and the Phrygian coaſt, we arrived at Cenchrea, where St Paul cut his hair, after his vow was performed, Acts xviii. 18. being a town now inhabited by Greeks, with a Turkiſh governor, and of ſmall importance, in regard of other neighbouring places that bereave them of their traffic; and becauſe the Jews do not ſo much frequent here. The inhabitants are rather turned ſpectators to virtue, than any way inherent to neceſſary goodneſs: want of ſtrangers

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gers being one let, and vicious indolence the other ſtop. This city ſtandeth by the ſea-ſide in the north part of Ionia; but more truly on the weſt frontiers of Lydia. Lydia hath, on the weſt, Phrygia Minor; on the ſouth, Ionia; on the eaſt, Paphlagonia; on the north-weſt, Æolis, and a part of Phrygia Minor. The chief city is Sardis, once the royal ſeat of Crœſus, the richeſt king in his time, who, in his full proſperity, was told by Solon, that no man could reckon upon felicity ſo long as he lived, becauſe there might be great mutability of fortune; which afterward he found true. The recital of which advertiſement, when he was taken priſoner by Cyrus, ſaved his life. The next city is Pergamus, where parchment was firſt invented, and therefore called *Pergamenum*. Here was Galen born, who lived ſo healthfully one hundred and forty years; the reaſon whereof he thus affixeth, He never eat or drank his full, and ever carried ſome ſweet perfumes with him. The other towns are, Thyatira, Laodicea, and Philadelphia.

Upon the twelfth day after our departure from Conſtantinople, we arrived at Smyrna, being four hundred miles diſtant.

This city was one of the ſeven churches mentioned Revelations ii. 8. and ſtandeth in Ionia. Of this place was the famous martyr Policarpus biſhop, who once had been ſcholar to John the Evangeliſt; and living till he was of great age, was at laſt put to death for Chriſt's ſake. It is a goodly place, having a fair haven for ſhips. They have great traffic with all nations; eſpecially for fine ſilk, cotton-wool, and dimity, brought to it by the country-peaſants, which ſtrangers buy from them. *The city of Smyrna.*

Near to this city, I ſaw a long continuing plain, abounding in corns, wines, all ſorts of fruitful herbage, and ſo infinitely peopled, that I thought nature ſeemed to contend with the people's induſtry; the one by propagating creatures, the other by admirable agriculture.

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For commodities and pleaſure, it is little inferior to the valley of Suda in Candy, which maketh the inhabitants wondrous inſolent. For as mirth is made of pleaſure, and with pleaſures all vices are baited; even ſo there is not a more incorrigible creature than man in proſperity, nor ſo modeſt nor reformed an one as he to whom fortune hath lent but a ſparing and crooked favour: which indeed I hold beſt of all; for it is the forming of the mind, not the tongue, nor hand, that can prefer us to true felicity. And would to God that theſe, upon whom none but fair winds have ever blown in the career of their ſuppoſed happineſs, could but ſee, for all their high and overtopping places, their end and reſting place; ſince they are nought but the arrows of the omnipotent arm that are yet flying, not at theirs, but his mark, and are no more owners of their own propoſed ends, than they are of their own beginnings, ſurely they would cover their faces with another kind of maſk than they do.

Wealth is the mother of vice.

Thyatira, now called *Tiria*, one alſo of the ſeven churches, is not from Smyrna above eighteen miles.

From this city (having left my kind Engliſhmen, and their ſtately ſhip that carried twenty-four pieces of ordnance) I imbarked in a Turkiſh carmoeſalo, that carried nothing but her loading, being bound for Rhodes. In our ſailing along the coaſt of Ionia, the firſt place of any note I ſaw was the ruinous city of Epheſus *, yet ſomewhat inhabited with Greeks, Jews, and a few Turks; but no wiſe anſwerable to its former glory

Epheſus decayed.

* Epheſus, a very celebrated city of Ionia in Aſia Minor, ſituated upon the river Cayſter. Among Heathen authors, this city was once much noted for its famous temple of Diana, which, for its largeneſs and workmanſhip, was accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the world. It is ſaid to have been 425 feet long, 220 broad, and to have been ſupported by 127 pillars of marble, 70 feet

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glory and magnificence, being rather a monument for memory, than a town ſtill of any excellency. Nevertheleſs it is pleaſantly adorned with gardens, fair fields, and green woods of olive-trees, which on the ſea do yield a delightful proſpect. It was one of the ſeven churches, Rev. ii. 1. This was one of the moſt renowned cities in Aſia the Leſſer; but the fame thereof aroſe from the temple of Diana, which, for the ſpaciouſneſs, furniture, magnificent workmanſhip, was accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the world. It was two hundred years in building, being four hundred and twenty-five feet long, and two hundred broad. It was ſeven ſeveral times burnt, whereof the moſt part was with lightning; and laſtly, the final deſtruction of it came by a baſe fellow, Eroſtratus, who, to purchaſe himſelf a name, did ſet it on fire. Timothy was Biſhop of Epheſus; to the people whereof St Paul directed one of his epiſtles. And finally, it was famous for the the burial of St John the Evangeliſt. It was ſaid of this place, in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that all Aſia, and the whole world, did worſhip here Diana. Tully reporteth, *De natura Deorum*, that Timæus, being demanded the reaſon why the temple of Diana was ſet on fire that night when Alexander the Great was born, gave this jeſt thereof, That the miſtreſs of it was from home; becauſe ſhe, being the goddeſs of midwives, did that night wait upon Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, who was brought to bed in Macedonia.

Diana's temple burnt.

feet high; whereof 27 were moſt curiouſly wrought, and all the reſt poliſhed. One Cteſiphon, a famous architect in his time, contrived the model of it; and that with ſo much art and curioſity, that it took up 200 years before it was finiſhed, even though it was built at the common expence of all Aſia, properly ſo called. After it was finiſhed, it was ſeven times ſet on fire; but once, more eſpecially, on the very day Socrates was poiſoned; and at another time, on the ſame night that Alexander the Great was born. —— See Dictionary of the Bible.

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The isle Lango, or Coos.

Overagainſt this city is the iſle Lango, anciently called *Coos*, wherein the great Hippocrates was born, and Apelles the moſt excellent painter. It is both fertile and populous, and of circuit above eighty miles. There is a kind of ſerpent ſaid to be in it, ſo friendly unto the inhabitants, that when the men are ſleeping under the ſhadow of trees, they come crawling, and will link or claſp themſelves about their necks and bodies, without doing any harm: neither when they awake are the beaſts afraid.

And near to Lango is the iſle Nixa, of old Strangoli, and by ſome called *Dionyſias* and *Naxus*, an iſland both fruitful and delightful. As we ſailed by the weſt part of the iſle, a Greek paſſenger ſhewed me the place where (as he ſaid) Ariadne was deceived of Theſeus, which is not far from the watery plain of Darmille.

Excellent ſwimmers.

Continuing our navigation, I ſaw the little iſle Ephdoſh, where the Turks told me, that all the iſlanders were naturally good ſwimmers, paying no more tribute to their great Lord the Turk, ſave only once in the year there are certain men and women choſen by a Turkiſh captain, who muſt ſwim a whole league right out in the ſea, and go down to the bottom of the waters, to fetch thence ſome token they have got ground; and if they ſhall happen to fail in this, the iſland will be reduced again to pay him yearly rent. This I ſaw with mine eyes: While we being calmed, there came a man and two women ſwimming to us, more than a mile of way, carrying with them (dry above the water) baſkets of fruit to ſell, the which made me not a little to wonder. For when they came to the ſhip's ſide, they would neither board nor boat with us; but lay leaning, or, as it were, reſting themſelves on the ſea, upon their one ſide, and ſold ſo their fruits; keeping complements and diſcourſes with us above an hour. Contenting them for their ware, and a freſh gale ariſing,

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sing, we set forward, touching at the little isle of Samothracia.

This isle of Samothracia was called of old *Dardania*, and now by the Turks *Samandracho*; a place of small note, considering the quantity of the isle, and the small number of inhabitants. Their lives being answerable to their means; ignorance and servitude, two strong commanders of infirm weaklings, and no less powerful than they are debile in the debt of worthiness; which the younglings of understanding, and sucklings of far-looked-to knowledge, can never be able to escape, although a true profession covereth many natural imperfections, and in it a hope for blessedness, which indeed more wish for than rightly understand it. And upon the ninth day after our departure from Smyrna, we arrived at the city of Rhodes, so called of the island wherein it standeth. *Samathracia.*

Rhodes lieth in the Carpathian sea. It was of old called *Ithria*, *Telchino*, and *Phiula*. Pliny saith it was called *Rhodes*, because there were certain fields of roses in it; for *Rhodes*, in the Greek tongue, signifieth a *flower*. Not far from the city, and at the entry of the haven, I saw the relicks of that huge and admirable erected idol, named *Colossus Rhodius*, or the mighty image of the sun, which was made in honour thereof; from the which St Paul termed the inhabitants *Colossians*. It was builded by the worthy Canete Lindo in the space of twelve years. Others have said by Calasses, the disciple of Lysippus, taking the name *Colossus* of him; and it was thought worthy to be one of the seven earthly wonders; and so it might justly have been. The quantity whereof (as yet) may amaze the mind of the beholder. It was erected in the image of a man, being eighty cubits high, and so big that the little finger of it was as big as an ordinary man; between whose legs (it standing in the harbour's mouth, with a leg on each side of the entry) ships *The isle of Rhodes.* *The idol Colossus.*

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ſhips were wont to paſs under with taunt ſails. When Mnavi, general of Caliph Oſman, firſt united this iſle to the Mahometan empire, and broke down the greateſt part of this ſtatue, the braſs whereof was ſaid to be ſo much that it loaded nine hundred camels.

This iſle belonged once to the knights of Malta, who were then called *Knights of Rhodes*; but they came firſt out of Acre in the holy land, who were called *Knights of St John*, who courageouſly expelled the Saracens from thence *anno* 1308, who had formerly taken it from the divided Grecians. Theſe knights greatly infeſted the Turks for the ſpace of two hundred years, till Solyman the Magnificent at laſt invaded and ſubdued it. The Rhodians were ever great friends to the Romans, inſomuch that when all the other Mediterranean iſlands revolted to Mithridates of Pontus, this only adhered to the Romans.

This iſle of Rhodes, within the ſpace of twenty-five years, was three times mightily endangered by violent and extreme impetuoſities of rain, in ſuch ſhort that the laſt flood did drown the greateſt part of the inhabitants; which beginning in the ſpring-time, did continue till ſummer; and in all this time it broke violently down their houſes, and in the night killed the people lying in their beds; and in the day-time ſuch as were ſheltered under ſafeguard of their dwellings; which was a miſerable deſtruction, and the like of it ſcarcely heard of ſince the univerſal deluge.

Inundation of waters.

But true it is, as theſe ominous judgements falling upon particular parts and parcels of people, are juſtly executed, yet they ſerve for caveats for all others in general, (ſin being the original of all), to take heed of offending the Creator, in abuſing the beſt uſe of the creature.

The city of Rhodes hath two ſtrong fortreſſes; in one of which theſe knights (Lilladamus Villiers being Great Maſter, who were about five hundred only, and five thouſand Rhodians who aſſiſted them) were beſieged by

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by an army of two hundred thouſand Turks, and three hundred galleys, for the ſpace of ſix months. The chief obſtacle that prevented ſo great an army from taking it, was only the reſolute valour of the defendants. But in the end numbers overmaſtering valour, and the Cavalieri di Rhodo, wanting furniture to their ammunition, and being penurious of victuals, were conſtrained to ſurrender, upon the conditional ſafety of their lives, goods, and tranſportation; and remained a long time without any habitation, till the king of Spain gave them the barren iſle of Malta to inhabit. The iſle of Rhodes was loſt by the Malteſe *anno Dom.* 1522; and on Chriſtmas-day Solyman entered the town as conqueror, though he might juſtly have ſaid, (as Pyrrhus once ſaid of his victory over the Romans), that ſuch another victory would utterly have undone him, he loſt ſo many of his braveſt commanders, and beſt ſoldiers. It is ever ſince in the poſſeſſion of Turks. The fortreſs of Rhodes, and that fortreſs Famaguſta in Cyprus, are the two ſtrongeſt holds in all the empire of the Great Turk.

Rhodes taken by Solyman.

And by the way, here I muſt record, that if the Great Turk, and his great council, were not good paymaſters to their Janizaries, and ſpeedy rewarders of their common ſoldiers, it were impoſſible for him the Emperor, or them the Baſhaws, to manage ſo great a ſtate, and to keep under obedience ſo headſtrong a multitude, and ſuch turbulent forces; for if a ſoldier's induſtry be not quickened and animated with bountiful rewards, he hath leſs will to perform any part of martial ſervice, than a dead corpſe hath power to ariſe out of the grave: for what can be more precious to man than his blood, being the fountain and nurſe of his vital ſpirits, and the ground of his bodily ſubſtance? which no free or ingenious nature will hazard to loſe for nothing.

Soldiers ſhould be regarded and rewarded.

And whoſoever ſhall argument or diſcourſe upon

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found reaſon, and infallible experience, may eaſily prove and perceive, that theſe commanders have ever beſt proſpered, which have moſt liberally maintained, and had in ſingular regard, military arts and ſoldiers; otherwiſe the honourable mind would account it a great deal better to have death without life, than life without reward; yea, and the noble commander, deſiring rather to want than to ſuffer worth unrecompenſed.

Rhodes joineth near to the continent, overagainſt Caria, now called *Carmania*, under which name the Turks comprehend Pamphilia, Ionia, Lycia. Caria, by the ſea-ſide, hath Lycia to the ſouth, and Caria to the north. The chief cities are Mariſſa and Mindum; which having great gates, being but a ſmall town, made Diogenes the Cynic cry out, Ye citizens of Mindum, take heed that your city run not out of your gates. The third is Hallicarnaſſus, where Dionyſius was born, who wrote the hiſtory of Rome for the firſt three hundred years. Of which town alſo the province took the name; for Artemiſia, who aided Xerxes againſt the Grecians, was by ſome authors named *Queen of Hallicarnaſſus*. This was ſhe who, in honour of her huſband Mauſolus, built that curious ſepulchre, accounted for one of the wonders of the world; it being twenty-five cubits high, and ſupported with thirty-ſix admirable wrought pillars.

Mauſolus's tomb.

After I had contented the maſter for my freight and victuals, (who, as he was an infidel, uſed me with great exaction), I found a bark of the Arches bound to Cyprus; with the which I imbarked, being four hundred miles diſtant.

This Tartareta, or demi-galleot, belonged to the iſle of Stagiro, anciently Thaſia, wherein there were mines of gold, in theſe times, that afforded yearly to Philip King of Macedon above eighty talents of gold, but now mightily impoveriſhed, and of no conſequence. The chief town whereof is Palmapetro, where divers Greeks hold the opinion Homer was interred, having

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a famous sea-port, which is a common resting place for all the oriental pirates or cursaroes; which maketh the isle half desolate of people, and these few scarce worthy of their dwellings.

Having passed the gulf of Sattelia, and the isle Carpathia, whence that part of the sea taketh his name, we sailed close along the coast of Lycia, and the firm land of fruitful Pamphilia. The chief city of Lycia is Patras, watered with the river of Zanthus; whence the people were called *Zanthi*, afterward *Lycians*, of Lycus son to Pandion. It lieth betwixt Caria and Pamphilia, as Pamphilia lieth between it and Cilicia. The chief town in Pamphilia is Seleucia, built by Seleucus, one of Alexander's successors. On the east of Lycia, within the land, bordereth Lycaonia, &c. Having left Pamphilia behind us, we came to the coast of Cilicia, sustaining many great dangers, both of tempestuous storms, and invasions of damnable pirates, who gave us divers assaults to their own disadvantages, our speed was swifter than either their swallowing desires could follow, or our weak and irresolute defence could resist. *Pamphilia and Lycia.*

Here, in this country of Cilicia, was St Paul born, in the now decayed town of Tharsus, who for antiquity will not succumb to any city of Natolia, being as yet the mistress of that province, though neither for worth nor wealth.

All ancient things by Time revolve in nought,
As if their founders had no founding wrought;
But thou torn Tharsus brooks a glorious name,
For that great saint, who in thee had his frame.
So may Cilicians joy, the Christian sort,
That from their bounds rose such a mighty fort.

Twelve days was I between Rhodes and Limisso in Cyprus; where arrived, I received more gracious demonstrations from the islanders than I could hope for, or

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The description of Cyprus or wish, being far beyond my merit or expectation; only contenting my curiosity with a quiet mind, I redounded thanks for my embraced courtesies.

The people are generally strong and nimble, of great civility, hospitable to their neighbours, and exceedingly fond of strangers. The second day after my arrival I took with me an interpreter, and went to see Nicosia, which is placed in the midst of the kingdom: but in my journey thither, extreme was the heat and thirst I endured, both in respect of the season, and also want of water: and although I had with me sufficient of wine, yet durst I drink none thereof, being so strong, and with all had a taste of pitch; and that is, because they have no barrels, but great jars made of earth, wherein their wine is put. And these jars are all inclosed within the ground, save only their mouths, which stand always open, like to a source or cistern; whose insides are all interlarded with pitch, to preserve the earthen vessels unbroke asunder, in regard of the forcible wine; yet making the taste thereof unpleasant to liquorish lips, and turneth the wine too heady for the brain in digestion, which for health groweth difficult to strangers, and to themselves a swallowing up of diseases.

To cherish life and blood, the health of man,
Give me a toast, plung'd in a double cann,
And spic'd with ginger: for the wrestling grape
Makes man, become from man, a sottish ape.

Nicosia is the principal city of Cyprus, and is environed with mountains, like unto Florence in Ætruria; wherein the beglerbeg remaineth. The second is Famagusta, the chief strength and sea-port in it. Selina, Lemisso, Paphos, and Fontana Morosa, are the other four special towns in the island.

The six cities of Cyprus.

This isle of Cyprus was of old called *Achametide Amatusa*, and by some *Marchara*, that is, happy. It is of

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of length, extending from eaſt to weſt, two hundred and ten, ſixty broad, and of circuit ſix hundred miles. It yieldeth a great number of ſugar-canes, cotton-wool, oil, honey, corns, turpentine, allum, verdegreeſe, grograms, ſtore of mettles and ſalt, beſides all other ſorts of fruit and commodities in abundance. It was alſo named *Ceraſtis*, becauſe it butted toward the eaſt with one horn. And laſtly *Cyprus*, from the abundance of Cypreſs trees there growing. This iſland was conſecrated to Venus; where in Paphos ſhe was greatly honoured, termed hence *Dea Cypri*.

Feſta Dies Veneris, tota celeberrima Cypro,
Venerat, ipſa ſuis aderat Venus aurea feſtis.

Venus feaſt-day, through Cyprus hallowed came,
Whoſe feaſts her preſence dignified the ſame.

Cyprus lieth in the gulf between Cilicia and Syria, having Egypt to the weſt; Syria to the ſouth; Cilicia to the eaſt; and the Pamphylian ſea to the north. It hath four chief capes or head-lands: Firſt, weſtward the promontory of Acanias, modernly Capo di Santo Epifanio; to the ſouth, the promontory Phæuria, now Capo Bianco; to the eaſt Pedaſia, modernly Capo di Greco; to the north, the high foreland of Cramineon, now Capo di Cormathita: Theſe four are the chief promontories of the iſland, and Cape di S. Andrea, in the furtheſt point eaſtward toward Cilicia. Diodore and Pliny ſay, that anciently it contained nine kingdoms, and fifteen good towns. Cerania, now Selina, was built by Cyrus, who ſubdued the nine petty kings of this iſle: Nicoſia is ſituate in the bottom or plain of Maſſara, and thirty-four miles from Famaguſta; and the town of Famaguſta was formerly named *Salamis*. I was informed by ſome of great experience here, that this kingdom containeth about eight hundred and forty villages, beſides the ſix capital towns, two whereof are nothing inferior for greatneſs and populouſneſs

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pulouſneſs, to the beſt towns in Candy, Sicily, or Greece.

Trohodos a huge hill in Cyprus.

The largeſt and higheſt mountain in this iſle, is by the Cypriots called *Trohodos*; it is of height eight, and of compaſs forty-eight miles; whereon there are a number of religious monaſteries, the people whereof are called *Colieres*, and live under the order of St Baſile. There is abundance here of Coriander-ſeed, with medicinal rhubarb and turpentine. Here are alſo mines of gold in it, of chryſocole, of calthante, of allum, iron, and exceeding good copper. And beſides theſe mines, there are divers precious ſtones found in this iſle, as emeralds, diamonds, cryſtal, coral red and white, and the admirable ſtone amiante, whereof they make linen cloth that will not burn, being caſt into the fire, but ſerveth to make it neat and white.

The greateſt imperfection of this iſle is ſcarcity of water, and too much plenty of ſcorching heat, and ſandy grounds. The inhabitants are very civil, courteous, and affable; and notwithſtanding of their delicious and delicate fare, they are much ſubject to melancholy, of a robuſt nature, and good warriors, if they might carry arms. It is recorded, that in the time of Conſtantine the Great, this iſle was all utterly abandoned of the inhabitants, and that becauſe it did not rain for the ſpace of ſix and thirty years. After which time, and to replant this region again, the chief colonies came from Egypt, Judea, Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Thracia, and certain territories of Greece.

Compariſons of iſles.

And it is thought, in the year 1163, after that Guy of Luſingham, the laſt Chriſtian king of Jeruſalem, had loſt the Holy Land, a number of French men ſtaid and inhabited here, of whom ſprung the greateſt part of the Cyprian gentry; and ſo from them are deſcended the greateſt families of the Phenician Sydonians, modernly Druſians: though all divided, and worſe declined, yet they are both ſprung from

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from one original; the diſtraction ariſing from conſcience of religion, the one a Chriſtian, the other a Turk.

The three iſles of Cyprus, Candy, and Sicily, are the only monarchic queens of the Mediterranean ſeas; and like to other in fertility, length, breadth, and circuit; ſave only Candy, that is ſomewhat more narrow than the other two, and alſo more hilly and ſaſſinous; yet for oils and wines, ſhe is the mother of both the other: Sicily being for grain and ſilks the empreſs of all; and Cyprus for ſugar and cotton-wool, a darling ſiſter to both; only Sicily being the moſt civil iſle, and full of gentry, the Cypriots indifferently good, and the Candiots the moſt rude of all.

Cyprus replanted.

The chief rivers are Teno, and Pedeſco: Cyprus was firſt by Teucer made a kingdom, who after the Trojan war came and dwelt here; and afterward being divided between nine petty princes, it was ſubdued by Cyrus, the firſt monarch of the Medes and Perſians. After the ſubverſion of which empire, this iſle was given to the Ptolemies of Egypt; from whom Cato conquered it to the benefit of the Romans. The Dukes of Savoy were once Kings of Cyprus; but the inhabitants uſurping their authority, elected kings to themſelves, of their own generation; and ſo it continued, till the laſt king of Cyprus, James the Baſtard, (marrying with the daughter of a noble Venetian, Catharina Cornaro), died without children, leaving her his abſolute heir. And ſhe perceiving the factious nobility too headſtrong to be bridled by a female authority, like a good child, reſigned her crown and ſceptre to the Venetian ſtate, *anno* 1473. Whereupon the Venetians embracing the opportunity of time, brought her home, and ſent governors thither to bear ſway in their behalf; paying only as tribute to the Egyptian Sultans four hundred thouſand crowns, which had been due

The Dukes of Savoy were Kings of Cyprus.

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ever since Meleckſala had made John of Cyprus his tributary.

It was under their juriſdiction one hundred and twenty years, and more; till that the Turks, who ever oppoſe themſelves againſt Chriſtians, (finding fit occaſion in time of peace, and without ſuſpicion in the Venetians), took it in with a great armado, *anno* 1570, and ſo till this day by them is detained. O great pity! that the uſurpers of God's word, and the word's great enemy, ſhould maintain (without fear) that famous kingdom, being but one thouſand and fifty Turks in all who are the keepers of it. Unſpeakable is the calamity of that poor afflicted Chriſtian people, under the terror of theſe infidels; who would, if they had arms, or aſſiſtance of any Chriſtian potentate, eaſily ſubvert and aboliſh the Turks, without any diſturbance; yea, and would ſurrender the whole Signory thereof to ſuch a noble actor. I do not ſee, in that ſmall judgement which by experience I have got, but the redemption of that country were moſt eaſy; if that the generous heart of any Chriſtian prince, would be moved with compaſſion to relieve the miſerable afflicted inhabitants. In which work he would reap (queſtionleſs) not only an infinite treaſure of worldly commodities, that followeth upon ſo great a conqueſt, but alſo a heavenly and eternal reward of immortal glory. The

The Florentines attempted to conquer Cyprus.

which deliverance Ferdinando, Duke of Florence, thought to have accompliſhed (having purchaſed the good-will of the iſlanders), with five galleons and five thouſand ſoldiers; who being mindful to take firſt in the fortreſs of Famagoſta, directed ſo their courſe, that in the night they ſhould have entered the haven, diſimbarked their men, and ſcaled the walls.

But in this plot they were far diſappointed by an unhappy pilot of the vice-admiral, who miſtaking the port, went into a wrong bay; which the Florentines conſidering, reſolved to return, and keep the ſea, till the ſecond night; but, by a dead calm, they were fruſtrated

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ſtrated of their aims, and on the morrow were diſcovered by the caſtle. Whereupon the Turks went immediately to arms, and charged the inhabitants to come to defend that place. But about four hundred Greeks in the weſt part, at Paphos, rebelled; thinking that time had altered their hard fortunes by a new change; but alas, they were prevented, and every one cut off by the bloody hands of the Turks. This maſſacre was committed in the year 1607. Such always are the torturing flames of fortune's ſmiles, that he who moſt affecteth her, ſhe moſt and altogether deceiveth: "But they who truſt in the Lord, ſhall be as ſtable as Mount Sion, which cannot be removed:" And, queſtionleſs, one day God, in all his eternal mercy, will relieve their miſeries, and in his juſt judgements recompenſe theſe bloody oppreſſors with the heavy vengeance of his all-ſeeing juſtice.

In my return from Nicoſia to Famaguſta, with my Frenchman, we encountered by the way with four Turks, who needs would have my mule to ride upon; which my interpreter refuſed; but they, in a revenge, pulled me by the heels from the mule's back, beating me moſt unmercifully, and left me almoſt for dead. In the mean while my companion fled, and eſcaped their fury: and if it had not been for ſome compaſſionate Greeks, who by accident came by and relieved me, I had doubtleſs immediately periſhed.

Here I remember, between this iſle and Sydon, that ſame ſummer, there were five galleons of the Duke of Florence, who encountered by chance the Turks great armado, conſiſting of one hundred galleys, fourteen galleots, and two galleaſſes: the admiral of which ſhips did ſingle out herſelf from the reſt, and offered to fight with the whole armado alone; but the Turks durſt not, and, in their flying back, the admiral ſunk two of their galleys, and had almoſt ſeized upon one of their galleaſſes, if it had not been for twenty galleys, who deſperately adventured to tow her away againſt the wind, and ſo eſcaped. *A ſea-combat.*

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For true it is, the natural Turks were never skilful in managing of sea-battles, neither are they expert mariners, or experienced gunners. If it were not for our Christian runagates, French, English, and Flemings, and they too, sublime, accurate, and desperate fellows, who have taught the Turks the art of navigation, and especially the use of ammunition, which they both carry to them, and then become their chief cannoneers, the Turks would be as weak and ignorant at sea, as the silly Ethiopian is unexpert in handling of arms on the land. For the private humour of discontented castaways, is always an enemy to public good, who, from the society of true believers, are driven to the servitude of infidels, and refusing the bridle of Christian correction, they receive the double yoke of despair and condemnation. Whose terror of a guilty conscience, or rather blazing brand of their vexed souls, in forsaking their faith, and denying Christ to be their Saviour, forces most of them, either into a torment of melancholy, or into the extasy of madness; which, indeed is a torturing horror, that is sooner felt than known; and cannot be avoided by the rudeness of nature, but by the saving grace of true felicity.

Christian runagates.

From the fort and city Famagusta, I imbarked in a germo, and arrived at Tripoly, being eighty-eight miles distant; where I met with an English ship called *the Royal Exchange of London*, lying there at anchor in the dangerous road of Tripoly, whose love I cannot easily forget; for at my last good night, being after great cheer, and greater carousing, they gave me the thundering farewel of three pieces of ordnance.

Tripoly is a city in Syria, standing a mile from the marine side, near to the foot of Mount Libanus *. Since it hath been first founded, it hath three times been situated, and removed in three sundry places.

The city of Tripoly.

* Tripoly, a city of Phœnicia, a province of Syria in Asia, that stands commodiously at the foot of Mount Libanus, from which issues

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places. Firſt, It was overwhelmed with water: Secondly, It was ſacked with Corſairs and pirates: Thirdly, It is like now to be overthrown with new made mountains of ſand. There is no haven by many miles near unto it, but a dangerous road, where often, when northerly winds blow, ſhips are caſt away.

The great traffic which now is at this place, was formerly at Scanderona, or Alexandretta, a little more eaſtward; but by reaſon of the infectious air, that corrupted the blood of ſtrangers, proceeding off two high mountains, who are ſuppoſed to be part of Mount Caucaſus, which with-hold the proſpect of the ſun from the indwellers, more than three hours in the morning; ſo that, to my knowledge, I have known to die in one ſhip, in a month's time, twenty mariners. For this cauſe the Chriſtian ſhips were glad to have their commodities brought to Tripoly, which is a more wholeſome and convenient place. *Scanderona.*

The daily interrogation I had here, for a caravan's departure to Aleppo, was not a little weariſome to me, being mindful to viſit Babylon. In this my expectation, I took purpoſe with three Venetian merchants, to go ſee the cedars of Lebanon, which was but a day's journey thither. As we aſcended upon the mountain, our ignorant guide, miſtaking the way, brought us into a labyrinth of dangers; inſomuch that, wreſtling among the intricate paths of the rocks, two of our aſſes fell over a bank, and broke their necks: And if it had not not been for a Chriſtian Amaronite, who accidently encountered with us in our wildſome

iſſues a ſmall river that runs through the place, and is about a mile and a half from the Levant, with a commodious harbour defended by ſix ſquare caſtles or towers, built along the ſhore. It is the ſeat of a Turkiſh viceroy or beglerbeg. The fields and gardens are well ſtocked with mulberry-trees, and a conſiderable ſilk manufactory is carried on; but in the year 1760, a dreadful earthquake almoſt entirely ruined this city, and now a peſtilence continues to make equal havock among the remainder of its inhabitants. It lies about ninety-eight miles ſouth of Scanderoon.——Geographical Dictionary, on the word *Tripoli.*

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wandering, we had been miſerably loſt; both in regard of rocks, and heaps of ſnow we paſſed; and alſo of great torrents, which fell down with force from the ſteepy tops; wherein one of theſe merchants was twice almoſt drowned. When we arrived to the place where the cedars grew, we ſaw but twenty-four in all, growing after the manner of oak-trees, but a great deal taller, ſtraighter, and greater, and the branches grow ſo ſtraight and interlocking, as though they were kept by art. And yet from the root to the top they bear no boughs, but grow ſtraight upward, like to a palm tree; who, as May-poles invelope the air, ſo their circle-ſpread tops, do kiſs or enhance the lower clouds, making their grandeur overlook the higheſt bodies of all other aſpiring trees, and, like monarchic lions to wild beaſts, they become the chief champions of foreſts and woods.

The cedars of Libanus.

Although that, in the days of Solomon, this mountain was overclad with foreſts of cedars, yet now there are but only theſe, and, nine miles weſtward thence, ſeventeen more. The nature of that tree is always green, yielding an odoriferous ſmell, and an excellent kind of fruit like unto apples, but of a ſweeter taſte, and more wholeſome in digeſtion. The roots of ſome of theſe cedars are almoſt deſtroyed by ſhepherds, who have made fires thereat, and holes wherein they ſleep; yet nevertheleſs they flouriſh green above in the tops and branches. The length of this mountain is about forty miles, reaching from the weſt to the eaſt; and continually, ſummer and winter, reſerveth ſnow on the tops. It is alſo beautified with all the ornaments of nature, as herbage, tillage, paſturage, fructiferous trees, fine fountains, good corns, and abſolutely the beſt wines produced upon the earth. The Signor thereof is a freeholder, by birth a Turk, and will not acknowledge any ſuperior, being the youngeſt ſon of the Emir, or prince of Sidon, who, when his father revolted againſt Achmet, and not being able to make

The prince of Libanus.

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make his own part good, fled into Italy, to the Duke of Florence; and notwithstanding that the elder brother yielded up Sidon, and became a pardoned subject to the great Turk, yet this the other brother would never yield nor surrender himself, the fort, nor the Signory of Libanus. The old prince his father, after two years exile, was restored again to his Emperor's favour; with whom, in my second travels, both at Leghorn and Messina in Sicily, I rencountered; whence the Duke of Sona, that kingdom's viceroy, caused transport him on a stately ship for the Levant to Sidon. The Sidonians or Drusians, were first of all Frenchmen, who, after their expulsion from Jerusalem, fled hither to the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim, now called *Phœnicia*, as I shall make more clear afterwards.

The most part of the inhabited villages are Christians, called *Amaronites* or *Nestorians*, *quasi* Nazaritans, and are governed by their own patriarch. There are none at this day do speak the Syriac tongue, save only these people of Mount Libanus, and in that language the Alcoran of Mahomet is written. The kind Amaronite whom we met, and took with us for our best guide, in descending from the cedars, shewed us many caves, and holes in rocks, where Coleires, religious Syrians and Amaronites abide. Amongst these austere cottages, I saw a fair tomb all of one stone, being seventeen foot of length; which (as he said) was the sepulchre of the valiant Joshua, who conducted the people of Israel to the land of promise.

Nestorians.

Joshua's tomb.

The Mahometans esteem this to be a holy place, and many resort to it in pilgrimage, to offer up their satanical prayers to Mahomet. I saw, upon this mountain, a sort of fruit called *amazza Franchi*; that is, the death of Christians; because when Italians, and others of Europe, eat any quantity thereof, they presently fall into the bloody flux, or else ingender some other pestilentious fever, whereof they die.

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The patriarch did moſt kindly entertain us at his houſe; ſo did alſo all the Amaronites of the other villages, who met us in our way, before we came to their towns, and brought preſents with them of bread, wine, figs, olives, ſalads, capons, eggs, and ſuch like, as they could on a ſudden provide.

The biſhop of Eden on Libanus.

This biſhop or patriarch's houſe is joined with, and hemmed in within the face of an high rock, that ſerveth for three ſides thereof, the fore and fourth part being only of maſon-work. Near unto which falleth precipitately a great torrent over the ſaſſinous bank, that maketh a grievous noiſe night and day; which, as I told him, I thought it ſhould turn the biſhop ſtark deaf. But the homely and ſimple man, (not puffed up with ambitious greed, and glorious apparel, like to our proud prelates in Chriſtendom), told me, that continual cuſtom brought him to diſpoſe upon the day, and ſleep better in the night, becauſe of the ſounding waters. Where repoſing with him one night, my muſe the next morning ſaluted Libanus with theſe lines.

Long and large mount, whoſe rich ſpread mantle, ſee,
Affords three colours to my wandering eye:
The firſt are corns in their expectant view,
Fair barley, rye, and wheat: O hopeful hue!
That quickeneth the preſt plough; and for to eat,
It makes new toil begin again to ſweat.
The ſecond ſight are wines, the beſt on earth,
And moſt delicious in their pleaſant birth;
They 're phyſical, and good t'expel all ſorts
Of burning fevers in their violent torts:
Which ſenators of Venice drink for health,
There's nought ſo rare, but is attain'd by wealth.
The third is amiable, O verdure green!
For paſturage, the beſt that can be ſeen:
Draw nigh the tops where fire-worn cedars grow,
And here or there ſome cooling ſpots of ſnow;

Whence

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Whence rills do ſpring, and ſpeedy torrents fall,
To looſe ſcorch'd flowers, that burning heat would thrall.
Here herds frequent, whoſe pleaſant toils do reſt
Of mountains all, on Liban, only beſt;
Where piping Pan, and Silvan do accord,
To lurk with Ceres, and make Bacchus Lord;
Pitch'd under ſilent ſhades; whence Eden town,
Theſe bounds for paradiſe, dare firmly crown:
And laſt, to count theſe colours, here's delight,
The fields are green, wines yellow, corns as white.

About the village of Eden, is the moſt fruitful part of all Libanus, abounding in all ſorts of delicious fruits. The variety of theſe things, indeed, maketh the ſilly people think the garden of Eden was there. By which alledgeance, they prove the apprehenſion of ſuch a ſiniſtrous opinion with theſe arguments, that Mount Libanus is ſequeſtrate from the circumjacent regions, and is invincible for the height and ſtrength they have in rocks; and that Eden was ſtill rebuilded by the fugitive inhabitants, when their enemies had ranſacked it! Alſo they affirm, before the deluge it was ſo called, and after the flood it was repaired again by Japhet, the ſon of Noah, who builded Joppa, or Japhta in Paleſtina. Lo, theſe are the reaſons they ſhew ſtrangers for ſuch like informations. *The Georgians paradiſe.*

There are with this one, other two ſuppoſed places of the earthly paradiſe. The one is by the Turks, and ſome ignorant Georgians, holden to be at Damaſcus, for the beauty of fair fields, gardens, and excellent fruits there; eſpecially for the tree called *Mouſlee*, which they believe hath grown there ſince the beginning of the world. Indeed it is a rare and ſingular tree, for I ſaw it at Damaſcus, and others alſo of the ſame kind upon Nilus in Egypt. The growth whereof is ſtrange; for every year in September, it is cut down hard by the root, and in five months the tree budd-

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deth up a pace again, bringing forth leaves, flowers, and fruit. The leaf thereof is of such a breadth, that three men may easily stand under the shadow of it, and the apple is bigger than a foot-ball, which is yearly transported for Constantinople to the great Turk; and there is reserved for a relick of the fruit of the forbidden tree; whence he styles himself *Keeper of the earthly paradise.*

The tree Mouslee.

But if he were not surer a greater commander and reserver of a large part of the best bosom of the earth, than he is keeper of that Adamian garden, his styles of the earth, and mine of the world, were both alike; and that were just nothing, save only this, two naked creatures living amongst naked people; or, otherwise, if it were to be kept or seen, certainly I would wish to be a postillion to the great porter the Turk, but not his pedagogue, far less his pilgrim.

The third place, by the Chelfanes, is thought to be in the east part of Mesopatamia, near to the joining of Tigris and Euphrates, where they inhabit. I have oft required of these Chelfanes, what reason they had for this conceived opinion? who answered me, They received it from time to time, by the tradition of their ancestors: And because of the river Euphrates, and other rivers mentioned in the scriptures, which to this day retain their names in that country, some hold, that the garden of Eden extended over all the earth. But contrariwise, it manifestly appeareth by the 2d chapter of Genesis, ver. 14. that this garden we call paradise, wherein Adam was put to dress it, was a certain place on earth, containing a particular portion of a country, called *Eden*, which bounded on the river Euphrates. To this, and all the rest, I answer, No certainty can be had of the place where Eden was, either by reading or travelling, because this river hath been oft divided into sundry streams. And, it is said, that Cyrus, when he won Babylon, did turn the main channel of Euphrates to another course. But howsoever,

The Chelfane paradise.

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or whereſoever it be, I am of opinion, no man can demonſtrate the place, which God, for the ſins and fall of man, did not only accurſe, but alſo the face of the earth.

Many ancient authors have agreed with the opinion of Plato and Ariſtotle, conſtantly affirming, that mountains, iſlands, and countries, have received great alteration by the inundation of rivers, and violence of raging ſeas. Thracia hath been divided from Bithynia; Nigroponti from Theſſalia; Corfu from Epire; Sicily from Italy; the iſles Orcades from Scotland; and many other iſlands and countries cut into diviſions after the ſame form. Wherefore, the more a man contemplates to ſearch the knowledge of Eden, and ſuch high myſteries, (appertaining only to the Creator), the more he ſhall fail in his purpoſe, offend God, become fooliſh and fantaſtical for his pains. *Violence of ſeas and waters.*

But to turn back to my itinerary relation, after my return to Tripoly, I departed thence eaſtward, with a caravan of Turks to Aleppo, being ten days journey diſtant. In all this way (leaving Scanderoon on our left hand) I ſaw nothing worthy remarking, ſave only a few ſcattered villages, and poor miſerable people, called *Turcomani*, living in tents, and following their flocks, to whom I paid ſundry caſſars, who remove their women, children, and cattle, whereſoever they find fountains and good paſturage; like unto the cuſtom of the ancient Iſraelites; which, in their wandering faſhion, did plainly demonſtrate the neceſſity they had to live, rather than any pleaſure they had, or could have, in their living.

They differ alſo in religion from all the other Mahometans, in two damnable points. The one is, they acknowledge that there is a God; and that he of himſelf is ſo gracious, that he neither can do harm, being eſſentially good, nor yet will authoriſe any ill to be done; and there- *The Turcomans opinion of God and the devil.*

fore

fore more to be loved than feared. The other is, they confeſs there is a devil, and that he is a tormentor of evil doers, and of himſelf ſo terrible and wicked, that they are contented, even for acquiring his favour and kindneſs, to ſacrifice in fire their firſt-born child to him; ſoliciting his deviliſhneſs, not to torment them too ſore when they ſhall come into his hands; and yet for all this, they think afterwards, by the mercy of Mahomet, they ſhall go from hell to paradiſe.

Antiochians the firſt Chriſtians.

In this immediate or aforeſaid paſſage, we coaſted near and within ſix miles of the limits of Antiochia, one of the ancient patriarch ſees, ſo called of Antiochus her firſt founder; and not a little glorying to this day, that the diſciples of Jeſus and Antiochians were firſt here named *Chriſtians*; who, notwithſtanding of their grievous afflictions, flouriſhed ſo, that, in forty years, they grew a terror to their enemies; who, ſuggeſted by the devil, cruelly afflicted them with ten general perſecutions, under the Emperor Nero, *anno* 67.; Domitianus, *anno* 96.; Trajanus, 100; Maximinus, 137; Marcus Antonius, 167; Severus, 195; Decius, 250; Valerianus, 259; Aurelianus, 278; and Diocleſian, *anno* 293 years. Notwithſtanding all which maſſacres and martyrdom, yet this little grain of muſtard-ſeed, planted by God's own hand, and watered with the blood of ſo many holy ſaints, (*nam ſanguis martyrum ſemen eccleſiæ eſt*), grew ſo great a tree, that the branches thereof were diſperſed through every city and province of the whole world.

Before my arrival in Aleppo, the caravan of Babylon was from thence departed, which bred no ſmall grief in my breaſt. The Venetian conſul, to whom I was highly recommended by the aforeſaid merchants, (having had ſome inſight of my intended voyage), informed me, that the caravan ſtaid at Beerſhake on Euphrates, for ſome conceived report they had of Arabs, that

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that lay for them in the deſarts, and wanted me to hire a Janizary, and three ſoldiers, to overtake them, whoſe counſel I received; but was entirely fruſtrated of my deſigns. True it was, they ſtaid; but were gone three days before my coming to that unhappy place. *Fruſtrate of Babylon.*

The diſtance from whence, over land, to Babylon, or Bagdat, being but ſix ſmall or ſhort days journey, the loſs whereof, and the damnable deceit of my Janizary, made my muſe to expreſs what my ſorrowful proſe cannot perform.

The doubts and drifts of the voluble mind,
That here and there do flee, turn judgement blind;
Did overwhelm my heart, in grim deſpair,
Whilſt hope and reaſon fled, ſtaid tim'rous care.
And yet the grounds were juſt; my treach'rous guide
Did nought but croſs me; greed led him aſide.
Still this, ſtill that I would! All I ſurmiſe
Is ſhrewdly ſtopt. At laſt my ſcopes deviſe
To make a boat, to bear me down alone,
With drudges two, to ground chang'd Babylon.
That could not be; the charges was too great;
And eke the ſtream did nought but dangers threat.
My conduct ſtill deceiv'd me, made it ſquare
Another Caravan, O! would come there
From Aleppo, or Damaſcus; till in end
Moſt of my monies did his knavery ſpend.
Thus was I toſs'd long five weeks and four days,
With ſtruggling doubts. O ſtrange were theſe delays!
At laſt a Chelfane came, a Chriſtian kind,
Who by my grief ſoon underſtood my mind;
And told me flat, the Janizary's drift
Was to extort me with a lingering ſhift.
Come, come, ſaid he, the ſanzack here is juſt;
Let us complain, for now complain we muſt.

He

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He with me went, and for a trenchman ſerv'd;
And told the ruler how my conduct ſwerv'd.
He's call'd, and ſoon convinc'd, and with command
Forc'd to tranſport me back to Syria's land.
I'm there arriv'd, and eftſoons made me bound
For the Venetian conſul; there to ſound
My great abuſes by this villain done;
Which ſoon were heard, and eke repair'd as ſoon.
The Baſhaw was upright; and for time's ſake
He did me more than conſcience will'd me take.
My plaint preferr'd, he was in priſon laid,
And all my gold, to give me back was made,
Which he had falſely ta'en; where, for his pains,
He had the loſs, and I receiv'd the gains.
For doubling his wrongs done, to croſs him more,
I got my vantage from his craft before;
And for his ten weeks fees, no more he had
Than he that's owner of a ditch fall'n jade.
Thus leaving him, I with the conſul bode,
Full forty days, ere I went thence abroad.

In the eleven days journey I had between Aleppo and Beerſhack, through a part of Syria, the breadth of Meſopotamia, and Chelfania, a province of the ſame, joining with Tigris and Euphrates, and returning the ſame way again, I found nothing worthy of remarking, ſave the fertility of the ſoil; which indeed, in Meſopotamia, yieldeth two crops of wheat in the year; and for a buſhel ſowing, in divers places, they receive a hundred again.

Meſopotamia.

The country itſelf is overclad with infinite villages, having no eminent town of any note or conſequence, except the city of Carahemen, the ſeat of a Beglerbeg, who commandeth under him fourteen Sanzacks, and twenty-ſix thouſand Timariots. The people here are for the moſt part believers in Chriſt; but, alas! too ſilly, untoward, and ignorant Chriſtians; and yet, tho' without learning, or great underſtanding therein, they are wonderful

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wonderful zealous in their profeſſion, and great ſufferers for it alſo.

This barbarous town of Beerſhack, being ſituate on Euphrates, ſtandeth in the Chelfanes country, and is ſuppoſed to have been Padan-aram, where Laban dwelt, and where Jacob kept Laban's ſheep; though ſome interpret all Meſopotamia then to have been called *Padan-aram*: From whence north-eaſt, and not far hence, are the demoliſhed fragments of Niniveh on Tigris, whoſe very ruins are now come to ruin; the decays whereof being much like to that ſacked Lacedemon in Sparta, or to the ſtonny heaps of Jericho, the detriments of Thebes, the relicks of Tyrus, or to the final overthrow of deſolate Troy. This country of Chelfane is the place moſt agreeable with ſcripture where the earthly paradiſe was ſet, though now impoſſible to be found out. *Beerſhack.*

Meſopotamia is ſeldom watered with rain; but by the nature of the ſoil is marvellous fruitful. It is bordered with Caldea, on the eaſt; Euphrates, on the ſouth; Syria, on the north; and Arabia Petrea, on the weſt. This Aleppo is a city in Syria; the name of which hath been ſo oft changed by the Turks, that the true antiquity of it can hardly be known. It is both large and populous, and furniſhed with all ſorts of merchandiſe, eſpecially of Indigo and ſpices, that are brought from over land from Goa, and other places in India, which draweth a crowd of all nations to it. *Meſopotamia.*

Here I remember of a notable obedience done to the Great Turk by the Great Baſhaw of Aleppo, who was alſo an Emir, or hereditary prince; to wit, the year before my coming hither, he had revolted againſt his emperor, and fighting the Baſhaws of Damaſcus and Carahemen, overcame them. The year following, and in my being there, the Grand Signor ſent from Conſtantinople a Showſe, and two Janizaries, in ambaſſage to him; where, when they came *A notable obedience.*

to

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to Aleppo, the Baſhaw was in his own country at Meſopotamia. The meſſengers make haſte after him; but in their journey they met him coming back to Aleppo, accompanied with his two ſons, and ſix hundred horſemen. Upon the highway they delivered their meſſage, where he ſtood ſtill and heard them. The proffer of Achmet was, that if he would acknowledge his rebellion, and for that treaſon committed ſend him his head, his eldeſt ſon ſhould both inherit his poſſeſſions and baſhawſhip of Aleppo; otherwiſe he would come with great forces, in all expedition, and in his proper perſon he would utterly raze him and all his from the face of the earth.

At which expreſſion, the Baſhaw, knowing that he was not able to reſiſt the invincible army of his maſter, and his own preſence, he diſmounted from his horſe, and went to counſel with his ſons, and neareſt friends; where he and they concluded, it was beſt for him to die, being an old man, to ſave his race undeſtroyed, and to keep his ſon in his authority and inheritance. This done, the Baſhaw went to prayer, and taking his leave of them all, ſat down upon his knees, where the Showſe ſtruck off his head, putting it in a box, to carry it with him for Conſtantinople. The dead corpſe was carried to Aleppo, and honourably buried; for I was an eye-witneſs to that funeral feaſt. And immediately thereafter the Showſe, by proclamation and power from the Emperor, fully poſſeſſed the ſon in his father's lands, offices, baſhawſhip, and the authority of all the eaſtern Syria, part of Meſopotamia, and the Aſſyrian country; for this Baſhaw of Aleppo is the greateſt in commandment and power of all the other Baſhaws in the Turk's dominions, except the Baſhaw or Beglerbeg of Damaſcus; and yet the former, in hereditary power, far exceedeth the other, being a free Emir, and thereupon a prince born. The force of his commandment reacheth to eighteen Sanzacks, and thirty thouſand Timariots,

The Baſhaw of Aleppo beheaded.

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riots, beſides Janizaries, and other inferior ſoldiers, which would make up as many more.

This city is called in the ſcriptures *Aram-Sobah*, 2 Sam. viii. 3. and *Aleppo*, of Alep, which ſignifieth *milk*; whereof there is a great plenty here *. There are pigeons brought up here after an incredible manner, who will fly between Aleppo and Babylon, being thirty days journey diſtant, in forty-eight hours; carrying letters and news, which are tied about their necks, to merchants of both towns, and from one to another; who are only employed in the time of haſty and needful intendments. Their education to theſe tractable expeditions is admirable; the flights and arrivals of which I have often ſeen in the time of my wintering in Aleppo, which was the ſecond winter after my departure from Chriſtendom †.

Flying Pigeons with letters.

Syria hath, on the eaſt, Armenia Major; on the ſouth, Meſopotamia; on the north, Cilicia and the ſea; on the weſt, Galilee and Phœnicia. In the Bible the Syrians are called *Aramites*, who were an obſcure people, ſub-

Syria.

* Aleppo is well ſupplied with butter and cheeſe, made indiſcriminately from milk-cows, buffaloes, ſheep, and goats; of all which the Arabs have large flocks, wherewith they travel, like the patriarchs of old; and from which they draw their ſubſiſtence. The Turks and Jews ſcarce ever eat beef, though the Europeans find it tolerably good at all ſeaſons. Buffaloes abound in Syria; yet there are but few about Aleppo; and theſe are kept chiefly for milk. The food of which they are fondeſt is mutton. Of this they have great plenty, fat and good. —— See Alexander Ruſſel's travels to Aleppo.

† They have many ſorts of fowl well known to us, beſides others which to deſcribe would ingroſs too much of our time. This is the native country of the carrier-pigeon, formerly uſed by the Europeans for conveying expeditiouſly the news of a ſhip's arrival at Scanderoon: a practice that has been diſuſed for many years. The pigeon thus employed was one that had left young ones at Aleppo. A ſmall piece of paper, with the ſhip's name, the day of her arrival, and what elſe material could be contained in a very narrow compaſs, was fixed, to prevent its being wetted, under the bird's wing; and the feet of it were bathed in vinegar, to keep them cool, that they might not ſettle to drink or waſh themſelves. —— Ibid.

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ject to the Perſians, and ſubdued by Alexander; after whoſe death this country, with Perſia, and other adjacent provinces, fell to the ſhare of Seleucus Nicanor; who alſo wreſted from the ſucceſſors of Antigonus the Leſſer Aſia. This kingdom hath ſuffered many alterations; eſpecially by the Perſians, Grecians, Armenians, Romans, Egyptians, laſtly by the Turks, and daily moleſted by the incurſive Arabs.

In my expectations here, and the ſpring come, (being diſappointed of my deſired aims), I intended to viſit Jeruſalem in my back-coming. And for the furtherance of my determination, I joined with a Caravan of Armenians and Turks, that were all guarded with Janizaries and ſoldiers, of whom ſome were to ſtay at Damaſcus by the way, and ſome mindful to the furtheſt mark. And, for my better ſafeguard, (being always alone, which by all was ever much admired), the Venetian conſul took ſurety of the captain, that he ſhould protect me ſafely from thieves, cut-throats, and the exactions of tribute by the way, delivering me freely into the hands of the Padre Guardiano at Jeruſalem. Which being done, I hired a mule from a Turk, to carry my victuals; and ſo ſet forward with them. The number of our company were about nine hundred Armenians, Chriſtian pilgrims, men and women; ſix hundred Turks trafficking for their own buſineſs; and one hundred ſoldiers, three Showſes, and ſix Janizaries, to keep them from invaſions.

A Caravan of Armenians.

Between Aleppo and Damaſcus, we had nine days journey; in five of which we had pleaſant travelling, and good Canes to lodge in, that had been built for the ſupport of travellers, and are well maintained. But when we paſſed Hamſek, which is a little more than mid-way, we had dangerous travelling, being oft aſſailed with Arabs, fatigued with rocky mountains, and ſometimes in a point of choking for lack of water. The confuſion of this multitude was not only grievous, in regard of the extreme heat, providing for victuals at poor villages, and ſcarcity of water to fill our bottles, made

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made of boar-ſkins; but alſo amongſt narrow and ſtony paſſages, thronging, we oft fell one over another, in great heaps, in danger to be ſmothered; yea, and oftentimes we that were Chriſtians had our bodies well beaten by our conducting Turks. In this journeying I remember the Turk who was the owner of my mule was for three days exceeding favourable unto me, inſomuch that I began to doubt of his carriage, fearfully ſuſpecting the Italian proverb,

Chi mi famiglior, che non ci ſoule,
Ingannato mi ha, oingannar mi Vuole.

He that doth better now to me than he was wont,
He hath deceiv'd, or will deceive me with ſome ſad affront.

But when I perceived his extraordinary ſervice and flattery was only to have a ſhare of the tobacco I carried with me, I freely beſtowed a pound thereof upon him: which he and his fellows took as kindly as tho' it had been a pound of gold; for they are as exceſſively addicted to ſmoke, as Dutchmen are to the pot: which ever made me to carry tobacco with me, to requite their favour, over and above their fials, more than ever I did for my own uſe: for in theſe days I took none at all; though now, as time altereth every thing, I am (*honoris gratia*) become a courtly tobacconiſt, more for faſhion than for liking. The Turkiſh tobacco-pipes are more than a yard long, and commonly of wood or canes, being joined in three parts with lead or white iron; their ſeveral mouths receiving at once a whole ounce of tobacco, which laſteth a long ſpace; and becauſe of the long pipes, the ſmoke is exceeding cold in their ſwallowing throats. *Pagan flattery.*

At our accuſtomed diſmounting to recreate ourſelves, and refreſh the beaſts, I would often take a walk to ſtretch my legs, which were ſtiffed with a ſtumbling beaſt; wherewith the Turks were mightily diſcontented,

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ed, and in deriſion would laugh and mock me: for they cannot abide a man to walk in turns, or ſtand to eat; their uſage being ſuch, that when they come from their horſe-back, they preſently ſit down on the ground, folding their feet under them, when they repoſe, dine, and ſup. So do alſo their artizans; and all the Turks in the world ſit always croſs-legged, wrongfully abuſing the commendable cuſtom of the induſtrious tailors. In their houſes they have no bed to lie on, nor chair to ſit on, nor table to eat on, but a bench made of boards along the houſe-ſide, of a foot high from the floor, ſpread over with a carpet, whereon they uſually ſit eating, drinking, ſleeping, reſting, and doing of manual exerciſes, all in one place. Neither will the beſt ſort of Mahometans be named *Turks*, becauſe it ſignifieth *baniſhed* in the Hebrew tongue; and therefore they call themſelves *Muſſulmans*, viz. *good believers*. Where indeed for good it is a falſe epithet; but certainly for firm believers, they are wonderful conſtant: and ſo are all ignorants, of whatſoever profeſſion; even like to the Spaniard, who, in the midſt of all his evils, yet he remaineth always faithful to all the uſurpations the Spaniſh crown can compaſs.

Turks are called Muſſulmans.

They never uncloath themſelves when they go to reſt; neither have they any bed-cloaths, ſave only a coverlet above them. I have ſeen hundreds of them, after this manner, lie ranked like dirty ſwine in a beaſtly ſtye, or loathſome jades in a filthy ſtable.

Upon the ninth day, (leaving Cotafa behind us on the mountains), we entered in a pleaſant plain of three leagues of length, adorned with many villages, gardens, and rivers; and arriving at Damaſcus, we were all lodged (ſome in chambers wanting beds, and others without, on hard ſtones) in a great Cane called *Heramnen*; where we ſtaid three days. During all which time, proviſion for ourſelves, and provender for our beaſts, were given us twice a-day *gratis*; being allowed by the Grand Signor to all kind of ſtrangers whatſoever that come

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come to Damascus with any Caravan; being a singular comfort and advantage to weary and extorted travellers.

Damascus is the capital city of Syria, called by Turks *Shamma*, and is situated on a fair plain, and beautified with many rivers on each side, (especially Paraphar and Abderah), excellent orchards, and all other natural objects of elegance: that for situation, artisans, all manner of commodities, and variety of fruits, in all the Asiatical provinces it is not parallelled. By the Turks it is called *the garden of Turky*, or rather their earthly paradise, because of a fenced garden there, where a garrison of Turks lie continually, keeping that tree Mouslee, whereon, as they alledge, the forbidden apple grew, wherewith the serpent deceived Eve, and she Adam; and from whence the Great Turk is also styled, *Keeper of the Terrestrial Paradise*. *Damascus is called* Shamma.

Some hold this city was built by Eleazer, the servant of Abraham; and others say it is the place where Cain slew Abel: where indeed is is most likely to be so; for hard by Damascus I saw a pillar of brass erected there for a commemoration of that unnatural murder of Cain executed upon his innocent brother *. But whatever is in that, it is a pleasant and gallant city, well walled, and fortified with a strong *The antiquities of Damascus.*

* Several writers have been of opinion, that Cain and Abel dwelt near Damascus; and that this city takes its name from the blood of Abel; *Dam*, in Hebrew, signifying blood, and *Sack* a righteous person; and they still shew in these parts Abel's monument, which is, as they say, forty feet in length. The Jews and Christians have a tradition, that paradise was situated in the belly of Damascus. The beauty and fertility of the place induced the inhabitants to be of this opinion, though it is at a good distance from the Tigris and Euphrates. They also assert, that Adam was created near Damascus, of a certain red earth, which is to be seen at the same place, and which to them seemed more proper than any other to form flesh.—— Dictionary of the Bible.

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caſtle, wherein the Baſhaw remaineth. The moſt part of the ſtreets are covered; ſo that the citizens are preſerved in ſummer from the heat, and in winter from the rain.

The like commodity (but not after that form) hath Padua in Lombardy. Their Bazar, or market-place, is alſo covered; ſo are commonly all the Bazars, or Bezeſtans in Turky. The beſt carobiers, Adam's apples, and grenadiers, that grow on the earth, is here. Near unto the Bazar, there is a moſque, called *Gemma*, wherein my guide ſhewed me the ſepulchre of Ananias, and the fountain where he baptized Paul. In another ſtreet, I ſaw the houſe of Ananias, which is but a hollow cellar under the ground, and where the diſciples let Paul down through the wall in a baſket. In the ſtreet where they ſell their Viano, my interpreter ſhewed me a great gate of fine metal, which he ſaid was one of the doors of the temple of Solomon, and was tranſported thence by the Tartarians who conquered Jeruſalem about three hundred and eighty years ago, who, for the heavy weight thereof, were enforced to leave it here, being indeed a relick of wonderful bigneſs. And I ſaw alſo ſuch abundance of roſe-water here in barrels, to be ſold, as beer or wine is rife with us.

This paradiſe-like Shamma is the mother city, and moſt beautiful place of all Aſia, reſembling every way (the tectures of her houſes excepted, being platform) that matchleſs pattern and mirror of beauty, the city of Antwerp. The only beſt ſhables, or ſhort crooked ſwords, that be in the world, are made here; and ſo are all their other weapons; as half-pikes, bows and arrows, and baluckoes of ſteel, that horſemen carry in their hands; their ſhafts being three feet long, their heads great and round, and ſharply guttered, wherewith they uſe to brain or knock down their enemies in the field. The Beglerbeg or Baſhaw of Damaſcus has the greateſt command of all other Baſhaws in Aſia; having under his authority (as he is

The forces of the Baſhaw of Damaſcus.

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is under his Emperor) twenty-two ſanzacks; and they conducting under all the aforeſaid three, forty thouſand Timariots, or horſemen, beſides two thouſand Janizaries, which are the guard of the Baſhaw, and garriſon of the city. His Beglerbegſhip extendeth over the greater half of Syria, a part of the two Arabias, Felix and Petrea, Phœnicia, Galilee, Samaria, Paleſtina, Judea, Jeruſalem, Idumea, and all the northern parts of Arabia the Deſert, even to the frontiers of Egypt.

The means of the preſervation of ſo great a ſtate, is only by an induced confidence upon the power and force of thoſe Timariots, who as well have their pay, and local grounds of compenſation, in time of tranquillity as wars, to defend theſe countries from the incurſions of the wild Arabs, which evermore annoy the Turks, and alſo ſtrangers; and cannot poſſibly be brought to a quiet and well-formed manner of living, but are continual ſpoilers of theſe parts of the Turkiſh dominions. That miſchief daily increaſeth, rather than any way diminiſheth. They, taking example from the beaſtly Turks, add, by theſe patterns, more wickedneſs to the badneſs of their own diſpoſitions: ſo that every one of theſe ſavages, according to his power, dealeth with all men uncivilly and cruelly, even like a wilderneſs full of wild beaſts, all living upon rapine and robbery, wanting all ſenſe of humanity, more than a ſhew of appearance; whereby, being combined together, they do tyrannize over all, even from the Red ſea to Babylon. *Savage Arabian robbers.*

Thus they, in that violent humour, invading alſo thoſe of Afric, hath cauſed Grand Cairo to be furniſhed with thirty thouſand Timariots, which defend the frontiers of Egypt and Gozan. Leaving all the Turks at Damaſcus, (ſave only our Janizaries and ſoldiers), within the ſpace of two hours after our departure from thence, travelling in the way of Jeruſalem, the whole Armenians fell down on the ground, kiſſing it, and making many ſincere demonſtrations of unwont-

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ed devotion. At the which I being amazed, ſtood gazing, aſking my Frenchman, what news? who replied, ſaying, It was the place where St Paul was converted, which they had (and all Chriſtians ſhould have) in great regard. The place was covered with an old chapel *, and,

More like ſome relick, of extirp'd decay,
Than for a monument rear'd for the way,
To blaze on Paul's converſion; yet it's true,
The work was done, even by the Chriſtian Jew,
Or Jacob, a circumciſed kind,
Who bear to Franks a moſt reſpective mind.

Three days were we betwixt Damaſcus and the eaſt part of Galilee, which is the beginning of Canaan; in two of which three we encountered with marſhes and quagmires, being a great hindrance to us. This barren and marſhy country is a part of Arabia Petrea, coming in with a point between Galilee and Syria, running along even to the ſouth-weſt ſkirt of Libanus, which indeed in that place, far more than Jordan, divideth the true Syria from Canaan. This Petrean country itſelf, ſloping even down to the limits of Jacob's bridge, cutteth away the denomination of Syria from this parcel of ground, till you come eaſtward to the more laborious plains.

A dangerous way.

Through this paſſage it is moſt undoubtedly a very thieviſh way: for as we travelled in the night, there were many of us forced to carry burning lights in our hands; and our ſoldiers had their harquebuſſes ready

* At about 500 paces from Damaſcus, on the ſouth ſide, upon the highway, the place is ſhewn where St Paul was thrown upon the ground, and heard a voice ſaying unto him, "Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?" Here a church was built, which at preſent is entirely ruined. In the ſame city there is ſtill to be ſeen the houſe which is ſaid to be that of Ananias, who baptiſed and inſtructed St Paul. It was changed into a church; but the Turks have made a moſque of it. —— Dictionary of the Bible, on the word *Damaſcus*.

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to discharge; all to affright the blood-thirsty Arabians, who in holes, caves, and bushes, lie obscured, waiting for advantage upon travellers, not unlike unto the lawless wood-carnes in Ireland. This part of Arabia is called *Petrosa*, because it is so rocky; and some think of Petra, the chief town. It was anciently divided into two regions, Nabathia and Agara, possessed first by the Hagarens, descended of Abraham and Hagar. It is also thought to be the land of the Midianites, whither Moses fled to, and kept sheep; and Mount Horeb is there, whereon the Lord did shew him the land of promise.

Divers of these Petrean Arabs converse and dwell amongst the Turks, whom we term, in respect of the other, civil Arabs. South from hence lieth Arabia Felix, bordering with the Indian sea; which is the most fruitful and pleasant soil in all Asia, abounding with balsamo, myrrh, and frankincense, gold and pearls, especially about Medina, the second city to Mecca. The other towns of note are Horan, the chief port of the South ocean; and Alteroch, the only town where Christians are in greatest number in that country.

Truly, with much difficulty, and greater danger, passed we these Petrean journeys. Here I remarked a singular quality, and rare perfection, in the careful conduct of our captain; who would, when he came to any dangerous place, give the watch-word of St. Johanne, meaning as much thereby, that none should speak or whisper after that warning, under the pain of a harquebusado. And no more we durst, unless he had stretched out his hand, making us a sign (when occasion served) of liberty, left, by our tumultuous noise in the night, our enemies should have the foreknowledge of our coming; and knowing also, that the nature of a multitude bred all times confused effects, without some severe punishment. Himself rode still in the vanguard, upon a lusty gelding, with two Janizaries and forty soldiers; and the other four Janizaries and sixty soldiers were appointed to be the back-guard, for fear

Arabia Petrea.

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fear of ſudden aſſaults. Thus moſt dexterouſly diſcharged he the function of his calling, not with inſolence, but with prudent and magnanimous courage: For my part, I muſt needs ſay, the diligent care of that benign caravan extended over me was ſuch, that whenſoever I remember it, I am not able to ſacrifice congratulations ſufficiently to his well-deſerving mind; yet in the mean while my purſe bountifully rewarded his earneſt endeavours; and notwithſtanding of this high conceived regard, yet in ſome frivolous things, and for a ſmall trifle, he privately wronged me, which I miſknew, as unwilling (knowing his diſpoſition, and that my life hung in his hands) to be too forward to ſeek a redreſs: For oftentimes an inconvenience is moſt convenient; and as the great corrupter of youth is pleaſure, and the violent enemy of age is grief; even ſo are the inordinate deſires of unconſcionable ſtrangers towards travellers, who preferring avarice above honeſty, care only for that part of a man which is his fortune, whoſe friendſhip beginning only in an outward ſhow, muſt end in the midſt of a man's money; as who would ſay, ſuch like were rather employed, as their employments rewarded; and therefore in unlawful things they muſt ſuck the honey of their own prepoſterous ends: And thus it fared with him; at the paying of my tributes by the way for my head, he cauſed me oft to pay, more than reaſon, to the Moors, Turks, and civil Arabs, receiving ſecretly back from them the overplus; which my Turkiſh ſervant perceiving, made my Trenchman tell me, that I might be foreſeen therein.

A corrupted Caravan.

But ſuch is the covetous nature of man, that with his covenant he cannot be contented, unleſs he ſeek otherwiſe, by all unlawful means, to purchaſe himſelf an unjuſt gain. But the high reſpect I had of his other perfections, made me overlook and wink at that imperfection of avariciouſneſs in him; and eſpecially remembering myſelf to be under his protection, I always endeavoured my aims ſo, that in his ſight I won extraordinary

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dinary favour; insomuch that, in danger or security, he would ever have me near by him, which I also craved, and strove to observe the points of his will, and my own safety.

The obligation of my bounden duty taught me to no other end, than ever to respect the benevolence of his affection, and to suppress my own weak judgement, which could never mount to the true acquittance of his just merit.

But to proceed on my pilgrimage; on the aforesaid third day in the afternoon, we entered into Galilee, passing along a fair bridge that is over the river Jordan, which divideth a part of this stony Arabia from Galilee. This bridge, by the Armenians, is called *Jacob's bridge*; and not far hence, they shewed me the place where Jacob wrestled with the angel, and where Esau met his brother Jacob to have killed him, being upon the east side of the river. Jordan is scarcely known by the name at this place; but afterwards I saw his greater growth, ending in Sodom, whereof, in the one place, I shall more amply discourse. Between Jacob's bridge and Jerusalem, we had six days journey, five whereof were more pleasant than profitable, in regard of the great tributes I paid by the way for my head, that at sundry places, and in one day, I have paid for my freedom in passage twelve zechins of gold, amounting to five pound eight shillings of English money: A journal tribute, more fit for a prince to pay than a pilgrim; the admiration only resting upon this, how I was furnished with these great sums of money I daily disbursed. *Jacob's bridge.*

April the eighteenth day, according to the computation of the Roman calender, and by ours March the eight and twentieth, I entered into Galilee a province of Canaan. This country was first called *Canaan*, from Canaan the son of Cham: secondly, *The land of promise*, because it was promised by the Lord to Abraham and his seed to possess: thirdly, *The land of Israel*, of the Israelites, so called from Jacob who was surnamed *Israel*;

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Iſrael; fourthly, *Judea*, from the Jews, or the people of the tribe of Judah; fifthly, *Paleſtine*, *quaſi Philiſtim*, the land of the Philiſtines; and now, fixthly, *Terra Sancta*, the Holy Land, becauſe herein was wrought many wonderful miracles, but eſpecially the work of our ſalvation. It is in length an hundred and eighty, and in breadth ſixty miles; yet of that ſalubrity of air, and fertility of ſoil, flowing with milk and honey, that before the coming of the Iſraelites, it maintained thirty kings with their people, and afterward the two potent kingdoms of Iſrael and Judah; in which David numbered one million and thirty thouſand fighting men, beſides them of the tribe of Benjamin and Levi. It is moſt certain, that by the goodneſs of the climate and ſoil, eſpecially by the bleſſing of God, it was the moſt fruitful land in the world: But, by experience, I find now the contrary, and the fruitfulneſs thereof to be changed, God curſing the land together with the Jews, then the (but now diſperſed) inhabitants thereof. Neither are the greateſt part of theſe eaſtern countries ſo fertile as they have been in former ages, the earth as it were growing old, ſeemeth weary to bear the burden of any more increaſe; and ſurely the two eyes of day and night, with the planets, and ſtars, are become neither ſo forcible, ſo bright, nor warm as they have been; time, from old antiquity, running all things to deſolation, making the ſtrong things weak, and weak things feeble, at laſt it returneth all things to juſt nothing: And there is the end of all beginnings, and an infallible argument of the diſſolution to come by the day of judgement.

Canaan greatly changed.

As things that are, ſtill vaniſh from our eye,
So things that were, again ſhall never be:
The whirlwind of time ſtill ſo ſpeedy poſts,
That like itſelf, all things therein it toſts.

The Jews are alſo termed *Hebræi*, or *Hebrews*, from Heber, one of Abraham's progenitors, or *Hebræ*, *quaſi Abrahæ*;

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Abrahæ; who, at their deſcent into Egypt, were but ſeventy ſouls, being the iſſue of Jacob and his twelve ſons. The poſterity of which patriarchy continued in bondage two hundred and fifteen years, till in the year of the world 2453. At which time the Lord, commiſerating their heavy oppreſſions under the Egyptians, delivered them with a ſtrong hand, and placed them here; which then was inhabited by the Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, and Jebuſites. *The Holy Land.*

Canaan is divided into five provinces, *viz.* Judea, Galilee, Paleſtina, Samaria, and Phœnicia: Some divide it only into three, Paleſtina, Judea, and Galilee. It hath been by others alſo nominated in general, *Syria*; by which calculation they gathered all the countries from Cilicia to Egypt under that name. But howſoever they differ in deſcriptions, it is moſt certain, that at this day, it is only and uſually divided into theſe five particular provinces. Galilee and Paleſtina, for the preſent, are the moſt fertile, and greateſt provinces thereof, eſpecially Galilee, which, in ſome parts, yieldeth grain twice a-year; and for abundance of ſilk, cotton-wool, delicate wines, honey, oil, and fruits of all kinds, I hold it never a whit more decayed now, than at any time when the glory of Iſrael was at the higheſt. This province of Galilee is forty-eight miles long, and twenty-five broad, having Phœnicia to the north; Samaria to the weſt; Jordan to the ſouth; and to the eaſt and north-eaſt, a part or point of Arabia Petroſa, and the ſouth-weſt end of Libanus.

After we had travelled a great way along the lake of Genneſareth, which is eight leagues in length, and four broad, where I ſaw the decayed towns of Bethſaida and Tyberias, lying on the north ſide of the ſame ſea, we left the ſea-coaſt, and came to Cana, to ſtay all night; in which we had no Canes to ſave us from the Arabs, nor coverture above our heads, but the hard ground to lie on, which was always my bed in the moſt parts of Aſia. In the night when we ſlept, the ſoldiers kept

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kept centinel, and in the day when we repoſed, they ſlept and we watched.

Cana in Galilee.

This Cana was the town wherein our Saviour wrought the firſt miracle, converting, at the marriage, water into wine; and is now called by the Turks, *Calieros*, or *Calinos*, being a town compoſed of two hundred fire-houſes; the inhabitants being partly Arabs, partly Jews, and partly Chriſtian Georgians. The circumjacent fields, being both fertile, delectable, and plain.

The day following, reſuming our journey, we paſſed over a little pleaſant mountain, where the Armenian patriarch, (for ſo was there one with them), went into an old chapel, and all the reſt of the pilgrims thronged about him, uſing many ſtrange ceremonies, for it was in that place (as they ſaid) "where Chriſt fed five thouſand people, with five barley-loaves and two fiſhes." And indeed it is very like the place. The ancient chapel, ſhewing as yet ſome beautiful decorations, do dignify both the monument, and the memory of the founder thereof.

Continuing our journey, we ſaw Mount Tabor on our left hand, which is a pretty round mountain, beſet about with comely trees. I would gladly have ſeen the monument of that place, where the transfiguration of Chriſt was. But the Caravan, mindful to viſit Nazareth, left the great way of Jeruſalem, and would by no perſuaſion go thither.

That night we lodged in a poor village called *Heerſchek*, where we could get neither meat for ourſelves, nor provender for the beaſts; but ſome of our company, for their ſupper, had an hundred ſtrokes from the Moors and Arabs in that place, becauſe the Chriſtian pilgrims had trodden upon the graves of their dead friends, which by no means they can tolerate. They made no ſmall uproar amongſt us, deſperately throwing ſtones and darts, till we were all glad to remove half a mile from that place; and the next morning we paſſed by

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by Cæsarea Philippi, which is now so miserably decayed, that the town consisteth not of above twenty-four dwelling-houses, and is almost in as ruinous a situation as sacked Samaria, or another spectacle of time, like to the now ragged town of the Moorish Bethulia. It was built by Philip one of the tetrarchs, in honour of Tiberius Cæsar, and now called by the Moors *Hederasco*. Here was Herod smitten by the angels, and eaten of worms, after the sycophantic people called his rhetorical oration, *The voice of God, and not of man.* Here our Saviour healed the woman of the bloody flux, and raised from death to life the daughter of Jairus. Here St Peter baptized Cornelius, and St Paul disputed against Tertullus, in the presence of Felix. *Cæsarea Philippi.*

April 20. about ten of the clock, (passing the river Kyson), we arrived at Nazareth, and there reposed till the evening, providing ourselves of victuals and water. In this town dwelt Joseph and the Virgin Mary; and in which also our Saviour was brought up under the vigilant care of Joseph and Mary. After we had dined, the Armenians arose, and went to a heap of stones, the ruins of an old house, before which they fell down upon their knees, praising God; and that ruinous lump (say they) was the house where Mary dwelt when Gabriel saluted her, bringing the annunciation of salvation to the world. I am fully persuaded they carried away above five thousand pounds weight to keep in memorial thereof: Then did I remember of the chapel of Loretta, and told the Caravan, that I saw that house standing in Italy, which (as the Romanists say) was transported by the angels. O, said he, we Armenians cannot believe that, neither many other assertions of the Roman church; for we certainly know by Christians, that have from time to time dwelt here ever since, that this is both the place, and stones of the house: Let Papists coin a new law to themselves, we care not; for as they err in this, so do they err in all, following merely the traditions of men; *A counter buffet for Loretta.*

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they run galloping poſt to hell. The patriarch being informed by the laughing Caravan of theſe news, aſked me in diſdain, (thinking it had been an article of my belief), If I ſaw that houſe, or believed that the chapel of Loretta was ſuch a thing? to whom I conſtantly anſwered, I did not believe it, affirming it was only but a deviliſh invention, to deceive the blindfolded people, and to fill the coffers of the Roman prieſts. Now, thou bottomleſs gulf of papiſtry, here I forſake thee, no winter-blaſting furies of Satan's ſubtil ſtorms can make ſhipwreck of my faith, on the ſtony ſhelves of thy deceitful deeps.

Thus, and after this manner too, are all the illuſions of their imaginary and falſe miracles, firſt invented partly by monaſterial poverty, then confirmed by provincial bribery; and laſtly, they are faith-ſold for conſiſtoral lucre. In the mean time of our ſtaying here, the Emir, or Lord of the town, ſent ſix women, conducted by twelve of his ſervants, to an Armenian prince, that was a pilgrim in our company, to be uſed by him, and others whom he would elect to be his fellow-labourers; which indeed he did kindly accept, and invited me to that feaſt; but I gave him the refuſal, little regarding ſuch a frivolous commodity. He, and ſome of the chief pilgrims entertained them for the ſpace of three hours, and ſent them back, giving to their conductors fifteen piaſters as a reward. Truly, if I would rehearſe the impudence of theſe whores, and the brutiſhneſs of the Armenians, as it is moſt ignominious to the actors; ſo, no doubt, it would be very loathſome to the reader.

Libidinous lechery.

Such is the villany of theſe oriental ſlaves under the Turks; that not only by converſing with them, they learn ſome of their damnable Ethnic cuſtoms, but alſo going beyond them in beaſtly ſenſuality, become worſe than brute-beaſts. This maketh me remember a worthy ſaying of that heatheniſh Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, who, in conſideration of fleſhly luſts, ſaid, That although he were ſure the gods would not puniſh him

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him for the offence; yet he would forbear it, in regard of the filthineſs of the fact itſelf. Indeed a noble and virtuous reſolution of a Pagan, when ſuch baſe and beaſtly Chriſtians, theſe wretched Armenians, committed with theſe infidel harlots, a twofold kind of voluptuous abomination, which my conſcience commands me to conceal, leſt I pollute this northern world with that which their nature never knew, nor their knowledge have heard, hearing of the like; but God in his juſt judgements, that ſame night, threatened both to have puniſhed the doers, and the whole company for their ſakes. For we having reſolved to travel all that night; and becauſe the way was rocky, and hard to be known, and perilous for Arabs, we hired a Chriſtian guide, named *Joab*, and agreed with him to take us to Lydda, which was two days journey. But before we advanced to our paſſage, Joab had ſent a privy meſſenger before us, to warn about three hundred Arabs (who had their abode on the ſouth ſide of Mount Carmel) to meet him at ſuch a place as he had appointed; giving them to know we were rich, and well provided with zechins, and ſultans of gold, and piaſters of ſilver; and that he ſhould ſurrender us into their hands for ſuch a recompence and conſideration as their ſavage judgements ſhould think fit, according to the ſpoils and booties they ſhould obtain, together with the miſerable murder and loſs of our lives. This being done, and unknown to us, we marched along, travelling faſter than our ordinary pace, ſome on horſe, and ſome on foot, for my pilgrimage was always on foot. Our guide ſuſpecting that, by our celerity, we ſhould go beyond the place appointed for his treacherous plot, began to croſs us grievouſly, leading us up and down amongſt pools and holes, whither he liſted; where many of our camels and aſſes were loſt, and could not be recovered, becauſe we all began to ſuſpect and fear; which was the cauſe that the owners durſt not ſtay to relieve their periſhing beaſts.

A villainous plot.

In the end, the captain and Janizaries intreated him

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earneſtly to bring us in the right way; but the more they requeſted, the more obdurate was his heart, replying, He was miſtaken, and could not find it till daylight; upon the which words the company was ſtopped; and in the mean while there came a Turk, one of our ſoldiers, unto the captain, ſaying, he ſaw the guide, before our departure from Nazareth, ſend a Moor before him, for what reſpect he knew not, being long at private conference. Whereupon they ſtraight bound him with ropes on a horſe-back, threatening him with death, to cauſe him to confeſs the truth.

A treacherous guide.

In the midſt of this tumult, I having got ſight of the north-ſtar, (which ſeemed exceeding low to me), conſidering thereby, that the villain had led us more to the ſouthward than to the weſtward, which was our way to Jeruſalem: "Whereupon I intreated the Caravan to turn our faces northward, otherwiſe we ſhould be cut off, and that ſuddenly: For although (ſaid I) it may peradventure be, that we are three or four miles ſhort of the place intended for our maſſacre, yet they miſſing us, will, like ravening wolves, hunt here and there; wherefore, if we incline to the north, (God willing), we ſhall prevent their bloody deſigns. To which advice (being duly pondered) they yielded; and ſo I became their guide in that dark night, till morning; for none of them knew that ſtar, neither the nature of it. At laſt this deſperate wretch conſidering, that either by our vanquiſhing, or the enemy's victory, he could not eſcape, ſince his treaſon was revealed, began to beg pardon of the Caravan, ſaying, That if he could have any ſurety of his life, he would ſufficiently inform us how to eſcape theſe imminent dangers; for we were all in extreme peril of our lives, and not ſo much courage nor comfort left us, as the very ſmalleſt hopes of any relief.

The captain, being diſtracted with fear, replied he would, and thereupon ſwore a ſolemn oath; ſo did the Janizaries ſwear by the head of Mahomet, for the like effect.

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effect. Which being done, he was untied, and confeſſed, that if we had continued in the way he led us, we had been all put to the edge of the ſword; and falling down on his knees, cried oft with tears, Mercy, mercy, mercy.

All that night we went with that ſtar, and againſt morning we were in the weſtern confines of Phœnicia, and at the beginning of Paleſtine, cloſe by the ſea-coaſt, and within half a mile of Tyrus. This once renowned city of Tyrus, called now by the Moors *Sur*, was famous for her purples, and colonies diſperſed over all the world by her citizens; and once a kingdom of great antiquity and long continuance. The worthieſt of her kings were Hiram, in ſtrict bond of confederacy with Solomon, and Pigmalion, the brother of Dido, who built Carthage. This ſeat, giving way to the Perſian monarchy, was, about the overthrow of Darius, attacked by Alexander; who had much ado, with extraordinary expence of men, money, and great labour, to conquer it, being then ſeparated from the main continent by the ſea, but now joined to the firm land; and before you come to the city, there lieth a great bank of ſand, where it is likely the ſea hath been in Alexander's time; though now, as time altereth every thing, the ſea is fled from that place, which maketh that ruinous town ſeem more deſolate. At the break of day, I, and certain Armenians, went to viſit this decayed town, and found the moſt famous ruins here, that the world for memory can afford, and a delicious incircling harbour, incloſed within the middle of the town, fit to receive ſmall barks, frigates, and galleots; the compaſſing fore-face whereof being all four-ſquared marble and alabaſter ſtones; the moſt part of all which houſes have ſtood on pillars of the ſame ſtones; the infinite number whereof may as yet be (above and below the ſands) perfectly beheld. There are only nineteen fire-houſes here, which are the Moors; and is now under the Emir of the Druſians, who remaineth in Sidon. The

Tyrus is called Sur.

The ruins of Tyrus.

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eaſt part of this country aboundeth in balm, honey, and oil, and was the ſeat of Aſher, of whom Moſes propheſied, Deut. xxxiii. 24. that he ſhould dip his feet in oil.

Here theſe Egyptian Moors, for ſo they were firſt bred there, brought us to a pillar lying upon the ground of nine ſeveral colours of marble, being one entire ſtone, and the length of it was twenty-two feet of my meaſure, and eight in compaſs; which, ſaid they, was one of the pillars that Sampſon pulled down upon the Philiſtines, at the hour of his death. To whom I anſwered, That Samſon died at Gaza, the furtheſt ſouth-weſt part of Paleſtine, where he bore down the houſe of Dagon, upon the Philiſtines; and I think the ancient Tyrians, ſaid I, could not tranſport that pillar ſo far hither: But they the more conſtantly affirmed it, and ſo did theſe Armenians that were with me confirm it alſo, ſome of whom had been twice there before; yet, howſoever it was, I brought home a pound weight of it, and preſented the half thereof to King James of bleſſed memory.

Sampſon's pillar.

Here, by accident, in returning back to the caravan, I met with an Engliſh factor, named *Mr Brockeſs*, who then remained at Sydon, eighteen miles from this place, and had been down at Acre about ſome negotiations; who indeed eſt-ſoons, and kindly took me into a Mooriſh houſe by the ſea-ſide, and one of his acquaintance; where inſtantly we ſwallowed down ſuch jovial and deep carouſes of Leatic wine, that both he and I were almoſt faſtened in the laſt plunge of underſtanding; yet nevertheleſs he conveyed me back to my company, and put me ſafe into the hands of the caravan, with whom divers times afterwards I met here at London, whoſe kindneſs I often celebrate in a glaſs of good wine.

But now the ſun diſcovering the earth, and the night baniſhed to the inferior world, we were all encouraged; for the light of day lends comfort. The captain (ſending back that falſe Judas, for ſo was he ſworn to do) ſent

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ſent a poſt to Tyrus for a new guide, who came forthwith, and brought us in our way to Mount Carmel; for by it we behoved to go; and in our way we met with the deſolate town of Sarepta, nigh thereunto adjoining, where Eliſha was ſuſtained in a great famine by a widow, whoſe ſon he raiſed from death. *The town of Sarepta.*

Great are the mercies of God; for as he hath made man an excellent creature, ſo hath he alſo endued him with two great powers in his mind; the one a wiſe power of underſtanding, by which he penetrateth into the knowledge of things; the other a ſtrong power of dexterous reſolving, whereby he executeth things well underſtood: for we having judged the worſt, reſolved the beſt; and by his Almighty Providence were freed from that apparent danger, although the former day's whoredom and unnatural vices deſerved a juſt puniſhment.

This I intimate to all travellers in general, that if they would that God ſhould further them in their attempts, bleſs their voyages, and grant them a ſafe return to their native countries, (without the which, what contentment have they for all their pains?), that they would conſtantly refrain from whoredom, drunkenneſs, and too much familiarity with ſtrangers. For a traveller who is not temperate and circumſpect in all his actions, although he were headed like that Herculean ſerpent Hydra, yet it is impoſſible he can return in ſafety from the danger of Turks, Arabs, Moors, wild beaſts, and the deadly extremities of heat, hunger, thirſt, and cold.

Approaching to Mount Carmel, and leaving it upon our right hand between us and the ſea-coaſt, I beheld, afar off upon the top of the hill, the place where Elijah aſcended to heaven, when he left his cloak behind him to Eliſha his diſciple. This mountain is four miles in length, lying ſouth and north, the north end bordering with the ſea, near to Acre, called anciently *Ptolemais*, and the ſouth end joining with the borders of Samaria, through the which confine we paſſed. *Samaria.*

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Leaving Samaria on our left hand, we entered into a fair plain, adorned with fruitful trees, and all other ornaments that pleaſant fields afford; but we ſaw no village. Marching thus about the declining of the ſun from the meridian, we came in ſight of two hundred pavilions, all pitched in ranks; yielding the proſpect of a little city, by a brook-ſide of water; which being perceived, the captain began to conſider what they might be; and immediately there came riding toward us ſix naked fellows, well mounted on Arabian geldings, who demanded what we were? and whither we were bound with ſuch a multitude? and if there were any Franks in Chriſtendom in our company? To whom the Janizaries replied, We were bound to Jeruſalem; and that there was but one Frank with them. Upon the which they preſently ſought me, demanding Caffar, Caffar, that was tribute for my head, and cauſed me, by force, notwithſtanding of the reſiſting caravan and Janizaries, to pay them preſently for my life ſeven zechins of gold, ſeven times nine ſhillings Sterling: and this is becauſe, ſaid they, our King is reſident in theſe tents, and therefore we have tripled his tribute. And yet were they diſcontented, becauſe there were no more Franks in our company; for from the Armenians they could not, nor would not, ſeek any tribute, becauſe they were tributary ſlaves and ſubjects to the Great Turk; neither alſo of any other Chriſtian born in his dominions, when they ſhall happen to fall into their hands.

They returning back to their prince, with this malediction of my heart, and the ſorrow of a pilgrim's purſe, we marching on in our way, that day we travelled above thirty-four miles, and pitched at a village called *Adoaſh*, being compoſed of ſixty Mooriſh and Arabian houſes, ſtanding in a fruitful and delicate plain; and garniſhed with olive, date, and fig-trees, which were both pleaſant and profitable; where we found alſo good herbs to eat, and abundance of water to drink, and alſo to fill our emptied bottles. As we lay down to ſleep after a hungry ſupper, on the hard ground,

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ground, and our guard watching us, that ſame King of the Arabians came a little before mid-night, with twenty-four well-horſed runagates, and naked courtiers, being armed with bows and arrows, and half-pikes, pointed at both ends with hard ſteel; and aſked for the Caravan, who preſently awoke, and went to ſalute him, laying his hand on his breaſt, bowed his head very low; which is the uſual courteſy amongſt the infidels and Chriſtians in theſe parts; for they never uncover their heads to any man: and after ſome ſhort parley, they ſat all down on the graſs. The Caravan preſented his rude-like Majeſty with water, bread, herbs, figs, garlic, and ſuch things as he had. *The ſavage Arabian King.*

As they were thus merry at this poor banquet, the awful King took the oath of our conductor, if there were any more Franks there than I; and he having ſworn the truth, the King, by a malignant informer, immediately cauſed me to be brought before him; and ſtaring me in the face, aſked my interpreter, where were my companions? who replied, I had none. Then ſaid he, tell that dog, or Eliſhole, he muſt acknowledge me with five pieces of gold more, otherwiſe (making a ſign to his own throat) I ſhall cut off his head; becauſe (ſaid he) I will not loſe this night's travel for nothing. The which I being informed, and knowing that by no condition there was reſiſtence againſt ſuch a wicked prince, gave it him forth of my own hand, having conſulted with my captain before, and that preſently with a half-ſmiling countenance; which he remarking, told the reſt, it ſeemed I gave it with a good heart, and a chearful geſture; and to recompence my outward behaviour, he drunk a great draught of water to me, thinking thereby he had done me more honour than all the zechins of gold I gave him now, and in the morning would do him profit or pleaſure. Pleaſure they could do him none; for they were unlawfully and diſhoneſtly got, and delivered too from the inward *Exaction of tributes.*

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ward ſorrow of my ſighing ſoul. And no wonder, having ſpent two years great charges in Turky before this time, but that I ſhould have been exceeding penurious of money, and thereupon deſolate of relief and comfort.

Truly this was one of the greateſt tributes I paid for one day's journey, that I had in all my voyage in Aſia. There are two kings in Arabia; the one who liveth on Euphrates, the deſarts of Meſopotamia, ſometimes in Arabia Felix, and ſome parts of Syria; and the other was he to whom I paid this money, who wandereth with his tribes, tents, and beſtial, one while in Arabia Petrea and Deſerta, and ſometimes in the Holy Land, as he findeth good paſturage and freſh fountains. Theſe two Kings are mortal enemies; and if by accident they meet, they fight moſt cruelly, bringing damage, rapine, and deſtruction to themſelves, and their followers. For it is a difficult thing in them to command their inordinate paſſions, being untamed ſavages, and regardleſs of civility, who continually contend to corroborate the malignity of their diſpoſitions, with bloody and inhuman enterpriſes. And yet all the reſt of that night, after his return from us, we ſtill expected ſome treacherous ſurpriſe; which made our ſoldiers ſtand ſtoutly on their guard, and we pilgrims to our vigilant and naked defence. For the Turks will not ſuffer Chriſtians to carry weapons in all theſe dominions, neither in any other place where they command. And for all this great tribute, and night's danger of my life, here was my reſolution preſent.

Two Arabian Kings.

The more I am beſet with dreadful ſnares,
Begirded round, in ſhelvy gulfs of wrack,
And ſhipwreck left on rocks of deep deſpairs,
Where helpleſs care, with tort'ring thoughts me rack;
Then ſtoutly ſtand I, hoping for the end,
That time will change, and God will better ſend.

And

And now, by the way, I recall the aforesaid Turk, the master of the mule that carried my provision, and on whom in the journey I had bestowed the most part of my tobacco. When I had no more to give him, and he suspected the contrary, he was counselled by his associates to beat me soundly, and dismount my victuals and water from the mule's back, till I complimented him with the rest. Which intention being by me understood, I forthwith run to the Caravan and complained; whereupon my friend was bravely belaboured with a cudgel, and my better safety procured. Thus was his former shew of love quickly expelled, and an inward grudge suddenly conceived; for it was the smoke, and not myself, he respected.

Love's whirling fancies, mortals fondly feed,
As marshy roots dissolve, even as they breed:
An human creature, inhumanely taught,
Is worser given to ill, than evil fraught.
Things in themselves be not so bad as ill,
The cause exeem'd, corruption hath free will.
Man's frail affection is a cloudy mist,
Whose vapours fall, and fog, as passions list.
Bad counsel's worse than nature ill applies,
Weak judgement dulls, when fear in reason flies.
Thus sad eclips'd, the dark eclipsed moon
Did change, e'er my eclipsed light was won.
At last the sunshine of my silver day,
Came crawling on, as snails advance the way.

The next morning, when the hopeful Aurora had foreshown the burning birth of glassy Thetis, and that orient majesty arising to overcirculate the earth, then marched we along in our way, and before mid-day pitched our hair-cloth tent round about Jacob's well, near the decayed city of Sychar in Samaria. This province of Samaria is now, for the most part, quite destroyed and overwhelmed with mountains of sand. We found this ancient well so wondrous deep, that scarcely all our ropes, *Jacob's well.*

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ropes could ſink our bucket in the water. The taſte whereof was wondrous cold and ſweet; and, for Jacob's ſake, the whole number of us drunk more of it than need required. The fiery face of Phœbus declining to the weſt, we marched through a part of the fields of Baſhan, of which Og was laſt king, a man of ſuch a large proportion, that his bed, being made of iron, was nine cubits long, and four broad; and all that afternoon we had exceeding pleaſant travelling; and at night we encamped by Lydda on the fields. Lydda is not above ten miles from the ruinous town of Cæſarea by the ſea-ſide, and is now called by the Turks and Moors *Alferron*, being a village only of ſixteen Mooriſh houſes. Here Peter healed the man ſick of the palſy.

The ſea-port towns of the Holy Land.

The towns ſituated by the ſea-ſide, in Phœnicia, Paleſtina, and Judea, are theſe, Sydon, which ſtandeth in the borders of Zabulon and Nepthalim, or Phœnicia, being a goodly city, and well peopled, and is governed by the Emir or Prince of the Druſians; who being the offspring of the Chriſtians, which, under the conduct of Godfrey Duke of Bulloine, deſcended into theſe parts, do ſtill maintain their liberty againſt the Turks. The Signor whereof being threatened by the Great Turk, fled to Coſmus Duke of Florence *anno* 1612, leaving his two ſons behind him, the eldeſt to keep Sydon, and the younger to remain in a ſtrong fortreſs on the weſt end of Mount Libanus. The eldeſt brother forthwith yielded to the Great Turk the ſignory of his lands; but the younger would never do it; and ſo retaineth abſolutely the country of Libanus to this day, making himſelf thereupon a mountainous monarchic prince. Tygrus, which is miſerably brought to ruin; Acre, or Acon, that hath yet ſome indifferent trade of merchandiſe, called formerly *Ptolemais*; Caipha, called commonly *Caſtello Pellegrino*, which hath nothing but the remnants of an ancient abbey; Cæſarea, who reſerveth only but the memory of ruins; for there is no hoſpitality in it, except it be to ſavage Moors: Joppa, or Japhta, is a ſea-port of ſmall

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ſmall barks, but the decayed town containeth not one dwelling-houſe, ſave only a high tower, which defendeth the port from Corſairs. Here Jonah took ſhip to fly from God; here Peter raiſed Tabitha, or Dorcas, from death to life; and when he lodged at the houſe of Simon the tanner, was in a viſion taught the converſion of the Gentiles. And Baruti, famous for ſo many Chriſtian armies that have beſieged it, is now compoſed of eight hundred fire-houſes; lying north-eaſt of Sydon, under Mount Libanus, formerly called *Julia Felix*; nigh unto which (as fabulous ſtories report) St George delivered the King's daughter, by killing the dragon. It is alſo thought to be within Canaan, ſtanding in the frontier of Phœnicia, and is the beſt inhabited place of all the Holy Land, Sydon and Jeruſalem excepted.

Saturday morning, before the break of day, ſetting forward from Lydda, through the curling plains of fruitful Paleſtine, ſcarcely were we well advanced in our way, till we were beſet with more than three hundred Arabs, who ſent us from ſhrubby heights an expected ſhower of arrows, to the great annoyance of all our company. For if it had not been that our ſoldiers ſhot off their guns on a ſudden, and ſtood manly alſo to it with their bows and arrows, for our defence, we had then miſerably, in the midſt of their ravenous fury, periſhed. But the nature of the Arabs is not unlike to the jackals; for when any of them hear the ſhot of a harquebuſs, they preſently turn back with ſuch ſpeed, as if the fiends of the infernal court were broken looſe at their heels. *A dreadful conflict.*

In that momentary conflict, on our ſide there were killed nine women, five men, and about thirty perſons deadly wounded, which to our worthy Armenian captain, and to the reſt of our heatheniſh conductors, bred no ſmall grief; the mourning noiſe among the multitude being alſo wondrous pitiful. Till bright day came, we ſtaid ſtill in that ſame place, expecting the danger-

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ous mutability of our auſtere fortune; and at our departure thence, we buried the ſlain people in deep graves, whereby jackals ſhould not open up their graves to eat their corpſe. For ſuch is the nature of theſe cruel beaſts, that they only love to live on man's fleſh. Theſe ravenous beaſts (as is thought) are engendered of a fox and a wolf.

The town of Rama.

Proceeding in our journey, we entered about two of the clock in the afternoon, into the hilly country of Judea, having two of their courſes to Jeruſalem, which is about twenty Engliſh miles, leaving Rama on our right hand *, which containeth two hundred dwelling-houſes, of one ſtory high, and ten miles diſtant from Joppa, from which it lieth in the way to Jeruſalem. Here remaineth the Dragoman, a Chriſtian, who receiveth and conveyeth the pilgrims to Jeruſalem, which land at Joppa. Each pilgrim paying ſeven zechins of gold, is furniſhed with an aſs to ride on, all the way-tributes, at going and coming, being diſcharged by their conductor, to whom they reſign this tributary money.

Rama is a town inhabited by Chriſtians, Arabs, and Moors; not black Moors, as the Africans are, but they are called *Mori*, which are a kind of Egyptians, and not naturally black, but ſun-burnt with the parching heat. The whole territory of Canaan is inhabited with theſe Moors, ſome Turks, civil Arabs, and a few Chriſtians and ſcattered Jews. The Arabians are for the

* Rama, or Ramula, anciently Arimathea, twenty-four miles diſtant from Jeruſalem, and twelve from Joppa. This town ſtands on a little eminence in the midſt of a plain, the ſtreets are narrow, and the houſes contemptible; but there are ſeveral ruins, eſpecially of Chriſtian churches, which are ſo many monuments of its once better condition. Here are likewiſe the remains of a monaſtery built by Philip, the good Duke of Burgundy, for the accommodation of pilgrims, which ſtill retains the name of *Sion-Houſe*, and belongs to the Franciſcan convent at Jeruſalem. Several Europeans reſide in Rama, who trade chiefly in oil, ſoap, and cotton. —— Thompſon's travels, vol. 3. p. 249.

moſt

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moſt part thieves and robbers; the Moors cruel and uncivil, putting Chriſtians to death; the Turks are the worſt of all the three; yet all ſworn enemies to Chriſt. But when they know how to make any gain by ſtrangers, O what a diſſimulate oſtentation ſhall appear in theſe deteſtable villains, whoſe outſides only they ſeem to affect, but entirely the inſides of their purſes; and that is their aim and forcible end: Wherefore they both toil withal, and conduct ſtrangers through many perils, as imminent to themſelves as acceſſory unto our inevitable deſtinies; time diſcuſſing all, and money overmaſtering time; for coin is the thing they muſt have, though neceſſity ſometimes may not ſpare it.

About four of the clock before night, we arrived at Berah, called of old *Beerſheba*, being eleven miles diſtant from Jeruſalem. *Beerſheba.* Having repoſed there a little, giving our camels, mules, and aſſes, ſome provender; but we could get nothing for ourſelves from theſe deſpiteful Moors, (for what we carried with us was all ſpent), except a little water; we reſumed our mountainous way, as cheerfully as we could, for we were exceeding faint, and travelled that day above forty-three miles, whereby we might arrive at Jeruſalem before the gates were ſhut; ſuſtaining great drought, burning heat, pinching hunger, and not a few other ſuch inconveniences.

And now, about half-way between Berah and Jeruſalem, I and two Armenians advancing our way a flight ſhot before the company; we, I ſay, unhappily rencountered with four Mooriſh fellows, driving before them ſix aſſes loaden with roots, and ſhrubs of wood to burn; who ſeeing us, as they thought, alone, laid hands upon us, robbed us of our pocket-monies; whereat I reſiſting, one of them pulled forth a broad knife, and, holding me by the beard, thought to have cut my throat, if it had not been for one of his fellows, who ſwiftly ſtayed him. *A grievous danger.*

Well,

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Well, they leave us, and following their beasts, our soldiers instantly appeared unto us; whereupon we shouting, the Moors fled to the rocks; and our foot-soldiers following, apprehended two of the chiefs, and brought them to the captain, One of which had my money, which I presently received back again; but my associate's money was with them that escaped. The captain and Janizaries meanwhile carried the two Moors along with them, thinking to execute them at Jerusalem; but their friends and neighbours following fast on horseback, and on foot, relieved them from the Caravan, restoring back again the two Armenians money. Whereat all the Moors were exceeding glad, and we no ways discontented: for if they had not been redeemed, certainly their friends and followers, who were thick flocking together, would have cut us all off before we could have attained to Jerusalem.

At last we beheld the prospect of Jerusalem, which was not only a contentment to my weary body, but also, being ravished with a kind of unwonted rejoicing, the tears gushed from my eyes for too much joy. In this time the Armenians began to sing, in their own fashion, psalms to praise the Lord; and I also sung the 103d psalm all the way, till we arrived near the walls of the city, where we ceased from our singing for fear of the Turks.

A joyful harmony.

The sun being passed to his nightly repose before our arrival, we found the gates locked, and the keys carried up to the Bashaw in the castle; which bred a common sorrow in the company, being all both hungry and weary; yet the Caravan intreated earnestly the Turks within to give us over the walls some victuals for our money, shewing heavily the necessity we had thereof; but they would not, neither durst attempt such a thing. In this time the guardian of the monastery of Cordeliers, who remaineth there to receive travellers of Christendom; who having got news of our late arrival, came and demanded of the Caravan, if any Franks of Europe were in his society; and he said

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ſaid only one: then the guardian called me, and aſked what nation I was of; and when I told him, he ſeemed to be exceeding glad; yet very ſorrowful for our misfortune.

He having known my diſtreſs, returned, and ſent two friars to me with bread, wine, and fiſhes, which they let over the wall, (as they thought in a ſecret place); but they were eſpied; and on the morrow the Guardiano paid to the ſubbaſhaw, or ſanzeck, a great fine, being a hundred piaſters, thirty pounds Sterling; otherwiſe both he and I had been beheaded; which I confeſs was a dear-bought ſupper to the Grey friar; and no leſs almoſt to me, being both in danger of my life for ſtarving, and then for receiving of food, therefore ſuſpected for a traitor. For the Turks alledged he had taken in ammunition from me and the other Chriſtians, to betray the city. This they do oft, for a leſſer fault than that was, only to get bribes and money from the Grey friars, which daily ſtand in fear of their lives.

A dear night's ſupper.

Anno 1612, upon Palm-Sunday, in the morning, we entered into Jeruſalem; and at the gate we were particularly ſearched, to the effect we carried in no furniture of arms, nor powder with us; and the poor Armenians (notwithſtanding they are ſlaves to Turks) behoved to render their weapons to the keepers: ſuch is the fear they have of Chriſtians. And my name was written up in the clerk's book at the port, that my tribute for the gate, and my ſeeing of the ſepulchre, might be paid at one time together, before my final departure thence.

The gates of the city are of iron outwardly; and above each gate are brazen ordnance planted for their defence.

Having taken my leave of the Caravan and the company, who went to lodge with their own patriarch, I was met and received with the Guardian and twelve friars

A fooliſh ceremony.

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friars upon the ſtreets, each of them carrying in their hands a burning wax candle, and one for me alſo; who received me joyfully; and ſinging all the way to their monaſtery *Te Deum Laudamus*, they mightily rejoiced that a Chriſtian had come from ſuch a far country as Scotia to viſit Jeruſalem.

Where being arrived, they forthwith brought me to a room, and there the Guardian waſhed my right foot with water, and his vicar my left; that done, they kiſſed my feet; ſo did alſo all the twelve friars that ſtood by. But when they knew afterward that I was no Popiſh Catholic, it ſore repented them of their labour. I found here ten Franks newly come the neareſt way from Venice hither; ſix of them were Germans, noble gentlemen, and alſo good Proteſtants, who were wonderful glad to hear me tell the Guardian flatly in his face I was no Roman Catholic, nor ever thought to be. The other four Franks were Frenchmen, two of them Pariſians, old men, the other two of Provence, all four being Papiſts; with nine other trading Franks alſo that dwelt in Syria and Cyprus, moſt of them being Venetians, who were all glad of me, ſhewing themſelves ſo kind, ſo careful, ſo loving, and ſo honourable in all reſpects, that they were as kind gentlemen as ever I met withal, eſpecially the Germans. Such is the love of ſtrangers when they meet in foreign and remote places. They had alſo in high reſpect the adventures of my half-year's travel eaſt and beyond Jeruſalem; troubling me all the while we were together to ſhow them the rare diſcourſes of my long two years ſurvey of Turky; but eſpecially of my furtheſt ſights in the eaſt of Aſia; and were always in admiration that I had no fellow-pilgrim in my long peregrination.

PART

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PART VI.

Now come my ſwift-pac'd feet to Sion's ſeat,
And fair Jeruſalem; here to relate
Her ſacred monuments, and theſe ſweet places
Were fill'd with prophets and apoſtles faces:
Chriſt's crib at Bethle'em, and Mary's cave,
Calvar, and Golgotha, the holy grave:
Deep Adræ's valley, Hebron's patriarch tomb,
Sunk Lazar's pit, whence he roſe from earth's womb:
Judea's bounds and deſerts: that ſmoking lake,
Which orient folks do ſtill for Sodom take.
Thence view'd I Jordan, and his muddy ſtreams,
Whence I a rod did bring to royal James:
The lump-fall'n Jericho, and th' Olive Mount,
With Gethſemane, where Chriſt to pray was wont:
The Arabian deſerts: then Egypt land
I toiling ſaw, with Nilus ſwelling ſtrand:
Where for diſcourſe, the ſeventh part ſhall thee ſhow
What thou mayſt learn, and what by ſight I know,
Of matchleſs Egypt, and her unmatch'd bounds,
That twice a year in growth of grain abounds.

JEruſalem is now called by the Turks *Kuddiſh*, which is in their language a holy city. It was firſt called *Moriah*, of Moriah, one of the ſeven heads of Sion, where Abraham would have ſacrificed Iſaac, Gen. xxii. 2.; and upon his offering, it was called *Jeruſalem*, Gen. iv. 18. It was alſo named *Salem*, where Sem, or Melchiſedick, dwelt. And Jeruſalem was alſo called *Jebus*, 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. And it is the place where Solomon was commanded to build the temple, 2 Chron. iii. 1. which afterward was termed *Hieron Salomonis*; whence came, by corruption, that word *Hieroſolyma*

Jeruſalem's antiquity.

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roſolyma. David alſo, in his pſalms, gave it divers names. And Jeruſalem, in the Arabic tongue, is alſo called *Beyt almo kadas*. *Beyt* ſignifieth the houſe, *almo kadas*, viz. of ſaints.

Jeruſalem ſtandeth in the ſame place where old Jeruſalem ſtood, but not populous, neither in each reſpect of breadth or length ſo ſpacious: for, on the ſouth ſide of Jeruſalem, a great part of Mount Sion is left without, which was anciently the heart of the old city; and they have taken, on the north ſide now, both Mount Calvary, and the holy grave, within the walls which were built by Sultan Selim *. So that thereby the difference of the ſituation is not ſo great, though a part thereof be removed; but a man may boldly affirm, that the moſt part of this city is built on that place where the firſt Jeruſalem was; as may truly appear, and is made manifeſt, by theſe mountains mentioned in the ſcriptures, whereupon Jeruſalem is both ſituate and environed about, who preſerve their names to this day, and are ſtill ſeen and known by the ſame; as Mount Sion, Mount Calvary, Mount Moriah, and Mount Olivet. The form of the ſituation of Jeruſalem is now like to a heart, or triangle, the one point whereof looketh eaſt, extending downward almoſt to the valley of Jehóſaphat, which divideth Jeruſalem and Mount Olivet; the ſecond head or point bendeth out ſouth-weſt upon Sion, bordering near to the valley of Gehinnon; the third

The four hills of Jeruſalem.

* The church of the holy ſepulchre is founded upon Mount Calvary, which is a ſmall eminence or hill upon the greater mount of Moriah. It was anciently appropriated to the execution of malefactors, and therefore ſhut out of the walls of the city as an execrable and polluted place; but ſince it was made the altar, on which was offered up the precious and all-ſufficient ſacrifice for the ſins of the whole world, it has recovered itſelf from that infamy, and has been always reverenced and reſorted to with ſuch devotion by all Chriſtians, that it has attracted the city round about it, and ſtands now in the midſt of Jeruſalem, a great part of the hill of Sion being ſhut out of the walls to make room for the admiſſion of Cavalry. —— Maundrell's travels from Aleppo to Jeruſalem.

corner

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corner lieth on Mount Moriah, toward the north and by west, having its prospect to the burial-place of the Kings of Israel.

The walls are high, and strongly built with Saxo quadrato, which adorn Jerusalem more than any thing within it, the holy grave excepted. It is of circuit about three miles and a half of our measure. As touching the former glory of this city, I will not meddle withal, nor yet describe, since the scriptures so amply manifest the same. Concerning the lamentable destruction of it, I refer that to the famous historiographer Josephus, who largely discourseth of many hundred thousands famished, and put to the sword within this very strong city, by Vespasian, and Titus his son, being the messengers of God's just judgements; which, by his computation, did amount beyond the number of eleven hundred thousand. But it is to be understood they were not all at one time in Jerusalem, but came up by turns and times, from the circumjacent countries about, by thousands; and as they were cut off, so their numbers were renewed again as necessity required. *The triumph of Titus.*

This city hath been oft conquered by enemies: First, by Nebuchadnezzar, the Assyrian King; secondly, by the Greeks and Alexander the Great, and also marvellously afflicted by Antiochus; thirdly, it was taken in by Pompeius; fourthly, destroyed by Vespasian and Titus; fifthly, it was rebuilt by Adrian the emperor, and won again by Gosdroes the Persian king; sixthly, it was overcome by Homer Califf, the successor of Mahomet; seventhly, by the great Souldan of Egypt, and by Godfrey du Bulloine, a Christian prince; eighthly, by Saladine the Caliph of Egypt and Damascus, *anno* 1480, who reserved successively the signory thereof for a long time; and lastly, it was surprised by Sultan Selim, or Solyman, the Emperor of the Turks, *anno* 1517, joining the holy land, together with Egypt, to his empire, who fortified the *The overthrows of Jerusalem.*

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ſame, being by infidels detained to this day; and in all likelihood ſhall keep it to the conſummation of the world, unleſs God, of his mercy, deal otherwiſe than the hopes of man's weak judgement can expect. Whence truly I may ſay, that when fortune would change friendſhip, ſhe diſleagueth conditional amity with the ſenſeleſs liturgy of foul ingratitude. This city is now governed by a ſanzeck, or ſubbaſhaw, being placed there by the Baſhaw of Damaſcus, whoſe deputy he is; the other being chief ruler under the Grand Signor over all the holy land and the half of Syria. There is a ſtrong garriſon kept always in Jeruſalem, to withſtand the Arabiſh invaſions, conſiſting of eight hundred ſoldiers, Turks and Moors, who are vigilant in the night, and circumſpect in the day time; ſo that none can enter the town without their knowledge, nor yet go forth without their trial. This is a memorable note, and worthy of obſervation, that at that time when the cities of Jeruſalem and Antiochia were recovered from the Pagans, by the means of Godfrey of Bulloine, the then Pope of Rome was called *Urbanus*, the Patriarch of Jeruſalem *Heraclius*, and the Roman Emperor *Frederick*; and at the ſame time, and long thereafter, when Jeruſalem was re-inthralled, and ſeized upon by Saladine, the Pope's name was *Urbanus*, the Patriarch of Jeruſalem *Heraclius*, and the Roman Emperor *Frederick*. After Herod the Idumean, ſon to Antipater, in whoſe time Chriſt was born, Archelaus, Agrippa Herod, who impriſoned Peter and James, and was eaten of vermine, in whoſe time Chriſt ſuffered, and Agrippa Minor, (before whom Paul pleaded), the laſt King of the Jews, had reigned, being ſtrange kings. In the laſt king's time Jeruſalem was overthrown, and the kingdom made a province of the Roman empire *anno* 37. After which deſolation, the Jews were diſperſed over all the world; but afterward, in a zealous conſideration, were baniſhed from the moſt part of the Chriſtian kingdoms. Out of France they were

The garriſon of Jeruſalem.

A notable obſervation.

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were expelled by Philip the Fair, *anno* 1307; out of Spain by Ferdinando the Catholic, 1492; out of Portugal by Emanuel, 1497; out of England by Edward V. 1290; out of Naples and Sicilia by Charles V. 1539. Yet they are found in great numbers in divers parts of Germany, Poland, and in ſome cities of Italy; as Venice, and her territories, Florence, and the juriſdiction thereof, the principalities of Parma, Mantua, Modena, Urbino, and their extending limits, and finally Rome, (beſides her eccleſiaſtical Papacy), wherein there are no leſs than twenty thouſand of them. They are alſo innumerable over all the Turkiſh dominions, who ſo diſregard and hate them for the crucifying of Chriſt, that they uſe to ſay, in deteſtation of any thing, "I would I might die a Jew." Neither will they permit a Jew to turn Turk, unleſs he firſt be baptiſed; and yet live where they will, the moſt part of them are the wealthieſt people in the world, having ſubtle and ſublime ſpirits. Now for the ſeveral kings and rulers of Judah and Iſrael, beginning at Moſes, the judges of the Jews were ſixteen, of whom Samuel was the laſt; at which time the people deſired to have a king like unto other nations.

The Jewiſh kings.

The kings of the Jews were three, Saul, David, and Solomon; and the kings of Judah were twenty, Zedekiah being laſt, in whoſe time Nebuchadnezzar deſtroyed Jeruſalem. Of the kings of Iſrael there were ſeventeen, of whom Oſias was the laſt, in whoſe time the Iſraelites were carried captives into Aſſyria by King Shalmanezer.

Dukes of Jewry.

The Dukes or governors of Jewry were fifteen, of which Joannes Hircanus was the laſt governor of Judea, which deſcended from the ſtock of David. During the government of which captains, after the Babylonian captivity, the Jewiſh kingdom was plagued on both ſides by the Kings of Egypt and Syria, who ſlaughtered their people, ranſacked their cities, made

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havock of their goods, and compelled them to eat forbidden flesh, and sacrifice to idols.

To reform which enormities, Mattathias and his five sons valiantly resisted, and overcame the impetuous fury of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his Syrians. Whereupon the Jews chose Judas, sirnamed *Machabeus*, for their captain, one of the world's nine worthies, who, though not of the line of David, was yet of the tribe of Judas.

The Machabean princes.

The Machabean princes of Jewry were only four, Joannes Hircanus the last, who was slain by the Parthians. Of the Machabean kings of Judea were other four, of whom Hircanus, son to Alexander Tyrant, was the last; who being disturbed in his reign by Aristobulus, his younger brother, with his sons Alexander and Antiochus, he was firmly established in his throne by Pompey, and the other carried captives to Rome. But afterward Alexander and Antiochus escaping, the one by policy, the other by favour of Julius Cæsar, villanously abused Hircanus. The former was slain by Scipio, and the latter, for his villany, was slain by Marcus Antonius, and the kingdom given to a stranger, Herod, born in Askelon of Idumea, as I formerly recited; of which strange kings there were four.

Christian kings of Jerusalem.

The Christian kings of Palestine, beginning at Godfrey of Bulloine, were nine. Guy of Lysingham, being the last king of Jerusalem, and was surprised by Saladine of Egypt, 1187.

And lastly, At this present time, the emperors of the line and race of Ottoman, are Lords and kings over Jerusalem, and the crossed, or rather now cursed land of Canaan: In whose hands it is faster kept, than the seventeen Belgian provinces remain totally subject to the Spanish power.

But to the intent the reader may the better conceive, and plainly understand, the monuments I saw within Jerusalem, and the circumjacent places of Judea, I thought

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thought beſt to prefix the deſcription thereof, by the ſeveral days I ſaw them, not much condemning, neither abſolutely qualifying them, but ſhall (as it were) neutrally nominate and recapitulate theſe places, as I was informed by the Padre Guardiano, Gaudentius Saybantus, a Veroneſen born; whence he, and every one of them, every third year, are changed and recalled back to Chriſtendom, and other new friars ſent in their places. And eſpecially the information of John Baptiſta the Trenchman, who dwelt and had ſtaid twenty-five years in Jeruſalem, and from whom the friars themſelves have their informations; for a ſtranger that underſtandeth not promptly the Italian tongue, which they uſually ſpeak, when they demonſtrate theſe places unto us, he ſhall conceive ignorantly, diſpoſe his judgement blindfoldly, and knows not how to diſtinguiſh the circumſtances, and qualities of the things delivered; as I have known ſome of theſe Franks in my company, ſimply miſtaken, even when the expoſition of every object was largely manifeſted unto them, and preciſely declared ſuch a thing to have been there, although perhaps the matter itſelf be vaniſhed and tranſported. *The ignorance of travellers.*

About two of the clock on Palm-ſunday after dinner, for all of us eat, drank, and lay in the monaſtery, each of us paying a piaſter a-day for our diet, ſix ſhillings Sterling, beſides all other coſts and charges; the Guardian, I ſay, departed from Jeruſalem to Bethpage, accompanied with twelve friars, and many other oriental Chriſtians, which were come thither to that feſtival time; but I by no means would go, neither would the ſix Germans, but repoſing ourſelves on the top or platform of the cloyſter, we ſtaid till their return. And yet from this place, we ſaw their back-coming from Bethpage, as they croſſed the lower and ſouth ſide of Olivet, going downward toward the valley of Jehoſhaphat, to aſcend Mount Sion, for the greater performance of the foolery.

The ridiculous ceremony which that day they uſe, is thus:

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thus: In an apiſh imitation of Chriſt, at the foreſaid Bethpage, there was an aſs brought to the Guardiano, whereupon he mounted, (being, as it were, the greater aſs riding upon the leſſer), and came riding to Jeruſalem, the people cutting down boughs of trees, and alſo deſpoiling themſelves almoſt to the ſkin, beſtrewed the way as he rode along, crying, "Hoſanna, Hoſanna, to the Son of David; bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;" until they came to the ſouth-gate of Sion, where the guardian thought to have entered, riding through Jeruſalem to his monaſtery, with this ſhouting convoy of ſix thouſand oriental Chriſtians, becauſe their patriarchs have not that liberty to do ſo, as this Italian guardian. Notwithſtanding, the clamour of the people incenſed ſo the Turkiſh garriſon lying at this gate, that they not only abuſed the poor Chriſtians in their ignorant devotion, but they pulled the guardian alſo from the aſs's back, beating him moſt cruelly, and all the reſt of the friars and Frank pilgrims that were with him; where at laſt entering the convent, moſt of them came in groaning, and loaden with black and bloody blows; whereat I and the other proteſtants did laugh in our ſleeves, to behold their fooliſh proceſſions ſo ſubſtantially rewarded. At night, after ſupper, the Guardiano knowing that I was a proteſtant, and alſo theſe other Germans, made an oration, ſaying, "You pilgrims, who refuſe to be participant with us in the ſacraments, nor will not adhere to our maſſes, proceſſions, and ceremonies, which we follow of the Roman church, I would therefore intreat you (your liberty being here as much as mine, whereby you may do as you pleaſe), only to abſtain from ſcandalizing and mocking our rites and ordinary cuſtoms, which at this great feaſt we muſt perform." To which we condeſcended, and promiſed to give no occaſion of offence; ſeeing our outward carriage in going along with them to ſee their cuſtoms, tended no way to hurt the inward diſpoſitions of our ſouls.

A ſuperſtitious ceremony.

In the concluſion of his long exhortation, he diſcloſed

sed this admonition, saying, "All of you travellers must in general be endued with these three worthy gifts, faith, patience, and money: Faith to believe these things you shall see hereat and about Jerusalem; patience to endure the apparent injuries of infidels; and money to discharge all tributes and costs, which here, (meaning in his own monastery), and about this city, must be defrayed." His sermon he concluded like a Gray friar, as indeed he was; for I am fully persuaded, he little cared for our faith and patience, providing that our purses could answer his expectation, as truly we found the just trial thereof afterward; making our patience to startle, our faith to overtop his lies, and our money to be a slave to his greed; and we left the last tributary spoils of two extortionable flatterers, Avarice and Ignorance, with the which our reverend guardian was fully invested.

A flattering beggery.

Monday early, we pilgrims went forth to view the monuments within the city, being acccompanied with the Padre Viccario, and a French predicatore. The places of any note we saw, were these: First, they shewed us the place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen, who said, "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father," John xx. 17.; and this place by them is supposed to be the centre, or middle part of the world. Next, where St James, the first bishop of the primitive church, was beheaded; then the house of St Thomas, but that is doubtful, (say they); because it is not yet confirmed by the papal authority. From thence they brought us to the place where Annas, one of the high priests dwelt, and also the tree to which our Saviour was bound, while Annas was making himself ready to lead him to Caiphas; but that I will not believe, for that tree groweth yet, being an olive-tree. They shewed us also the house where St Peter was imprisoned, when his fetters were shaken off his legs, and the prison-doors cast open, and he relieved; and where Zebedeus, the father of James and John, dwelt, which are nothing but a lump of ruins.

Thence

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Thence we came to the decayed lodging of Caiaphas, without the city, upon Mount Sion, whereupon there is a chapel builded; and, at the entry of that little *domo*, we ſaw the ſtone on which the cock crew when Peter denied Chriſt. Within the ſame place is the ſtone that was rolled to the ſepulchre-door of our Saviour, being now made an altar to the Abbaſines. Theſe Abbaſines are generally born black; and theſe ſilly religious men do ſtay at Jeruſalem in two places, to wit, here at Caiphas's houſe on Mount Sion, and the other convent on Mount Moriah, where Abraham would have ſacrificed Iſaac. They wear on their heads flat round caps of a blackiſh colour, and on their bodies long gowns of a white dimity, or linen cloath, repreſenting ephods; the condition of themſelves being more devout than underſtanding the true grounds of their devotion, blind zeal and ignorance overſwaying their beſt light of knowledge; they being a kind of people which came from Preſter John's dominions.

Caiaphas's lodging.

And within that chapel they ſhewed us a narrow pit, wherein (ſay they) Chriſt was incarcerate the night before he was brought to the judgement-hall. Upon the ſame ſide of Sion, we ſaw the place where Chriſt did inſtitute the ſacraments; and not far hence, a decayed houſe, where (ſay they) the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon the apoſtles, and alſo the ſepultures of David, and his ſon Solomon: over the which there is a moſque, wherein no Chriſtian may enter to ſee theſe monuments; for the Turks do great reverence to moſt of all the ancient prophets of the Old Teſtament.

From thence we returned, and entered into *via dolorosa*, the dolorous way, by which our Lord and Saviour paſſed, when he went to be crucified, carrying the croſs upon his back. And at the end of the ſame ſtreet (ſay they) the ſoldiers met Simon of Cyrene, and compelled him to help Chriſt to bear his croſs when he fainted. Pilate's judgement-hall is altogether ruined, having but only between the two ſides of the

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the lane, an old arch of ſtone, under the which I paſſed, ſtanding full in the highway. Here they ſhewed us the place where Chriſt firſt took up his croſs; and on the top of that arch, we ſaw that place called *Gabbatha*, where Jeſus ſtood when Pilate ſaid to the Jews, *Ecce homo*. *Pilate's judgment-hall.*

A little below this, they brought us to the church of St Anna, where (ſay they) the Virgin Mary was born. And going down another narrow lane, they pointed into a houſe, and ſaid, here Dives the rich glutton dwelt, who would not give to Lazarus the crumbs of bread that fell from his table. This I ſuſpend amongſt many other things, for all hold it to be a parable, and not a hiſtory; and although it were a hiſtory, who can demonſtrate the particular place, Jeruſalem having been ſo often transformed by alterations?

Thus, I muſt needs ſay, with ſuch lying wonders, theſe flattering friars bring ſtrangers into a wonderful admiration, and although I rehearſe all I ſaw there, yet I will not believe all, only publiſhing them as things indifferent, ſome whereof are frivolous, and others ſomewhat more credible. But, as I ſaid before, I will make no (or very ſmall) diſtinction in the relation.

From thence we came without the eaſtern gate, (ſtanding on a low bank, called the *Daughter of Sion*, that overtoppeth the valley of Jehoſhaphat), unto an immoveable ſtone, upon the which they ſaid St Stephen was ſtoned to death, the firſt martyr of the Chriſtian faith, and the faithful fore-runner of many noble followers. As we returned to our own convent, they brought us to Mount Moriah, and ſhewed us the place where Abraham offered up Iſaac, which is in the cuſtody of Negroes or Æthiopians; to whom each of us paid ten madins of braſs, the common coin of Jeruſalem, for our in-going to that place. And the other monaſtery that theſe Abbaſines retain, is on Mount Sinai, in the deſerts where the body of St Catharine *Abraham's faith.*

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tharine lieth buried, which is richly maintained, and ſtrongly kept by the Æthiopian emperor. There are two hundred religious Abbaſines in it, and one hundred ſoldiers to guard them from the incurſions of Arabs, who coptinually moleſt them, becauſe

Mount Sinai. Mount Sinai ſtandeth in the midſt of that deſolate Arabian wilderneſs, and far from any civil or inhabited place; being diſtant from Jeruſalem about ſeventy Engliſh miles. Next, they ſhewed us the place where Jeſus ſaid, "Daughters of Jeruſalem, weep not for me," &c.; and, near unto this, where the Virgin Mary fell into an agony, when Jeſus paſſed by carrying his croſs: Alſo not far hence, we beheld the place where (as they ſay) Jeſus ſaid to his mother, "Woman, behold thy ſon," and to St John, "Behold thy mother."

Aſcending more upward, they ſhewed us the houſe of Veronica Sancta; and ſaid that our Saviour going by her door all in a ſweat to Mount Calvary, ſhe brought him a napkin to wipe his face; which he received, and gave it to her again; in which (ſay they) the print of his face remaineth to this day, and is to be ſeen at Rome. It is alſo ſaid to be in a town in Spain, and another of them at Palermo in Sicilia; whereof I believe the one as well as the reſt.

So, out of one, if Papiſts can make three,
By it they would denote heaven's Deity:
But O! not ſo, theſe three revolv'd in one,
Point forth the Pope from him his tripled crown.
He wav'd theſe napkins, lying rear'd his ſeat;
For which this number makes his number great.

As concerning the temple of the Moſt High, built by Solomon, (the deſcription of which edifice ye may read in 1 Kings vi.), it was deſtroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, at the taking of Jeruſalem, *anno mundi* 4450. Secondly, It was rebuilded again by the commandent of Cyrus,

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Cyrus, King of Perſia, after the Jews returned from the captivity of Babylon; but not anſwerable to the ſtate and magnificence of the former: For beſides the poverty and ſmallneſs of it, there wanted five things which were in the other. Firſt, the ark of the covenant; ſecondly, the pot of manna; thirdly the rod of Aaron; fourthly, the two tables of the law written by the finger of God; and fifthly, the fire of the ſacrifice, which came down from heaven, which were the ſymbols and badges of God's favour and mercy ſhown to them and their forefathers in his covenant of love.

The temple of Solomon thrice builded and deſtroyed.

This temple afterward growing in decay, Herod the Great (that killed the young infants for Chriſt's ſake, who ſuffered for him, before he ſuffered for them) built another much inferior to the firſt, and ſuperior to the ſecond. And although ſome authors would have him but to repair the ſecond temple, yet it is moſt certain, he did even, from the foundation, raiſe its greateſt beauty and glory: for this Herod the Aſkalonite was an Edomite ſtranger, or Idumean, who having gotten the kingdom contrary to the law of of Moſes, and created king of Jewry by Octavius Auguſtus, and knowing theſe people to be offended therewith, to procure their favour, did build them a third temple. This was it in which our Saviour and his apoſtles did daily preach; and was ſet on fire by Titus the tenth day of Auguſt, on which day likewiſe the firſt temple was burnt by Nebuchadnezzar: And laſtly, there is another great temple builded in the ſame place by Sultan Selem Solyman, reſerved by Turks, and highly regarded, for the reſpect they carry to Solomon; near the which, or within whoſe courts, no Chriſtian may enter, under the pain of loſing his head.

Herod the Idumean's temple.

This preſent temple hath two incircling courts, inviroued with high walls, having two entries. In the inner court ſtandeth the temple that is compoſed of five

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Selem Solyman's temple. five circling and large rotundos, rising high, and incorporate from the ground with round tops; the outward fabric whereof we cannot see, save only Mount Olivet, which is overagainst the city, and twice as high as Mount Sion.

These are all the monuments which in one day I saw within Jerusalem; but as for Mount Calvary, and the Holy grave, I saw them afterward, which in their own place shall be orderly touched. As we were spending that day in these sights, the Guardian had prepared one hundred soldiers, sixty horsemen, and forty footmen, to take with him the day following, for his convoy to Jordan, and the mountain in the wilderness where Christ fasted; which is his usual custom once every year, between Palm-sunday and Easter, returning again before Good Friday. These placee cannot be viewed, save only at that time; neither may a pilgrim go along with the soldiers, unless he give the value of seven crowns or piasters (as a present unto the lieutenant, being forty-two shillings Sterling; and if the traveller will not go to that charge, he may stay there till their return; which I would not wish him to do, if possible he can spare the money, for the sight of Sodom and Jordan's sake. That same night after supper, the Guardian demanded of us travellers, if we would go with him to see these memorable and singular things upon the former condition: To whom we answered, in a general consent, We would; and so paid our money.

A voyage to Jordan. Early upon Tuesday morning, all the friars and pilgrims being mounted on mules, save only myself, and two mules loaden with our provision of victuals, we departed from the city about our nine of the clock in the forenoon, keeping our faces south-east; and leaving Bethpage and Bethany, on our left hand, we had pleasant travelling for seven miles; but in the afternoon we entered into a barren and desert country till sunsetting, where at last we arrived at a standing well, and

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and there refreshing ourselves and the beasts, we reposed till two hours within night. After that the captain had cried *Catethlanga*, that is, March away, we set forward, being well guarded round about with our keepers, because we entered into a dangerous way, and a most desolate and sandy soil.

In all this deformed country, we saw neither house nor village; for it is altogether desert, and inhabited only by wild beasts and naked Arabians. Before we came near to Sodom and Gomorrah, by seven miles: (for we behoved to pass by the east end of it, before we could arrive at that place of Jordan which we intended), we, I say, encountered with such deep sandy ground, that the mules were not able to carry our company through: Whereupon they all dismounted, wrestling and wading above the middle part of their bodies, and sometimes falling in over their heads, they were in great danger of perishing, although the robustness of my body carried me through on my feet, relieving also divers time some of those friars and pilgrims that were almost choked and overwhelmed with sand, but not for lack of wine. Even in the midst of this turmoiling pain, (the night being dark), the unwelcomed Arabs invironed, and invaded us with a storm of arrows, which they sent from the tops of little hard hills, whereupon they stood; for knowing the advantage of the ground, they took opportunity to give the more fearful assaults: yet they prevailed nothing, (although they wounded some of our soldiers), such was the resolute courage of our valorous defendants. True it is, that in all my travels I was never so sore fatigued, nor more fearfully indangered than I was that night. *A fearful danger.*

A little after midnight, these savages leaving us, and we leaving our troublesome way, we came to the lake of Sodom, and marched along the marine shore above nine miles before we came to Jordan. This lake is called *Lacus Asphaltites*; it yieldeth a kind of slime named *bitumen Asphaltum*; the which bituminous savour no

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living thing can endure; and now *Mare mortuum*, a ſea, becauſe it is ſalt, and *mortuum*, or dead, for that no living thing breeds therein; and more properly for this cauſe called *the dead ſea*, becauſe of itſelf it is immoveable, ſuch is the leproſy and ſtability of the water. It is alſo called ſo, becauſe if a bird fly over it, ſhe preſently falleth down therein dead. And as Solomon reporteth of it, Wiſdom x. 7. it ſmoketh continually; from whence proceed filthy vapours, which deform the fields lying about for certain miles, as it were blaſted, ſcorched, and made utterly barren. This ſmoke I take to be only the exhalation of Jordan. For this river falling into it, and there ending his courſe, the two contrary natures cannot agree; the one being a filthy puddle, and the other a pure water, as I ſhall more fully record.

The length of Sodom's lake.

This lake is eighty miles in length; and according to its intervalling circuit, ſometimes two, three, four, or five miles in breadth: yet the body thereof bending directly ſouth-weſt, keepeth a glaſſy courſe, till it ſalute the ſoutherly conſpicuoſity of the ſandy and ſtony deſerts; being compaſſed with the rocks of Arabia Petrea on the ſouth; on the north, with the ſandy hills of the wilderneſs of Judea; on the weſt, with the ſteep mountains of Arabia Deſerta; and on the eaſt, with the plain of Jericho. How cometh it to paſs therefore, that the freſh running flood of Jordan, falling evermore into this bounded ſea, that the lake itſelf never diminiſheth, nor increaſeth, but always ſtandeth at one fulneſs? Neither hath it any iſſuing forth, nor reboundeth backward on the plain of Jericho, which is one of the greateſt wonders in the world. Wherefore, as I have ſaid, it muſt needs either exhale to the clouds, or otherwiſe run down to hell; for if it ran under the rocks, and ſo burſt out in the deſerts, it would ſoon be known; but in all the bounds of Arabia Deſerta, which is betwixt this lake and the Red ſea, extending to three hundred miles; there is no ſuch thing as brook or ſtrand, much leſs a river; neither hath it any

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any intercourſe with the ocean, unleſs it run through ſome ſecret paſſage of the earth under the wilderneſs into the Red ſea. And that is doubtful, although it may appear probable; in regard of Nilus, that runneth a hundred miles under the ground in the exterior Æthiopia, and divers other rivers alſo, after the ſame manner, obſcuring themſelves under rocks, mountains, and plains for many miles; which particulars, by my own experience, I could denote.

But as for this river, the queſtion may ariſe, Whither ran it during the time of theſe five cities of the plain, now overwhelmed with water; or where was the iſſue thereof? To this I anſwer, Was not the hand of the Almighty, that rained down from the heavens fire and brimſtone to conſume them, able alſo to drown their ſituations, and intervalling plains with water? Yes, and doubtleſs yes; and the courſe of the river keeping ſtill its former condition: And for modern examples, How many cities, manſions, and ſtations, have been overwhelmed with water? Nay, innumerable, and ſo remaining to this day, place, beauty, and being, all defaced; as now in Scotland near to Falkirk, reſts the laſt and lateſt memory of ſuch woful accidents, and ſuperabounding diſgorgings.

It breedeth nor reſerveth no kind of fiſhes; and if by the ſwelling of Jordan, any fiſhes be carried to it, they immediately die. Although Joſephus witneſſeth, that in his time there was an apple grew upon the banks thereof, like to the colour of gold, and within was rotten, and would conſume to powder; yet I affirm now the contrary: For there is not ſuch a thing (whatſoever hath been in his days) as either trees or buſhes growing near to Sodom by three miles; ſuch is the conſummation of that peſtiferous gulf.

Divers authors have reported, that nothing will ſink into it, of any reaſonable weight, as dead men, or carcaſſes of beaſts: but by experience I found the contrary; for it beareth nothing at all, yea, not the weight of a feather, nor the pile of wi- *Wrong informations made.*

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thered graſs, but it will ſink therein, with the which my hands made ſundry trials; and dare approve it to be of truth, in ſpite of the lying world, and all doting varieties of ancient relations.

The water itſelf is of a blackiſh colour, and at ſome times in the year, there are terrible ſhapes and ſhows of terror in it, as I was informed at Jericho, by the Arabian inhabitants there, which is the neareſt town that bordereth thereupon.

This contagious and peſtilentious lake of Sodom, reſembleth much (as may be ſuppoſed) that infernal gulf of hell; but, in my opinion, I hold it to be the purgatory of Papiſts; for they ſay *Limbus Patrum* is near, or in the ſecond room to hell, which I think muſt needs be Sodom; for although it be not hell itſelf, yet I am perſuaded it is a ſecond hell, having (as ſome report) no bottom. Wherefore I conclude thus: that ſince papiſts will have a purgatory, I abſolutely affirm, it muſt be ſuch a purgatory as the purging of Sodom and Gomorrah, which was with fire and brimſtone, to their deſtruction.

About the break of day on Wedneſday morning, we paſſed by the ruins of an old houſe; where (as they ſay) St John the Baptiſt remained, when he baptized thoſe that came from Jeruſalem, and other regions about, which is but the flight of an arrow from Jordan.

The river Jordan.

Approaching to the bank-ſide, we diſmounted, and uncloathed ourſelves; going in naked to the river, we waſhed us to refreſh our bodies; our ſoldiers lying a little off from us, as pledges of our lives, and their own ſafe-guards, ſtaid as bulwarks for our protection, and a continual obligation for two repugnant defences; time preſenting the awful opportunity of both occaſions. In this place, as the Guardian ſaid, was Chriſt baptiſed of St John, when the Holy Ghoſt came down in a bodily ſhape, like a dove upon him, and there was a voice from heaven ſaying, "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleaſed." I ſaw alſo an apparent-like teſtimony, of a quadrangled ſtone, lying

on

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on the bank side: whereupon are engraven letters of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, testifying the same thing; and may be also conjectured, in regard of the ancient habitation of that precursor, which is not far from thence.

This river Jordan, beginneth in Mount Libanus, of two fountains, Jore and Dan, which run separated till they come to the lake Maronah; and hence it maketh one body, keeping his course through the lake Gennesareth, and ending in Sodom. The river Tiber at Rome, and Jordan, are not much different in quantity and colour, and not unlike other in their courses; for Jordan falleth into the old Gomorrah, and Tiber runneth through the new Sodom; a history of such evidence, as travel taught me by experience: For it is the concourse of priests which breeds in the Italians insolence: If I err, I will beg indulgence of the Pope's aureat magnificence.

The rivers themselves are both of a muddy colour, and their quantity not far different from other, which Jordan for greatness retaineth; and the length of their courses much resembles one another. The water of Jordan hath been transported to Venice in barrels, for that purity it hath; which will preserve unspoiled, both months and years, and the longer it is kept, it is the more fresh; and to drink it, is an excellent remedy for the fever, Quartan, or Quotidian, being near in virtue to the wine of Lebanon.

Considering the ancient reputation of this famous river, and the rare sight of such an unfrequented place, I climbed up to the top of a turpentine tree, which grew within the limited flood, a little above where I left my company, even naked as I came from swiming, and cut down a fair hunting rod of the heavy and sad turpentine tree, being three yards long, wondrous straight, full of small knots, and of a yellowish colour; which afterward, with great pains, I brought to England, and did present it (as the rarest gem of a pilgrim's treasure) to his Majesty. But I remember, in the

A turpentine rod brought from Jordan and given to King James.

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chusing thereof an unexpected accident fell out: for I being sequestrate from the sight of the company, upon this solitary tree, with broad obscuring leaves, the friars and soldiers removed, keeping their course toward Jericho; but within two furlongs from Jordan, they were beset with the former nocturnal enemies, who assailed them with a hard conflict: For I hearing the harquebusses go off, was straight in admiration, and looking down to the place where I left my associates, they were gone; so bending mine eyes a little further in the plain, I saw them at a martial combat; which sight gave me suddenly the threatening of despair; not knowing whether to stay intrenched within the surrounding leaves, to wait the events of my auspicious fortunes, or in prosecuting a relief to be participant of their doubtful deliverance. At last considering that I could hardly escape their hands, either there, or by the way going up to Jerusalem, I leaped down from the tree, leaving my Turkish cloaths lying upon the ground, took only in my hand the rod, and shash which I wore on my head, and ran stark naked above a quarter of a mile, among thistles and sharp pointed grass, which pitifully pricked the soles of my feet; but the fear of death, for the present, expelled the grief of that unlooked for pain. Approaching on the safe side of my company, one of our soldiers broke forth on horseback, being determined to kill me for my staying behind, yea, and three times struck at me with his half-pike; but his horse being at his speed, I prevented his cruelty, first by falling down, next by running in amongst the thickest of the pilgrims, recovering the Guardian's face; which when the Guardian espied, and saw my naked body, he presently pulled off his gray gown, and threw it to me, whereby I might hide the secrets of nature. By which means (in the space of an hour) I was cloathed three manner of ways: First, like a Turk; secondly, like a wild Arabian; and thirdly, like a Gray friar, which was a barbarous, a savage, and a religious habit.

The pilgrim's three several habits in half an hour.

The

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The captain at laſt entering in parley with the Arabs, by ſome contributing promiſes did mitigate their fury, for their compounded acknowledgement was to be ſent them from Jeruſalem: whereupon we marching toward Jericho, repoſed ourſelves under a cooling ſhade, and dined there on the wine and proviſion carried with us.

After dinner, we aroſe, and went to the houſe of Zaccheus, (this was he who ſat upon a tree to ſee our Saviour as he paſſed by); the walls whereof ſtand to this day, the covering being only demoliſhed. This new Jericho is now a poor village only of nine dwelling-houſes, inhabited by a kind of Arabs, (which are in ſubjection to the governor of Jeruſalem); but I ſaw many ruinous lumps of the walls, and demoliſhings of the old town, which is a little from this, diſtant about a ſhort quarter of a mile. Here I ſaw two moſt dainty kind of fruits; the one was a little leſs, than an apple, but more round, whoſe colour was like gold without, and within it was white as ſnow, and ſweet like ſugar. I would gladly have eaten of them; but the friars forbad me, ſaying, they were the only peſt of death unto a ſtranger. The other apple was like to a green lemon, long and full of knots, of a reddiſh colour like to a melon, being both delicate and whole, ſome of which we did eat, to ſatisfy the natural appetite, and ſo did all our ſoldiers eat of them exceſſively: their trees growing high and green by a brook-ſide of delicate water, that runneth from the fountains of Elizeus. From Jericho we ſet forward in the way of the wilderneſs; our determination being ſuch, as to view the mountain whereon Chriſt faſted forty days; where arrived, being late, we durſt not go up till morning. Wherefore we pitched that night by the fountain of Elizeus, the water of which was of old natuarally bitter; but by the prayers of that divine prophet, was reſtored to a ſweet taſte. It is good in digeſtion, and harmleſs for health; and it is

Two ſorts of rare fruits.

Elizeus fountain.

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the lighteſt water the earth yields. Having on the morrow filled a boar's ſkin of it, to carry with me to the mountain, I found it ſo light, that I had no weight nor pain in the bearing of it on my ſhoulders; notwithſtanding the way of itſelf was fatiguing. This mountain is called *Quarantanam*, or *Quaranto*, being of height, by the computation of my painful experience, above ſix miles, and groweth from the bottom ſtill ſmaller and ſmaller, till that the top is covered with a little chapel, not unlike to the proportion of a pyramid.

Where Chriſt faſted forty days.

There is no way to aſcend upon this hill, ſave one, which hath been hewen out of the rock, by the induſtry of men ſkilled in maſonry; (which was done at the coſt of Queen Helen), going up by the degrees of forty-five turns. In all our company there were only one friar, four Germans, and I, that durſt attempt to climb the mountain.

Thurſday early, at the break of day, we ſix ſet out for the mountain, leaving our ſoldiers to guard the paſſage below, leſt ſome ſtraggling Arabs ſhould have ſtolen after us for our deſtruction. Where, after divers turnings, traverſings, and narrow foot-paſſages, having come with great difficulty to the top, we entered firſt into an umbrageous cave, joining to and under the chapel, where the friar told us, that in this place Chriſt did faſt forty days; and here it was where he rebuked Satan. The chapel which covereth the top of this high and ſteep rock, is covered, and alſo beautified, with an old altar; between the outward ſides whereof, and the craggy face of this mountain, two men may only go ſide to ſide; here we dined, and refreſhed ourſelves with water that I carried on my back hither; from which place we ſaw the moſt part of all the Holy Land, except the north parts of Judea, Paleſtine, and Phœnicia, and a great way in the two Arabias, Petrea and Deſerta, and all the length of Jordan, even from Sodom to Maronah.

At

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At last in our return and fearful descending, there would none of us go down foremost: For although the friar led us freely upwards, yet first downward for his life he durst not go; and that because at the narrow end of every turning, there was always between the upper and the lower passage, about my height, and somewhere twice my height, of the flat face of the rock, whereon there was nothing but dimples and holes to receive our feet, which in descending was dangerous. Now the greatest danger, at every turn, was in the downgoing of the foremost, who was to receive them all one by one, and foot their feet in the shallow dimples; of which, if any of them had missed, his sliding down had carried them both over the rock.

Dreadful danger in descending the Quarantaram.

Now, for the Noble Germans sake, two of whom were great barons, Signor Strowse and Signor Crushen, and born vassals to the Marquis of Hanspach, I resolved to embrace the danger; where down I went, receiving every one of them at every turn, first leading their feet by my hands, and then by inveloping them with my arms. Well, having passed half-way downwards, we came to the most scurril and timorous descent of the whole passage, where, with much difficulty, I set safe the four Germans, in our narrow road hewn out of the craggy hill; and then was to receive the friar. Whence he coming down from above, with his belly and face to the rock, holding his hands grumbling above, the fellow fell a-trembling; and as I was placing his feet in the holes, distempered fear brought him down upon me with a rushing hurl. Whereupon straight I mainly closed with my left arm his body fast to the rock, keeping strongly my right shoulder to the same place; for I could not have saved myself, and letting him fall, but he would have caught me headlong with him over the rock: and yet the Germans cried still to me, *Lascia ti quel furfanto cascar alla fondo con il Diavolo, e salva caro fratello la vita vostra*, viz. "Let that villain fall to the ground with the devil, and

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ſave, O dear brother, your own life." But I neither would nor durſt. At laſt his fear, by my encouragement, having left him, I ſuffered him to ſlide ſoftly down, between my arms and the rock, to the ſolid path; where, by and by, he fell down upon his knees, and gave me a thouſand bleſſings, vowing for this he would do me a great good deed before I left Jeruſalem.

At laſt, towards the afternoon, we ſafely arrived at the foot of the mountain; and having ſaluted the Guardian, and all the reſt, who then were ready to take journey, the friar told his Reverence how I had ſaved his life; whereupon the Guardian, and the other friars, did embrace me kindly in their arms, giving me many earneſt and loving thanks.

And now the ſoldiers and we being advanced in our way, as we returned to Jeruſalem, we marched by an old ruinous abbey, where (ſay they) St Jerom dwelt, and was fed there by wild lions. Having travelled ſore and hard that afternoon, we arrived at Jeruſalem an hour within night, for the gate was kept open on purpoſe for us and our guard; and entering our monaſtery, we ſupped, and reſted ourſelves till midnight, having marched that half-day more than thirty-four miles. A little before midnight, the Guardian and the friars were making themſelves ready to go with us to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, called *Sancto Salvatore*; where we were to ſtay Good Friday and Saturday, and Eaſter Sunday till midnight. They took their cook with them alſo to dreſs our diet, carrying wine, bread, fiſhes, and fruits, hither in abundance. Meanwhile a Jew, the Trenchman of the Turkiſh ſanzeck, came to the monaſtery, and received from every one of us pilgrims, firſt two zechins of gold for our ſeveral heads and entry at Jeruſalem, and then nine zechins apiece for our ingoing to the Holy Grave, and a zechin of gold a man to himſelf the Jew, as being due to his place.

St Jerom's abbey.

Thus was there twelve zechins from each of us diſpatched

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patched for the Turk. And laſtly one and all of us behoved to give to the Guardian two zechins alſo for the wax-candles and fooleries he was to ſpend, in their idle and ſuperſtitious ceremonies, theſe three aforeſaid nights; which amounted in all, to every one of us, to fourteen zechins of gold, ſix pounds ſix ſhillings Sterling. So that in the whole, from the ſix Germans, four Frenchmen, and nine trading Franks in Cyprus and Syria, Venetians and Raguſans, and from myſelf, the ſum aroſe, for this night's labour, to a hundred and twenty-ſix pounds Sterling. *Our tributes for the Holy Grave.*

This done, and at full midnight, we came to the church, where we found twelve venerable-like Turks, ready to receive us, ſitting in the porch without the door; who forthwith opened at random the two great brazen halves of the door, and received us very reſpectfully. We being within, the door made faſt, and the Turks returned to the caſtle, the firſt place of any note we ſaw was the place of unction, which is a four-ſquared ſtone, incloſed about with an iron revel, on which (ſay they) the dead body of our Saviour lay, and was imbalmed, after he was taken from the croſs, while Joſeph of Arimathea was preparing that new ſepulchre for him, wherein never man lay; from thence we came to the Holy Grave, leaving Mount Calvary on our right hand, toward the eaſt end of the church; for they are both contained within this glorious edifice.

The Holy Grave is covered with a little chapel, ſtanding within a round choir in the weſt end of the church. It hath two low and narrow entries. As we entered the firſt door, three after three, and our ſhoes caſt off, for theſe two rooms are wondrous little, the Guardiano fell down, Ingenochiato, and kiſſed a ſtone whereupon he ſaid the angel ſtood, when Mary Magdalene came to the ſepulchre, to know if Chriſt was riſen on the third day as he promiſed. And within the entry of *The Holy Grave.*

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of the second door, we saw the place where Christ our Messias was buried; and prostrating ourselves in great humility, every man, according to his religion, offered up his prayers to God.

The sepulchre itself is eight feet and a half in length, and advanced about three feet in height from the ground, and three feet five inches broad, being covered with a fair marble stone of white colour.

In this chapel, and about it, I mean without the outer sides of it, and the inward encirclings of the compassing choir, there are always burning above fifty lamps of oil, maintained by Christian princes, who stand most of them within incircling bands of pure gold, which is exceeding sumptuous, having the names of those who sent or gave them engraven upon the upper edges of the round circles; each of them having three degrees, and each degree depending upon another, with supporters of pure gold, rich and glorious; the fairest whereof was sent thither by King John of England, whereon I saw his name, his title, and crown, curiously indented. I demanded of the Guardiano, if any part of the tomb was here yet extant? who replied, There was; but because (said he) Christians resorting thither, being devoutly moved with affection to the place, carried away a good part thereof, which caused St Helen include it under this stone, whereby some relicks of it should always remain. I make no doubt but that same place is Golgotha, where the holy grave was, as may appear by the distance between Mount Calvary and this sacred monument, which extendeth to forty of my paces. This chapel is outwardly decorated with fifteen couple of marble pillars, and twenty-two feet high; and, above the upper coverture of the same chapel, there is a little six angled turret, made of cedar-wood, covered with lead, and beautified with six small columns of the same tree. The chapel itself standeth in a half-circle, or half-moon, having the little door or entry looking east to the great body of the church, and to Mount Calvary, being opposite

The glorious chapel of the Holy Grave.

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poſite to many other venerable monuments of memorable majeſties.

The form of the choir wherein it ſtandeth is like unto that ancient Rotundo in Rome, but a great deal higher and larger, having two gorgeous galleries, one above another, and adorned with magnificent columns, being open at the top, with a large round; which yieldeth to the heavens the proſpect of that moſt ſacred place.

In which ſecond gallery we ſtrangers repoſed all thoſe three nights we remained there, whence we had the full proſpect of all the ſpacious church; and all the oriental people were there at this great feaſt of Eaſterday, being about ſix thouſand perſons. From this curious carved chapel we returned through the church to Mount Calvary; to which we aſcended by twenty-one ſteps; eighteen of them were of marble, and three of cedar-wood: where, when we came, I ſaw a moſt glorious and magnificent room, whoſe covert was ſupported all about with rich columns of the porphyry-ſtone, and the overceilings loaden with moſaic work, and overgilded with gold, the floor being curiouſly indented with intermingled alabaſter and black ſhining parangone. On my left hand I ſaw a platformed rock, all covered with thick and engraven boards of ſilver; and in it a hole of a cubit's deep, in which (ſay they) the croſs ſtood whereon our Saviour was crucified; and on every ſide thereof a hole for the good and bad thieves, who were then put to death with him. Deſcending from Mount Calvary, we came to the tomb of Godfrey du Bulloine, who was the firſt proclaimed Chriſtian King of Jeruſalem, and refuſed to be crowned there; ſaying, It was not decent the ſervant's head ſhould be crowned with gold, where the maſter's head had been crowned with thorns; having this inſcription engraven on the one ſide.

The beauty of Mount Calvary.

" Hic

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Two famous sepulchres.

"Hic jacet inclytus Godfridus de Bulloin, qui totam hanc terram acquisivit cultui divino: Cujus anima requiescat in pace."

And overagainst it is the tomb of King Baldwin his brother, which hath these verses in golden letters, curiously indented:

Rex Baldevinus, Judas alter Machabeus,
Spes patriæ, vigor ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque;
Quem formidabant, cui dona, tributa ferebant,
Cæsar, Ægypti Dan, ac homicida Damascus.
Proh dolor! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.

The other things within the church they shewed us were these, a marble pillar, whereunto (say they) our Saviour was bound, when he was whipped and scourged for our sakes; the place in a low cellar, about fourteen stone degrees under the ground, where the cross was hid by the Jews, and found again by St Helen; the place where Christ was crowned with thorns, which is reserved by the Abassines, and where the soldiers cast lots for his garment; the place where he was imprisoned, whilst they were making of his cross, and where the cross being laid along upon the ground, our Saviour was nailed fast to it; the rock which (as they say) rent at his crucifying, which is more likely to be done with hammers, and set one piece a-foot from another; for the slit looks as if it had been cleft with wedges and beetles. And yet the sacred scriptures say, that it was not a rock, but the temple, that did rent in two from the bottom to the top, wherein these silly soul-sunk friars are merely blinded, understanding no more than lying traditions, perfecting this their national proverb,

Where Christ was nailed to the cross.

Con arte, et con inganno, ci vivono medzo l' anno;
Con inganno, et con arte, ci vivono l' altera parte.

With

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With guile and craft they live the one half-year;
With craft and guile the other half as clear.

And laſtly, they take upon them, below Calvary, to ſhew us where the head of Adam was buried. Theſe and many other things, are ſo doubtful, that I do not regiſter them for truth, (I mean in demonſtrating the particular places), but only relate them as I was informed.

There are ſeven ſorts of nations, different in religion and language, who continually (during life) remain within this church, having lodgings in cloyſters joined to the walls thereof. Their victuals are brought daily to them by their familiars, receiving the ſame at a great hole in the church-door; for the Turks ſeldom open the entry, unleſs it be when pilgrims come, ſave one hour's ſpace only, every Saturday in the afternoon, and at ſome extraordinary feſtival days; and yet it doth not ſtand open then, but only opened to let ſtrangers in, and ſhut again. For this purpoſe, each family has a bell faſtened at their lodging, with a ſtring reaching from thence to the church-door, the end whereof hangeth outwardly; by the which commodity each furniſher ringing the bell, giveth warning to his friends to come to receive their neceſſaries; for through the body of the church they muſt come to the porch-door, and return from it, to the cloyſter. *Seven religious families*

The number of thoſe who are tied to this auſtere life are about three hundred and fifty perſons, being Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, Jacobines, a ſort of circumciſed Chriſtians, Neſtorians, and Chelfanes of Meſopotamia.

The day before the reſurrection, about the hour of midnight, the whole ſects and ſorts of Oriental Chriſtians (that were come thither in pilgrimage, and dwelt at Jeruſalem) convened together, which were about the number of ſix thouſand men, women, and children: for being ſeparated by the patriarchs in two companies, they

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they compaſſed the chapel of the Holy Grave nine times, holding in their hands burning candles. In the beginning they made pitiful and lamentable regrettings; but in the ending there were touking of kettle drums, ſounding of horn-trumpets, and other inſtruments, dancing, leaping, and running about the ſepulchre, with an intolerable tumult, as if they had been all mad or diſtracted.

Thus is the progreſs of their proceſſion performed in mere ſimplicity, wanting civility and government. But the Turks have a care of that; for in the midſt of all this hurley-burley, they run amongſt them with long rods, correcting their miſbehaviour with cruel ſtrokes; and ſo theſe ſlaviſh people, even at the height of their ceremonious devotion, are ſtrangely abuſed.

But our proceſſion begun before theirs, and with a greater regard, becauſe of our tributes. The Turks that were guarding us, not ſuffering the other Chriſtians to be participant in the ſingular dotage of the Romiſh folly, which was after this manner. Firſt the Guardian and his friar, brought forth a ſacriſtia, allotted for the ſame purpoſe, the wooden portraiture of a dead corpſe, repreſenting our Saviour, having the reſemblance of five bloody wounds; the whole body of which image was covered with a cambric veil: where, having therewith thrice compaſſed the chapel of the Holy Grave, it was carried to Mount Calvary; and there they imbalmed the five timber holes with ſalt, oil, balm, and odoriferous perfumes.

An abominable idolatry.

Then the Guardian, and the other twelve friars, kneeled down, and kiſſed each one of the five ſuppoſitive wounds; the Turks meanwhile laughing them to ſcorn in their faces, with miſerable deriſion. Thence they returned, and laid the ſenſeleſs block upon the Holy Grave; whence being diſmiſſed, the Papal ceremony ended.

Truly hereupon may I ſay, if the Roman Jeſuits, Dominicans, and Franciſcans, there reſident in certain ſpecial

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ſpecial parts of the Turk's dominions, had only behaved themſelves as their politic charge required, and diſmiſſed from the Paganiſh eyes only their idolatrous images, veneration of pictures, croſſes, and the like external ſuperſtitious rites; theſe infidels, I ſay, had long ago (without any inſight of religion) been converted to the Chriſtian faith. For, beſides all this blindneſs, what infinite abominable idolatries commit they in Italy and Spain, in cloathing the pictures of dead abbots, monks, priors, Guardians, and the better kind of official friars and prieſts, with robes of ſattin, velvet, damaſk, taffata, long gowns and couls of cloth, ſhirts, ſtockings, and ſhoes! And what a number of lifeleſs portrayed prioreſſes, motherleſs nuns, yet infinite mothers, are erected (like the Maſkerata of Morrice-dancers) in ſilver, gold, gilded braſs, iron, ſtone, tin, lead, copper, clay, and timber ſhapes, adorned with double and triple ornaments, overwrought with ſilk, ſilver, and gold laces, rich bracelets, ſilk, grograin, and cambric veils, chains, ſmocks, ruffs, cuffs, gloves, collars, ſtockings, garters, pumps, noſe-gays, beads, and coſtly head-dreſſes, ſetting them on their altars, O ſpectaculous images! adoring them for Gods, in kneeling, praying, and ſaying maſſes before them. Yet they are none of their avowed, allowed, and canonized, pontifical ſaints: for although they be baſtards and wooden blocks, yet are they better clad than their lupiſh legitimate ones; nay, I may ſay, as the beſt king's daughter alive. Which is a ſinful, odious, and damnable idolatry; and I freely confeſs, at ſome times, and in ſome parts, I have torn to pieces thoſe rich garments from their ſenſeleſs images and blocks, thinking it a greater ſin not to do it than to ſtand ſtaring on ſuch prodigal profaneneſs, with any ſuperſtitious reſpect, or with indifferent forbearance to wink at the wickedneſs of idolaters.

Damnable and intolerable ſuperſtition.

Here the Guardiano offered, for ten pieces of gold, (although my due be thirty zechins, ſaid he) to make me knight of the Holy Grave, or of the order of Jeruſalem;

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ruſalem; which I refuſed, knowing the condition of that deteſtable oath I behoved to have ſworn; but I ſaw two of thoſe other pilgrims receive that order of knighthood.

The Knights of the Holy Grave.

The manner whereof is thus, Firſt they bind themſelves with a ſolemn vow, to pray (during life) for the Pope, King of Spain, and the Duke of Venice, from whom the friars receive their maintenance; and alſo, in ſpecial, for the French King, by whoſe means they obtain their liberty of the Great Turk to frequent theſe monumental places. Secondly, they are ſworn enemies to Proteſtants, and others who will not acknowledge the ſuperiority of the Roman church. Thirdly, they muſt pay yearly ſome ſtipend unto the order of the Franciſcans. Theſe atteſtations ended, the friar putteth a gilded ſpur on his right heel, cauſing the young-made knight ſtoop down on his knees, and lay his hands on the Holy Grave; after this he taketh a broad ſword from under his grey gown, (being privately carried for fear of the Turks), which is (as he ſaid) the ſword wherewith victorious Godfrey conquered Jeruſalem, and giveth this new upſtart Cavalier nine blows upon the right ſhoulder. Lo here the faſhion of this Papiſtical knighthood, which I forſook.

Indeed upon the knighthood they have certain privileges among the Papiſts, of which theſe are two. If a malefactor be condemned and brought to the gallows, any of theſe knights may ſtraight cut the rope, and relieve him; the other is, they may carry and buy ſilks through all Spain and Italy, or elſewhere, and pay no cuſtom, neither in coming nor going, nor for any ſilk ware, where the Romiſh church hath any commandment.

After our Guardiano had ended his ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies, upon Eaſter-day, before midnight, we returned to the monaſtery, having ſtaid three days within that church; and the next day thereafter, the nine Raguſan and Venetian factors left us, returning back to their ſeveral ſtations.

About

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About six of the clock on Monday morning, the Padre Viccario and the aforesaid John Baptista accompanying us, we travelled abroad in the hilly country of Judea. In this day's journey, the places of any note we saw were these: First, where the daughters of Jerusalem came forth to meet Saul, crying, "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands;" and for memory of this standeth a certain old pillar of marble. Next, the valley of Trebin, where David slew the great Goliah; and for remembrance of that there is a great heap of stones laid together in the bottom of the valley, like to the relicks of an old monument. Thirdly, Bezura, where Absalom killed his brother Amnon for Tamar's sake; whereof nothing but the name only is reserved. *Certain relicks of monuments.*

Fourthly, the castle of Emaus, now altogether ruined, except only three fire-houses of Moors, in which our Saviour was known after his resurrection, by the two disciples, in breaking of bread; where now the remnants of that house, being vaulted, is turned over for a shelturage to sheep, and a soft paved lodging for quivering goats. *Emaus.*

Fifthly, the valley of Gibeon, where the ray-beaming sun stood still, at the voice of Joshua, from his natural course, Joshua x. 12.

Sixthly, the tomb or burial place of Samuel, that divine prophet of the Lord; over the which the Moors have a mosque erected, wherein we could not enter; but hard by, and without it, we found one of the finest fountains in all Judea; and yet not a dwelling-house near unto it by three miles, in regard of the saffinous and infertile ground about it, the water whereof was exceeding light, sweet, and pleasant in digestion.

Seventhly, the tombs of the valiant captain Judas Maccabeus, and his children, whereupon are now only the ruins of an old chapel, which is converted into a hold for sheep and goats.

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The burial-place of the Kings and Queens of Iſrael.

And laſtly, the burial-place of the noble family of the kings and queens of Iſrael, or Jeruſalem, being near unto the city, and within a ſhort half-mile; the entry whereto was ſo ſtraight, that on our backs we behoved to ſlide down, about ten paces under the ground, with light candles in our hands.

In that ſpacious place we ſaw twenty-four chambers hewn out of a marble rock. Each room hath a hanging ſtone-door, of a great thickneſs, ſo artificially done by the ſkilful art of maſons *, that the rareſt ſpirit of ten thouſand cannot know how theſe doors have been made ſo to move as they do, being a firm rock both below and above; and the doors have neither iron nor timber work about them; but by cunning are made ſo to turn; and in that ſame place where they grew they are ſquared; yea, and ſo exquiſitely done, that the moſt curious carpenter cannot join a piece of a board ſo neatly as theſe ſtone-doors join with the rock. In each of theſe rooms are two ſepulchres, wherein I ſaw the bones of ſome of theſe dead princes.

Thurſday, the tenth day of my being at Jeruſalem, not reckoning the two days we ſpent in going to Jordan the week before; we, I ſay, iſſued forth of the city early, with our aforeſaid guides, riding weſtward. The firſt remarkable thing we ſaw was the place (as they ſay) where the croſs grew whereon Chriſt ſuffered, being reſerved by Greeks, who have a convent built over it. That croſs is ſaid to have been of four ſundry

* But the moſt ſurpriſing thing belonging to theſe ſubterraneous chambers was their doors; of which there is only one that remains hanging, being left, as it were, on purpoſe to puzzle the beholders. It conſiſted of a plank of ſtone, of about ſix inches in thickneſs, and in its other dimenſions equalling the ſize of an ordinary door, or ſomewhat leſs. It was carved in ſuch a manner as to reſemble a piece of wainſcot. The ſtone of which it was made was viſibly of the ſame kind with the whole rock; and it turned upon two hinges, in the nature of axles. Theſe hinges were of the ſame entire piece of ſtone with the door, and were contained in two holes of the immoveable rock, one at the top, the other at the bottom. — Maundrell's travels.

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kinds of wood, and not of one tree; for they ſhewed us but one hole where it grew; and ſo they hold it to have been of one piece of olive-tree. But this I ſuſpend, leaving it to be ſearched by the pregnancy of riper judgements than mine.

The lying villany of a roguiſh Greek

And here I cannot forget a diſſembling knaviſh Greek, who came here to London, about eight years ago, to beg ſupport for the reparation of this decayed monaſtery of the holy Croſs. Well, Gundamore, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, entertained him, and recommended his cauſe to our politic power. A contribution is granted over all England for the ſame purpoſe, and alſo received, beſides, the ſeveral acknowledgements of our noble courtiers. Opportunity come, I rencountered with this counterfeit raſcal in Whitehall; whereupon divers gentlemen, his Majeſty's ſervants, deſired me to try him, if he had been at Jeruſalem, or dwelt at the cloyſter of the Holy Croſs. Preſently I demanded of him, where the convent ſtood? He replied, Within Jeruſalem, and upon Mount Moriah. Which was falſe; for the convent is remote from the city about three Engliſh miles. I aſked him further about the ſituation of Jeruſalem, &c. the quantity of this cloyſter, of its church, of the number of friars who lived in it, with many more queſtions whoſe circumſtances would be tedious. To any one of which he could not reply, but ſtood ſhivering for fear and ſhame; neither had he ever been in Aſia, nor theſe parts: whereupon ſtealing out of the court, he was no more ſeen abroad; for he had got at court, and in the kingdom, above twelve hundred pounds Sterling, beſides the advancement of the Papiſts and recuſants. And here was a trick that then the Spaniſh faction put upon us; and themſelves alſo being deceived by a deceiver, deceived us with a double deceit, policy and lies.

Above five miles further, we arrived at a village on the mountain of Judea; where we ſaw a diſinhabited houſe, in which Eliſabeth the mother of St John Bap-

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tiſt dwelt, when Mary came from Galilee to ſalute her; and near to this we beheld (as they ſay) the ſanctuary wherein Zacharias was ſtricken dumb till Eliſabeth was delivered. Two miles further, on a rocky mountain, we arrived at a cave, wherein (ſay they) St John did his penance till he was nineteen years of age; after which time he went down and dwelt at Jordan. It is a pretty fine place, hewn out of a rock; to the which we mounted by twelve ſteps, having a window cut through a great thickneſs of firm ſtone, whence we had the fair proſpect of a fruitful valley; and from the mouth of this delightful grotto guſheth forth a moſt delicious fountain.

St John the Baptiſt's grave.

Returning thence, we paſſed over an exceeding high mountain, from whence we ſaw the moſt part of Judea; and to the weſtward, in the way of Egypt, the caſtle of the prophet Eliſha, and Idumea, the Edomites land, lying alſo between Egypt and Jeruſalem. This cloudy height is called *the mountain of Judea*, becauſe it overtoppeth all the reſt of the mountains that environ Jeruſalem, Paleſtine, Galilee, Phœnicia, or Samaria. Deſcending on the ſouth ſide of the ſame hill, we arrived at Philip's fountain, in which he baptized the eunuch of Æthiopia, ſtanding full in the way of Gaza. Here we paid ſome certain madins unto the Moors of the village, for coming to the place, and drinking of the water. So did we alſo for the ſight of every ſpecial monument in Judea.

At night we lodged at Bethlehem, in a monaſtery of the ſame Franciſcans of Jeruſalem, being only ſix friars. After ſupper we went all of us (having candles) to the place where our Saviour was born; over the which there is a magnificent church built; yea, the moſt large and royal workmanſhip that for a church is in all Aſia or Africa, being decorated with a hundred and fifty pillars. But before we came where the crib had been, we paſſed certain difficult ways; where, being arrived, we entered a gorgeous room, adorned with marble,

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ble, ſapphire, and alabaſter ſtones; and there they ſhewed us both the place and the reſemblance of the crib; over which were hanging lamps of pure gold, and within their circles oil continually burning. *Chriſt's crib at Bethlehem.*

Not far from that place, and within the body of this admirable church, they ſhewed us the part over which the ſtar ſtaid, that conducted the three wiſe men from the Eaſt, who came out of Chaldea to worſhip Chriſt, and preſented gifts unto him. From thence they brought us to a cave without the town, wherein (ſay they) the Virgin Mary was hid, when Herod ſought after the babe's life, from which alſo (being warned by the angel), ſhe and Joſeph fled down into Egypt with the child.

In this time of her fear, ſay they, the milk left her bleſſed breaſts, ſo that the babe was almoſt ſtarved: but ſhe praying to the Almighty, there came forthwith abundance; which overflowing her breaſts, and falling to the ground, left ever ſince, as they alledge, this conſequent virtue to this cave.

The earth of the cave is white as ſnow, and hath this miraculous operation, that a little of it drunk in any liquor, to a woman that after her child-birth is barren of milk, ſhall forthwith give abundance; which is not only available to Chriſtians, but likewiſe to Turkiſh, Mooriſh, and Arabic women, who will come from far countries to fetch off this earth *. I *Admirable duſt.*

have

* The rocks of this country are in many parts covered with a ſoft chalky ſubſtance, in which is incloſed a great variety of ſhells and corals. The greateſt part of the mountains of Carmel, and thoſe of Jeruſalem and Bethlehem, are alſo covered with a white chalky ſtratum. In the former are gathered many ſtones, which being in the form, as it is pretended, of olives, melons, peaches, and other fruit, are impoſed upon pilgrims, not only as thoſe fruits petrified, but as antidotes againſt ſeveral diſtempers. The waters of Jordan and Siloam, the roſes of Jericho, beads made of the olive-ſtones of Gethſemane, the chalk-ſtones of the grotto near Bethlehem, called the *Virgin's milk*, the little round calculi called her

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have ſeen the nature of this duſt practiſed; wherefore I may boldly affirm it to have the force of a ſtrange virtue. Of the which earth I brought with me a pound weight, and preſented the half it to our ſometime gracious Queen Anne of bleſſed memory, with divers other rare relicks alſo, as a girdle, and a pair of garters of the Holy Grave, all richly wrought in ſilk and gold, having this inſcription at every end of them, in golden letters, *Sancto Sepulchro*, and the word *Jeruſalem*, &c.

Solomon's fiſh-ponds.

Wedneſday following we hired four and twenty Moors to conduct us unto Solomon's fiſh-ponds, which are only three, being never a whit decayed; and to Fons Signatus, whence cometh the water in a ſtone conduit, along the mountains, that ſerveth Jeruſalem; which work was done by Solomon; the ponds being hewn out, and made ſquare, from the ſloping face of a precipitating mountain, through which the ſtream of Fons Signatus runneth, filling the ponds till it come to its own aqueduct.

Returning thence, and keeping our way ſouthward, we paſſed through the valley of Hebron, where Jacob dwelt, and entered into the fields of Shechem, where Jacob's ſons kept their father's ſheep; and not far hence, they ſhewed us a dry pit, which they called *Joſeph's pit*, that was at Dothan, wherein he was put by his brethren before they ſold him to the Iſhmaelites.

In our back coming to Bethlehem, we ſaw a cave in the deſert of Ziph, wherein David hid himſelf when he was perſecuted by King Saul; and the field Adra, where the angels brought the glad tidings of ſalvation unto the ſhepherds. Unto all which parts our Mooriſh guard, and John Baptiſta, brought us, and conducted us back again to Bethlehem, where we ſtaid the ſecond night.

peaſe, and other curioſities of the like nature, are preſents which the pilgrims uſually receive in return for their charity. —— Maundrell and Shaw's travels.

Bethlehem

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Bethlehem is the pleaſanteſt village in all Judea, ſituated on a pretty hill, and five Engliſh miles from Jeruſalem. It produceth, commodiouſly, an infinite number of olive and fig trees, ſome corns, and a kind of white wine, wherewith we were furniſhed all the time of our abode there, alſo in and about Jeruſalem. In our way, as we came back to the city, the next day following, the Viccario ſhewed us a little moſque, kept by Turks, in which (ſaid he) was the tomb of Rachel, Jacob's wife, who died in that place, as ſhe was travelling from Padan-aram with her huſband Jacob. *The town of Bethlehem.*

The ruins alſo of a houſe where Habakkuk the prophet dwelt; a turpentine tree growing yet by the way ſide, under the which (ſay they) the Virgin Mary was wont to repoſe herſelf in travelling. We ſaw alſo a natural rock in the high way, whereon (ſay they) Elias often ſlept: and are not aſhamed to ſay, that the hollow dimples of the ſtone was only made by the impreſſion of his body, as though the tender fleſh of man could leave the print of his portraiture on a hard ſtone. And not far from this, they ſhewed us the place where the ſtar appeared to the wiſe men, after they had left Herod to ſeek for the Saviour of mankind.

Approaching Mount Sion, we ſaw a quadrangled dry pond *, wherein (ſay they) Bathſheba, the wife of Uriah, was waſhing, when David looked forth from the top of his palace, gazing on the aſpect of his luſt, gave the bridle of reaſon faſt tied into the hands of temptation; and becoming ſubject to the ſubtilty of ſin, was bewitched by her beauty; wherewith corruption triumphed in nature, and godlineſs decreaſed in voluntary conſent, and from a royal prophet fell into the bloody liſts of murder and adultery.

* At the bottom of Mount Sion, without the city, is ſhewn Bathſheba's pool, where ſhe was waſhing herſelf when David ſaw her from the terrace of his palace.——Maundrell's travels.

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Overagainſt this place, on the north-ſide of Gehinnon, we ſaw the ruins of a palace where-
King David's palace. in David dwelt, which hath been one of the angles of the ancient city, and ſtandeth at the diviſion of the valley Ennon, which compaſſed (as a ditch) the north part of Mount Sion, even to the valley of Jehoſaphat, and ſo eaſtward, being now filled up with fragments of old walls; and the valley of Gehinnon, lying weſt and eaſt, bordering along the ſouth ſide of Sion, till it join alſo with the narrow valley of Jehoſaphat, which environeth the eaſt, and ſloping parts of Jeruſalem. Near to this demoliſhed tower, we ſaw the habitation of Simeon; who having ſeen the bleſſed Meſſias, ſaid, "Now, Lord, let thy ſervant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation."

And now, laſtly, upon the twelfth day of my abode there, early on Thurſday morning, the Guardiano, twelve friars, and John Baptiſta, (becauſe that was the laſt day of ſeeing any more monuments, or was to be ſeen there), accompanied us. As we iſſued at the ſouth gate of the city, we came to a place, on the ſkirt of Sion, where (ſay they) Peter, after his denial of Chriſt his maſter, wept bitterly.

Deſcending by the ſide of that ſame hill, we croſſed the valley Gehinnon *, and came to Aceldama, the potter's

* A little below Bathſheba's pool begins the valley of Hinnom; on weſt ſide of which is the place called anciently *the Potters Field*, and afterwards *the Field of Blood*, from its being purchaſed with the pieces of ſilver which were the price of the blood of Chriſt. But at preſent, from that veneration which it has obtained amongſt Chriſtians, it is called *Campo Sancto*. It is a ſmall plat of ground, not above thirty yards long, and about half as much broad. One moiety of it is taken up by a ſquare fabric, twelve yards high, built for a charnel houſe. The corpſes are let down into it from the top, there being five holes left open for that purpoſe. Looking down through theſe holes, we could ſee many bodies, under ſeveral degrees of decay; from which it may be conjectured, that this grave does not make that quick diſpatch with the corpſes committed to it which is commonly reported. The Armenians have the command of this burying-place; for which they pay the Turks a rent of one zechin

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potter's field, or field of blood; which is a little four-ſquared room, oppoſite to the ſloping ſide of the ſouth-falling Sion; three parts whereof are environed with a natural rock; and the four-ſquare bordering with the valley is made up of ſtone work. The top is covered, and hath three holes, through which they let the dead Chriſtians fall down; for it is a burial-place of pilgrims to this day. As I looked down, I beheld a great number of dead corpſes, ſome whereof had white winding-ſheets, and newly dead, lying one above another in a lump. They yielded a noiſome ſmell, by reaſon they were not covered with earth, ſave only the architecture of a high vault; by which means the corpſe cannot putrify and rot for a long time. *Aceldama.*

Near unto this campo, we entered into a dark cave, where (ſay they) the apoſtles hid themſelves when Chriſt was taken. At the foot of the ſame valley, we came to Ponto Nehemia; in which place the Jews did hide the holy fire, when they were taken captives to Babylon. *Ponto Nehemia.* Walking more downward, toward the valley of Jehoſaphat, we ſaw a dark cellar under the ground, without windows, wherein (ſaid the Guardian) the idolatrous Jews made a ſacrifice of their children unto a brazen image called *Moloch*; which being made hot, they incloſed them in the hollowneſs thereof, and ſo ſlew them; and leſt their crying ſhould have moved any compaſſion towards them, they made a thundering noiſe with drums, and other inſtruments; whereupon the place was called *Tophet*, mentioned in Jer. vii. 31. Hence we came to the pool of Siloam, in which we waſhed ourſelves; the water whereof falleth down

zechin a-day. The earth is of a chalky ſubſtance hereabouts. —— Maundrell's travels.

N. B. The only difference betwixt this author and Lithgow is, the one makes five holes, and the other only three. But it may be ſuppoſed, that two more might be made, in order to give the place more light or air, ſince our author viſited in.

through

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through a rock, from the city above, running ſtraight to the valley of Jehoſaphat; and there we ſaw alſo the remnant of that ſacked tower of Siloam.

Near to this we ſaw a fountain, where (ſay they) the Virgin Mary uſed oft to waſh the babe's cloaths and linen clouts. From thence we croſſed the brook Cedron, which guttereth through the valley of Jehoſaphat, and is always dry, unleſs it be in December,

Brook Cedron. when the rain falleth there impetuouſly for a month together, which is all the winter they have in theſe parts; during which time none may labour, nor travel, but are forced to keep themſelves within houſes. Having paſſed, I ſay, this brook, we came to the tombs of Abſalom and Zacharias, and the cave wherein St James was wont to hide himſelf from the perſecuting Jews. Aſcending more upward on the hill, in the way of Bethany, we ſaw the place where Judas hanged himſelf; over which there is a vault erected, like a half-moon, in memory of his ſelf-murder; and hard by they ſhewed us where the withered fig-tree grew, the place being incloſed within a high ſtone-dike; and half a mile thence we came to the ruined houſe of Simon the Leper.

Arriving at Bethany, we ſaw the caſtle and tomb of Lazarus, on whom Chriſt ſhewed a miracle, in raiſing him from the grave, after he had been four days dead. It is a ſingular and rare alabaſter tomb, and ſo exquiſitely done, that it excelleth (Jeruſalem excepted) all the monuments in Judea erected for the like purpoſe, being incloſed within a delicate chapel under the ground. Not far thence, in the ſame village, we ſaw the decayed houſe where Martha and Mary Magdalene inhabited, and the ſtone whereon Chriſt ſat (ſay they) when he ſaid to Martha, "Mary hath choſen the better part."

Lazarus's tomb in Bethany.

Leaving this Mooriſh Bethany, being now a village of no quality, we returned by beggarly Bethphage; and finding it far worſe, about mid-day we arrived on the top of Mount Olivet, where we dined on our own proviſion

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vision carried with us, and then proceeded in our fights.

From this place we had the full prospect of Jerusalem: for the city standing upon the edge of a hill, cannot be seen all at one fight, save on this mountain, which is two times higher than Mount Sion. These are the monuments shewn us upon the Mount of Olives. First, the print of the left foot of our Saviour, in an immoveable stone, which he made when he ascended to heaven. The Guardiano told us further, that the right foot's print was taken away by the Turks, and detained by them in the temple of Solomon; but who can think our Saviour trod so hard at his ascension, as to have left the impression of his feet behind him?

Mount Olivet and the places of note thereof.

Next, the place where he foretold the judgement to come, and the signs and the wonders that should be seen in the heavens before that dreadful day. Thirdly, the place where the *symbolum Apostolorum* was made, which is a fine chamber under the ground, like a church, having twelve pillars to support it. Fourthly, where Christ taught his disciples the *Pater noster*, and where he fell in an agony, when he swate blood and water. Fifthly, where Peter, James, and John slept, whilst our Saviour prayed, and returned so oft to awake them; and also, below that, where the other disciples were left. Sixthly, the garden of Gethsemane, where Christ used commonly to pray; in the which place he was apprehended by the officers of the high priests: and here it was also where Judas kissed him, and the sergeants fell backward on the ground. Seventhly, they shewed us a stone, marked with the head, feet, and elbows of Jesus, in their throwing of him down, when they bound him, after he was taken; and ever since (say they) have these prints remained there.

And lastly, at the foot of Mount Olivet, in the valley of Jehosaphat, we descended by a pair of stairs of forty-three steps, and six paces large, in a fair church built under the ground; where (say they) the monument

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ment of the assumption of the Virgin Mary is, and did shew it unto us, who (they think) was born in Jerusalem, dwelt at Bethlehem and Nazareth, and died upon Mount Zion. I saw also there the sepulchres of Joseph her husband, Joachim her father, and of Anna her mother. And for which sight paying sixteen madins a-man to certain Moors, we returned to our monastery against night to repose us, having seen all the antiquities and places of note that were to be seen in and about all Judea.

Sacred and singular tombs.

Thus have I plainly described all these monuments, by the order of these twelve several days. The like heretofore was never by any traveller so punctually, so truly, and so curiously set down, and made manifest to the intelligent reader. But as I said in the beginning of my description, so say I now also at the conclusion, some of these things are ridiculous, some manifest untruths, some also doubtful, and others somewhat more credible, and of apparent truth. The recapitulation whereof is only used by me, as I was informed by Gaudentius Saybantus, the father Guardian, Laurenzo, Antonio il Viccario, and the Trenchman John Baptisto.

Now, in Jerusalem we eleven Franks staid three days longer, preparing ourselves for a new voyage, to go down to Egypt with a caravan of Grand Cairo. In which time the aforesaid friar Laurenzo, whose life I had saved on the Quarantanam, complimented me privately with twelve crosses made of the olive wood of Mount Olivet; each cross having twenty-four relicks indented in them, with forty pair of chaplets made of the same wood, two Turkish handkerchiefs, and three pair of garters and girdles of the Holy Grave; all wrought in silk and gold, with divers other things, &c. which were not so thankfully received, as they were thankfully given by a grateful and unforgetful friar.

The arms of Jerusalem.

Meanwhile, the last day of our staying there, we went all of us, friars and pilgrims, in again to the Holy Grave, where we remained all night. Early on the

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The GREAT SEAL of the Guardian of *MOUNT SION*
Representing the Effigies of the
Twelve APOSTLES and our SAVIOUR
In the Middle of them

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the morrow, there came a fellow to us, one Elias Areacheros, a Chriſtian inhabiter at Bethlehem, and purveyor for the friars; who did engrave on our ſeveral arms, upon Chriſt's ſepulchre, the name of Jeſus, and the Holy Croſs, being our own option and deſire: and here is the model thereof. But I deciphered, and ſubjoined below mine, the four incorporate crowns of King James, with this inſcription in the lower circle of the crown, *Vivat Jacobus Rex.* Returning to the fellow two piaſters for his reward, I fixed theſe lines for King James.

King James's four crowns.

Long may he live, and long may God above
Confirm, reward, increaſe his Chriſtian love:
That he (bleſs'd king of men) may never ceaſe
To keep this badge, the ſacred prince of peace.
And there's the motto of his maiden crown,
Hæc nobis invicta miſerunt, ne'er won.

When the Guardian underſtood what I had done in memory of my prince upon that ſacred tomb, he was greatly offended with me, that I ſhould have polluted that holy place with the name of ſuch an archenemy to the Roman church. But not knowing how to mend himſelf, and hearing me recite of the heroic virtues of our matchleſs monarch; who, for bounty, wiſdom, and learning, was not equalled among all the princes of the earth, his fury fell, and began to intreat me to make it known to his Majeſty, that he never allowed any ſupport to their afflicted lives; neither any gratuity for maintaining of theſe ſacred monuments at Jeruſalem, his ſubjects being as free here as they; which indeed I performed. For after my arrival in England, and having complimented his Majeſty with divers rare things, and a turpentine rod from Jordan, in the midſt of my diſcourſes, I told his Highneſs, in the privy garden of Greenwich, the Guardian's requeſt. Who indeed gave me a moſt gracious anſwer, ſaying, "They never ſought any help of him; and if they had,

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had, he would have ſupported their neceſſity." Bidding farewel to the church of St Salvatore, and being entered again, after breakfaſt, the reckoning of *ſtridor dentium* came to us, for ſeventeen days diet, being to each man ſix ſhillings a-day, amounting, for my part, to five pounds two ſhillings. Then the Guardian's ſecretary preſented me my patent under their great ſeal; and that coſt me three zechins of gold. The beginning whereof I remember, although the principal was loſt in the inquiſition of Malaga, was thus: "Frater Gaudentius Saybantus ordinis minorum regularis obſervantiæ Sancti Antonii, Dei et Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia ſacri montis Sion Guardianus, Terræ Sanctæ gubernator et cuſtos, ac in partibus Orientis apoſtolicus commiſſarius, ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam. Notum vobis facimus," &c. The contents whereof, reciting all the memorable things I ſaw within the Holy Land; there was thereunto annexed their great ſeal, ſticking faſt or locked in upon the lower face of the parchment; the impreſſion whereof had the effigies of the twelve apoſtles, and Chriſt in the midſt; having this circumſcription about, *Magnum ſigillum Sacri montis Sion Guardianus.*

Of Engliſh money.

Then had we avaricious Baptiſta, our guide and interpreter, to reward, every one of us complimenting him with two zechins of gold. And laſtly, we gratified the gaping ſteward, the Cerberian porter, the Cimmerian cook, and his Ætnean face, with a zechin of gold the man from each of us, amounting in all, among the four Catzo-cullioni, to twenty-four pounds fifteen ſhillings Sterling.

Greedy and flattering friars.

Nay, this was not all: For even when the Egyptian caravan was ſtaying for us without the city, the Guardian made a begging ſermon to us, imploring our bounties to commiſerate and ſupport their great calamities, loſſes, and oppreſſions inflicted upon them by the infidels, with many other baſe and flattering ſpeeches; which indeed nine of us refuſed, becauſe

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becauſe of the great extortion he had impoſed upon us before; but the two German barons gave him the value of ſix Engliſh pounds, or thereabout.

And now, finally, ere I leave Mount Sion, I think it not amiſs to give the itching traveller a frozen ſtomach, who perhaps ſoweth words in the wind, conceptions in the air, and catcheth ſalmon ſwimming on Atlas; I will now, I ſay, juſtly caſt up to him the charges I defrayed within the walls of Jeruſalem, not reckoning my journal-expences and tributes elſewhere abroad; ariſing to eighteen pounds ſixteen ſhillings Sterling. And there a cooling card for his caprizziat and imaginary inventions; and it may ſerve alſo to damnify the blind conceit of many who think that the travellers are at no charges, go where they will, but are freely maintained every where; and that is as falſe as an heretical error. May 12. and the eighteenth day of my ſtaying there, about mid-day, the other ten and I joined with the caravan, who formerly had bargained with us to carry us to Egypt, and to furniſh the reſt with camels or dromedaries to ride upon, (for I would never ride on any), for nineteen piaſters the man, freeing us alſo from all tributes and caffars to be impoſed upon us by the way; and ſo we marched through the ſouth-weſt part of Judea towards Idumea, or the Edomites land; and meanwhile I gave Jeruſalem this good night, &c.

The author's good night to Jeruſalem.

Thrice ſacred Sion, ſometimes blaz'd abroad,
To be the manſion of the living God;
For prophets, oracles, apoſtles dear,
And godly kings, who rais'd great glory here;
Where Aaron's rod, the ark, and tables two,
And Manna's pot, fire of ſacrifice ſo
From heaven that fell, were all inclos'd in thee,
Containing near what not contain'd could be.
To thee, ſweet Sion, and thine eldeſt daughter,
Which Titus fiercely ſack'd with Jewiſh ſlaughter,

And

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And to thy ſecond birth, rais'd to my ſight,
I proſtrate bid thy bleſſed bounds good night.
Next for the Holy land, which I have trac'd,
From end to end, and all its beauty fac'd;
Where kings were ſtall'd, diſ-thron'd, defac'd, renown'd,
Caſt down, erected, unſcepter'd, ſlain, and crown'd;
The Land of Promiſe, once a ſea of oil,
Whence milk and honey flow'd; yea, to a ſoil
Where men, and might, like miracles were rais'd,
Sprung from a garden-plot: a wonder prais'd
Above conceit; whoſe ſtrength did far excel
All other lands; take thou my kind farewel.
And laſt, Franciſcan friars, O painted tombs!
Where vice and luſt lurk low, beneath your wombs;
Whoſe hearts, like hell, do gape for greed of gold,
That have religion with your conſcience ſold,
To you I ſay a pox, O flattering friars!
And damn'd deceivers, born and bred for liars,
Whoſe end my purſe implores; O faithleſs fellows!
And leaves you, for your pains, curs'd Haman's gallows.

Having bid farewel to Sion, we marched that afternoon in the way of Gaza, and arrived at night in a goodly village, more full of Jews than Moors, called *Hembaluda*, ſituate on the face of a fruitful hill, and the laſt limit of Judea. Here the Germans and I were well entertained *gratis*, by certain Jews that ſpoke Italian; and much rejoiced to ſee ſuch ſtrangers in theſe bounds, for two of them had been born in Venice. The captain and our company were all Egyptians, all of them being Chriſtians, called *Copties*, viz. believers. Their number was about eight hundred perſons, who had come up from Egypt to dignify, for devotion's ſake, this Eaſter time, being the great feaſt of Jeruſalem; of whom, by the way, we received great affability, and kind reſpect, without any offence.

Kind Jews to us Franks.

That

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That night the whole caravan lay in the fields, and we ſtaid within the town, making merry with our Hebraic friends. Early the next morning we reſumed our Idumean way, finding this Edomitiſh land ſorely diſtreſſed by the Arabs, and yet the inhabitants were ſubject to the Turk. In this long day's journey we found abundance of water, and all other neceſſaries for our relief; and yet the people were both rude and extremely barbarous, having no more ſhew of humanity than the four-footed leopards of Berdoa.

The Dutch gentlemen grew afraid at theſe ſavages, as being unacquainted before with ſuch an awful ſight; and to diſpel their fear, Tuſh, ſaid I; courage, gentlemen; no ſcope, no hope; and flaſhed over theſe lines in Italian to them,

To gallant minds, all kind of ſoils they be
Their native land, as fiſh embrace the ſea;
For they who would traverſe earth's various face,
Muſt take their hazard, as they find the place;
And that's my ſoil, beſt means can me defray;
But, Sirs, be glad, we came not here to ſtay.

Againſt night we declined towards Gaza, and there ſtaid in a fine cave prepared for travellers; where the whole caravan, ſoldiers, camels, dromedaries, mules and aſſes, were all well ſatisfied and refreſhed. The next morning we went to the Bezeſtan, or market-place, and there furniſhed ourſelves with proviſion of bread, hens, eggs, garlick, and onions, ſufficient enough to carry us through the deſerts, being ten days journey. Gaza now is called *Habalello*, and is compoſed of twelve hundred fire-houſes, and fencible againſt the incurſions of Arabs; the ruvid citizens, being Turks, Moors, Jews, domeſtic Arabians, with a few Georgians and Neſtorians.

The ancient city of Gaza.

There is a garriſon here of ſoldiers, and a Turkiſh captain that commandeth the town and caſtle. In the afternoon we ſet our faces forward to that fearful wil-

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derneſs, and travelled before night twelve miles, pitching our tents beſide a ſource or ſtanding well. Here our guard kept a ſtrict watch about us all night; and I kept the Germans from languor, cheriſhing them with jovial merriments, for they were my inward friends, yet of a faint and fearful nature. At the break of day we ſet forward, paſſing through divers rocky and ſhrubby heights till after noon, and then we declined to a ſandy valley; where, when come, what with the deepneſs of the way, and the great heat of the ſun reflecting from the ſand to our faces, we were miſerably fatigued, eſpecially I, who went always on foot.

Burning ſand.

Having paſſed this weariſome bottom, and before night, marching along the ſkirt of a craggy hill, two hundred Arabs broke out upon us from holes and buſhes, and greatly annoyed our company with arrows, till a contribution of ſixteen piaſters was ſent to them. The half of that night we pitched our tents in a plain fit for paſture, where ſome ſcattered Arabs ſold us water in wooden cups, carrying it in wild boar ſkins, upon their naked backs: two of which ſavages our captain hired to guide us the next day to the firſt caſtle of the three that were built by the Turks, and a day's journey diſtant one from another; being each of them ſtrongly guarded with ſoldiers, and that for the relief of caravans, being the moſt dangerous, and moſt deſolate place in the deſerts.

Wild Arabs ſelling water.

Our guides, the day following, brought us through the beſt and ſafeſt places of the country, where we found certain profitable parts, planted with hair-cloth tents, and overclad here and there with ſpots of ſheep and goats; and yet even there we were not free from the invaſion of ſtraggling Arabs, and paying of tributes, which the captain defrayed for us, our condition being formerly made ſo at Jeruſalem. Before night, with great heat, and greater drought, we approached to the firſt caſtle, where the captain thereof received us kindly, cauſing our tents to be pitched round

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round about the quadrangled tower. Here we had abundance of water (though I would rather have had wine) to ſuffice the whole company, drawn out of ciſtern; and repoſing ſafely upon the hard ground, the caſte-garriſon watched us, and our guard watched them.

Grievous and deſertous travelling.

The next morning, with a new guide, we marched through a fiery-faced plain, ſcorched with burning heat, and deep rolling ſand, where ſeveral of our ſmalleſt beaſts periſhed, together with ſix men and women that were relieving their overwhelmed aſſes. Long before mid-day, having got to a hard height, we pitched our tents, repoſing under their ſhadows till the evening, for we were not able to endure the intolerable heat of the ſun; and in like manner did we overſhade ourſelves every mid-day. The vigour of the day gone, and the cooling night come, we advanced forward to the middle caſtle, being led by our guide, and the pale lady of the night leading him: where, when come, we found neither that fort anſwerable to the former in ſtrength, nor the captain ſo humane as the former was. Here we were all offended with the ſcarcity of water; the captain playing the villain, croſſed us, becauſe the caravanſhip were Chriſtians: at laſt about midnight, thirty Arabs came to us loaden with water, carried on their backs; to whom we paid for every caraff, being an Engliſh quart, three aſpers of ſilver, ten aſpers going to a ſhilling. My kind Dutchmen drank too much of it; the water being thick and of a browniſh colour, and hot like piſs, offended their over-wained ſtomachs, which, as I ſuppoſed, was the chief cauſe the next day of ſome of their deaths.

After midnight, the Turkiſh captain and our Caravan fell at variance about water to our beaſts, who were ready to choke; and if they had not been prevented with ſoldiers on both ſides, it had drawn us and them to a final miſchief. The diſcord unpacified, before the following day, and while yet night, we reſumed our toilſome and dangerous way, journeying through many

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dens and umbrageous caves, overſhaded with mouldering heights: in ſome whereof we found ſavage women lying in their barbarous child-bed, having their bodies naked (the fore-face of their womb excepted). Their beds were made of ſoft ſand, and overſpread with leaves of a foot thick; whoſe new-born babes lying in their arms, were ſwaddled with the ſame leaves. And for all their ſickneſs, which was very ſmall, they had none of our wives ſugared ſops, burnt wines, veniſon-paſties, delicate fare, and great feaſting, nor a month's lying in, and then churched, putting their huſbands to great charges. No, no, their food is only bread, garlick, herbs, and water; and on the third or fourth day, inſtead of their churching, they go with bows and arrows to the fields again, hunting for ſpoils and booties from paſſing caravans.

Savage women having their child-bed in caves.

Advancing in our courſe, we fell down from the hills in a long bottom of ſand, above ſix miles in length; wherein, with ſore wreſtling againſt the parching ſun, and getting no ground to pitch our tents to overſhade us, three of our Germans, the two Barons, Signor Strouſe and Signor Cruſhen, with one Signor Thomaſio, tumbled down from their beaſts backs quite dead, being ſuffocated with the ſtrong heat, for it was in May, choked alſo with extreme drought, and the reflection of the burning ſand; and beſides their fare was grown miſerable, and their water worſe, for they had never been acquainted with the like diſtreſs before, though it was always my *vade mecum*. Whereupon the Caravan ſtaid, and cauſed caſt on their corps again on their own beaſts backs, and carrying them to the ſide of a hard hill, we digged a hollow pit, and ſtripped them of their Turkiſh cloaths: I did, with my own hands, caſt them all three one above another in that ſame hole; and covering their bodies with mouldering earth, the ſoldiers helped me to roll heavy ſtones above their grave, to the end that the bloody jackals

The death of three German gentlemen.

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jackals ſhould not devour them; and to conclude this woful and ſorrowful accident, the other Germans alive beſtowed on me their dead friends Turkiſh garments, becauſe of the love and diligent care I always ſhowed them; which one of their empty mules carried for me to Grand Cairo.

The third caſtle of the deſerts.

Whence, with divers aſſaults, and greater pains, coming to the third caſtle, bewailing as much the loſs of our friends, as rejoicing in our own ſafety, we found this third captain both humane and hoſpitable; who indeed himſelf in perſon, with his garriſon, watched us all night, and had a ſpecial care in providing water for us all, giving our captain and us eight franks, with three roaſted hens and two capons, before ſupper. This Turkiſh captain told us there were three inhabited towns in theſe deſerts, the chief whereof was Sehan, ſituate on the Red ſea, having a harbour and ſhipping, that trade both to Egypt and Æthiopia, whoſe commodities are ſilken ſtuffs and ſpices, which they tranſport from Mecca, and carry to Melincia, and the aforeſaid places in Africa. But now, leſt leſt I ſink in prolixity, diſcourſing of ſinking ſands, and make good the Italian proverb, *Chi troppo abbracio, nulla ſtringe, viz.* "That he who would embrace too much, can hold nothing faſt," I will deſiſt from this journal of our proceedings. However, having already laid open more than half of the wilderneſs, the reader may eaſily, (like that learned geometrician, who finding the length of Hercules's foot on the hill Olympus, drew forth the portraiture of his whole body thereby), conjecture, by the former relation, the appearance of the reſt of theſe deſert places: the reſt therefore I will only epitomize in general, until my arrival at Saleack on the confines of Egypt.

The bounds of the three Arabias.

Arabia is bounded on the weſt with the Red ſea, and the Egyptian Iſthmus; on the north, with Canaan, Meſopotamia, and a part of Syria; on the eaſt, with the Perſian gulf, Chaldea, and Aſſyria; on the ſouth, with the great ocean, and Indian

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ſea. This country lieth from the eaſt to the weſt, in length about nine hundred, and is three thouſand five hundred miles in compaſs. The people generally are addicted to theft, rapine, and robberies; hating all ſciences mechanical or civil: They are commonly all of the ſecond ſtature, ſwift of foot, wicked, and ſeditious, boiſterous in ſpeech, of a tawny colour, boaſting much of their tribal antiquity and noble gentry; notwithſtanding their garments are born with them from the bare belly, their food alſo like to their ruvid condition, and as ſavagely tame, I proteſt, as the four-footed citizens of Libya: They are not valiant, nor deſperate in aſſaults, without great advantage; for a hundred Turks are truly eſteemed to be ſufficient enough to encounter three hundred Arabs: Their language extendeth itſelf far, both in Aſia and Africa; in the former through Paleſtine, Syria, Meſopotamia, Cilicia, even to the mount Caucaſus; in the latter, through Egypt, Libya, and all the kingdoms of Barbary, even to Morocco.

This Arabia Deſerta, is the place where the people of Iſrael wandered forty years long, being fed with manna from heaven, and with water out of the drieſt rocks; in which is Mount Sinai, where the law of the two tables was promulgated. The moſt part of theſe deſerts is neither fit for herbage nor tillage, being covered over with a dry and a thick ſand, which the wind tranſporteth whither it liſteth, in heaps and mountains, that often intercept and indanger fatigued travellers. The inhabitants here are few; ſo are their cities; their dwellings being in ſequeſtrate dens, and hair-cloth tents: The moſt of their wealth conſiſteth in camels, dromedaries, and goats.

The ſcurril Arabian deſerts.

Before our arrival in Saleack, we paſſed the little iſthmus of ground which parteth Aſia and Africa, diſjoining the Mediterranean and the Red ſeas. Divers have attempted to dig through this ſtrait, to make both ſeas meet for a nearer paſſage to India, of whom Seſoſtris

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ſtris king of Egypt was the firſt; ſecondly, Darius the great Perſian monarch; thirdly, another Egyptian king, who drew a ditch an hundred foot broad, and thirty and odd miles long. But when he intended to finiſh it, he was forced to ceaſe, for fear of overflowing all the lower land, the Red ſea being found to be higher by three cubits, than the ordinary plain of Egypt: yet, however it was, the ditch is hollow in divers parts, and troubleſome, becauſe of ſands, to paſs over.

At Saleack we overtook a great caravan of two thouſand people, and twelve hundred camels and dromedaries, which were laden with the ware of Aleppo, and come from Damaſcus, intending their voyage for Cairo, whoſe company we politicly left, and marched before them, for the receiving of water by the way, for ourſelves and beaſts, out of ciſterns which we left dry behind us.

The nature of camels and dromedaries.

A dromedary and a camel differ much in quality, but not in quantity, being of one height, breadth, and length; ſave only their heads and feet, which are proportionated alike; and the difference is ſuch, that the dromedary hath a quick and hard reaching trot, and will ride above eighty miles in the day, if that his rider can endure the pain. But the camel is of a contrary diſpoſition; for he hath a moſt ſlow and lazy pace, removing the one foot from the other, as though he were weighing his feet in a balance; neither can he go faſter, although he would: but he is a great deal more tractable than the other; for when his maſter loadeth him, he falleth down on his knees to the ground, and then riſeth again with his burden, which ſome times will be marvelouſly great, ſometimes ſix hundred or eight hundred weight.

The Red ſea, which we left to the weſtward of us, and on our left hand, is not red, as many ſuppoſe, but is the very colour of other ſeas. The reaſon for which it hath been called *Mare Rubrum*, is only becauſe of the banks, ruſhes, ſands, and buſhes, which grow by the

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ſhore-ſide, which are naturally red. Some others have called it ſo, in reſpect of the brooks which Moſes turned to red blood, who, miſconſtruing the true ſenſe, took ſeas for rivers.

It is vulgarly termed *Sinus Arabicus*, whoſe length is ſixteen hundred miles. This ſea is famous for the miraculous paſſage of the Iſraelites through it, and the drowning of Pharaoh and his people; and becauſe of ſpices that were brought from India and Arabia to Alexandria, from whence the Venetians diſperſed the ſame through all Europe, and the Mediterranean coaſts of Aſia and Africa. But this navigation is now diſcontinued by the Portugueſe, Engliſh, and Dutch, who bring home ſuch wares by the back-ſide of Africa; ſo that the traffic of Alexandria is almoſt decayed, and the riches of the Venetians much diminiſhed, ſo is the virtue of the ſpices much impaired by too much moiſture contracted with the long and tedious carriage thereof.

Indian ſpices much weakened.

This aforeſaid Saleack is thought to be ſeated on the lower and eaſtmoſt end of Gozan, conſiſting of eight hundred dwelling-houſes, being walled and fencible againſt the Arabs, and defended alſo with a caſtle, and ten troops of horſemen, being Janizaries. Here we reſted and refreſhed ourſelves two nights, providing ourſelves with freſh victuals for Grand Cairo, being four days journey diſtant; and at our leaving of Saleack, I took leave of this new ſeen country, with a greedy conceit of more curioſities.

PART

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PART. VII.

Now well met Egypt, ſo our fate allots,
For we have appetite for thy fleſh-pots:
But, ah! the ſeaſon is too hot to eat
Of any viand, kid, mutton, or ſuch meat;
Yet for thy coffee made of coave-ſeed,
We'll kindly drink it, feed upon thy bread,
And fat ourſelves with thy beſt herbs, and fruits;
For like, to our faint ſtomachs, beſt befuits.
Then mighty kingdom, once the Royal land,
Where kings were firſt erect'd, did longeſt ſtand;
And letters, hieroglyphicks, magic art,
Aſtrology had firſt invention's part.
For wonders, the pyramids; balm more good:
The weeping crocodile, Nile's ſwelling flood;
Death's funeral mummies; the ſea-horſe bred
At Damieta; the ſphynx with grandeur clad:
And where baſe fortune play'd the arrant whore,
In making mean men great, and great men poor:
In thee I'll dive, though deep is thine old ground,
And further far than I can ſearch or ſound.
Yet when men ſhoot, O all the mark do eye,
But ſeldom touch'd; enough if they come nigh:
Even ſo muſt I, for nearer I'll not claim,
The beſt director may miſtake his aim.
But as the land is now, I hope I ſhall
Clear hardeſt doubts, and give content to all.
Thence ſought I Malta, Ætna's burning flame,
And ſtately Sicily, Gibel's greateſt fame,
Whence paſſing Italy, the Alps I croſs'd,
And courting France, told time how I was toſs'd.

DEparting from Saleack, and having paſſed one of their courſes, which is our twelve miles, we met with

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with a number of villages on both hands, and on our highway, all builded upon artificial channels drawn from Nilus, and these fabricks only made up of wood or brick, being one or two stories high. The captain, in divers parts at our mid-day's reposing, was constrained to buy water from the Egyptians, to satisfy the company; yea, and that same night, the first of four ere we came to Cairo, at the village of Bianstare, he paid five sultans of gold for watering all of us and the beasts, amounting to thirty-five shillings Sterling.

The next day, May 14. journeying towards a goodly town, named *Saliabsteek*, we travelled through a fruitful plain, full of fruit-trees, and abounding with wheat, rye, and barley, new cut down. For this was their first harvest, the land yielding twice a-year corns; and the latter happens in our December. This land hath, as it were, a continual summer, and notwithstanding of the burning heat, it produceth always abundance of fruits and herbs for all the seasons of the year; so that the whole kingdom is but a garden, having always one fruit ready to be plucked down, and another coming forward. Or like to the best sort of lemon-trees, that as some reap, some are growing green, others budding forth, and some still in the flourish: even so is the beauty and fertility of all the lower Egypt; which although the country be not often troubled with rain, yet the strong dew of the night, in the summer, refresheth all kinds of growing things. Between Saliabsteek and Cairo, being two days journey, we Franks bad farewel to water, and drank daily of cõffee, made of a seed coava; which being taken hot, and ever kept boiling within furnaces in earthen pots, it expelleth the crudity of fruits and herbs, so much there used.

The seasons of reaping grain in Egypt.

Arriving at last in this little world, the great Cairo, and bidding farewel to our Caravan, the three Germans and I lodged with one Signior Marco Antonio, a consul there for Venice; the other four Frenchmen went to their own consul, a Marseillian born, and there staid.

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ſtaid. Here with this Venetian, for three days, the Dutchmen and I had good cheer, but they far greater, a daily ſwallowing down of ſtrong Cyprus wine, without mixture of water; which ſtill I intreated them to forbear, but they would not be intreated. The ſeaſon being cruelly hot, and their ſtomachs ſurfeited with burning wine, upon the fourth day, long before noon, the three Dutchmen were all dead; and yet I thought they had no ſickneſs, the red of their faces ſtaying pleaſant, their eyes ſtaring always on mine, and their tongues perfect, even to the laſt of their breath. *The laſt three Germans death in Cairo.*

He who died laſt was William Dierganck, who left me all his own gold, and what the former five had left him. Delivering me the keys of their cloak-bags before the conſul, he declared that he left me abſolute heir, to intromit with all and whatſoever they had there; but preſently the treacherous conſul, knowing that I was a ſtranger to them, and by accident met together at Jeruſalem, and that they were gentlemen, and well provided with gold, forged a reaſon to himſelf, and for his own benefit, that he would meddle with all they left behind them, under this excuſe, that he would be anſwerable to their friends for it, at his return to Venice. Well, I am left to bury them, and with great difficulty bought them one grave for them all three in a Copti's chapel, where I interred them; paying the Egyptian Chriſtians for that eight foot of ground, ten ſultans of gold, beſides ſix piaſters for carrying their corps hither, being two miles in the city diſtant from the conſul's houſe. Before I returned, the Venetian factor had ſeized upon all, and ſhutting his gate upon me, ſent me out my own budget. Whereupon I addreſſed myſelf to the French conſul, Monſieur Beauclair, who kindly received me, and having told him the manner how I was greatly wronged and oppreſſed by the other conſul, he ſtraight ſent for a Jewiſh phyſician, his familiar oracle; where having conſulted together, the next day early, we went all three, and their followers, to the beglerbeg,

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beglerbeg, or governor of the city. We ſoon complained, and were as ſoon heard; the Venetian conſul is ſent for, and he cometh; where facing the judge, and pleading both our beſt (for there are no lawyers in Turkey every man ſpeaking for himſelf), the baſhaw with his council, upon ſight of the keys of their cloakbags in my hands, and my narration thereupon, (and notwithſtanding favouring the factor), immediately determined that I ſhould have two parts of their money, with all their Jeruſalem relicks, and Turkiſh cloaths, and the Venetian to have the third part. It is done, and irrevocable; upon which the Jewiſh doctor and I, with two Janizaries, came to mine adverſary's houſe: where I giving the Jew the keys, the cloak-bags were opened, and the money being told, it came juſt to one thouſand four hundred twenty-four zechins of gold, beſides certain rings and tablets. The Jew delivered me my part, which came to nine hundred forty-two zechins, the reſt went to the unconſcionable conſul, with the half of the rings and tablets. And packing up all the relicks, money, clothes, and cloak-bags, I hired a mule, and brought them along with me to the French factor's houſe. Where, when come, Monſieur Beauclair, and my fellow-pilgrims, were very glad that I had ſucceeded ſo well, none of us all knowing what was in the cloak-bags, till they were ſighted: and giving hearty thanks to the conſul, and ten pieces of gold to the Jew and janiſaries, I ſupped, and repoſed till the morrow, thanking God of my good fortune. Yet was I exceeding ſorrowful for the loſs of theſe gallant gentlemen, religiouſly diſpoſed, and ſo affable, that for familiarity and kindneſs, they were the mirrours of noble minds, and virtuous ſpectacles of humanity; whoſe deaths were to me a hell, and whoſe lives had been my paradiſe on earth: to whoſe memory and praiſe, I am not able to give the leaſt commendation their heroick diſpoſitions deſerved at my hands.

A favourable Turkiſh judgement.

But what ſhall I ſay, their time was come, which mortality

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mortality might ſorrow, but ſorrow cannot prevent death, whoſe power is deaf to all human lamentations. Neither will I rely ſo much upon my own worthineſs, as to think, that the benefit of having my life prolonged, was deſerved by any merit of mine; but that God might the more ſhow his incomprehenſible goodneſs in delivering me from the violence of ſuch unexpected accidents, and to tie my ſoul to be thankful for his mercies. For all the beginnings of man are derived from God, whoſe ends are either perfected or diſannulled by his determination; and nothing we poſſeſs is properly our own, or gotten by our own power, but given us only through his goodneſs and munificence. *God's provident mercies.*

And all the ſpaces of the earth which our feet tread over, the light we enjoy, and the excellent faculties we are endued with; or what we can do, ſay, or think, is only raiſed, guided, and diſtributed, by God's impenetrable counſel, will, and providence: and although the pride of our wicked nature doth not attribute them thereunto; yet the powerful working of the counſel of God is ſuch, that in itſelf it proveth an eternal wiſdom, and confoundeth the fooliſhneſs of the world.

This incorporate world of Grand Cairo, is the moſt admirable, and greateſt city ſeen upon the earth, being thrice as large of bounds as Conſtantinople, and likewiſe as populous, but not ſo well builded, being ſituate in a pleaſant plain, and in the heart of Egypt, touching the Nile at ſome parts.

The city is divided into five towns; firſt, Cairo Novo, the new Caire, which is the principal and chief place of all the other, lying in the midſt of the reſt, having walls and ports; the circuit whereof is twenty-two miles, containing all the chief merchandiſe and market-places within it. *The great city of Grand Cairo.*

The ſecond is Cairo Vecchio, the old Caire, called *Cairo de Babylonia*, or *Babylon Egyptiorum*; for there were two Babylons, one in Aſſyria, called now by the Turks

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Turks *Bagdat*, and the other is this that joineth with the new Caire: It was alſo anciently called *Memphis*, and was the furtheſt place that Ulyſſes in his travels viſited, ſo well memoriſed by Homer; yet a voyage of no ſuch eſtimation, as that princely poet accounted it; for his travels were not anſwerable to the fifteenth part of mine.

The third town is Medin, joining to the back-ſide of the old Caire, towards the pyramids; the fourth is Boulak, running a great length down along and near the river-ſide, having three market-places of no ſmall account; the fifth and laſt, is the great town of Caraffar, bending ſouthward, in the way of the Red ſea, for many miles: all which are but as ſuburbs to the the new Caire, that of many ſmalls make up a country rather than a city; and yet all of them are contiguous one with another, either to the left or right hand, or to them both, with innumerable ſtreets: The length whereof in all, from the loweſt end of Boulak, to the ſouthmoſt part of the Caraffar,

The length of great Caire, and the bounds thereof.

is, by my deep experience, twenty-eight Engliſh miles, and fourteenth in breadth; for trial whereof I trod it one day on foot from ſun to ſun, being guided and guarded with a riding Janizary, which, for my bruiſed feet on the ſtreets, was one of the ſoreſt day's journey I ever had in my life.

The principal gates of new Caire are Babeh Mamſteck, looking towards the wilderneſs and the Red ſea; Bebzavillah toward the Nile, and Babel Eutuch toward the fields. The ſtreets are narrow, being all of them almoſt covered to ſave them from the parching heat, with open vents for light; and their buildings commonly are two ſtories high, compoſed either of mud or brick, and platform on the tops; whereon uſually in the night they uſe to ſleep, to receive the freſh and cooling air. Their Bazar or exchange, beginneth at the gate of Mamſteck, and endeth at the place called *Babeſh*.

At the corner of the chief ſtreets or market-places, there

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there are divers horſes ſtanding ready ſaddled and bridled, that, for a ſmall matter, or according to the way, a man may hire and ride where he will, either to negotiate, or to view this ſpacious and extenſive city; and he may change as many horſes as he pleaſeth, having the maſters which owe them to convoy them for a leſs or longer way, which is a great eaſe to weary paſſengers.

There is a great commerce here with many nations, for by their concurring hither, it is wonderfully peopled with infinite numbers; for the country aboundeth in ſilks, corns, fruits, wax, honey, and the ſovereign balſamo good for all ſores, beſides many other commodities of cotton-wool, rich ſtuffs of cloth of gold and ſilver, and the beſt ſattins, damaſk, taffaties, and grograins, that are made in the world, are here.

The great populouſneſs of this place, and the extreme heat, is the cauſe why the plague is conſtantly in the city; inſomuch that, at ſome certain times, ten thouſand perſons have died in one day: Nay, the city is reputed to be in good health, if there die but one or two thouſand in a day, or three hundred thouſand in a whole year, I mean, when the ſore incroaching peſtilence, which every third year uſeth to viſit them, rages here.

Divers nations reſiding in Caire.

In this town a traveller may ever happily find all theſe ſorts of Chriſtians, Italians, French, Greeks, Chelfaines, Georgians, Ethiopians, Jacobins, Syrians, Armenians, Nicolaitans, Abyſſines, Cypriots, Sclavonians, captive Maltezes, Sicilians, Albaneſes, and high Hungarians, Raguſans, and their own Egyptian Copties, the number of which is thought to be beyond two hundred thouſand people; beſides the infinite number of infidels, whoſe ſorts are theſe, Turks, tawny Moors, white Moors, black Moors or Negroes, Muſſulmans, Tartars, Perſians, Indians, Sabuncks, Berdoanes, Jews, Arabians, Barbares, and Tingitanian Saracens; all which are Mahometans and idolatrous Pagans.

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From the great palatiate manſion, where the begler-beg or vicegerent hath his reſidence, being builded on a moderate height, a man may have the full proſpect of the better part of the town, the gardens and villages bordering on Nilus, and a great part of the lower plains of Egypt. Their laws here, and heatheniſh religion, are Turkiſh and Mahometan; and the cuſtoms and manners of the people, are like unto their birth and breeding, beaſtly and barbarous, being great Sodomites, and diabolically given to all ſorts of abominations.

The Egyptian decorations.

The better ſort of women here, and all the kingdom over, wear rings of gold and ſilver, through the hollow of their noſes, both ends of their mouths, and in their under-lips hanging rich pearls, and precious ſtones to them; wearing alſo about their arms fair bracelets, and about their ancles below, broad bonds of gold and ſilver. To which if the baſer ſort cannot attain, then they counterfeit their betters, with rings, bracelets, and bonds of braſs, copper, lead, and white iron, and think themſelves not worthy to live unleſs they wear theſe badges.

They alſo uſe here, as commonly they do through all Turky, the women to piſs ſtanding, and the men to cour low on their knees, doing the like. They wear here linen breeches and leather boots as the men do; and if it were not for their covered faces, and longer gowns, we would hardly know the one from the other. As for the religion of the Copties or Egyptian Chriſtians,

The Egyptian Chriſtians.

they are circumciſed after the Judaical manner, but not after the eighth day, but the eighth year. And it is thought, they follow the religion of Eutyches, holding but one nature in Chriſt; which was defended by Dioſcorus, and the council of Epheſus, in regard of Eutyches. But the Copties themſelves ſay, they have their religion from Preſter John; and ſo it is moſt manifeſt, there being no difference between the one and the other.

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They make frequently, at all their meetings, the ſign of the croſs to other; croſſing their two foremoſt fingers, they lay them on their brow, and then on their breaſts, and kiſſing them, their ſalutation is done.

They will not ſuffer images nor pictures to be in their churches; and yet they have an altar, and a kind of maſs, ſaid in their own language, ſacrificing the Hoſtia for the real body and blood of Chriſt; yet they deny purgatory, the invocation of ſaints, and prayers for the dead, &c. Nevertheleſs, auricular confeſſion is commonly uſed among them. The Greeks in all theſe points do the like, and all the oriental people. *The Copties religion.*

The inhabitants here were the firſt inventors of the mathematical ſciences, of letters, and of the uſe of writing, great magicians and aſtrologians, and are yet endued with a ſpecial dexterity of wit; but ſomewhat ſlothful, and given to riot and luxury; merry alſo, great ſingers, and ſociable companions; and no wonder, the land being ſo plentiful, and their nature libidinous, it increaſeth both their inſolence and inordinate affections. Neither do they live long, in regard of the great heat they endure, Egypt being placed between the two Tropics, under the Torrid zone, it cometh to paſs, that ſeldom any there attain to threeſcore years of age. *The nature of the Egyptian Moors.*

In all this land of Egypt, which is a great kingdom, there is no running well or fountain, ſave only the river Nilus. Scarce do the inhabitants know what rain is, becauſe they ſeldom ſee any; and if by rare accident a cloud happen to diſſolve upon them, it bringeth to their bodies innumerable ſores and diſeaſes. And yet for abundance of corns, and all kinds of fruits the earth yieldeth, there is no country can brag with Egypt; wherefore it was called, in the time of the Romans, as well as Sicily, *Horreum populi Romani.* And yet this kingdom produceth no wines, neither is it garniſhed with vineyards, but that which ſtrangers make uſe of are brought from Candy, Cyprus, and Greece.

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The defect being thus; these Mahometan Moors observing strictly the law of their Alcoran, will neither plant wines, nor suffer any to be planted, accounting it a deadly sin to drink wine; but for coffa and sherpet, composed liquors, they drink enough of.

The garden of Balsamo.

As for their balsamo, the garden wherein it groweth, lieth near to the south side of Caire, and is inclosed with a high wall, being six miles in compass, and daily guarded by Turks. To which when I came, being conducted with a Janizary, they would not suffer me to enter, neither any Christian, and far less the Jews; for not long ago, they were the cause that almost this balm was brought to confusion, they having the custody of it for certain years.

The tree itself is only three foot high, which keepeth constantly a green colour, having a broad three-pointed leaf; which being thrice in the year incised in the body and branches, it yieldeth a red water that droppeth down in earthen vessels, which is the natural balsamo.

And not far from this garden, in a sandy desert, is the place called *Mommeis*, where are innumerable caves cut forth of a rock, whereunto the bodies of most men in Caire are carried, and interred. Which dead bodies remain always unputrified; neither yield they a stinking smell. Whereof experiments are plentiful at this day, by the whole bodies, hands, or other parts, which by merchants are now brought from thence, and doth make the Mummia which apothecaries use; the colour being very black, and the flesh clung unto the bones.

The pyramids of Egypt.

Now, having viewed this Microcosmus of the greater world, the four French pilgrims and I did hire a Janizary to conduct us to the great pyramids, firnamed the *World's wonders*; which are distant from Caire about four leagues, standing beside or near to the banks of Nilus; where, when come, I beheld their proportion to be quadrangled, growing

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growing ſmaller and ſmaller to the top, and built with huge and large ſtones; the moſt part whereof are five feet broad, or thereabout, and nine in length, being of pure marble.

All the hiſtorians that ever wrote of theſe wonders have not ſo amply recited their admirable greatneſs, as the experience of the beholder may teſtify their exceſſive greatneſs and height. The largeſt of theſe pyramids, which has ſuffered leaſt by time and weather, is ſix hundred ninety-three Engliſh feet ſquare at the baſis, and its perpendicular height is four hundred ninety-nine feet. But if we take it as the pyramid aſcends, inclining, then the height is equal to the breadth of the baſis, namely, ſix hundred and ninety-three feet, the angles and the baſe making an equilateral triangle. The whole area, therefore, of the baſis, contains four hundred and eighty thouſand two hundred and forty-nine ſquare-feet, which is ſomething more than eleven acres of ground.

At laſt, having aſcended upon the ſouth ſide of this greateſt pyramid to the top, and that with great difficulty, becauſe of the broken degrees here and there, I was much raviſhed to ſee ſuch a large four-ſquared plat-form, all of one entire ſtone, which covered the head, each ſquare extending to ſeventeen foot of my meaſure *.

It is yet a great marvel to me, by what engine they could bring it up ſo ſafe to ſuch a height. But as I conceive it, they behoved certainly ſtill to raiſe it, and take it with them as they advanced the work, otherwiſe the wit nor power of man could never have done it. Truly the more I beheld this ſtrange work, the more I was

* On the eaſtern ſide of the ſecond pyramid, you ſee the ruins of a temple, the ſtories of which are of a prodigious ſize, they being ſix feet broad and deep, and moſt of them ſixteen or ſeventeen feet long, and ſome of them twenty-two; the whole building being a hundred and eighty feet in front, and a hundred and ſixty in depth. —— Biſhop Pococke's travels in Egypt, and Mr Norden's.

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ſtruck with admiration. For before we aſcended, or came near to this pyramid, the top of it ſeemed as ſharp as a pointed diamond; but when we were mounted thereon, we found it ſo large, that in my opinion it would have contained a hundred men.

The greateſt pyramid of the three.

In the bottom whereof we found a great cell, and within that through a ſtraight and narrow paſſage, a four-angled room; wherein there was ſtanding the relicks of a huge and ancient tomb, where probably he that was the firſt founder of this pyramid was incloſed. From the top of this pyramid our Janizary did ſhoot an arrow in the air with all his force, thinking thereby it ſhould have fallen to the ground; but as we deſcended downwards, we found the arrow lying upon the ſteps, ſcarce half-way to the ground. From this we came to the middle pyramid, which afar off looked ſomewhat higher than the other two; but when we came to the root thereof, we found it not ſo; for the ſtone-work is a great deal lower; but the advancement of the height is only becauſe of a high ground whereon it ſtandeth.

It is of the ſame faſhion with the firſt, but hath no degrees to aſcend upon; neither hath the third pyramid any at all, being, by antiquity of time, all worn and demoliſhed, yet an admirable work, to behold ſuch maſſes, and (as it were) erected mountains all of fine marble. The reaſon why they were firſt founded is by many ancient authors ſo diverſly conjectured, that I will not meddle therewith. They were firſt called *Pharaones.*

The charges of the greateſt pyramid.

Yet the firſt and greateſt is ſaid to have been built by Cheops, who in this work employed a hundred thouſand men the ſpace of twenty years; in which time the charges of garlic, roots, and onions only, came to ſixteen hundred talents of ſilver. It is recorded by Joſephus, and conjectured by many good witneſſes, that the bricks which the children of Iſrael were forced to make, were partly employed about

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bout the infides of theſe pyramids, whoſe outſides were adorned with marble. Neither can I forget the drift of that effeminate Cheops, who, in the end wanting money, did proſtitute his daughter to all comers; by which deteſtable means he finiſhed his building; and ſhe, beſides the money due to her unnatural father, deſired for herſelf, of every man that had the uſe of her body, one ſtone; of whom ſhe got ſo many, that with them ſhe built the ſecond pyramid, almoſt equal to the firſt. Beſides theſe three huge ones, there are a number of ſmaller, whereof ſome were tranſported to Rome in the time of her ſupreme domination.

In the front of the ſecond pyramid, about a quarter of a mile to the eaſtward, lies the famous ſtatue of the Sphynx, now certainly known to be cut out of the ſolid rock. This is a monument of moſt extraordinary dimenſions, being, by exact meaſurement, twenty-ſeven feet high in the head and neck, no more being above ground. The lower part of the neck is thirty-three feet in diameter. Some perſons have climbed to the top of the head, where they have diſcovered a hole, which very probably was the channel whereby the prieſts communicated their falſe oracles to the credulous multitude. There is an opening alſo in the back, whereby perhaps they deſcended to the ſubterraneous apartments. This extraordinary monument is ſaid to have been the ſepulchre of Amaſis. It is a hundred and thirteen feet from the fore-part of the neck to the tail; but the ſand is riſen up in ſuch a manner, that the top of the back is only ſeen.

In our way as we returned, our Dragoman ſhewed us (on the bank of Nilus) where a crocodile was killed the year before, by the ingenious policy of a Venetian merchant, being licentiated by the Baſhaw; the match whereof, for bigneſs and length, was never ſeen in that river, whoſe body was twenty-two feet long, and in compaſs of the ſhoulders eight feet; who was thus ſlain. This beaſt, for four years together, kept always about one place of the river, being ſeven miles above Caire; where, for a mile of ground, there was no tillage nor paſturage,

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ſturage, being for fear of him laid waſte; and nevertheleſs he had devoured about forty-ſix perſons. His cuſtom was, to come forth of the river every morning, about our eighth hour; where here and there he would lurk, waiting for his prey till ten; for longer from water he could not ſtay.

A reſoluta Venetian merchant.

This Venetian, leaving his ſhip at Alexandria, and coming to Caire, was informed by the conſul, my adverſary, of the great ſpoil done by this beaſt; and herewith generouſly he undertook to kill it, the vicegerent licentiating him; whereupon, going to his ſhip, he fetched thence his gunner, and a piece of ordnance, to Caire.

The killing of a great crocodile.

The next day, in the afternoon, he being well horſed, and accompanied with twenty Janizaries, the piece is carried to the crocodile's accuſtomary place of forthcoming; where ſtraight there was an aſs ſlain, and hung up on two ſtanding and a thwarting tree, with his open belly to the flood, and about twelve ſcore paces therefrom. Behind this carcaſe, about other twelve ſcore, the piece was planted, and levelled at the carrion, being charged with cut iron, and a train of powder about the touch-hole, and above it a night-houſe to keep the train dry from the night's dew, having a cock faſtened thereto, and in it a burning match, to which a ſtring was tied; then forty paces behind the piece was there a pit digged to hide the gunner; wherein he was put, holding the ſtring's end in his hand, and his head veiled with a wooden covert.

After this, and about mid-night, the horſemen retired themſelves two miles off. The morning come, and the convenient time, the crocodil comes to land; where, when he ſaw the carcaſe, came grumbling to it, and ſetting his two foremoſt feet on the carrion's middle, began to make good chear of the intrails; whereat the ſquint-eyed gunner perceiving his time, drew the ſtring, and giving fire, off went the piece, and ſhot the crocodile

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crocodile in three parts. Well, he is deadly wounded, and making a horrible noise, the gunner lay denned, and durst not stir; meanwhile the beast striving to recover the water, tired, and lying close on his belly, there he died.

After the shot, the horsemen drew near, and finding the beast slain, relieved the gunner, and brought with them this monstrous creature to Caire; where now his skin hangeth in the consul's hall, which I saw during my stay in his house. For this piece of service the merchant was greatly applauded, and scorned to take from the city five hundred sultans of gold, as a reward for his pains, which they freely offered him, and he as freely refused.

Now to discourse of Nilus. This flood irriguateth all the low plains of the land once in the year; which inundation beginneth usually in the latter end of July, and continueth to the end of August; which furnisheth with water all the inhabitants, being the only drink of the vulgar Egyptians, and of such virtue, that when Pescennius Niger saw his soldiers grumble for wine, "What," saith he, "do you grumble for wine, having the water of Nilus to drink?" And now, because many scholars and learned men are merely mistaken about the flowing of Nilus, I will both shew the manner and quality, or cause of its inundation; and thus. There is a dry pond, called *Machash*, digged near unto the brink of the river; in the midst whereof standeth a pillar of eighteen cubits height, being equal with the profundity of the ditch, whereby they know his increasing; and in the year following, if they shall have plenty or scarcity of things *.

The true knowledge of the flowing of Nilus.

Now,

* Nile, the famous large river of Egypt in Africa, rises in Abyssinia, or Upper Ethiopia, from two sources, twenty yards asunder, at the foot of a mountain. —— Every year there are great rejoicings when the Nile rises to a certain height, their future harvest depending entirely upon it. The just height of the inundations Pliny reckons

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Now, between the river and this pond, there are ſix paſſages or ſpouts digged through the bank; where, when the river beginneth to ſwell, it immediately falls down through the loweſt paſſage into the pond; and being diſcovered, there comes forth of Caire certain of the prieſts, called *Derviſes*, accompanied with a hundred Janizaries, and pitch their tents round about this quadrangled pit. In all which time of the inundation, they make great feaſtings, rare ſolemnities, with dancing, ſinging, touking of kettle-drums, ſounding of trumpets, and other oſtentations of joy.

Now, as the water groweth in the river, and ſo from it debording, ſo it groweth alſo upon the pillar ſtanding in this pond; which pillar is marked, from the root to the top, with braſſes, handfuls, a foot, a ſpan, and an inch. And ſo, if it ſhall happen that the water riſe but to ten braſſes, it preſageth the year following there ſhall be great dearth, peſtilence, and famine; and if it amounteth to twelve cubits, then the following year ſhall be indifferent; and if it ſwell to fifteen braſſes, then the next year ſhall be copious and abundant in all things; and if it ſhall happen to flow to the top of eighteen braſſes, then all the country of Egypt is in danger to be drowned and deſtroyed.

Many ſcholars miſtaken about Nilus.

Now, from the body of Nilus there are above three thouſand channels drawn through the plain; on which paſſing ditches are all the boroughs and towns built; and through which channels the river ſpreads itſelf through all the kingdom; which,

reckons twenty-ſix cubits. When theſe riſe only to twelve or thirteen, a famine is expected; and when they exceed ſixteen, danger is apprehended. This river begins to riſe annually in May and June; and upon an iſland oppoſite to old Cairo ſtands a pillar which is divided into pics, a meaſure of two feet, to obſerve the riſing of the water; and when it is at a ſufficient height, the Khalis, or Great Canal, is cut from which it is conveyed into other reſervoirs, in order to be diſtributed into their fields and gardens. In this river are vaſt numbers of crocodiles, ſea-horſes, and other voracious creatures, which infeſt it, and probably diminiſh the quantity of its fiſh. —— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

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when ſcoured of filth and worms, and the water become clear, then every houſe openeth their ciſtern-window, and receiveth as much water as is able to ſuffice them till the next inundation. Neither doth ever the river flow any where above the banks; for if it ſhould, it would overwhelm the whole kingdom.

All which channels, here or there, do make intercourſe for their ſtreams again, to the body and branches of Nilus. Now Stoical fools hold the opinion, that it overfloweth the whole face of the land; then, I pray you, what would become of their houſes, their beſtial, their corns and fruits? for the nature of violent ſtreams do ever deface, tranſplant, and deſtroy all that they debord upon, leaving ſlime, mud, and ſand, behind their breaches; and therefore ſuch overflowing cannot be called cheriſhings.

There are infinite venomous creatures bred in this river; as crocodiles, ſcorpions, water-ſnakes, grievous miſ-ſhapen worms, and other monſtrous things, which often annoy the inhabitants, and thoſe who traffic on the water. This famous flood is in length almoſt three thouſand miles, and hath its beginning under the equinoctial line from *Montes Lunæ*; but more truly from the Zembrian lake in Ethiopia Interior, whence it bringeth the full growth down into Egypt, and in a place of the Exterior Ethiopian Alpes, called *Catadupa*. The fall and roaring of Nile maketh the people deaf that dwell near to it.

The reaſon of the flowing of Nilus.

The infallible reaſon why Nilus increaſeth ſo every year, at ſuch a time and continuance, is only this, That when the ſun declining northward to Cancer, and warming with his vigorous face the northern ſides of theſe Cynthian mountains, the abundant ſnow melteth; from whence diſſolving in ſtreams to the lake Zembria, it ingorgeth Nilus ſo long as the ſnow melteth. For benefit of which river, the Great Turk is inforced to pay yearly the tribute of fifty thouſand ſultans of gold to Preſter John, leſt he impede and withdraw the courſe of Nilus to the Red Sea,

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Sea, and ſo bring Egypt to deſolation; the ground and policy whereof begun, upon a deſperate war inflicted upon the Ethiopians by Amurath, which he was conſtrained to give over, under this condition, and for Nilus ſake.

The river Nile had many names; for Diodorus named it *Aetos*, to wit Eagle, becauſe of its ſwift paſſing over the Catadupian heights. It was called too *Egyptus*, of a king ſo named, that communicated the ſame to it, and to the country.

Feſtus ſaith it was called *Melos*, and Plutarch termed it *Mela*. Epiphanius called it *Chryſoroas*, that is, running or coulant in gold. The holy ſcriptures termeth it *Seor*, or *Sihor*, to wit, trouble, becauſe of the great noiſe it bringeth with it to Egypt; and the ſame holy ſcriptures call it *Gihon* and *Piſon*. The Egyptians were wont to name it *Noſpea*; and now preſently the Abyſſines, and the inhabitants of Egypt, name it *Abunhu*, to wit, the river of a long courſe.

The iſle of Delta.

This river maketh the iſle of Delta in Egypt; ſo likewiſe in Ethiopia that iſle of Meroa, ſo renowned. The ancient authors could not agree, touching the mouths of Nilus; for Milo, Strabo, Diodorus, and Herodotus, place ſeven; Ptolomy, and others, nine; and Pliny eleven. And ſome modern authors affirm it hath only four; as Tyrre and Behou alledge, dividing itſelf two leagues below Caire, in four branches, the two chief whereof are thoſe of Damieta and Roſeta. But that is falſe; and ſo are the opinions of all the reſt: for it hath now eight ſeveral mouths, and as many branches drawn from its main body.

The water of Nile is marvellous ſweet, above all others in the world; and that proceedeth of the extreme heat of the ſun, beating continually upon it, making it become more light, pure, and ſimple; as alſo its running over ſo many ſoils, and its long courſe.

And truly it is admirable to ſee this river grow great, when all others grow ſmall, and to ſee it diminiſh when others grow great. So always it is no wonder that the nat[illegible]

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nature of this river ſhould ſo increaſe, when even here, and at home, the river of Rhone hath the like intercourſe, and at the ſame time, through the town of Geneva, and ſo to the Mediterranean ſea; their beginnings being both alike, from the impetuoſity of rains, and diſſolvings of ſnow.

Egypt was firſt inhabited by Miſraim, the ſon of Chus, from whom the Arabians name the land *Miſre*, in the Hebrew tongue *Miſroiæ*. It was alſo named *Oceana*, from Oceanus, the ſecond king thereof. Thirdly, *Oſiriana*, from Oſiris. And now *Egyptus*, from Egyptus, the ſirname of Rameſes, once a king of great power. It bordereth with Ethiopia and the confines of Nubia, on the ſouth; on the north, with the Mediterranean ſea. The chief ports whereof are Damieta and Alexandria. Towards the weſt, it joineth with the great lake Bauchiarah, and a dangerous wilderneſs confining therewith, ſuppoſed to be a part of Cyrene; ſo full of wild and venomous beaſts, which maketh the weſt part inacceſſible; and on the eaſt, with the iſthmus and confines of Deſertuous Arabia, and a part of the Red Sea, through which the children of Iſrael paſſed. *The confines of Egypt.*

This country was governed by kings firſt, and longeſt of all other nations. From Oſiris, (not reckoning his regal anceſtors), in whoſe time Abraham went down to Egypt, he and his ſucceſſors were all called *Pharaohs*; of whom Amaſis is only worthy mention, who inſtituted ſuch politic laws to the ancient Egyptians, that he deſerveth to be ranked as founder of this kingdom.

This race continued till Cambyſes, the ſecond Perſian monarch, made Egypt a member of his empire; and ſo remained till Darius Nothus, the ſixth Perſian king, from whom they revolted, chuſing kings of themſelves. But in the eighteenth year of Nectanebos, the ſeventh king thereafter, Egypt was recovered by Ochus, the eighth Emperor of Perſia.

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In the end, Darius being vanquiſhed, and Alexander king thereof, after his death, it fell to the ſhare of Ptolomeus, the ſon of Lagus, from whom the kings of Egypt were for a long time called *Ptolomies*; of whom Queen Cleopatra was the laſt; after whoſe ſelf-murder, it was annexed for many years to the Roman empire, and next to the Conſtantinopolitan; from whoſe inſupportable burden they revolted, and became tributaries for a ſmall time to Haumer, the third Caliph of Babylon.

Afterward, being oppreſſed by Almericus king of Jeruſalem, Noradin, a Turkiſh king of Damaſcus, ſent Saracon, a valiant warrior, to aid them, who made himſelf abſolute king of the whole country; whoſe offſpring ſucceeded (of whom Saladine was one, the glorious conqueror of the Eaſt), till Melechſala, who was ſlain by his own ſoldiers the Mamalucks, who were the guard of the Suldans, as the Janizaries are to the Great Turk; who lately, *anno* 1622, have almoſt made the like mutation in the Turkiſh empire, as the Mamalucks did in the Egyptian.

The alterations of Egypt.

They made of themſelves Sultans, whereby the Mamaluck race continued from the year 1250, till the year 1517; wherein Tonembius, together with his predeceſſor Campſon Gaurus, was overcome by Selimus I.; by whom Egypt was made a province of the Turkiſh empire, and ſo continueth as yet.

The length of this kingdom is four hundred and fifty Engliſh miles, and two hundred broad; the principal ſeat whereof is the great Caire, being diſtant from Jeruſalem ſixteen days journey, or caravan's journals, amounting to two hundred and forty of our miles. Some hold, that the ſpace of earth that lieth between the two branches of Damieta and Roſeta, was called the *Lower Egypt*, now called *Delta*, under the figure of a Greek letter triangular.

The head of this great Delta, where Nilus divideth itſelf, was called *Heptapolis*, or *Heptonomia*; and Delta itſelf was called by the Romans *Auguſtamia*. Egypt, beſides

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beſides the aforeſaid names, had divers epithets from divers authors; for Apollodorus termed it *the region of Melampodes*, becauſe of the fertility of it: and Plutarch gave it the name *Chimia*, becauſe of the holy ceremonies of the Egyptians in worſhipping their gods: The etymology whereof Ortelius juſtly remarked, deriving it from Cham, the ſon of Noah; ſo that ſome hold the opinion, that the Egyptians had their original from Miſraim, (for ſo was Egypt called), the ſon of Chus, that proceeded from Cham, Noah's ſon. The circuit of Delta, or the Lower Egypt, is thought to be three thouſand of their ſtades, which maketh a hundred Spaniſh leagues.

The revenues of Egypt.

In the time of the Ptolomies, the revenues of this kingdom were twelve thouſand talents; ſo alſo in the time of the Mamalucks; but now through tyrannical government, and diſcontinuance of traffic through the Red Sea, the Turk receiveth no more than three millions yearly; one of which is free to himſelf, the other two are diſtributed to ſupport the charge of his vicegerent Baſhaw, and prefidiary ſoldiers, being twelve thouſand Janizaries, beſides their thouſands of Timariots, which keep Egypt from the incurſions and tyranny of Arabs. In Caire I ſtaid twelve days; and having bid farewel to Monſieur Beauclair, the conſul, who courteouſly entertained me, the other four French pilgrims and I embarked at Boulacque in a boat: and as we went down the river, the chief towns of note we ſaw were theſe, Salmona, Pharſone, Foua, and Abdan. I remember our boat was double hooked, with forked ſpikes of iron round about the ſides, for fear of the crocodiles, who uſually leap upon boats, and will carry the paſſenger away headlong in the ſtream: and yet theſe beaſts themſelves are devoured by a water rat, of whom they taking great pleaſure and play, and gaping widely, the rat running into his mouth, the other out of joy ſwalloweth it down; where the rat, for diſdain, cometh forth at the broad ſide of his belly, leaving the crocodile dead. In theſe parts,

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parts, there is a ſtone called *Aquiline*, which hath the virtue to deliver a woman from her pain in child-birth. In all this way, the greateſt pleaſure I had, was to behold the rare beauty of certain birds, called by the Turks *Ellock*; whoſe feathers being beautified with the diverſity of rareſt colours, yield, afar off, to the beholder, a pleaſant ſight; having alſo this property, the nearer a man approacheth them, the more they loſe the beauty of their feathers, by reaſon of the fear they conceive when they ſee a man. Upon the third day we landed at Roſetta, and came over land with a company of Turks to Alexandria, being fifty miles diſtant.

The town of Alexandria.

Alexandria is the ſecond port in all Turky: It was of old a moſt renowned city, and was built by Alexander the Great, but now is greatly decayed, as may appear by the huge ruins therein. It hath two havens; the one whereof is ſtrongly fortified with two caſtles, which defend both itſelf and alſo Porto Vecchio. The fields about the town are ſandy, which engender an infectious air, eſpecially in the month of Auguſt; and is the reaſon why ſtrangers fall into bloody-fluxes, and other heavy ſickneſſes. In my ſtaying here, I was adviſed by a Raguſan conſul, to keep my ſtomach hot, to abſtain from eating of fruit, and to live ſoberly, with a temperate diet. This rule I ſtrove diligently to obſerve, ſo did I alſo in all my travels proſecute the like courſe of a ſmall diet, which was often too ſmall againſt my will; by the means whereof, (praiſed be God), I fell never ſick till my return to France.

This city is mightily impoveriſhed ſince the trading of ſpices that were brought through the Red Sea to Egypt, and ſo over land to Alexandria, and its ſea-port, whence the Venetians diſperſed them all over Chriſtendom; but now are brought home by the back part of Africa, by the Portugueſe, Engliſh, and Flemings; which maketh both Venice and Alexandria fare the worſe, for want of their former traffic and commerce in theſe ſouthern parts; whence Venice grew the mo-

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ther-nurſe to all Europe for theſe commodities, but now altogether ſpoiled thereof, and decayed, by our weſtern adventures, in a longer courſe for theſe Indian ſoils.

This city was a place of great merchandiſe; and in the Nicene council, was ordained to be one of the four patriarchal ſees; the other three are, Antiochia, Jeruſalem, and Conſtantinople. Here, in Alexandria, was that famous library *, which Ptolomeus Philadelphus filled with ſeven hundred thouſand volumes. It was he that alſo cauſed the ſeventy-two interpreters to tranſlate the Bible. Overagainſt Alexandria is the little iſle Pharos; in the which, for the commodity of ſailors, the aforeſaid King builded a watch-tower of white marble, being of ſo marvellous a height, that it was accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the world; the other ſix, being the pyramids; the tomb Mauſoleum which Artemiſia Queen of Caria, cauſed to be built in honour of her huſband; the temple of Epheſus; the walls of Babylon; the Coloſſus of Rhodes; and the ſtatue of Jupiter Olympius at Elis in Greece, which was made by Phidias, an excellent work-maſter in gold and ivory, being in height ſixty cubits.

The four patriarchal ſees

Waiting fifteen days here in Alexandria for paſſage, great was the heat the Frenchmen and I endured, inſomuch, that in the day-time we did nought, but in a low room beſprinkle the water upon ourſelves, and all the night lie on the top or platform of the houſe, to have the air; where, at laſt, bidding good night to our Greekiſh hoſt, we imbarked in a Sclavonian ſhip

* In this city it was that Ptolomy erected his famous library, which in his time contained four hundred thouſand volumes, moſt of them of great value, and very ſcarce; and by ſeveral additions made to it by his ſucceſſors, when this repoſitory of literature was burnt in the civil wars of Rome, (Cæſar having been obliged to ſet fire to the enemy's fleet, by which means the flames ſpread from the dock to the books), it amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand volumes. —— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

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belonging to Raguſa; and ſo ſet our faces north for Chriſtendom; in which ſhip I was kindly uſed, and Chriſtian-like entertained, both for victuals and paſſage. The winds ſomewhat at the beginning favouring us, we weighed anchor, and ſet forward to ſea, leaving the coaſt of Cyrene weſtward from us, which lieth between Egypt by the ſea-ſide, and Numidia, or kingdom of Tunis.

The fabulous country of Cyrene.

The chief cities therein are, Cyrene, Arſinoa, and Barca, whence the whole Cyrenian country taketh the modern name *Barca Marmorica*, anciently *Penta Politana*.

The ſoil is barren of waters and fruits, the people rude and theftuous; yet it hath bred the moſt ingenious ſpirits, Callimachus the poet, Ariſtippus the philoſopher, Eratoſthenes the mathematician, and Simon of Cyrene, whom the Jews compelled to carry our Saviour's croſs.

In this province, which is now reckoned as a part of Egypt, ſtood the oracle of Jupiter Hammon, in the great wilderneſs adjoining to Libya, whither, when Alexander travelled, he ſaw, for four days ſpace, neither man, beaſt, bird, tree, nor river; where, when arrived, the flattering prieſts profeſſed him to be the ſon of Jupiter; which afterward (being hurt with an arrow) he found falſe, ſaying, "Omnes me vocant filium Jovis, ſed hæc ſagitta me probat eſſe mortalem." Weſt from Cyrene, all the kingdoms of Tunis, Tremiſen, Algier, Fez, and a part of Morocco, even to Gibraltar, or Fretum Herculeum, under a general name, now called *Barbary*, and hardly can be diſtinguiſhed by the barbarous Moors.

In the time of this our navigation for Chriſtendom, there died ſeventeen of our mariners, and all our four French pilgrims, two of them being gray-haired, and ſixty years of age; which bred no ſmall grief and fear to us all, thinking that they had died of the plague; for it was exceeding rife in Alexandria, from whence we came.

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The Frenchmen had only left unſpent among them all threeſcore and nine zechins of gold, which the maſter of the ſhip meddled with; and becauſe they were Papiſts, and they and I always adverſe to other, I could not claim it. Their dead corpſes were caſt overboard, in a boundleſs grave, to feed the fiſhes, and we then expecting too the like mutation of life; ſo likewiſe, in our paſſage, we were five ſundry times aſſailed by the corſairs and pirates of Tunis and Biſerta; yet unprevailing; for we were well provided with good ammunition, and ſkilful, martial, and reſolute Raguſans, and a gallant ſhip. *Four French pilgrims dead.*

Our ſhip's burden being ſix hundred tuns, did carry twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, two of them brazen, and eighty ſtrong and ſtrenuous ſailors, beſides nine merchants and paſſengers. The greatneſs of our ſhip did more terrify the roguiſh runagates, than any violent defence we made; for they never durſt ſet on us, unleſs they had been three all together; and yet we little regarded them, in reſpect of our long reaching ordnance, and expert gunners. In theſe circumſtances of time, I remember, almoſt every day, we would ſee flocks of flying fiſhes, ſcudding upon the curling waves, ſo long as their fins were wet, which grow from their back, as feathered wings do from fowls; but when they grow dry, they are forced to fall down, and wet them again, and then fly along. Their flight will be the length of a cable's rope, untouching water; and in this their ſcudding, it is thought the dolphin is purſuing them, who is their only enemy in devouring and feeding upon them; whoſe bigneſs and length are like to mackrels, but greater headed and ſhouldered. Meanwhile, in theſe our courſes were we ſeven weeks croſſed with northerly winds, ever tackling and boarding from the Afric coaſt to the Carminian ſhore; in all which time we ſaw no land, except the boiſterous billows of glaſſy Neptune. And, as Ovid ſaid, in the *Flying fiſh.*

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like caſe, croſſing the Ionian ſeas, *Nil niſi pontus et aer, viz.*

Nothing but waves I view, where ſhips did float,
And dangers lie; huge whales do tumbling play;
Above my head, heaven's ſtar-embroider'd coat,
Whoſe vault contains two eyes, for night and day;
Far from the main, or any marine coaſt,
'Twixt Borean blaſts and billows we are toſt.
If Ovid in that ſtrait Ionian deep
Was toſs'd ſo hard, much more am I, on ſeas
Of larger bounds, where ſtaff and compaſs keep
Their ſtrict obſervance; yet in this uneaſe
Of tackling boards, we ſo the way make ſhort,
That ſtill our courſe draws nearer to the port.
Between the ſtream and ſilver-ſpangled ſky,
We rolling climb, then hurling fall beneath:
Our way is ſerpent-like, in meads which lie,
That bows the graſs, but never makes no path;
But fitter like young maids and youths together,
Run here and there, all where, and none know whither.
Our way we know, and yet unknown to other,
And whilſt unknown to us, before we dive,
The hand and compaſs that govern the rudder
Do often err: although the pilots ſtrive
With chart and plot, their reckonings ſometimes fall
Too narrow, ſhort, too high, too wide, too ſmall.
To daſcon this, remark, when they ſet land,
Some this, ſome that, do gueſs, this hill, that cape;
For many hours their ſkill in ſuſpenſe ſtand,
Terming this fore, that head land, points the map;
Which, when miſtook, this forg'd excuſe goes clear,
O ſuch and ſuch a land firſt it did 'pear.
In all which ſtrife ſtreſs'd ſailors have the pain,
By drudging, pulling, hauling, ſtanding to it,
In cold and rain, both dry and wet, they ſtrain
Themſelves to toil, none elſe but they muſt do it:

We

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We paſſengers behold, with belching throats,
Only their taſk atchiev'd in quivering boats.
Then ſince but air and water I perceive,
One's hot and moiſt, the other moiſt and cold;
It's earth that's cold and dry I ling'ring crave,
And fire that's dry and hot I wiſhing would;
Then thund'ring Æole, from thy ſeven-rigg'd towers,
Soon waft us o'er, forth from theſe glaſſy bowers.
My wiſh is come, I ſee each bulging ſail
For pride begins to ſwell between two ſheets;
She tickliſh grows, as wanton of her tail,
And lays her ſide cloſe where the weather beats;
Both prow and poop do anſwer ſo the helm,
The ſteerſman ſings, no grief his joy can whelm.
By night our watch we ſet, by day our ſight,
And thirl our ſails; if pirates but appear,
We reſt reſolv'd; it's force makes cowards fight;
Though none more dare than they that have moſt fear:
It's courage makes us raſh, and wiſdom cold;
Yet wiſe men, ſtout, and ſtrong, grow lion-bold.
Now we look out for land, now we ſee Malt,
That little famous iſle, though ſterile ſoil;
Where we'll ſome bay, or creek ſeek to aſſault,
Whence anchorage and ſafety ſhips recoil:
Now, now let anchor fall, we're in the road,
Safely arriv'd, by providence of God.
This done, as time avouch'd, I kindly bade
My comforts all adieu; then came aſhore,
Where I ſuch plenty of great favours had,
That ſcarce the like I ever found before.
Theſe white-croſs'd knights, with their eight pointed croſſes,
Embrac'd my ſight; with it, my toils and toſſes.
So ends my verſe; and ſo I'll ſtraight diſcloſe
The iſle, the folks, their manners, in plain proſe.

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The greateſt cauſe of our arrival here, was in regard of our freſh water that was ſpent, and therefore conſtrained to bear into this iſle; which was my ſole deſire, wiſhing rather to land here, to ſee the order of our knights of Chriſtendom, than to arrive at Raguſa in the Adriatic gulf, where I had been before. Our anchors being grounded, and our boat ready to go to the ſhore, I bade farewel to all the company, and in a ſingular reſpect to my generous captain, who would have nothing for my victuals and tranſportation for Egypt, except a few relicks of Jeruſalem. The boat being launched, and we landed in the haven, I called at a vulgar tavern, and there lodged.

A joyful arrival in Malta.

This city is divided into two, the old and new Malta, from which the iſle taketh the name. It is a large and populous place, and ſtrongly fortified with invincible walls, and two impregnable caſtles, St Hermes and St Angelo; St Michael being diſtant from both. Here the great maſter, or prince for that year, being a Spaniard, made much of me for Jeruſalem's ſake; ſo did alſo a number of theſe gallant knights, to whom I was greatly obliged. And withal, to my great contentment, I met here with a country-gentleman of mine, being a ſoldier there, named *William Douglas*; who afterward, for his long and good ſervice at ſea, was ſolemnly knighted, and made one of their order. Whoſe faithful and manly ſervices have been ſince as plauſibly regarded by the Malteſe, as Monſ. Creichton's worth, in learning and excellent memory, reſts admired in Italy; but eſpecially by the noble Gonzagaes, and dependent friends of the houſe of Mantua; for whoſe loſs, and accidental death, they ſtill heavily bemoan; acknowledging that the race of that princely ſtock, by God's judgements, was cut off, becauſe of his untimely death.

The iſle of Malta.

Malta was called *Melita*, mentioned Acts xxviii. 1. 2.; where the viper leaped on Paul's hand. I ſaw alſo the creek wherein he was ſhipwrecked. This iſland

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ſland may properly be termed *the fort of Chriſtendom*; yet a barren place, and of no great bounds; for their corns and wines come daily by barks from Sicilia: but it yieldeth good ſtore of pomegranates, citrons, cottons, oranges, lemons, figs, melons, and other excellent fruits. The knights of Malta had their beginning at Acre in Paleſtina, from thence to the Rhodes, and now expoſed to this rocky iſle. They are pertinacious foes to infidels; for ſuch is the oath of their order, continually making war and incurſions againſt them, to their power; being ſtrengthened alſo with many ſoldiers; and their captains alſo are firnamed *Knights of Malta*, and ſo through a great part of Chriſtendom. It is a moſt honourable order. They are not permitted to marry, the moſt part of whom being younger brothers. The reaſon was, becauſe not being intangled to wife and children, they might be the more reſolute to adventure their lives in the Chriſtian ſervice; but therein they are mightily decayed, and their valour no way anſwerable to that it hath been when their anceſtors lived in the Rhodes and Holy Land, having had, theſe eighteen years paſt, little or no good fortune at all.

This iſle was given in poſſeſſion to theſe knights of St John, by the Emperor Charles V. and King of Spain, being newly expelled from the Rhodes by Solyman the Magnificent, *anno* 1622. And afterward the Turk, not contented therewith, and mindful utterly to exterminate their power, came with a huge armado, and aſſailed Malta, *anno* 1565, when Valetta was great maſter, who ſo courageouſly withſtood their fury, that the Turks were defeated, and forced to return. *An invincible victory.*

This iſland is ten leagues in length, and three broad; the earth whereof being three feet deep, is the cauſe why it is not ſo fertile as the climate might afford. It containeth, beſides the city, forty-ſeven villages, and

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nine caſſales *; the peaſants or natural inhabitants whereof are of the African complexion, tawny, and ſun-burnt; and their language like to the Barbarian ſpeech, without any great difference, both tongues being a corrupt Arabic; and not unlike therein to the Italian from the Latin, or the vulgar Greek from the ancient; yet the modern Greek is nearer the ancient than the Italian is the Latin. Theſe rural Malteze are extremely bent, in all their actions, either to good or evil: wanting fortitude of mind, and civil diſcretion, they cannot temper the violent humours of their paſſions; but as the headſtrong tide, ſo the diſpoſitions run in the ſuperfluous exceſs of affections.

They follow the Roman church, though ignorant of the way; and their women are lovely fair, going with their faces covered with black veils, and much inclined to licentiouſneſs; their beauties being borrowed from art more than nature: for it is a common practice amongſt decayed beauties, worn out by time or accidents, to hide it from others eyes with art, and from their own by falſe glaſſes. But, alas! the graces and beauties of the ſoul ought more to be cared for, and to have the firſt place and honour, above theſe counterfeit or outward ſhows of the body; and the beauty and lovely proportion of the body ſhould be preferred before the effeminate deckings, that the body doth rather carry than enjoy; ſince it often happeneth, that a foul and deformed carcaſe hath a fair and rich wardrobe. In this town of Malta, there are many Turkiſh and Mooriſh ſlaves, very rudely treated; yet not anſwerable to that cruelty the ſlaviſh Chriſtians endure upon their galleys in Barbary or Turky. The de-

The nature of the Malteze.

* Beſides the city, the iſland contains twenty-ſix pariſhes, four or five towns, ſtanding cloſe to one another, which may be looked upon as one, and between thirty and forty villages, containing in all about fifty thouſand ſouls; one half of which are military unmarried men. Lat. 35 deg. 54. N. long. 14. deg. 34 min. E. —— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

ſcription

ſcription of Malta I poſtpone to the ſucceeding relations of my ſecond travels. And after twelve days ſtaying here, I imbarked in a frigate with other paſſengers, and arrived at Cicily, in the ſouth-eaſt corner of Sicilia, being ſixty miles diſtant.

From thence coaſting the ſhore fifty miles to Syracuſa, I met with by the way, in a clefty creek cloſe by the ſea-ſide, a Mooriſh brigantine, with twelve oars on each ſide, charged with Moors, who had ſecretly ſtaid there a night and a day, ſtealing the people away labouring on the fields; at which ſudden ſight, and being hard by them, I ſtopped my pace. Whereupon about twenty Moors broke out upon me, with ſhables and ſlings. But my life and liberty being dear to me, my long-traced feet became more nimble in twelve ſcore paces, than they could follow in eighteen: for I behoved to fly back the ſame way I came; where, when freed, I haſtened to the next watch tower, ſea-ſet, and there told the centinel, that a Mooriſh brigantine was lying within two miles, at an obſcure clift, and that I hardly eſcaped their hands: Whereupon he, making a fire on the top of the tower, and from all watch-towers along, gave preſently warning to the country; ſo that in a moment they of the villages came down, on horſe and foot, and well armed, and demanding me ſeriouſly of the truth. I brought them, with all poſſible diſpatch, to the very place; where forthwith the horſemen broke upon them, wounding divers before they were all taken; for ſome fled to the rocks, and ſome were in the covered fields hunting their prey. At laſt they were all ſeized upon, and faſt tied two and two in iron chains, and ſix Sicilians relieved, whom they had ſtoken and thralled; whence they were carried to Syracuſa. I went alſo along with them, where by the way the people bleſſed me, and thanked God for mine eſcape, and me for diſcovering them. From Syracuſa, (being condemned to the galleys), upon the third day, they were ſent to Palermo, being thirty-ſix in number.

A Mooriſh brigantine.

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They gone, and I repoſing here, the governor of that place, for this piece of ſervice, and my travels ſake, did feaſt me three days, and at my departure would have rewarded me with gold; ſo alſo the friends of them that were relieved; which if I took or not, judge you, that beſt can judge on diſcretion. This city is ſituate on a promontory, that jutteth into the ſea, having but one entry, and was once the capital ſeat of the kingdom; though now, by old tyrannies, and late alterations of time, it is only become a private place; yet girded about with the moſt fragrant fields, for dainty fruits, and delicate muſcatello, that all Europe can produce.

From this place, overtracing other fifty miles to Catagna, ſituate at Ætna's foot, I meaſured the third fifty miles to Meſſina. Where now I ceaſe to diſcourſe any further of this iſland, till my return from Africa, being my ſecond voyage, (for true it is, double experience, deeper knowledge), where then punctually, in my following order, the reader, I hope, ſhall find his deſired ſatisfaction.

An happy arrival.

From Meſſina I imbarked in a Neapolitan boat, loaden with paſſengers; whence coaſting along for four hundred miles, the higher and lower Calabrian coaſt, with a part of the Lauorean liſts, upon the twelfth day we landed at Naples; where, being diſimbarked, I gave God thanks, upon my bended knees, for my ſafe arrival in Chriſtendom. And meeting there with the Earl of Bothwell, and Captain George Hepburn, I took the way to Rome, being a hundred and thirty miles diſtant; where I ſtole one night's lodging privately; and on the morrow early, departing thence, and croſſing Tyber, I viſited theſe towns in Italy before I courted the Alps, Siena, Florence, Luca, Piſa, Genoa, Bologna, Parma, Pavia, Piacenza, Mantua, Milan, and Turin. The commendation of which cities reſt revolved in theſe following verſes.

Illuſtrat

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Illuſtrat Sænas, patriæ facundia linguæ:
Splendida ſolertes nutrit Florentia cives:
Libera Luca tremit, ducibus vicina duobus:
Flent Piſa amiſſum, dum contemplantur honorem:
Genua habet portum, merceſque, domoſque ſuperbas:
Excellit ſtudiis facunda Bononia cunctis:
Commendant Parmam, lac, caſeus, atque butyrum:
Italicos verſus præfert Pavia Latinis:
Non caret hoſpitiis perpulchra Placentia caris:
Mantua gaudet aquis, ortu decorata Maronis:
Eſt Mediolanum jucundum, nobile, magnum:
Taurinum exornant virtus, pietaſque, fideſque.

Having paſſed Turin, and its princely court, whoſe preſent duke might have been the mirror of nobility, I kept my way through Piedmont or Pedemontano, the ſiſter of Lombardy, and ſecond garden of Europe: and croſſing the ſteep and ſnowy mountain of Mount Cola di Tenda, the higheſt hill of all the Alpes, I found on its top, that it reſerveth always a Gradinian miſt, for a mile of way long ſtakes ſet in the ſnow, each one a ſpear's length from another, to guide the paſſenger his dangerous way; of the which ſtoops if he fail, he is loſt for ever. *The Ligurian Alpes.*

After I had traverſed this difficult paſſage, I had two days journey in climbing and croſſing the rocky and intricate hills of Liguria, over which Hannibal had ſo much ado to conduct his army to Italy; making a way through the ſnow with fire, vinegar, and wine: whence it was ſaid of him, *Viam aut inveniet Annibal, aut faciet.* Leaving theſe mountains behind me, I arrived at Nice in Provence, ſituate on the Mediterranean ſea; and paſſing the towns of Antibo and Cana to night at Furges, there were three French murderers ſet upon me in a thieviſh wood twelve miles long; one of which had dogged me hither from Nice: where, having given me a fearful chace for a long league, and not mending themſelves, they gave me over. Well, in

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in the midſt of the wood I found an hoſtery, and in it two women and three young children, with whom I ſtaid and lodged all night.

A happy eſcape from murder.

After I had ſupped and gone to bed, in came theſe aforeſaid villains, accompanied with my hoſt; where, when ſeen, they ſtraight accuſed me for my flight, and threatening me with ſtrokes, conſulted my death. Then I cried to my hoſt for help, but he ſtood dumb, for he was their companion; and to ſecond their intention, his wife made faſt the lower door: whereat being moved with deadly fear, I pulled my Turkiſh gown from my back, and opening my ſacket, ſaid, Now Chriſtian gentlemen, I know you are diſtreſſed, and ſo am I: come ſearch my cloaths and budget, and if you find what you look for, let me die. Alas, I am a poor ſtranger, newly come from Jeruſalem and the ſepulchre of Jeſus Chriſt, and after long travels; and lo there is my patent: and concerning my flight, I ſwear I only fled for the ſafety of my life, but not for the preſervation of my money, for come, ſee I have none; my grief is, that I have it not for you. Good gentlemen conſider the dangers that I have paſt among infidels, and let not your Chriſtian hands rob me of my life, having nothing wherefore you ſhould.

This ſpoken, and much more, they never ſearched me nor touched my wallet, but went to counſel; where they concluded, from my forwardneſs in opening my body and other things to them, that I had no money, and therefore confirmed my life, which, for the former reſpect, and the *Holy grave*'s ſake was granted. Whereupon packing up my relicks again, they called for wine, and drunk divers times to me; and after a long ſpent conference, their ſupper making ready, they diſmiſſed me for my bed: whither, when led by my hoſteſs, I privily made the door faſt, ſuſpecting ſtill a ſudden death. Well, they ſupped and were jovial; and at the

firſt

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firſt cock, went forth to the wood, and the high-way, for their own ends.

All which time I ſtood centinel; and the morning come, my hoſt confeſſed, that he only had ſaved my life, forſwearing himſelf of their former ſight; but, ſaid he, certainly they are murderers. Leaving him with diſſembled thanks, I arrived at Furges; where I learned that my hoſt was ſuſpected to be a conſort with theſe, and many more murderers. Well, afterwards I heard he was arraigned, hanged, and quartered, the houſe razed, and his wife put to death: and ever ſince, the French king keepeth a guard of horſemen there, to keep that filthy and dangerous wood free from murderers. For now may I ſay, like to a ſhip that after a long voyage, is either in greateſt danger, or elſe caſt away entering the road and haven from whence ſhe came; even ſo was I caſt in the moſt imminent peril that I had in all my travels; being on the frontiers of France, and as it were, (in regard of remoter places), entering the town wherein I was born.

A guard of horſemen for a dangerous wood.

Having given humble thanks and lofty praiſes to the Almighty for my deliverance, I traverſed Provence and Languedoc, where, near to Montpellier, I met with the French gentleman's father, whom I relieved from the gallies in Canea of Candy; who being overjoyed with my ſight, kindly intreated me for eight days, and highly rewarded me with Spaniſh piſtoles, lamenting, for my ſake, that his ſon was at Paris. Whence, continuing my voyage to Barcelona in Catalonia of Spain, I gave over my purpoſe in going to Madrid, becauſe of dear bedding and ſcarcity of victuals; and footing the neareſt way through Arragon and Navarre, I croſſed at the paſſage of Sancto Johanne, the Pyrenean mountains, and falling down by Pau and the river Ortes, I viſited Gaſcony and Bearn; and from them, the cities of Bourdeaux and Rochelle; and arriving at Paris, whence I firſt began my voyage, I alſo there ended

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ed my firſt, my painful, and pedeſtrial pilgrimage. Whence, ſhortly thereafter viſiting England's court, I humbly preſented to King James, and Queen Anne of ever bleſſed memories, and to his preſent Majeſty King Charles, certain rare gifts and notable relicks brought from Jordan and Jeruſalem. Where afterward, within a year, upon ſome diſtaſte, I was expoſed to my ſecond peregrination as followeth.

The end of the firſt Book of my Travels.

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PART VIII.

The Second Book of my Travels.

Patriam meam transire non possum: omnium una est; extra hanc nemo projici potest. Non patria mihi interdicitur, sed locus. In quamcunque terram venio, in meam venio; nulla exilium est, sed altera patria est. Patria est ubicunque bene est. Si enim sapiens est, peregrinatur; si stultus, exulat, Senec. *De re for.*

Let not surmisers think, ambition led
My second toils, more flash-flown praise to wed;
Nay, there was reason, and the cause is known
For courtly crosses seldom stay unshown.
Well, I am sped; through Belgia then I trace;
And footing Rhine, to Geneve kept my pace:
Thence cross'd I Sinais, Po, and Lombard bounds,
The hills Appennine, the Ætrurian rounds:
And nighting Rome, Parthenope I past'd,
Even to Rhegio, of towns Calabria's last:
Whence Sicily I view'd, and Ætna mount,
And Malta too, as I before was wont;
Then sight I Tunis, where old Carthage stood,
And Scipio shed streams of Numidian blood.
Hence Tremizen I trac'd, the barb'rous shore
To Algier, Great Fez, the Atlantic glore;
The Berdoans country, and the Lybian sands,
The Garolines parch'd bounds, the Sabunck lands;
And divers soils, of savage Heathnic bounds,
Whose names and styles, this Africk story sounds.
Last in the Lybian lists, I'm forc'd to stay,
Whence I return'd, for Tunis the next way;

And

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And reſting there, till Æole's ſeven rigg'd towers,
Preſs'd Triton's back, (croſs'd Neptune's paramours),
And wiſh'd me ſail: O then with ſpeedy flight
I board the ſhip, and bade the Moors good-night.

THE knowledge of the world, above all things, preferreth men to thoſe honours and charges that make great houſes and republics flouriſh; and render the actions and words of them who poſſeſs it, agreeable both to great and ſmall. This ſcience is only acquired by converſation, and haunting the company of perſons the moſt experienced, by divers diſcourſes, reports, by writs, or by a lively voice in communicating with ſtrangers; and in the judicious conſideration of the faſhion of the living one with another. And above all, by travellers and voyagers in divers regions, and remote places, whoſe experience confirmeth the true ſcience thereof; and can beſt draw the anatomy of human condition. For which, and other reſpects, it holdeth true, that the heart of man is inſatiable, being ſet upon whatſoever object his predominant affection liſteth. Neither can reaſon find place in the violent hurry of ſuch paſſions; for as judgement is ſeldom compatible with youth, but reſerved to old age; ſo to an inconſtant diſpoſition, every accident is a conſtellation, by which beſt thoughts are diverſified, and driven from the centre of deepeſt reſolution: whilſt contrariways the ſound-ſet man, though by opportunity he altereth his pace, yet ſtill keepeth his way, ſerveth time for advantage, not for fear; but as the ſun ſetteth to riſe again, ſo he changeth his courſe, to continue his purpoſe. As to myſelf, whether diſcontent or curioſity drove me to this ſecond perambulation, it is beſt reſerved to my own knowledge: as for the opinion of others, I little care either for their ſweeteſt temper, or their ſoureſt cenſure; for they that hunt after other men's fancies, go rather to the market to ſell than to buy, and love better to paint the bare faſhion.

The neceſſary uſe and honour of travels.

The author's apology.

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fashion and outsides of themselves, than to rectify or repair their own defects and errors; wherewith I leave them. Then it is well, if it please me, it is enough; my pains are my own, and not others; and therefore best worthy to judge of my own labours, being best known to myself who dearest bought them. And so to make short this preamble or conducing compliment, I come to the matter itself.

Now, as I began my first voyage from Paris, so from London must I begin this my second peregrination: whence leaving the court, the country, and Dover, I courted Calais, and so to Graveling, Dunkirk, and fatal Ostend, whose ruinous condition gave my muse this subject.

To view the ruins of thy wasted walls,
Lo! I am come, bewailing thy disgrace,
Art thou this bourge, Bellona so instals
To be the mirror for a martial face?
Ay, sure, 'tis thou, whose bloody bathing bounds,
Gave death to thousands, and to thousands wounds.
What hostile force besieg'd thee, poor Ostend,
With all engines, that ever war devis'd?
What martial troops, did valiantly defend
Thine earthen strengths, and sconces unsurpris'd?
By cruel assaults, and desperate defence,
Thine undeserved name won honour thence.
Some deep interr'd, within thy bosom lie,
Some rot, some rent, some torn in pieces small:
Some warlike maim'd, some lame, some halting cry;
Some blown through clouds, some brought to deadly thrall;
Whose dire defects, renew'd with ghostly moans,
May match the Theban or the Trojan groans.
Base fisher-town, that fang'd thy nets before,
And drench'd into the deep thy food to win;
Art thou become a tragic stage, and more
Whence braveſt wits, brave stories may begin
To show the world, more than the world would crave,
How all thine intrench'd ground became one grave?

The

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Thy digged ditches turn'd a gulf of blood,
Thy walls defeat were rear'd with fatal bones,
Thine houſes equal with the ſtreets they ſtood,
Thy limits come, a ſepulchre of groans:
Whence cannons roar'd, from fiery cracking ſmoke
'Twixt two extremes thy deſolation broke.
Thou God of war, whoſe thundering ſounds do fear
This circled ſpace, plac'd here below the rounds,
Thou in oblivion haſt ſepulchrized here
Earth's deareſt life; for now what elſe redounds
But ſighs and ſobs, when treaſon, ſword, and fire,
Have thrown all down, when all thought to aſpire?
Forth from thy marches, and frontiers about,
In ſanguine hue thou dyed'ſt the fragrant fields;
The camped trenches of thy foes without
Were turn'd to blood; for valour never yields:
So bred ambition, honour, courage, hate,
Long three years ſiege, to overthrow thy ſtate.
At laſt, from threat'ning terror of deſpair,
Thine hemm'd defendants, with divided walls
Were forc'd to render; then came mourning care
Of mutual foes; for friends untimely falls:
Thus loſt, and got, by wrong and lawleſs right,
My judgement thinks thee ſcarcely worth the fight.
But there's the queſtion, when the muſe hath done,
Whether the victor, or the vanquiſh'd won?

To fly hence, in a word, I meaſured all the Netherlands with my feet, in two months ſpace, the deſcription whereof is ſo amply ſet down by modern authors, that it requireth no more: only this, for policies, induſtries, ſtrong towns and fortifications, it is the mirror of virtue, and the garden of Mars; yea, and the light of all Europe, that he who hath exactly trod it, may ſay he hath ſeen the map of the whole univerſe. And now aſcending to Cleve, I came juſt to Grave-Maurice's camp at Rhieſe, as Spineola had taken Weiſle. Between which armies for five weeks I had free intercourſe, being kindly reſpected by both the generals;

Weiſle taken by Spineola.

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rals; for Spineola ſet me at his own table, and I lay in his ſecond tent nine nights; the Duke of Newenberg, and Don Pietro di Toledo, being there both for the time: ſo with the Prince of Orange, with whom I diſcourſed divers times, was the Marquis of Brandenburg, certain nobles, and foreign ambaſſadors. All which time, O how it grieved me to ſee the tyranny of the Spaniards daily executed upon the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of Weiſle, over whom they domineered like devils; for theſe afflicted citizens, being heavily oppreſſed by their inſupportable uſage, were beleagured with their friends, when they were held captive by their enemies; and, obeying neceſſity, kept their bodies within the walls, though their minds were without, and entirely with the aſſailants.

Bidding adieu to theſe armies, and accompanied with a young gentleman, David Bruce, the Lord of Clakmanan his ſon, whom I conducted to Italy; ſcarcely had we outſtripped Rhineberg (where Colonel Edmond was ſlain) a Dutch mile, till we were both robbed of our cloaks and pocket-monies, with five ſoldiers, French and Vallones, and that within a village, women and children beholding us, but no man to relieve us, they being with carts ſerving Spineola's camp.

Whence, the next day approaching Culloine, and bills of change anſwered, we viſited the falſely ſuppoſed tombs of the three kings that came to Bethlehem, who, as the Romaniſts ſay, lie interred there. O filthy and baſe abſurdneſs, for their holy mother-church to confirm helliſh and erroneous lies; for theſe kings came from the eaſt, and from Chaldea, and not from the north: or if they will have them to die there, and ſo buried, ſurely this is even ſuch another damnable error, ſurpaſſing tradition, as their wandering Jew, the ſhoe-maker of Jeruſalem, is, of whom, in Rome, they have wrote ten thouſand fables and foperies. From this we viſited the eleven thouſand virgins heads, martyrs: indeed we ſaw the church-walls all indented about with bare ſculls, but whoſe heads they

The fabulous miracles of Culloine.

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were, the Lord knoweth. From thence a gentleman brought us to a chapel, within a vineyard, called *the Chapel of miracles*; the original whereof was thus: Upon a feſtival-day, being vintage-time, there came a peaſant to the town, and paſſing by the vines (as there is a number within the walls) did eat his belly-full of the grapes; and thereafter hearing a maſs, was confeſſed, and received the ſacrament: And returning the ſame way he came, and juſt where he had eaten the grapes, he fell a-vomiting, and caſting up, with what he had eaten, the holy ſacrament, it ſtraight turned into the likeneſs of a new-born babe, being bright and glorious. Well, the amazed fellow run back, and told his confeſſor what was done, and his offence, who had eaten grapes before the reception of the euchariſt. The confeſſor told the biſhop; where he, and other prelates coming to the place, and beholding as it were an angel, grew aſtoniſhed.

A forged and falſe miracle.

In the end, they wrapped up their little dead god in a cambrick veil, and there buried it, building this chapel above the place; where, ever ſince, there is a world of lying miracles done. Lo, theſe are the novelties of Cullojne.

Thence aſcending the Rhine, and reaching Heidleberg, I ſaluted the Princeſs Palatine with certain rare relicks of the Holy Land. And leaving Monſieur Bruce there till my return, I went for Nurenberg, to diſcover the ſix Germans death, whom I had buried in the deſerts, and Grand Caire of Egypt; for the two barons were ſubject to the Marquis of Hanſpach: where having met with ſome of their brethren, ſiſters, and kinſmen, and related to them their deaths, I was preſently carried to their prince the Marquis, to whom I related the whole circumſtances. Whereupon a brother of the one baron, and a ſiſter of the other, were inſtantly inveſted in their lands; and I likewiſe, by them all, greatly regarded and rewarded; and, after ten days feaſting, reviewing Heidleberg, mine aſſociate and I ſet forward for Helvetia, or Switzerland.

This

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This country is divided into thirteen cantons, six whereof are Proteſtants, and six Papiſts; the odd canton being likewiſe half and half. The moſt powerful whereof is Berne, whoſe territory lying along the lake, reacheth within a league of Geneva. The people, and their ſervice to moſt Chriſtian princes, are well known, being manly, martial, truſty, and faithful.

Here, in the canton of Berne, near to Urbs, we we went and ſaw a young woman, who then had neither eat, nor drunk, nor yet paſſed excrements for thirteen years, it being truly certified by her parents, friends, phyſicians, and other viſitors.

A woman faſting fourteen years.

She was always bedfaſt, and ſo extenuated, that her anatomiſed body carried nothing but ſinew, ſkin, and bones, yet was ſhe mindful of God. And the year after this time, her body returned again to its natural vigour, in appetite and all things: and ſhe married a huſband, bearing two children, and died in the fifth year thereafter.

The day following we entered Geneva, where viewing the town, the chief burgo-maſters, the ſeven miniſters, and the four captains, were all familiarly acquainted with me, with whom, in divers places, I daily feaſted and diſcourſed. The miniſters one night complimenting me with a bible, newly tranſlated into the Italian tongue by one of themſelves, born in Milan, told me, there was a maſs-prieſt, ſix leagues off, a curate of a village in Madame de Longevile's country, who had gotten, in his own pariſh, three widows, and their three ſeveral daughters, with child, and all about one time; and for this his luxurious cullions was brought to Dijon to be executed, deſiring me to go ſee the manner. The next day (leaving Mr Bruce with them) I went hither, and upon the following day, I ſaw him hanged upon a new gallows, as as high as a ſtripad; the three mothers and their three daughters were ſet before him, being gravidato, whoſe ſorrowful hearts, and eye-guſhing tears for their ſin and ſhame, were lamentable to behold; the inceſtuous bugerono, begging ſtill mer-

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cy and pardon for dividing their legs, and opening their wretched wombs. Lo, there is the chaſtity of the Romiſh prieſts, who, forſooth, may not marry, and yet may miſcarry themſelves in all abominations, eſpecially in ſodomy, which is their continual pleaſure and practice. Returning to Geneva, and acquainting the magiſtrates with his confeſſion, for they are great intelligencers, I wrote this literal diſtich.

Glance, glorious Geneva, goſpel guiding gem:
Great God, govern good Geneva's ghoſtly-game.

The lake of Geneva, and the river Rhone.

The lake of Geneva is ſixteen leagues in length, and two broad. At the ſouth-weſt end whereof ſtandeth the town, through whoſe middle runneth the river Rhone, whoſe head and body beginneth from the lake among the very houſes. The nature of which river is not unlike to Nilus; for when all other rivers decreaſe, (being in ſummer), this increaſeth. The reaſons proceeding from the exceſſive ſnow that lies upon the Sangalian and Griſonean Alpes, which cannot melt till about our longeſt day, that the force and face of the ſun diſſolve it; and ſo ingorging the lake, it giveth Rhone ſuch a body, that it is the ſwifteſt river in Europe. The town, on both ſides the flood, is ſtrongly fortified with rampered walls, and counterbanding-bulwarks; the ditch without, and about, being dry, is ſtrongly palaſadoed with wooden ſtakes, for preventing of ſudden ſcalades *. Many aſſaults have this handful of people ſuffered by land and water, from the Duke of Savoy; the recital whereof

* Towards the lake all the port is fenced with double and triple rows of huge poſts driven into the water, with only a narrow paſſage for the boats, which is ſhut up every night with large chains, and on the land-ſide are baſtions, with ſeveral other works and ditches.——The Dukes of Savoy have made ſeveral attempts formerly on this city; and an anniverſary celebration of its deliverance from one of theſe in the year 1602, is obſerved ſtill every 22d day of December.——Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

would

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would plunge me in prolixity; and therefore committing that light-ſhining Sion, and her religious Iſraelites, to the tuition of the Almighty, I ſtep over the Alpes to Turin.

Here is the reſidence of the Dukes of Savoy, whoſe beginning ſprung firſt from the houſe of Saxony. For Berold, or Berauld, being a near couſin to the Emperor Otton the third, and brother to the Saxon Duke, the Emperor gratified him with theſe lands of Savoy, and parts of Piemont; where he and his ſucceſſor continued four hundred years under the title of *Earls*, until the Emperor Sigiſmond, at the council of Conſtance, did create Amet, the eighth Earl of his name, Duke. And ſo beginning with him, to this preſent Duke now living, named *Charles Emanuel*, there have been only eight Dukes, and ſome of them of ſhort lives. And yet of all the Chriſtian Dukes, the moſt princely court is kept here, for gallants, gentry, and knights.

The firſt beginning of the Duke of Savoy.

At the ſame time of my being there, this preſent Duke had wars with his own brother-in-law Philip III. about the marquiſate of Montferrat, and dutchy of Mantua, the iſſue whereof but retorted to the Duke a redoubling diſadvantage; though now it be gone from the Gonſagaes to the French Duke of Naviers. This country of Piemont is a marvellous fruitful and plain country, and wonderfully populous, like to the river-ſides of Arno round about Florence; inſomuch, that a Venetian demanding a Piemont-cavalier, What Piemont was? replied, It was a town of three hundred miles in circuit; meaning of the habitations and populoſity of the ſoil.

The reſt of the ſirnames of the Italian Dukes are theſe, viz. that of Parma, is *Ferneſe*, ſignifying partridges; that of Modena, is *Aſtie*; that of Florence, *de Medicis*; that of Urbino, *Franceſco Maria*; and the laſt Duke of Mantua, *Gonſaga*; the dutchy of Ferrara being diſſolved, is converted to the Pope's patrimony.

Leaving Piemont, and coaſting the ſaſſinous ſhore of

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Genoa's reviero, I reached Leghorn, the great Duke's sea-haven; where I left Mr Bruce with a galley-captain, a voluntary soldier: and inclining alone to Florence, by the way at Pistoia, I found a comfortable cross; for I viewing the market-place after supper, and carrying a French poniard in my pocket, the head of it was espied by a badgello, captain of the sergeants, who straight gripped me, bore me to prison, and clapped me in a dungeon, robbing me of all my monies and poniard; and posting that night to Florence, on the morrow shews the justice there a stilletto of his own; upon which, I was condemned to row in the galleys for a year, else to pay an hundred duckets. He staid three days: in this time was I discovered to the governor of Pistoia, a noble gentleman, and being brought before him, and acquainting him with the undeserved cruelty of the badgello, nor that ever I wore a stilleto, but under pretext of that, had robbed me of seventy-two pieces of gold: Whereupon, the governor perceiving the knavery of the villain, and that he had not acquainted him with my apprehending, to whose place it belonged, he grew impatient, and forthwith sent post to his Highness, shewing him the truth of the business: Whereupon the badgello was sent back to the governor, with whom I was domesticly reserved; and being accused before my face of his roguery, could not deny it. Well, my gold and my poniard is restored again, the Badgello banished the territory of Pistoia for ever, with his wife and children; and I received, in compensation of my abuses, from his Highness's chamber, or treasury there, fifty Florentine crowns of gold, being modified by the Duke himself: whereat I extolled the knave that wrought his own wreck in seeking my overthrow, and brought me such a noble reward.

A comfortable cross.

Thanking God for this joyful cross, and approaching Florence, I found one John Brown there, whose company I took to Sicily, Whence, having privately passed

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paſſed Rome, and publicly Naples, we footed along the marine by Salerno; and courting Couſenza, the capital ſeat of Calabria, where a vicegerent remaineth, we repoſed there certain days. *Couſenza in Calabria.*

The town is of no quantity nor quality; in regard of the obſcureneſs and ſolitarineſs of the country, the better ſort of their gentry living at Naples. Having left the Lower, and entered the Higher Calabria, we arrived at the bourge of Allauria; and the next morning traverſing cloſe and couvert mountains, twelve miles along, in the midſt of our paſſage, we were beſet with four banditti, and four guns; to whom holding up my hands, and imploring for our lives, ſhewing them mine adventures, and former travels, they unbend their firelocks, and reading my patent of Jeruſalem, uncovered their heads, and did me homage, notwithſtanding they were abſolute murderers. Our lives and liberty are granted, and for a greater aſſurance, they took us both unto a great thicket of wood, where their timbered cabin ſtood, and there made merry with us in good wine, and the beſt cheer their ſequeſtrate cottage could afford.

And now, becauſe there were forty more banditti, their companions, among theſe mountains, one of themſelves, for our ſafeguard, came along with us, and as near Caſtellucia as he durſt; making me ſwear, that I ſhould not ſhew the baron of that place of their private reſidence, neither that I met with them at all; which I freely did; and ſo gave him many hearty and deſerved thanks.

Theſe banditti, or men-ſlayers, will come into any free town in the night, when they pleaſe, and entering either a church or hoſpital, they ſtay there as they liſt, conducing with their friends, their wives, and their affairs; being as ſafe in theſe places, as though they had not committed any criminal fact; neither may the power of juſtice reach to them, ſo long as they keep themſelves within doors. *The liberty of banditti in Calabria.*

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This is an ancient liberty which Calabria hath ever retained, and so it is through the most part of all the Spanish dominions. Having arrived at Castellucia, the baron thereof made much of me, and wondered that I had safely passed the mountains; for, said he, when I go for Naples, I am forced to go by sea, notwithstanding I have forty in train.

The next day, in passing Montecilione, the fairest and most fruitful bounded bourge in all Calabria Superior, I saw an uncovered house, which, the people told me, had been the school where Dionysius the third and last tyrant of Sicily, (after his flight from the kingdom and crown), taught children privately nine years, ere he was known to be a king, but a poor schoolmaster.

This higher Calabria, though mountainous, aboundeth in delicious wines, fine pasturage, and exceeding good silk. The peasants for the most here are addicted to eat onions: whence arose this proverb, *I Calebrese magniano di cepoli*, The Calabrians feed upon onions. Their women wear uncomely habits, being hooded from their brows to their backs behind, with six or seven sundry colours of cloth or stuff; whose upper gowns come no farther than their middle thighs: and their breeches and stockings being all one, and their legs half-booted, they look like the ghostly Armenian Gargosons.

I remember, in passing this higher country, I found divers casales or terraes (small villages) of certain Greeks called *Albaneses*, whose predecessors had fled from Albania when the Turk seized upon Epire, and this their province: and were privileged here to stay by the Spaniard Philip the first; and though exiled from their natural patrimonies, (*Omne solum forti patria est*), yet are they exceeding kind to strangers, measuring largely their own infranchised fortune, with the voluntary exposement of many unnecessary viadants. Declining thence to the marine bourge of Molino, being by land, which we footed, distant from

Greek Albaneses fled to Calabria.

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from Naples four hundred miles, we croſſed the narrow faro, or Sicilian euripus, to Meſſina, being two miles broad; where, when landed, and meeting with a young Scots Edinburgh-man, William Wylie, come from Palermo, and bound for Venice, I faſtened John Brown with him to accompany his return; and on the following day imbarked them both back for Calabria.

And now having followed the Italian ſaying, *Si meglior a ſtar ſolo come mala accompaniato*, "It is better for a man to be alone, than in ill company," I traverſed the kingdom to Trapundie, ſeeking tranſportation for Africa, but could get none; and returning thence overthwart the iſland, I call to memory being lodged in the bourge of Saramutza, belonging to a young baron, and being bound the way of Caſtello Francko, eight miles diſtant, and appertaining to another young noble youth, I roſe, and marched by the break of day, where it was my luck, half way from either town, to find theſe beardleſs barons lying dead, and new killed in the fields, and their horſes ſtanding tied to a buſh beſide them; whereat being greatly moved, I approached them, and perceiving the bodies to be richly clad with ſilken ſtuffs, eaſily conjectured what they might be, my hoſt having told me the former night, that theſe two barons were at great diſcord about the love of a young noble woman; and ſo it was: for they had fought the combat for her ſake, and for their own pride lay ſlain here. For as fire is to gun-powder, ſo is ambition to the heart of man, which, if it be but touched with ſelf-love, mounteth aloft, and never bendeth downward, till it be turned into aſhes.

Two young barons killed at combat.

And here it proved, for that lady's ſake, that *troppo amore* turned to *preſto dolore*. Upon which fight, to ſpeak the truth, I ſearched both their pockets, and found their two ſilken purſes full loaden with Spaniſh piſtoles: whereat my heart ſprung for joy; and taking five rings off their four hands, I hid them and the two

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two purſes in the ground, half a mile beyond this place; and returning again, leaped to one of their horſes, and came galloping back to Saramutza; where, calling up my hoſt, I told him the accident, who, when he ſaw the horſe, gave a ſhout for ſorrow, and running to the caſtle, told the lady the Baron's mother; where, in a moment, ſhe, her children, and the whole town, run all with me to the place; ſome clad, ſome naked, ſome on foot, and ſome on horſe; where, when come, grievous was it to behold their woful and ſad lamentations. I, thus ſeeing them all mad and diſtracted of their wits with ſorrow, left them without good-night; and coming to my treaſure, made ſpeedy way to Caſtello Francko, where bearing them the like news, brought them all to the like diſtraction and flight of feet.

Well, in the mutability of time there is ay ſome fortune falleth by accident, whether lawful or not, I will not queſtion. It was now mine that was laſt theirs; and to ſave the thing that was not loſt, I travelled that day thirty miles further to Terra Nova. Whence, the next morning being early imbarked for Malta, and there ſafely landed, I met with a ſhip of London, called the *Matthew*, bound for Conſtantinople, lying in the road; where indeed with the company I made merry aſhore for three days; and eſpecially with one George Clark, their purſer; who ſtriving to plant in my brains a Maltezan vineyard, had almoſt loſt his own life.

A London ſhip called the Matthew.

Upon the fourth day, they hoiſting ſail, and I ſtaying aſhore, it was my good luck, within eight days, to find a French ſhip at Toulon, come from the Levant, and bound for Tunis, by the way in going home; with whom deſirouſly conſorted, within three days we touched at our intended port. And now, to reckon the gold that I found in the aforeſaid purſes, it amounted to three hundred and odd double piſtoles; and their rings, being ſet with diamonds, were valued to a hundred zechins of Malta, eight ſhillings the piece, which I diſpatched

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Gavin Inv.

Two Sicilian Barons kill'd in Combat being both in Love with the same Lady.

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patched for lefs: but the gold was my beft fecond, which, like Homer's Iliad under Alexander's pillow, was my continual *Vade mecum*.

Tunis is the capital feat of its own territory, and of all the eaft and lower Barbary, containing ten thoufand fire-houfes. And it is the place where old Carthage ftood, that was built by the Tyrians and Phœnicians of the Holy Land, feventy-two years before Rome, and had twenty miles in circuit; which city, in thefe times, was the fovereign queen of Afric, and the only envy and predominant malice of the Romans, being more than Rome's rival-mate in greatnefs, glory, and dominion. Nevertheleſs, in the end it was taken, facked, and burnt, by Scipio Africanus, fix hundred and two years after Rome was firft founded; and her ruins, and large territories without, made fubject to the ambition of Rome.

After which detriment, defolate Carthage was rebuilt by Cæfar, and a colony of Italians tranſported there, flouriſhed for a time, till it was deſtroyed and over-run by the Goths and Vandals; and laſtly ſubdued by the Saracens and Moors. It was by them tranſmitted to the Turkiſh power, who now is maſter of it, being no way anſwerable to the ſixth part of the greatneſs it had before. This town is ſituated in the bottom of a creek, where the ſea, for a mile, having cut the boſom of the land, maketh a large and ſafe reſting-place for ſhips and galleys; which haven and town is ſecured from ſea-invaſions by the great and ſtrong fortreſs of Galetto, built on a high promontory that toucheth the ſea, and commandeth the mouth of the bay; wherein a Turkiſh Baſhaw, and a ſtrong garriſon of ſoldiers, remain; the fort itſelf being well provided with arms, men, artillery, and ammunition.

The divers plantations of Carthage.

The kingdom of Tunis comprehended once the whole country that the ancients called properly *Afric*, or *Little Afric*, being the old Numidia; and was divided then into theſe five provinces, Bugia, Conſtantine, that

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that of Tunis, Tripoly, and Ezzebba. In the town of Bugia, lying half-way betwixt Tunis and Algier, and forty leagues from either, being now called *Arradetz*, there were ancient beautiful temples, colleges, magnificent buildings, hospitals, and convents, after their fashion; but the town being taken, and razed, *anno* 1508, by Peter King of Navarre, it hath remained ever since without beauty or ornament, save a few rustic inhabitants.

The maritime provinces betwixt Tunis and Algier.

The province of Constantine lieth betwixt Tunis and Bugia; the town Constantine, now Abirouh, being capital, and was sirnamed *Cortez* and *Julia*. It is surrounded with rocks and ancient walls, containing eight hundred fire-houses, wherein are the relicks of a triumphant arch, formerly built by the Romans: and in this province, sixteen leagues within land, was the town of Hippo, now Bosen, whereof St Augustine was bishop.

The territory of Tunis lieth betwixt the borders of Abirouh westward, and the limits of Tripoly eastward, being of length eighty miles; and on the sea-coast lieth the town Biserta, adorned with a commodious haven, and six galleys, the most wicked of condition, and the most quick in flying or following, of all the corsairs in Turky. Tripoly in Barbary (commonly called so) was once drowned by the sea; but now its situation was transported safely a little more southward, which sometime was beautified with merchants of Genoa, Ragusa, and Venice, but now become a den of thieves and sea-pirates; and so are all the sea-towns betwixt Egypt and Morocco.

The last province of the kingdom of Numidia is Ezzebba, lying east from Tripoly, and bordering with Cyreno, a pendicle of Egypt. The chief part whereof is Messaick, being twenty-four leagues from Tripoly, containing many villages and towns on the plains and mountains, abounding in silks, corns, and divers fruits.

All

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All theſe five maritime provinces have but narrow inlands, not advancing ſouthward from the ſea-coaſt above forty miles. Here in Tunis I met with our Engliſh captain, General Waird, once a great pirate, and commander at ſea; who, in deſpite of his denied acceptance in England, had turned Turk, and built there a fair palace, beautified with rich marble and alabaſter ſtones; with whom I found domeſtics fifteen circumciſed Engliſh renegadoes, whoſe lives and countenances were both alike, even as deſperate as diſdainful. Yet old Waird, their maſter, was placable, and joined me ſafely with a paſſing land-convoy to Algier; yea, and divers times, in my ten days ſtaying there, I dined and ſupped with him, but lay aboard in the French ſhip.

An Engliſh pirate, Capt. Waird.

At laſt, having obtained my paſſport from the Baſhaw there, and ſurety taken for my life and money, I imbraced the land-way with this convoy, conſiſting of forty Moors, and a hundred camels loaden with ſilks, dimities, and other commodities, traverſing the foreſaid regions of Abirouh and Arradetz. In all which way (lying nightly in a tent) I found a pleaſant and fruitful country, abounding in wines, rye, barley, wheat, and all kinds of fruits, with innumerable villages, and ſo infinitely peopled, that it made me wiſh there had been none at all; otherwiſe that they had been Chriſtians, and ſo more civil.

The greateſt enemy I met with in this journey was the ſun, whoſe exceeding heat was inſolerable to endure, being in September, *anno* 1615; but for proviſion of water, wine, and victuals, we had abundance. Upon the ſeventh day of our courſe, we entered in the country of Tremizen, formerly Mauritania Cæſarea. This kingdom hath, to the weſt, Mauritania Tingitana, containing the empire of Morocco and Fez; on the ſouth, Getulia, or deſert Numidia; on the eaſt, with the rivers of Mulvia and Amphlaga, the marches of Arradetz; and on the north, the Mediterranean ſea, oppoſite

Tremizen in Barbary.

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posite to Sardinia. The country is in length, from the east to the west, twenty-five of their courses, and of our miles about three hundred; and of breadth, between the sea and Getulia, no more than thirty English miles.

This kingdom, copious in all things, hath been oft and ever molested with the Numidian Saracens, or bastard Arabs, who, falling down from the mountains, do run their career at random upon the ground-toiled Moors, to satisfy their needy and greedy desires. Tremizen, or Telensim, had of old four provinces, but now only two, its own territory, and that of Algier; whose capital town being, too, called *Tremizen*, contained once eighteen thousand fire-houses. But in regard of Josephus King of Fez, who besieged it seven years, overmastering it, and then subdued by Charles V. and likewise the Turks invasion of it, and finally, because of the long wars betwixt the Seriff, or King there, and the Turk, it is become a great deal less, and almost disinhabited, and the most part of that country subject to the authority of the Bashaw of Algier.

The town of Tremizen decayed with wars.

At last, upon the twelfth day of our leaving Tunis, having arrived at Algier, abandoning my conduct with a good respect, I staid in a Spaniard's house, turned runagate, who kept a roguish tavern, and a ground-planked hospitality. In all this way of a hundred and twenty miles, I paid no tribute; neither had I any imminent peril, the country being peaceable, though the people uncivil.

This town of Algier was formerly under subjection to the kingdom of Tremizen; but because of insupportable charges, it revolted, and surrendered to the King of Arradetz or Bugia. Afterwards it was under the King of Spain, from whom Barbarossa did take it *anno* 1515, being now under the Turk; and is situate upon the pendicles of a sloping height, and standeth triangular. The side next the sea is

The thievish town of Algier.

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is ſtrongly fortified with earth-backed walls, bulwarks, and artillery; but the ſemiſquared land-walls are of ſmall importance, and eaſily to be ſurpriſed; and three miles in circuit, containing thirty thouſand perſons.

There is a Turkiſh Baſhaw here, and a ſtrong garriſon of ſix thouſand Janizaries, with two hundred corſairs ſhips, or pirates, who, ever preying upon Chriſtian traders, by their continual ſpoils and prizes, have made the deviliſh town wonderful rich, and become the inveterate enemy of Chriſtendom; being now a kingdom of itſelf, and in length, from eaſt to weſt, between the towns Terracot and Guargola, one hundred and twenty miles. It hath a long-reaching mould in the ſea, that maketh a ſafe harbour for their ſhips againſt northerly winds, which on that coaſt are deadly dangerous. At this time, the greateſt part of the town were fled to the mountains, to ſhun the parching heat that beateth violently on the plains and ſea-ſhore. All the maritime towns of Barbary do the like every ſummer, for the months of July, Auguſt, and September; which then being left half-naked of defence, it were the only time for Chriſtians to invade or ſurpriſe their towns.

I found here abundance of ſlaves, moſt of them Spaniards, whom they daily force within the town to bear all manner of burdens here and there, and without the town to drudge in the fields, among their vines and corns, and other hard labours, abuſing them ſtill with buffets and baſtinadoes, as their perverſeneſs lifteth. Neither durſt I leave my lodging, unleſs I had three or four Chriſtian ſlaves to guide me, and guard me too from the wicked vulgar, who bear no reſpect to any ſtranger or free Frank. Here I remarked a wonderful policy in the Turkiſh ſtate, concerning theſe theftuous and rapinous towns of Barbary; who, as they are ordained ever to plague and prey upon the Spaniard, yet under that colour, they licentiate them to make havock, and ſeize upon all other Chriſtian ſhips, goods,

A natural ſublime policy

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goods, and perſons, as they pleaſe, the French nation excepted; and ſo they do, notwithſtanding of our ſeveral ambaſſadors lying at Conſtantinople, who rather ſtay there as mungrels than abſolute ambaſſadors. For why ſhould Chriſtian princes mediate for peace and commerce with the Turk, when theirs, with his ſubjects the barbarian Moors, have no ſafety? they being obedient to his laws, and over-ruled by Baſhaws, as well as thoſe of Aſia and eaſtern Europe are. From which I gather, as from all other like examples, that there is a more ſublime overmaſtering policy, ſubtilty, and provident foreſight, in mere natural men, as Turks be, than in our beſt grandees, for all their ſciences and ſchool-ſtudies, can either perceive or perform, far leſs proſecute. To which avowed dangers, if any ſmall ſhip, ruled by raſh fellows, ſhould adventure within the ſtraits, as too many Engliſh do, being unable, and unprovided for defence, and ſo are taken and captivated, and afterward redeemed by contributions over the land, I juſtly affirm it, they deſerve rather to be puniſhed, and remain there in puniſhment, than any relief or redemption to be wrought for them, who will nakedly hazard themſelves in known perils, without ordnance, ammunition, and a ſhip of ſufficient burden.

The Barbarian provinces betwixt Egypt and Gibraltar.

But to return: The maritime provinces which lie between Egypt and Ceuta, overgainſt Gibraltar, being the ſtraits, are theſe, Cyrene, Barca, Marmorica, Ezzebba, the Tripolian juriſdiction, the kingdoms of Tunis, Abirouh, Arradetz, Tremizen, Algier, and a part of Fez; extending to two thouſand three hundred maritime miles. All which, by ignorant ſeamen, and ruvid Moors, is termed *Barbary*, who cannot diſtinguiſh parts nor provinces, but even as the oriental Turks do, that denominate all Aſia Minor under the name *Carmania*, and know no further of their ancient nor particular titles.

Now, as concerning their cuſtoms, it is the faſhion of

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of all these Barbarian Moors, in marrying of their wives, that after the bridegroom and the bride are inrolled by their Totsecks, or priests, in the mosque, before the parents of each party, and the bride presently brought home to the house of her husband, accompanied with all their friends, music, and revelling, he immediately withdraweth her to a private chamber, having only one old woman standing by them in a corner of the room; where he lying with the bride, and she being found a maid, by a certain cloth laid under her privy place, which being by the old hagg drawn out, and found sprinkled with spots of blood, she presenteth it first to him, as a token of virginity; and then forthwith runneth through the house, among all the friends of the new married couple, crying with a loud voice, and carrying the bloody napkin in her hand, "The virgin-bride is broken up." Whereat they all rejoice, giving rewards and good cheer to the cryer. But if the bride be not found a maid, then he returneth her back unto her parents; which they account as an immortal shame, and the nuptial feast, and all the assistants thereunto, are suddenly dismissed; but if a virgin, the banquet continueth all the first day, with great cheer, dancings, revellings, with musical instruments of divers sorts.

The trial of Mooriſh brides.

The second night is only the feast of women for both parties. And the third banquet is made on the seventh day after the nuptial; the provision of which the father of the bride sendeth to the house of his new son-in-law; where, after this banquet, and the seventh day, in the next morning the bridegroom goeth then abroad from his house (which he doth not till the aforesaid time) unto the market-place, where he buyeth a number of fish, to carry with him to his dwelling as a sign of good luck, it being an ancient custom through the most part of all the northern Afric.

The men and women at such meetings dance apart, each of them having their own music and orders of merriment.

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They have alſo a cuſtom, when that infants begin to breed teeth, their parents will make a ſolemn feaſt to all the children of the town, with divers ceremonies; which cuſtom they preſerve yet in divers parts of Italy.

The women through all Barbary wear abundance of bracelets on their arms; and rings in their ears, but not through the noſe and lips, as the Egyptians do; and turn alſo the nails of their hands and feet to red, accounting it a baſe thing to ſee a white nail. The men here, for the moſt part, are the beſt archers and horſemen that are in Afric, and take great pleaſure in breeding of their barbs. So they are both active and courageous, and very deſperate in all their attempts, being all of the Mahometan religion, though more ignorant thereof than the Turks; ſome whereof are ſubject to the Turk, ſome to the Emperor of Morocco, and ſome to their own barbarous princes.

Monſ. Chatteline, a French lapidary.

And now it was my fortune here in Algier, after twelve days abode, to meet with a French lapidary, Monſ. Chatteline, born in Aix du Provence, who intending to viſit Fez, joined company with me, and we with certain merchants of Algier that were going thither, being in all thirty paſſengers, with two Janizaries and a dragoman.

Whence advancing our way, ſome on mules, and ſome on foot, with aſſes carrying our baggage and proviſion, we left the maritime towns of Salee and Tituan, far to the weſt, on our right hand, and facing the inland, we marched for three days through a fruitful and populous ſoil: and although the people's barbarous and diſdainful countenances were awful, yet we two went ſtill free of tributes, as not being a thing with them cuſtomary, to execute exaction on Franks, as the Turks and Moors do in Aſia; neither underſtood they what we were, being clad with company, and after their faſhion; ſave only that nature had ſet a fairer ſtamp on my face than theirs, which often I wiſhed had been as black as their uglineſs. In this journeying,

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journeying, mixed with pain and pleasure, we found every where strong wines, abundance of excellent bread, and the best and greatest hens bred on the earth, with plenty of figs, fruits, olives, and delicious oil; yea, and innumerable villages, the houses whereof are all built with mud, and platformed on their tops; and so are they in Asia, and all Afric over.

Upon the fourth day, having passed the plains, we entered into a hilly country, yet pasturable; where I beheld, here and there, clouds of tents, filled with maritime people, that were fled hither from the sea-coast for the fresh and cooling air.

And upon these pleasant and umbrageous heights I saw the fields overclad with flocks of sheep and goats; which sheep are wondrous great, having from their rumps and hips broad and thick tails growing, and hanging to the ground, some whereof, when sold, will weigh sixteen, eighteen, or twenty pounds weight, and upwards. Here, among the mountains, our company knowing well the country, took a great advantage of the way; and on the seventh day, in the morning, we arrived at the great town of Fez; where the Frenchman and I were conducted by some of our company to a great Moorish inn or tavern; and there received: we were as kindly and respectively used as ever I was in any part of the Turk's dominions, being now out of them, and in the empire of Morocco. *My arrival at Fez.*

This city of Fez is situate upon the bodies and twice double sloping faces of two hills, like to Granada in Andelusia in Spain, the interval or low valley between both (through which the torrid river of Murraheba runneth southward) being the centre and chief place, is the most beautiful and populous part of the city; the situation of which, and of the whole, is just set under the tropic of Cancer.

Over which river, and in this bottom, there are sixty-seven bridges of stone and timber, each of them being a passage for open streets on both sides. The interval consisteth of two miles in length, and half a mile broad;

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wherein, beſides five Chercaffs, or market-places, there are great palaces, magnificent moſques, colleges, hoſpitals, and a hundred palatiate taverns, the worſt whereof may lodge a monarch's train. Moſt part of all which buildings are three and four ſtories high, adorned with large and open windows, long galleries, ſpacious chambers, and flat tectures, or ſquare platforms.

Great colleges and hoſpitals.

The ſtreets being covered above, betwixt theſe plain-ſet fabrics, have large lights cut through the tectured tops every where; in whoſe lower ſhops or rooms are infinite merchandiſe, and ware of all ſorts, to be ſold.

The people of both kinds are cloathed in long breeches and bare ankles, with red or yellow ſhoes, ſhod with iron on the heels, and on the toes with white horn; and wear on their bodies long robes of linen or dimity, and ſilken waiſtcoats of divers colours. The behaviour of the vulgar being far more civil toward ſtrangers than at Conſtantinople, or elſewhere in all Turky.

The women here go unmaſked abroad, wearing on their heads broad and round caps, made of ſtraw or ſmall reeds, to ſhade their faces from the ſun; and damnable libidinous, being prepared both ways to ſatisfy the luſt of their luxurious villains; neither are they ſo ſtrictly kept as the Turkiſh women, marching where they pleaſe.

There are twelve thouſand allowed brothel-houſes in this town, the courteſans being neatly kept, and weekly well looked to by phyſicians; but worſt of all, in the ſummer-time, they openly licentiate three thouſand common ſtews of ſodomitical boys; nay, I have ſeen at mid-day, in the very market-places, the Moors buggering theſe filthy carrions, and, without ſhame or puniſhment, go freely away.

There are ſeveral ſeats of juſtice here, (though none to vindicate beaſtlineſs), occupied by Cadeis and Sanzecks, which twice a-week hear differences and complaints.

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Habit of a Woman of Fez in Africa

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plaints. Their chief Seriff, or vicegerent, being ſent from Morocco, is returned hither again every third year.

The two hills on both ſides of the planured city, eaſt and weſt, are over-clad with ſtreets and houſes of two ſtories high, being beautified alſo with delicate gardens, and on their extreme ſloping parts, with numbers of moſques and watch-towers; on which heights, and about the town, there ſtand three hundred wind-mills, moſt part whereof pertain to the moſques, and the two magnificent colleges erected for the education of children in the Mahometan law *. *The beauty and greatneſs of Fez.*

One of which academies coſt the King Habahenor in building of it, four hundred and ſixty thouſand ducats. Jacob, ſon to Abdulach the firſt king of the families of Meennons, divided Fez in three parts, and with three ſeveral walls; though now invironed with only one, and that broken down in ſundry parts.

The chief moſque in it is called *Mammo-Currarad*, ſignifying the glory of Mahomet, being an Italian mile in compaſs, and beautified with ſeventeen high ground

* This is the largeſt city in all Africa, and is divided into the new and old city; or rather, it conſiſts of three different cities, built at different times, under one and the ſame name, with magnificent palaces, ſeraglios, ſchools for propagating the Mahometan faith, &c. ——The river Fez, dividing itſelf into ſix branches or canals, runs through moſt parts of the city; on theſe, are three hundred and ſeventy mills, moſtly for corn, and about two hundred and fifty ſtone-bridges. Of about five hundred moſques computed here, about fifty of them are well built and endowed; one of which is ſaid to be half a league in compaſs. Here above two hundred inns, very large and convenient; but excepting theſe reſorted to by Chriſtians, are receptacles for all ſorts of debauchery; the moſt infamous and unnatural crimes being committed, barefaced and with impunity. Fez is computed to have about three hundred thouſand inhabitants, five thouſand of which are Jews. It ſwarms with men of all trades and profeſſions, alſo with merchants; this being the general magazine of Barbary. It lies twenty-eight leagues ſouth from the Mediterranean, thirty-three E. from the Atlantic ocean, and about 260 N. E. of Morocco. Lat. 33, deg. 58. min. N.; Lon. 4, deg. 25. min. W.—Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

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ſteeples, beſides turrets and towers; having thirty-four entering doors: being ſupported within, and by the length, with forty-eight pillars, and twenty-three ranges of pillars in breadth; beſides many iſles, choirs, and circular rotundoes: every pillar having a lamp of oil burning thereat, where there, and through the whole moſque, there are every night nine hundred lamps lighted; and to maintain them, and a hundred Totſecks and preaching Taliſmans, the rent of it extendeth to two hundred ducats a-day; nevertheleſs there are in the city beſides it, more than four hundred and ſixty moſques, fifty whereof are well benefited, and ſuperbly decorated, within and without, with glorious and extraordinary workmanſhip, whoſe roofs within are all Moſaic work, and curiouſly indented with gold, and the walls and pillars being of grey marble, interlarded with white alabaſter; and ſo is the chief moſque too, in which Monſieur Chatteline and I went three ſundry times, accompanied with our Mooriſt hoſt, who from their prieſt had procured that licence for us. This city aboundeth in all manner of proviſion fit for man or beaſt, and is the goodlieſt place of all north Afric, containing an hundred and twenty thouſand fire-houſes, and in them a million of ſouls. Truly this is a world of a city, and may rather ſecond Grand Cairo, than ſubjoin itſelf to Conſtantinople, being far ſuperior in greatneſs to Aleppo. For theſe are the four greateſt cities that ever I ſaw, in the world, either at home or abroad.

The magnificent moſques of Fez.

The citizens here, are very modeſt, and zealous at their divine ſervices, but great dancers and revellers on their ſolemn feſtival days, wherein they have bull-baiting, maſquerades, ſinging of rhymes, and proceſſions of prieſts. The Moors of Fez and Morocco, in times paſt, had divers excellent perſonages, well learned, and very civil; for amongſt the Mahometan kings, one cannot too much praiſe the Kings Almanſor, Maunon, and Hucceph, being moſt excellent men in their ſuperſtition.

In whoſe times, flouriſhed the moſt famous phyſicians,

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ficians, and philoſophers, that were among the Pagans, as Avicenne, Raſis, Albumazar, Averroes, &c. with other great numbers maintained by the kings of Morocco, that then were maſters of all Barbary and Spain: as in Spain may be yet ſeen (though now fallen in decay) a great number of their colleges, ſhewing they were great lovers of their religion and doctrine, and are ſo to this day; ſave only in their drinking of wine, forbidden by their Alcoran. They were great deviſers, too, of gallant ſportings, exerciſes, tournaments, and bull-baiting, which Spain retaineth to this day; yea, and the Romans did learn, and follow many of them.

Here, in Fez, there be a great number of poets, that make ſongs on divers ſubjects, eſpecially of love and lovers, whom they openly name in their rhymes, without rebuke or ſhame. All which poets, once every year, againſt Mahomet's birth-day, make rhymes to his praiſe: mean while, in the afternoon of that feſtival-day, the whole poets aſſembling in the market-place, there is a daſked chair prepared for them, whereon they mount, one after another, to recite their verſes, in audience of all the people; and he who by them is judged to be beſt, is eſteemed all that year above the reſt, having this epithet, The *Prince of poets*, and is by the vicegerent and town rewarded. But in the time of the Meennon kings, the prince, on that day, in his own palace, did convene the whole citizens, in whoſe preſence he made a ſolemn feaſt to all the beſt poets; cauſing every one of them to recite the praiſe of Mahomet before his face, ſtanding on a high ſcaffold: and to him that was thought to excel the reſt, the king gave a hundred ſultans of gold, an horſe, a woman-ſlave, and the long robe that was about him for the time; and to each of the reſt he gave fifty ſultans; ſo that every one had ſome recompence for their pains. Indeed a worthy obſervance, and would to God it were now the cuſtom of our European princes to do the like, and eſpecially of this iſle, then would the braveſt wits, and quickeſt brains, ſtudy

Poets among Barbarians in great repute.

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and ſtrive to ſhow the ingenuity of their ſtyle and pregnant invention, which now is eclipſed and ſmothered down, becauſe, now adays, there is neither regard nor reward for ſuch excellent penmen. Fez was anciently named *Sylda*, whoſe kingdom has Atlas to the ſouth, the river of Burdraga to the eaſt, and Tremizen Morocco to the weſt; and the confines of Guargula and a part of the ſea to the north. Having ſpent in Fez ſeventeen days, in all which time we daily converſed with ſome Chriſtian Abaſines, Heragens or Ethiopian negroes, ſome whereof were merchants, and ſome religious; and Monſieur Chatteline's buſineſs not effected, ſeeking diamonds and precious ſtones to buy, was ſeriouſly adviſed by them, to go to Arracon, a great town on the frontiers of the northern Æthiopia, where he would find abundance of ſuch at an eaſy rate; giving him a perfect direction for his paſſage thither, being thirty days journey: he concluded with their counſel his reſolution, and perſuading me to the ſame intention, I yielded, being overmaſtered with the greedy deſire of more ſights.

Heragens or Ethiopian Negroes.

Meanwhile, for our conduct, we hire a dragoman Moor, that ſpoke Italian, to be our interpreter, and with him a tent, and two Mooriſh drudges, to guide, guard, and ſerve us, by the way, for fifty-eight ſultans of gold, eighteen pounds four ſhillings Engliſh: having ſix of their kinſmen faſt bound to a ſanzack or juſtice, for our lives, liberties, and money.

Hereupon, having provided ourſelves with all neceſſary things, and a mule to carry our victuals, water, and baggage, we diſcharged our unconſcionable hoſtage, at twenty aſpers a-day the man, being thirty-four ſhillings to each of us; and were brought on our way, by the aforeſaid Chriſtian Heragens, four leagues: where, having left them, with dutiful thanks, we ſet forward on our journey, and for ſeven days together we were not violently moleſted by any thing ſave intolerable heat, finding tented people and ſcattered villages all the way.

The eighth day the way being tireſome and rocky, and Chatteline on foot, he ſuccumbed, and could not ſubſiſt,

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ſubſiſt, not being uſed to travel on foot; and, for our better ſpeed and his relief, we mounted him aloft on the top of our baggage. At laſt arriving at Ahetzo, (where we repoſed) being the furtheſt and ſouthmoſt town of the kingdom of Fez, compoſed of a thouſand fire-houſes, well fortified with walls, and a garriſon of Moors in it, ſubject to the Emperor of Morocco, the Frenchman, long ere day, fell ſick of a burning fever; whereupon we ſtaid five days, expecting his health; which growing worſe and worſe, and he mindful to return, which I would not, I left him in ſafe cuſtody, and one of our drudges to attend him to Fez. And bearing the charges of the other two, according to the former condition, I ſet forward for my purpoſe, which ere long turned to ſad repentance.

Chatteline the French lapidary falls ſick.

Leaving Ahetzo behind us, and entering the country of the Agaroes, we found the beſt inhabitants half clad, the vulgar naked, the country void of villages, rivers, or cultivage; but the ſoil rich in beſtial, abounding in ſheep, goats, camels, dromedaries, and paſſing good horſes: Having an Emeer of their own, being ſubject to none, but to his own paſſions, and them, to the diſpoſition of his wicked nature; yet he and they had a baſtard-ſhow of the Mahometan religion. Their cattle are watered with ſources, and the paſtoral fields with the nightly dew, and themſelves with the wateriſh concavity of the earth. In our ſix days toil, traverſing this country, we had many troubles and ſnarlings from thoſe ſavages; who ſometimes overlaboured us with baſtinadoes, and were ſtill inquirous what I was, and whither I went; yea, and it was difficult enough for the dragoman to ſave my life and liberty.

Having paſt the perverſeneſs of this calamity, upon the ſeventh day we encountered with another ſoil, and a worſe tribe of the Hagans or Jamnites, moſt part whereof were white Moors, a people more ugly than the Negroes; yet ſome of the better ſort had their members

The tribe of the Hagans or Jamnites.

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members covered, but of condition far more wicked than the former.

They are ruled by a Seriff, whose guard is composed of women, and young Balars, pages; seeming rather to live without religion, than acknowledging any kind of deity. Here my Dragoman doubting of his passage, and the difficulty of the country, which arose from his ignorantness thereof, was inforced to hire a Hagan guide, to bring us to the province of Abadud, bordering with Æthiopia. But our guide having led us for five days together south-eastward, and almost contrary to our purpose; in the sixth night, he stole away, while we slept, either for fear or falsehood, mistaking our journey, or deceiving us for despite, the half of his wages being paid him before. Well, the villain gone, I and my Dragoman the next day continuing our faces in the same direction, we were long ere night involved in a disinhabited country, being a desert, and dangerous for wild beasts, and full of mountains. Pitching our tent near to a rock, we burnt all that night shrubs of Tara, to affright the beasts of all kinds, and so did we every night of that woful wandering, which flaming light, their nature cannot abide. Day come, and our comfort yet fresh, we sought further in, thinking to find people and tents to relieve us with victuals, and inform us of the country; but we found none, nor for seven days thereafter. The matter growing hard, and our victuals and water being done, we were forced to rely upon tobacco, and to drink our own piss, for the time aforesaid.

The soil we daily traced was covered with hard and soft sands, and them full of serpents, being interlarded with rocky heights, faced with caves and dens; the habitation of wild beasts, whose hollow cries, as we heard in the night, so we too often saw their bodies in the day, especially jackals, bears, and boars; and sometimes cymbers, tygers, and leopards, against whom in the day-time, if they approached us, we either shot off a harquebus, or else flashed some powder in the air; the smell whereof no ravenous beast can abide.

The wild beasts of the Libyan desarts.

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This vaſt wilderneſs is a part of the Berdoans country, one of the four tribes of the old Libyans, the Sabuncks, the Carmines, and the ſouthern Carolines, being the other three. And now to help the expreſſion of my grievous diſtreſs and miſeries, my muſe muſt lament the reſt.

Ah! fightleſs deſarts, fill'd with barren ſands,
And parched plains; where huge and hilly lands
Have ſtone-fac'd ſcurrile bounds: O monſtrous fear!
What deſtiny drove my croſs'd fortune here?
By day I'm ſcorch'd with heat, by night the grounds
Are clad with beaſts, whoſe rage ſends horrid ſounds
Of dreadful death; whence we to ſhun their ire,
Are forc'd to fright them with bright [illegible] fire;
For if it were not that they ſcar'd at light,
No man could walk, or reſt ſafe in the night.
Then next, and nigh, the crawling ſerpents lurk
Still under foot ſome ſtung-ſwoln ſmart to work;
Which move the ſands like ſeas, in ſeeking ſhade;
Where, 'mongſt their linking rolls, I'm forc'd to wade:
Whoſe necks like legs are round, their bodies ſtrong,
With black ſpred backs, their length full two yards long:
Yet whilſt I cut and cruſh their warbling womb,
I point their death; their ſkin I make their tomb.
But worſt, I'm hunger-bit and ſtarving, ſlain
With pinching want; a ſore-ſunk gnawing pain:
O helpleſs torture! ſecond'd with great drought
And fiery thirſt, that ſcab my lips and mouth;
Where, for fine liquor as my heart would wiſh,
Streſs'd wand'ring I am forc'd to drink my piſs;
So turns my food to ſmoke, the ſmoke to aſhes,
Which twice a-night we three do ſpend in flaſhes;
Laſt caſts my face the ſkin, my ſkin the colour,
And ſpewing forth fled joys, I drank in dolour.
Thus with the torrid zone am I oppreſt,
And lock'd 'twixt tropics two, which me inveſt.

Where,

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Where, for relief I pierc'd the heavens with cries,
And cut the clouds, to grieve the azure ſkies
With ſighs and groans; yet careful to regard
My curious drifts had got their juſt reward.

But to ſhorten my diſcourſe of barren wilderneſſes, ſuppoſed to be a part of the Libyan deſarts, my dragoman, upon the fourth day of ſeven, being three, falling into deſpair, and wondering to ſee me endure ſuch heat, ſuch hunger, and ſuch toil, did threaten me with death, to make me ſeek back for our neareſt refuge: whereupon, holding our courſe north-eaſt, my compaſs-dial being our guide, we met early on the eighth day with nine hundred ſavages, naked Libyan Sabunks, five hundred whereof were women, armed with bows and arrows, who, with their accomplices, the former night had put to the ſword three hundred Berdoans, their neighbour-tribe, carrying away above ſix thouſand ſheep and goats, beſides other cattle; from whom, after our fight of their Emir or prince, we had firſt liberty of life, and then relief of food; for he came up in the rear, with an hundred horſemen charged with half-pikes, headed at both ends with ſharp ſteel. The perſon of their prince was only cloathed from his breaſts down to his middle thigh, with a crimſon veil of ſilk hanging on his naked ſhoulders with colour-ed ribands, and on his head a party-coloured ſhaſh, ſet like a garland. Both his knees were bare, ſo were his ankles, the calves of his legs being girded with crimſon ſilk, and on his feet yellow ſhoes; his beard was like his face, burnt with the ſun, and his age was like to my own, of thirty-three years. His religion is damnable, ſo is his life; for he and all the four tribes of Libya worſhip only for their God, garlick; having altars, prieſts, and ſuperſtitious rites annexed to it: thinking garlick, being ſtrong of itſelf, and the moſt part of their food, to have a ſovereign virtue in an herbal deity. All his courtiers were ſtark naked

The Prince of the Sabunk's apparel.

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H. Gavin Inv.

The Author in the Desarts of Lybia, meets with the Prince of the Talbinks, who presents him with his Bow & Quiver of Arrows.

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naked except his page, who was even covered like to the king his maſter.

And now having diſmiſſed his army for the way, and falling in an hour's parley with us, at his departure he complimented me with his bow, and a quiver of arrows, which afterward I preſented to his Maejſty, then prince.

There is a merry ſecret here concerning the women, which often I recited to King James of bleſſed memory, ſhewing him alſo three certificates of this my deſert wandering; one of which was confirmed by Engliſh Waird at Tunis, upon the Dragoman's report; though now they, with all my other patents, are loſt in the inquiſition of Malaga. This former ſavage prince ſends a guide with us four days journey, the condition of his man's wages being made by himſelf, and frankly adviſed us, that Tunis was our beſt and neareſt recourſe. Which being forcibly conſidered, I was conſtrained to renew my bargain with the Dragoman, at the rate of forty five ſultans of gold, to bring me ſafely hither.

This Sabunk guide, to whom I gave five ſultans, thirty-five ſhillings, brought us through the moſt habitable vallies, and beſt clad paſſages of the country, with tents; where, every day once, we found water, bread, garlick, and onions, and ſometimes hens at twenty aſpers the piece, two ſhillings; which we would roaſt, or ſcorch dry, (if truth may have credit), at the very face of the ſun, and ſo eat them. Upon the fifth day, our guide leaving us in the afternoon, well ſettled among four hundred tents of Numidian Moors, or baſtard Arabians, pitched in a pleaſant valley, between two ſources of water, we ſtaid ſtill there repoſing ourſelves, and refreſhing our bodies with victuals, for nine days.

Here, among theſe tents, I ſaw ſmiths work out of cold

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Mooriſh ſmiths forging horſe-ſhoes out of cold iron, without fire, by the heat of the ſun.

cold iron, horſe-ſhoes, and nails, which is only mollified by the vigorous heat and rays of the ſun, and the hard hammering of hands upon the anvil; ſo have I ſeen it alſo in Aſia. I could be more particular here, but time, paper, printing, and charges, will not ſuffer me. And now from hence renewing our guides from place to place, and deſcending from ſavage Moors to civil Moors, we arrived (though with great difficulty and danger) ſafely at Tunis.

The Beglerbeg-ſhip of Barbary.

And to conclude this eighth part, there are three Beglerbeg-ſhips in the Higher and Lower Barbary; the firſt is at Tripolis, which was taken in by Sinan Baſſa, from the knights of Malta, 1551, and commandeth under him eight thouſand Timariots, beſides ſix thouſand Janizaries. The ſecond is at Tunis, the Beglerbeg whereof being of great authority, commandeth under him twelve ſanzacks, and thirty-five thouſand Timariots; the third is that of Algier, whoſe baſhaw hath under him fourteen ſanzacks, and the command of forty thouſand Timariots. Theſe are all the beglerbegs the great Turk retaineth in Africa, except the great Viſier Baſhaw of Egypt; although in Aſia Major and Minor, he commandeth, in ſeveral provinces and kingdoms, thirty baſhaws or beglerbegs.

PART

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PART. IX.

Tunis being ſightleſs left, I ſought the iſle,
Of little Malta, famous for the ſtyle
Of honour'd knighthood, drawn from great St John,
Whoſe order, and the manner, I'll expone.
Whence coaſting Sicily, a tripled view
I took of Ætna; time diſcuſſing you
A miracle of metal; for its kind
Is nurs'd by rain, and ſuffled up with wind:
And croſſing Italy, the Venice-gulf,
Carindia, Carneola, the ſtiff-ſtream'd Dolf;
Headſtrong Danubio, Vienna, Auſtria's Queen,
And kind Moravia, ſet before my een;
To Hungary I came, and Vallechy,
The Tranſilvanian ſoil, and Moldavy.
Whence ſighting Polle, and many Scotſman's face,
I kiſs'd Sigiſmond's hands, at Warſaw place:
Whence Swethland I, and Denmark laſt bewray,
Norvegia too, in my ſought London-way;
Where been arriv'd, ſafe on the brow of Thames,
To court I came, and homag'd Royal James.

AND now my wiſh, and my arrival, being both deſirous, for a while I ſettled in Tunis, and diſpatched my Dragoman, and the other Barbarian hireling, with a greater conſideration, than my two former conditions allowed me; yet being urged to it by Captain Waird's decernitufe, I freely performed his direction. My conductor gone, and I ſtaying here, Captain Waird ſent twice one of his ſervants with me, to ſee two ſundry ovens drawn, being full of young chickens,

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The hatching of chickens without their mothers.

ens, which are not hatched by their mothers, but in a furnace. The method is thus: The oven is first spread over with warm camel's dung, and upon it the eggs, closing the oven. Then behind the oven there is a daily conveyance of heat, venting through a passage beneath the dung, just answerable to the natural warmness of the hen's belly; upon which moderation, within twenty days, they come to natural perfection. The oven producing at one time three or four hundred living chickens; and where defection is, every sharer beareth a part of the loss; for the hatcher or curator is only recompensed according to the living numbers he delivereth. Surely this is an usual thing almost throughout all Africa, which maketh hens with them so plenty every where *.

And now it was my good fortune, after five weeks attendance for transportation, being about the 14th of February 1616, to meet here with a Holland ship, called *the Mermaid of Amsterdam*, being come from Tituana, and bound for Venice and Malta, who touched here by the way. During the time of their stay, came one Captain Danser, a Fleming, who had been a

* Amidst the curiosities observable at Cairo, that of the hatching of chickens is none of the least. This is performed by heating ovens of so temperate a heat, as to imitate the natural warmth of the hen, and putting eight thousand eggs in an oven, the chickens are produced in about twenty-two days. This employment is continued four months in the year, during which some hundred thousand chickens are hatched in this manner, and sold. If it happens to thunder, great numbers of the chickens miscarry; besides, the chickens thus hatched, often want a claw, a rump, or are some other way imperfect. I have been informed, that only the people of one village are masters of the art; and that at the proper time of the year, they spread themselves all over Egypt.

The great Duke of Florence sent for persons employed in thus producing chickens, who actually performed the same art with success in his dominions. The late celebrated M. Reaumur, after many experiments, found it practicable in France, and has shewn the manner of doing it in a work on that subject.——Bishop Pocock's travels in Egypt.

great

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great pirate, and commander at ſeas, and the only inveterate enemy of the Moors, being employed by the French king in ambaſſage, to relieve two and twenty French barks that were captivated, done by the policy of the baſhaw, to draw Danſer hither, notwithſtanding that he was then retired, and married in Marſeilles.

Captain Danſer's employment.

Well, he is come, and anchored in the road, accompanied with two French gentlemen; two of which came aſhore, and ſaluted the Baſhaw in Danſer's behalf. They are made welcome, and the next day the Baſhaw went frankly aboard of Danſer, ſeconded with twelve followers. Danſer took the preſence of the Baſhaw for a great favour, and feaſted him with good cheer, great quaffing, ſounding trumpets, and roaring ſhots, and none more familiar than the diſſembling Baſhaw, and overjoyed Danſer, that had relieved the barks; for they were all ſent to him that morning, not wanting any thing.

After deep cups, the Baſhaw invites him to come aſhore the day following, and to dine with him in the fortreſs; to which unhappy Danſer conſented; and the time come, he landed with twelve gentlemen, and coming near the caſtle, was met with two Turks to receive him: where, having paſſed the draw-bridge, and the gate ſhut behind him, his company was denied entrance; where, forthworth Danſer being brought before the Baſhaw, was ſtrictly accuſed of many ſhips, ſpoils, and great riches, he had taken from the Moors, and the mercileſs murther of their lives; for he never ſpared any. Whereupon he was ſtraight beheaded, and his body thrown over the walls into a ditch; which done, off went the whole ordnance of the fort, to have ſunk Danſer's two ſhips; but they, cutting their cables, with much ado eſcaped; but, for the other gentlemen aſhore, the Baſhaw ſent them very courteouſly and ſafe-

The untimely death of Captain Danſer, a Fleming born.

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ly aboard of the redeemed barks, whence they hoisted sails for Marseilles.

Lo, there was a Turkish policy, more sublime and crafty than the best European alive could have formed. A little while thereafter, the aforesaid Hollander being ready to go for sea, I bad good-night to generous Waird, and his froward runagates; where, being imbarked, and with prosperous winds, upon the third day, we landed at Malta; and there leaving my kind Flemings, and their negotiation, I went a-shore, saluting again my former host.

The fifth day of my staying here, I saw a Spanish soldier and a Maltezen boy burnt in ashes, for the public profession of sodomy; and long before night, there were above an hundred bardassoes, whorish boys, that fled away to Sicily in a galliot, for fear of fire; but never one bugeron stirred, being few or none there free of it. The knights that remain here, as they are of divers nations, so have they divers manners and inclinations; howsoever, they of the better sort are resolute in their atchievements.

The Maletze anciently did adore the goddess Juno, whose temple was superbly adorned with rich decorations, and to which, for homage and devotion, came all the inhabitants of the circumjacent isles, bringing rich presents and gifts; and they were also honoured with the temple of Hercules, the ruins of which appear to this day.

Now, as for their order of knighthood, the oath which is made at their receiving the order of St John, or of the religion of the Holy Hospital of Jerusalem, is thus: "I vow, and promise to God, to the most blessed Virgin Mary the Mother of God, and to our glorious patron St John the Baptist, that, by the grace and help of heaven, I shall ever be obedient to the superior that God and this religion have appointed; and from henceforth, that I shall live chaste, forsaking marriage, and

The formal oath of all the knights of Malta.

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and all other luſts, and to be without proper poſſeſſion of any thing that may be mine."

After this, the chapel-clerk, a prieſt of the order, receiving him with divers ceremonies, taketh a black cloak in his hand, and ſhewing him the white croſs that is fixed thereon, demandeth if he doth not believe that to be the ſign of the croſs whereon Jeſus Chriſt was crucified for our ſins; he confeſſeth it, kiſſing the croſs: after which, his receiver putteth the croſs of the cloak upon the heart and left-ſide of the new-made knight, ſaying, "Receive this ſign in the name of the Trinity, the bleſſed mother of God, the Virgin Mary, and of St John the Baptiſt, for the augmentation of the Catholic faith, the defence of the Chriſtian name, and ſervice of the poor; alſo we put this croſs on thy left-ſide, to the end that thou mayeſt love it with all thy heart, and with all thy right hand, for to defend it: And if, in fighting againſt the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt, thou ſhalt happen to fly, and leave this holy ſign behind thee, thou ſhalt of good right be deprived of this holy religious order, and of our company." This done, he knitteth the cordon of the cloak about him, ſaying, "Receive the yoke of our Lord that is ſweet and light, and thou ſhalt find reſt for thy ſoul." This ſpoke, he kiſſeth the cordon, ſo do all the knights ſtanding around, and there are made unto him divers orations and precepts contained in the book of their ordinances. They have a prieſthood too of this ſame order, being maſs-prieſts, that wear this badge of the white croſs.

Now bidding farewel to Malta, and to mine aforeſaid country-gentleman William Douglas, I landed the next morning at Sicily in Cicilia, being twenty leagues diſtant. And now this being the third time of my traverſing this kingdom, (triple experience, deeper knowledge), I begin to give you a perfect deſcription thereof.

Sicilia was firſt named *Trinacria*, (whoſe figure is

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Triquetra), for that being triangular, it jutteth into the sea with three promontories; Capo di Coro, south; Capo di Pasara, west; and Capo di Faro, east: The length of each triangle, from point to point, being two hundred miles.

The first denomination of Sicilia.

Terra tribus scopulis vastum procurrit in æquor,
Trinacris a positu, nomen adepta loci.

An isle with corners three, outbraves the main,
From whence the name *Trinacry* it doth gain.

It was called *Sicilia* from the Siculi or Sicani, who possessed it, and hath been famous in all former ages: By Diodorus Siculus it was called *the Paragon of isles*; by Titus Livius, *the garden of Italy*: It was also anciently called *the Grange of the Romans*, and is never a whit decayed to this day.

The length of the island lieth east and west, in circuit six hundred, and fifty broad, and in length two hundred and forty Italian miles. The soil is incredibly fruitful, excelling in all sorts of grain, as corns, wheat, wine, sugar, rice, oil, salt, allum, all kinds of fruits, wholesome herbs, exceeding good silk, excellent mines of metal, and the best coral in the world is found here, beside Trapundy; growing under the water green and tender; but when arising above, it becometh red and hard. The like whereof is said to be found in the Red Sea, and gulf of Persia.

The fertility of Sicilia.

The most of the towns and villages within land are builded on the highest hills, and greatest heights in the country. The reason is twofold: First, it serveth them for strength, and is a great defence in time of corsair invasions, of which divers are so strait in ascending, that one may easily resist and beat down five hundred. The second is, because their dwellings being far above the parching plains, these situations are good preservatives for their health, whereon

Towns set on heights, reserve good air.

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whereon they have a ſweet and cooling air, which, in ſuch a hot climate, is the ſovereign ſalve to prevent ſickneſs.

Their villages are far diſtant, ſome ſix, ten, fifteen, twenty, miles one from another, in all which grounds there is no ſequeſtrate houſe, unleſs (being a highway) it be a fundaco, or inn. About the ſides of the hill, whereon their towns ſtand, grow all their wines, and on the plains nothing but red wheat, which for goodneſs is unparallelled; and the beſt bread, and abundance of it in the world is here. Sicilia was formerly divided into three regions, to wit, the valley of Demonia, containing Ætna, Catagna, Meſſina, and that angle of Cap di Faro, of old Pelora; the other, the valley of Nettia, containing Syracuſa, Terra Nova, and the angle of Cap di Coro, of old Lilybea; and the third was the valley of Malzara, containing Palermo, Trapundy, Malzara, and the angle of Cap di Paſſero, old Pachinum. Many think, that Sicilia was rent from Italy by the violence of waters at the general deluge, ſome by great earthquakes; and ſome ſimply conjecture the cauſe to have proceeded from combuſtious Ætna, which is mere ridiculous.

The ancient diviſion of Sicilia.

There are divers grounds and valleys in this iſle, that abound ſo in wheat, that the inhabitants receive an hundred meaſures for one, and commonly are called *the Fields of an hundred meaſures.*

The Sicilians, for the moſt part, are bred orators, which made the Apulians term them, *Men of three Tongues*: Beſides, they are full of witty ſentences, and pleaſant in their rencounters; yet, among themſelves, they are full of envy, (meaning their former kindneſſes unto ſtrangers), ſuſpicious and dangerous in converſation, being lightly given to anger and offences, and ready to take revenge of any injury committed. But indeed I muſt confeſs, more generous than the Italians, who murder their enemies in the night; for they challenge one another to ſingle combat, and that manfully, without fraudulent practices.

Sicilians are brave orators.

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They are curious, and great lovers of novelties, and full of quickneſs and rare inventions in all kinds of ſciences, great intelligencers and lovers of hiſtories; as I found in divers of them who knew the paſſages formerly of my country ſo exquiſitely, that I was aſtoniſhed at their relations, ſo agreeable with the truth, and times paſt. The parliament of Sicily hath a wonderful great authority; inſomuch that the viceroy cannot have the free gift, (as they call it), which is every third year, nor no extraordinary thing, nor the renewing of any matter concerning the commonwealth, without the general conſent of the whole kingdom. The general council whereof is compoſed of three branches, called by them, *the Arms of the kingdom*, viz. firſt, the prelates and inferior clergymen, named *the Arm eccleſiaſtic*; ſecondly, of Barons, called *the Arm military*; and the third, the commiſſioners of cities and towns, intitled the *Arm Signiorial*. The crown-rent of this kingdom, amounteth to a million and a half of duckets yearly; which being diſburſed ever for entertaining of captains, garriſons, and galleys, and corſair-ſhips, the badgelloes, and ſervants for the fields, the maintaining of towers and watches about the coaſts, the reparation of colleges, highways, Lords penſions, and other defrayings, there reſts little or nothing at all to the king.

The great council of Sicilia.

I remember in my twice being in this kingdom, (eſpecially the ſecond time, wherein I compaſſed the whole iſland, and thrice traverſed the middle parts thereof from ſea to ſea), I never ſaw any of that nation beg bread or ſeek alms; ſuch plenty abounds here. And I dare avow it, (experience taught me), that the pooreſt creature in Sicily eateth as good bread, as the beſt prince in Chriſtendom doth. The people are very humane, ingenious, eloquent, and pleaſant: their language, in many words, is nearer the Latin than the Italian, which they promiſcuouſly pronounce: ſomewhat talkative they are, but effeminate; but generally wonderful kind to ſtrangers. In the months of July and Auguſt,

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August, all the maritime towns every year, are strictly and strongly guarded with them of the inland villages and bourges, both on foot and horse-back; who are compelled to lie there at their own charges, so long as this season lasteth, in which they fear the incursions of the Turks; but the rest of the year, these sea-coast towns are left to the vigilant custody of the inhabitants.

This country was ever sore oppressed with rebels and banditti, until such time that the military Duke of Sona came to rule there as viceroy, *anno* 1611; where, in the first year, he brought in five hundred, some whereof were hanged, some pardoned, and some committed to the galleys. So that within two years of his four years government, there was not one of them to be found in all Sicilia; the like before was never seen in this region, nor one in whom Astrea's worth was more honoured, in fortitude of mind, and execution of true justice, than this Duke, before whose face the silly ones did shine, and the proud stiff-necked oppressors did tremble. *The Duke of Sona viceroy of Sicilia.*

And, in a word, he was no oppressor of the subjects, (as many now be), to satisfy either licentious humours, or to enrich light-headed flatterers; but serving justice he made justice serve him. For the equity of justice of itself can offend none; neither of any will it be offended, unless the corrupt tongue and hand of the mercenary judge suffer sound judgement to perish for temporary respects, which this noble governor could never do, neither suffer any inferior magistrate to do the like under him; as it well appeared by his just proceedings against the Jesuits of Palermo, and the authority imposed upon them in spite of their ambition. The circumstances whereof were very plausible, if time permitted me; and yet my patience could perform it with pleasure.

And likewise against a seminary gallant, a parochial

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An equitable justice for injustice sake.

prieſt of that fame city, who had killed a knight's ſervant in a brothel-houſe, the brother of a ſhoemaker; which fellow the viceroy cauſed to piſtol the prieſt in ſpite of the cardinal, and thereupon abſolved him for the dead.

The cardinal having, only for the prieſt's fact, diſcharged him to ſay maſs for a year, without ſatisfaction for the man's life; ſo the Duke inhibited the ſhoemaker to make ſhoes for a year; and nevertheleſs allowed him two ſhillings a-day to maintain him for that time.

Many ſingular obſervations have I of his government; to recite which would prove tedious, though worthy of note to the intelligent man. He was afterward Viceroy of Naples, and now lately deceaſed in Spain. It is dangerous to travel by the ſea-coaſt creeks in the weſt parts, eſpecially in the mornings, leſt he find a Mooriſh frigate lodged all night, under colour of a fiſher-boat, to give him a ſlaviſh breakfaſt: for they ſteal labouring people off the fields, carrying them away captives to Barbary, notwithſtanding of the ſtrong watch-towers, which are every one in ſight of one another round about the whole iſland.

Their arrivals are uſually in the night; and if in daytime, they are ſoon diſcovered. The towers giving notice to the villages, the ſea-coaſt is quickly clad with numbers of men on foot and horſeback; and oftentimes they advantageouſly ſeize on the Moors, lying in obſcure clifts and bays. All the Chriſtian iſles in the Mediterranean ſea, and the coaſt of Italy and Spain, inclining to Barbary, are thus chargeably guarded with watch-towers.

The chief remarkable thing in this iſle, from all antiquity, is the burning hill of Ætna, called now *Monte Bello*, or *Gibello*, ſignifying a fair mountain; ſo it is, being of height, towards Catagna from the ſea-ſide, fifteen Sicilian miles, and in circuit ſixty. The north ſide, towards

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towards Rindatza, at the root, being unpaſſable ſteep, yet gathering on all parts ſo narrow to the top, as if it had been induſtriouſly ſquared, having a large proſpect to ſea; about the lower parts whereof grow exceeding good wines, corns, and olives.

And now in my ſecond travels, and return from Africa, I not being ſatisfied with the former ſight, the kind biſhop of Rindatza courteouſly ſent a guide with me, on his own charges, to view the mountain more ſtrictly. Aſcending on the eaſt and paſſable part, with tedious toil, and curious climbing, we approached near to the ſecond fire, being twelve miles high, which is the greateſt of the three now burning in Ætna; whoſe vaſt mouth or gulf is twice twelve ſcore long and wide, lying in a ſtraight valley between a perpendicular height and the main mountain, whoſe terrible flames and craking ſmoke is monſtrous fearful to behold. *My ſecond view of Ætna.*

Having viewed and reviewed this, as near as my guide durſt adventure, (the ground, meanwhile, whereon we ſtood warming our feet, and is dangerous for holes, without a perfect guide), we aſcended three miles higher to the main top, or cima, from which the other two fires had their beginning. Where, when come, we found it no way anſwerable to the greatneſs of the middle fire; the other two drawing from it the ſubſtance, wherewith it hath been anciently furniſhed; yet between them two upper fires I found abundance of ſnow (being in July) lying on the north ſides of the hill. It was here, in this upmoſt furnace, that Empedocles the philoſopher caſt himſelf in, to be reputed for a god.

——— *Deus immortalis haberi*
Dum cupit Empedocles ardentem fervidus Ætnam
Inſiluit ———

To be a god, this curious wretch deſires,
And caſts himſelf in the fierce Ætnean fires.

As

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As we deſcended on the north-eaſt ſide, we came to the third and loweſt fire, which is within a ſhort mile of the mountain's foot, overagainſt Rindatza; and if it were not for a ſulphurous river, which divideth the town and the hill, it would be in danger to be burnt. This laſt and leaſt fire ran down in a combuſtible flood, from the middle above, *anno* 1614, June 25. where the ſulphur-ſtreams, before it congealed, falling into a bituminous ſoil, where wine and olives grew, there ceaſed, and daily augmented more and more, having quite ſpoiled the lands of two barons in Rindatza. But the King of Spain, in recompence of their miſerable miſhaps, did gratify them with ſome of his crown-lands for their maintenance.

The loweſt and third fire of Aetna.

I ſpeak it credibly, I have found the relicks of theſe ſulphur ſtreams, which have burſt forth from the upmoſt tops of Ætna weſtward, above twenty miles in the main. The reaſon of ſuch ardent diſgorgements is thus; that when the abundance of ſulphur, being put on edge with exceſſive rain, and the bituminous ſubſtance ſtill increaſing, which by the chaps, ſlits, and hollow chinks of the ground, (rent partly by the ſun, and by the forcing flames), is blown by the wind as by a pair of bellows; the vault or vaſt boſom of which ugly cell, not being able to contain ſuch a compoſiture of combuſtible matter, it impetuouſly vomiteth out, in an outrageous torrent, which precipitately iſſueth forth, ſo long as the heat remaineth; and growing cold, it congealeth in huge and black ſtones, reſembling mineral metal, and full of ſmall holes, like to the compoſed cinders of a ſmith's forge, wherewith the houſes of nine towns circumjacent thereunto are built *.

The combuſtible matter iſſuing out of Aetna's fire.

This

* Ætna, the higheſt mountain in Sicily, and a dreadful volcano. It is the firſt thing diſcovered in this iſland by ſailors when at ſome diſtance. It appears like a prodigious chimney or column of fire, of an extraordinary ſize. It is of a circular form, and terminates in

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This is that place which the poets did report to be the ſhop of Vulcan, where Cyclops did frame the thunderbolts for Jupiter; whereof Virgil doth make his tract called *Aetna*. Under this hill the poets feign the giant Enceladus to be buried, whoſe hot breath fireth the mountains lying on his face. And to conclude of Ætna, the groſs Papiſts hold it to be their purgatory.

The chief cities therein are Palermo, the ſeat of the Viceroy, ſituate in the north-weſt part, overagainſt Sardinia. It is a ſpacious city, and well watered with delicate fountains, having goodly buildings, and large ſtreets, whereof Strado Reale is principal, being a mile long; in which I have ſeen, in an evening, march along for recreation, above ſixty coaches, a pair of mulets being tied to every coach. The galleys of Sicilia, which are ten, lie here. *Palermo.*

The ſecond is Meſſina, toward the eaſt, overagainſt Rhegio in Calabria, being impregnable, and graced with a famous haven; having three invincible caſtles, the chief whereof is St Salvator, by the ſea-ſide. There are divers other bulwarks of the town-walls, that ſerve for offenſive and defenſive forts, which is the cauſe (in deriſion of the Turks) they never ſhut their gates.

a peak. The lower parts abound in corn and ſugar-canes; the middle parts have plenty of woods, olive-trees, and vines; and the peak is covered with ſnow the greateſt part of the year. The prodigious quantities of burning matter often ejected from it, have cauſed a great deal of damage in the neighbourhood; but earthquakes, from time to time, attending theſe eruptions, have occaſioned ſtill greater deſolations in the iſland. A dreadful ſtream of fire iſſues from it, like that of Mount Veſuvius in Naples. To mention only that of 1693, on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of January, when fifteen or ſixteen towns, and eighteen eſtates, with the men and cattle, were ſwallowed up; beſides many other towns, villages, and eſtates, moſtly deſtroyed, near ninety-three thouſand ſouls periſhed. This devaſtation fell in particular upon nine hundred and ſeventy-two churches and convents. Its laſt furious eruption was in the year 1753. —— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

The

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The famous city of Syracuſa.

The third is Syracuſa, ſtanding on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt fifty miles beyond Ætna, and half way betwixt Meſſina and Malta, a renowned city, and once the metropolitan ſeat. It is famous for the Arethuſean ſprings, and Archimedes, that moſt ingenious mathematician. He was the firſt author of the ſphere; of which inſtruments he made one of that bigneſs and art, that one ſtanding within might eaſily perceive the ſeveral motions of every celeſtial orb. And when the Romans beſieged Syracuſa, he made ſuch burning glaſſes, that ſet on fire all their ſhips lying in the road. At laſt he was ſlain by a common ſoldier in his ſtudy, at the ſack of the town, to the great grief of Marcellus the Roman general, when he was making plots, and drawing figures on the ground, how to prevent the aſſaults of the Romans.

Trapundy.

The fourth is Trapundy, in the weſt, overagainſt Biſerta in Barbary, which yieldeth ſurpaſſing fine ſalt, that is tranſported to Italy, Venice, Dalmatia, and Greece, made only in ſome certain artificial ſalt-pools, by the vigorous beating of the ſcorching ſun, which monthly they empty and fill. The ſea-coaſt here abounds with ruby coral, which ſetteth the half of the town at work; and when refined, is diſperſed over all Chriſtendom.

This city is in great requeſt among the Papiſts, becauſe of the miraculous lady here, reputed the iſland's protector, and ſole governor of theſe narrow ſeas, for ſhips, galleys, and ſlaves; which indeed, if an image cut out in white marble was ſo powerful, it might be credible. But beſides this idolatrous title, they ſuperſtitiouſly thereunto annex a rabble of abſurd lies.

The fifth is Catagna, placed at the marine foot of Ætna, that was ſo vexed by Dionyſius the tyrant. The ſixth is Matzara, ſouth-weſt, overagainſt the Barbarian promontory of Lyſtra. The reſt are, Kindatza, Terra Nova, Emma, whence Pluto is ſaid to have ſtolen Proſerpina, Malzara, Francavilla, Bronzo, Terramigna, and Argenti, once Agrigentum, where the

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the tyrant Phalaris lived, who tortured Perillus in the brazen bull, which he made for the deſtruction of others.

The tyrannies which were uſed in Sicilla were in times paſt ſo famous, that they grew unto this proverb, *Invidia Siculi non inveniere tyranni tormentum majus.* The elder and younger Dionyſius, were ſuch odious tyrants, and the third Dionyſius worſt of all, that when the people poured out continual execrations on the laſt, wiſhing his death; only one old woman prayed for his life. She gave this reaſon, Since from the grandfather, his father, and he, each ſucceeding had been worſe and worſe; and leſt (ſaid ſhe) he dying, the devil ſhould come in his place, (for a worſe never lived), I wiſh him to continue ſtill. *The Sicilian tyrants.*

This kingdom, after it was rent from the Romans, remained in ſubjection under the French till the year 1281; in which Peter of Arragon contrived his purpoſe ſo cloſe, that at the ſound of a bell to the evening veſpers, all the Frenchmen in Sicilia were cruelly maſſacred; ſince which time it hath ever belonged to the houſe of Arragon, and now of Spain; which exploit maſketh under the name of *Veſperi Siculi.* For nobility this iſland may compare with Naples, their ſtyles (like unto Italy) are great, but their revenues wondrous ſmall.

The Sicilians have a proverb, as having experience of both, that the French are wiſer than they ſeem, and the Spaniards ſeem wiſer than they are. And even as the Spaniard is extremely proud in the loweſt ebb of fortune; ſo is the Frenchman exceeding impatient, cowardly deſperate, and quite diſcouraged in the pinch of ſtern calamity. The Spaniard and the Frenchman have an abſolute oppoſition, and conditional diſagreement in all faſhions; and in their riding, both different, and defective: for the Spaniard rideth like a monkey mounted on a camel, with his knees and heels alike aſide, ſitting on the ſaddle, like to a half-ballaſt *A true compariſon between the French and Spaniards.*

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ſhip tottering on top-tempeſtuous waves; and the Frenchman hangeth in the ſtirrup, at the full reach of his great toe, with ſuch a long-legged oſtentation, pricking his horſe with neck-ſtropiat ſpurs, and beating the wind with his long waving limbs, even as the Turks uſually do when they are toſſed at their Byrham, hanging between two high trees, reciprocally waving in the air, from the force of two long bending ropes.

The Sicilian cuſtoms.

The women ride here ſtridling in the ſaddle; and if double, the man ſitteth behind the woman. The women alſo, after the death of their friends, keep a ceremonious mourning twice a-day, for a month's ſpace, with ſuch yelping, howling, ſhouting, and clapping of their hands, as if all Sicilia were ſurpriſed by the Moors; yet neither ſhedding tears, nor ſorrowful in heart; for they will both hollow and laugh at one time. The ſame cuſtom for the dead the Turks obſerve, and all the oriental people of Aſia.

Finally, this iſland is famous for the worthy ſcholars ſhe once produced; Archimedes, the great mathematician; Empedocles, the firſt inventor of rhetoric; Euclid, the textuary geometrician; Diodorus Siculus, that renowned hiſtorian; and Æſchylus, the firſt tragedian of fame, who being walking in the fields, and bald through age, by chance an eagle taking his bald pate for a white rock, let a ſhell-fiſh fall on it, of that bigneſs that it beat out his brains.

But to proceed in my itinerary relation: Having twice imbarked at Meſſina for Italy, from Aſia and Africa, I have choſed the laſt time (double experience, deeper knowledge) for the diſcourſe of my departure thence.

My arrival at Meſſina.

After a general ſurvey of this iſland and Monte Bello, arriving at Meſſina *anno* 1616, Auguſt 20. I encountered with a worſhipful Engliſh gentleman, Mr Stydolffe, Eſq, of his Majeſty's body, accompanied with my countryman Mr Wood, now ſervant to James Earl of Carliſle, who inſtantly were both come from Malta; the

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the generous affability of which former gentlemen to me in no small measure was extended; meeting also afterward at Naples, as in their own place shall be succinctly touched.

Here I found sixty Christian galleys, assembled to the fair of Messina, which holdeth every year the 17th of August, wherein all sorts of merchandise are to be sold, especially raw silk in abundance; thirty of which galleys went to scour the coasts of Greece. Messina is four miles distant from Rhegio in Calabria, and two miles from the opposite main. This Rhegio was that town where St Paul arrived after his shipwreck at Malta, in his voyage to Rome. It was miserably sacked by the Turkish galleys of Constantinople *anno* 1609; but now by the Spaniards it is repaired with stronger walls, and new fortifications, sufficiently able to gainstand any such like accidental invasions.

During the time of my abode here, there happily arrived from Italy my singular good friend Mr Matthew Douglas, his Majesty's surgeon extraordinary, being bound also for the Levant, in the same voyage of the Christian incursions against the infidels, whose presence to me, after so long a sight of Ethnic strangers, was exceeding comfortable; and did there present him with this sonnet, (which I made on Ætna), as the peculiar badge of my innate love.

High stands thy top, but higher looks mine eye;
High soars thy smoke, but higher my desire;
High are thy rounds, steep, circled, as I see,
But higher far this breast, whilst I aspire.
High mounts the fury of thy burning fire,
But higher far mine aims transcend above;
High bends thy force, through midst of Vulcan's ire,
But higher flies my sp'rit, with wings of love.
High press thy flames, the crystal air to move,
But higher moves the scope of my engine;
High lies the snow, on thy proud tops I prove,
But higher up ascends my brave design.

Thy

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Thy height cannot ſurpaſs this cloudy frame,
But my poor ſoul the higheſt heavens doth claim;
Meanwhile with pain I climb to view thy tops,
Thy height makes fall from me ten thouſand drops.

The death of Sir Francis Verney.

Here, in Meſſina, I found the once great Engliſh gallant Sir Francis Verney lying ſick in an hoſpital, whom ſix weeks before I had met in Palermo; who, after many misfortunes in exhauſting his large patrimony, abandoning his country, and turning Turk in Tunis, he was taken at ſea by the Sicilian galleys; in one of which he was two years a ſlave; whence he was redeemed by an Engliſh Jeſuit, upon a promiſe of his converſion to the Chriſtian faith. When ſet at liberty, he turned common ſoldier; and here, in the extremeſt calamity of extreme miſeries, contracted death; whoſe dead corpſe I charitably interred, in the beſt manner time could afford me ſtrength, bewailing ſorrowfully the miſerable mutability of fortune, who, from ſo great a birth, had given him ſo mean a burial; and truly ſo may I ſay, *Sic tranſit gloria mundi.*

After ſixteen days attendance for paſſage, there fortunately touched here twelve Neapolitan galleys come from Apulia, and bound for Naples; in one of which, by favour of Marquis Del Sancta Cruce the general, I imbarked, and ſo ſet forward through the narrow ſeas, which divide Italy and Sicilia; the ſtrait whereof is twenty-four miles in length, in breadth, ſix, four, and two miles. This ſea is called the *Faro of Meſſina*, and *Fretum Siculum*; at the weſt end whereof we met with two contrary choping tides, which ſomewhat ruſhing like unto broken ſeas, did choke the galleys with a ſtruggling force.

Incident in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

Who ſtrive to ſhun the hard Calabrian coaſt,
On ſandy Scylla wreſtling they are loſt.

Yet

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Yet of no ſuch eminent peril, or repugnable currents, as are in the friths of Stranza and Weſtra; eſpecially Pentland frith, which divideth Caithneſs from Pomonia, the main land of Orkney; wherein, who unſkilfully looſeth from either ſides may quickly loſe ſight, both of life and land, for ever. As we entered into the gulf of St Euphemia, we fetched up the little iſle of Strombolo. This iſolet is a round rock, and a mile in compaſs, growing to the top like to a pomo, or pyramid, and not much unlike the iſolets of Beſſe and Elſey, through the top whereof, as through a chimney, ariſeth a continual fire, and that ſo terribly and furiouſly caſting forth great ſtones and flames, that neither galley nor boat dare coaſt or board it.

A compariſon of irrepugnable ſtreams.

South from hence, and in ſight thereof, on the north coaſt of Sicily, lie the two iſlands Vulcan Major and Minor; whereof the leſſer perpetually burneth, and the greater is long ſince conſumed. On the fourth day we touched at Iſcha, the greateſt iſle belonging to Naples, and twenty miles in circuit, being ſtrongly ſurrounded with rocky heights. The chief town is Iſcha, whither Ferdinando of Naples fled, being thruſt out of his kingdom by Charles VIII. *

There is a fountain here, of that incredible height,

* Iſchia, a pretty town in the iſland of the ſame name. It lies on the north ſide towards the ſea, and is the ſeat of a biſhop who is under the metropolitan of Naples. It is defended by a ſtrong fort, jutting out into the ſea, on the ſouth ſide of it, and joined to the iſland by a bridge. King Ferdinand of Naples made it his place of refuge, when Charles VIII. of France, in the year 1495, had, in a few days, over-run his whole kingdom. It hath alſo been ſubject, at all times, to dreadful earthquakes; ſo that the poets feigned this to be the place where Jupiter overwhelmed the Titan Typhon with his thunderbolts. It lies two miles from Meſſina cape, and eighteen weſt of the city of Naples. —— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

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A boiling fountain in the isle of Ischa.

that in a short time it will boil any fish or flesh put in it, and the taste agreeable to digestion. Departing from thence, and coasting the main shore, we had a Moorish frigate in chace; where seizing on her, we found sixteen Moors therein, and six Christians, three men, two women, and a boy, whom they had taken up in going between two towns by the sea-side. The peasants were set at liberty, and the Moors immediately preferred to chains of iron, bloody lashes, tugging of galley oars, and perpetual slavery.

Near the sea-coast, and in sight of Naples, we boarded close by the foot of the hill Vesuvio, which in time past did burn, but is now extinguished. It was here that the elder Pliny, who had spent all his time in discovering the secrets of nature, pressing near to behold it, was stifled with the flame, so that he died in the same place; which is most excellently described in the book of his epistles, by his nephew Pliny the younger.

Arriving at Naples, I gave joyful thanks to God for my safe return to Christendom; and the day following I went to review the ancient monuments of Puzzoli, or Puteoli; which when I had diligently remarked, in my return half-way to Naples, I met the aforesaid English gentleman, and Mr Wood, who needs would have me turn back to accompany them hither. When come, we took a guide, and so proceeded to take a view of the places. The first thing of any note we saw was the stupendous bridge Caius Caligula built between Puzzoli and Baia, over an arm of the sea two miles broad; some huge arches, pillars, and fragments whereof, remain unruined to this day. The next was the new-made mountain of sand, which hath dried up Lago Lucrino, being by an earthquake transported hither. At the foot of this sandy hill, we saw the remnants of Cicero's village.

The antiquities of Puzzoli.

Thence

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Thence we came to the temple of Apollo, ſtanding on the eaſt ſide of Lacus Avernus, the walls whereof, and pendicle, (the covering excepted), are as yet undemoliſhed.

This Lake Averno is round, and hemmed in about with comely heights, being, as our guide reported, infinitely deep, and in circuit a ſhort mile. The weſt end whereof is environed with the mountain of Cuma, whither Æneas arrived when he fled from Dido Queen of Carthage, and ſiſter to Pygmalion King of Tyrus.

Advancing our way along the brink of the lake, we came to Sybilla's cave. The entry being dark, becauſe of the obſcure paſſage hewed out, and cut through the main rock, our guide ſtruck fire, and with a flambeaux marched before us. The firſt paſſage was exceeding high cyme, and the further end ſtopped with mouldering earth. Inclining to our right hand, we paſſed through a very ſtrait and low paſſage, and ſo arrived in Sybilla's chamber, which is a delicate room, and artificially decorated with Moſaical work. Here, it is ſaid, the devil frequented her company, and where ſhe wrote her prophecies. From thence he conducted us through a moſt intricate and narrow way, (wherein we were forced to walk ſidewiſe), to a large and vaſt room; the rocky vault whereof was hanging full of looſe and long ſtones, many of which were fallen to the bottom. *Sybilla's cave*

This great cell or hall is a lyard deep of blackiſh water, and was the dining-room of Sybilla, in which, hearing toward the further end a ſhrieking noiſe, as if it had been the chirking of frogs, the hiſſing of ſerpents, the buzzing of bees, or ſnarling of wolves, we demanded our guide from whence ſuch a ſound proceeded? Who anſwered, they were dragons, and flying ſerpents, praying us to return, for the fellow was mightily afraid: whereat I, laughing, replied, there was no ſuch matter; and Mr Stydolffe deſirous to know it, he only and I, leaving the other two behind *The old dining-room of Sybilla.*

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behind us, adventured the trial. Having more than half way entered in this cell, ſtepping on huge ſtones becauſe of the water, and I carrying the flambeaux, for lack of air, being ſo far under ground, the light periſhed. Whereupon, we hollowed to our guide; but the reverberating echo avoided the ſenſe of our words, neither would he, nor durſt he, hazard to ſupport us.

Meanwhile, it being hell dark, and impoſſible to find ſuch a difficult way back, and tendering (as by duty) the worthy gentleman, I ſtepped down to my middle thigh in the water, wreſtling ſo along to keep him on the dry ſtones. Where, indeed I muſt confeſs, I grew affrighted for my legs, fearing to be interlaced with water-ſerpents and ſnakes; for indeed the diſtracting noiſe drew ſtill nearer and nearer us. At laſt, falling near the voice of our guide, who never left ſhouting, we returned the ſame way we came in, and ſo through the other paſſages, till we were in the open fields.

Here indeed, for my too much curioſity I was condignly requited, being all bemired and wet to the middle; yet forthwith the vigorous ſun diſburthened me quickly thereof. To be brief, from thence we came to the Bagni, the relicks of Pompey's village, to the fort of Baia, and the labyrinth of Ciento Camarello, into the admirable fiſh-ponds of Lucullus, (the coverture of which is ſupported by forty-eight natural pillars of ſtony earth) to the detriments of Meſſina, Mercato ſabbato, and the Eliſian fields. Thence, we returned by the ſepulchre of Agrippina, the mother of the cruel Nero, who ſlit up her belly, to ſee the matrix wherein he was conceived; and by the two decayed temples of Venus and Mercury. Croſſing over in a boat to the town of Puzzoli, the chief monument we ſaw was the ancient temple of Jupiter, which ſerveth now for their domo or parochial church; the later idolatry of which is nothing inferior to the former.

The ancient varieties of the antiquities of Puzzoli.

Meanwhile the French gallies arrived here, fetching home Chevalier de Vandum the Prior of France, from Malta;

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Malta; who ſcouring the coaſt of the lower Barbary, their fortune was to fall upon a misfortunate Engliſh ſhip belonging to Capt. Pennington, which they, as a Curſaro, or man of war, confiſcated. Their anchors fallen, I boarded the queen's galley; where, to my great grief, I found a countryman of ſpecial acquaintance, George Gib of Burrow-towns, (who was pilot to the Engliſh), faſt chained to an oar, with ſhaven head and face, who had his own ſhip twice ſeized on by the Turks, and Mamora, which ſhip he laſtly recovered at the iſle of Sardinia, and ſold her at Naples, being miſerably worm-eaten. To whoſe undeſerved miſeries, in my charitable love, I made a Chriſtian oath, that at my arrival in England, I ſhould procure, by the help of his friends, his Majeſty's letters to the Duke of Guiſe, admiral, for his deliverance. But ſoon thereafter, being of a great ſpirit, his heart broke, and ſo died in Marſeilles.

The maſter of a Scots ſhip diſtreſſed by evil misfortune.

Tempora labuntur, tacitiſque ſeneſcimus annis,
Et fugiunt fræno non remorante dies.

Time ſlides away, grey hairs come poſting on,
No rein can hold our days ſo ſwiftly gone.

Departing from Puzzoli, we came to the Sulphatara, where the fine brimſtone is made, which is a pretty incircling plain, ſtanding upon a moderate height; having three vents, through two of which the ſmoking flame ariſeth, and the other produceth no fire; but after an exceſſive rain, ſwelleth ſix foot high with black boiling water, which continueth ſo long as the rain laſteth.

From thence (our guide leaving us) we came to Grotto di Cane, wherein, if a dog be caſt, he will ſuddenly die, and taken thence, and caſt in the lake, he will forthwith revive. This grotto or cave, ſtandeth on the ſide and root of a ſulphur-hill, the brink of

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Lago di Avagno. We desirous to make trial of a dog, and finding the fellow that purposely stayeth there somewhat extortionable, I ventured, instead of a dog, to make trial of myself; whereupon, Mr Stydolffe holding up the quartered door, I went to the further end thereof, bringing back a warm stone in each hand from thence; whereat the Italians swore I was a devil, and not a man; for behold (say they) there was a French gentleman the former year, who, in a bravado, would needs go in; whereupon he was immediately stifled to death, and here lieth buried at the mouth of the grotto, to serve for a caveat, to all rash and unadvised strangers to do the like,

The dangerous dog's cave near unto Puzzoli.

The relation indeed was true; but I counting nothing of it, would needs (sore against the gentleman and Mr Wood's will) go in again, where entered to the bottom, being ten paces long, the moisty and choking heat did so suffocate and benumb my senses, that with much ado I returned back; where receiving the fresh air, and a little wine, I presently forgot my former trance; which when the dog-keeper saw, he, for an easy composition, made trial of his dog; and having tied a string to his hinder leg, he cast the dog scarce half way in the cave, where immediately his tongue hanging out, he fell down dead. And forthwith his master pulling him back, cast him in the lake, pouring water in his ears, but he could never recover his life. Whereupon, the poor man cried out, Alas! I am undone, what shall I do? the dog that won my daily food is dead; in compassion whereof, the worthy gentleman doubled his wages.

In our way, and return to Naples, we passed through Virgil's grot, being half a mile long, and cut through the main body of a rock, whereby the mountain of Cataia, by the sea-side, is made passable; at the east end whereof, near the cyme of the vault, is Virgil's tomb; and arrived at Naples, Mr William Stydolffe reporting to divers of his country gentlemen and mine, of my adventure

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venture in Grotto di Cane, they could hardly be perſuaded to believe it; but when avouched, they all avowed I had done that (ſo did divers Neapolitans) which never man had done before me, reſerving life.

Bidding farewel to my generous friends, I marched through Terra di Lavoro, and in the way of St Germain, and Mount Caſſino, to Rome. Within ten miles of Capua, I found the pooreſt biſhop (*nomen ſine re*), the world affordeth, having no more, (nor ever had he, nor any before him) than *dui Carolini* or *Juletti*, twelve pence a-day, to ſpend. So is there many a marquis, earl, baron, and knight in Italy, who is unable at one time, to keep a footman at his heels, a dog at his foot, a horſe between his legs, a good ſuit of clothes on his back, and his belly well fed, ſo glorious are their titles, and ſo miſerable their revenues. *Great poverty under great titles.*

Touching at Rome, I ſecretly borrowed one night's lodging there, and at the break of day, another hour's ſight and conference with my couſin Simeon Graham; who, ere the ſun aroſe, croſſing Ponſo Flamingo, brought me on my journey, till a high-way tavern, like a jail, held us both faſt; where leaving our reciprocal loves behind us, we divided our bodies eaſt and weſt.

And now ere I leave Rome, I think it beſt to let our Papiſts here at home ſee the ſhameful lives, and cruel deaths, of moſt of their Popes beyond ſeas; which their own beſt authors in France, Italy, and Spain, have juſtly and faithfully avouched and recorded, and authorized alſo to light by their prime powers civil and ſpiritual. The Papiſts generally hold, that in their Popes, is all power; *Super omnes poteſtates, tam cœli quam terræ*; above all powers both in heaven and earth. They term him, *Alter Deus in terris*, a ſecond God upon the earth; *Deus mortalis in terris, et immortalis homo in cœlis*; a mortal God upon the earth, and an immortal man in the heavens. Some of them have allotted that he is, *Non Deus, non homo, ſed utrumque*; neither God, nor man, but both. The Pope's former title was, *Ser-*

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vus ſervorum Dei, and they call him *Rex regum, Dominus dominantium*, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

The falſe and arrogant titles of the Pope.

Paul III. entering Tolentino, in the vale of Ombria, joining with Tuſcany had this ſalutation, *Paulo Tertio, maximo, in terris Deo*, to Paul III. the beſt, and greateſt god on earth. Then, ſince they will have them gods, above the God of gods, tell me, I pray you, what a may-pole dancer was John XII. *alias* XIII. of eighteen years old, who made the Lateran, their great church in Rome, a plain ſtew or brothel-houſe?

What a Pope-boy of twelve years old was Benedict IX. and after wrought by inchantments? Another Pope they had, whom they called *Unum pecus, in eo quod de mane faciebat gratiam, et de ſero revocabat*; a very aſs; for in the morning he would grant many great kindneſſes, and at night revoke them all again. What a thief was Pope Boniface VII. who robbed St Peter's church? What a ſodomitical Pope was Sextus IV. who builded ſtews of both kinds, granting his Cardinals the uſe of ſodomy for three hot months? What an atheiſtical Pope was Leo X. who called the goſpel a fable? What an heretical Pope was Honorius I. who by ſix general councils was condemned for a Monothelite? What a perjured Pope was Gregory XII. and openly forſworn? What a necromancer was Sylveſter II. who gave himſelf both ſoul and body to the devil, to obtain the Popedom? What was Pope John XI. but a baſtardly brat to Pope Sergius? What a ſorcerer, charmer, and conjurer was Hildebrand, called *Gregory* VII. given to all beaſtlineſs and diabolical practices? This was he that threw the ſacrament in the fire. What was Innocent III. who was branded with this black mark, *Non eſt Innocentius, imo nocens vere*, he is not Innocent, but very nocent? What a wicked and cruel murderer was John XII. a Roman born, who cauſed to cut off the noſe of one Cardinal, and the thumb of another; only becauſe they

A tract of beaſtly Popes and cruel villains.

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they had wrote the whole tract of his abominable vices to the Emperor Otho.

What an inhuman and homicide Pope was Stephanus VII? who after he had cancelled the decrees of his predeceſſor Formoſus, cauſed take up his dead body, cut off his fingers, and lay him in the fields to be devoured with the fowls of the air. What a beaſtly Pope was Sergius III.? that after he had impriſoned Chriſtopholus his predeceſſor, cauſed to draw out the corpſe of Pope Formoſus his old competitor from the grave, and cut off his head, as though he had been alive.

What a cruelty was ſhown upon John XVII. who after he was deprived of his Papacy, had his eyes pulled out, his noſe and his members, cut off, and was hanged. What a poiſonable Pope was Damaſus? who poiſoned his predeceſſor Clemens II. to attain the Popedom, and yet died within a month thereafter being Pope? What a mercileſs Pope was Boniface VII. that after he had robbed St Peter's church and fled to Conſtantinople, hearing that Pope John XIV. was replaced, he returned, and pulling out his eyes, did caſt him in priſon, where he died of extreme hunger? What a perſecution had Gelaſe, born in Gaetta near Naples, who firſt by the Romans was impriſoned, then ſtoned through the city, miſerably died? Gregory VIII. ſucceeding him, was depoſed by Caliſte, brother to the Duke of Burgundy, who impriſoned the other, and ſtarving him to death, made himſelf Pope.

What devotion fell out from the brains of Rome, to ſtone Pope Lucius II. to death? What a ſhameful diviſion was in your Popedom for fifty years, when Pope Urbanus and his ſucceſſors were Popes at Rome, and Clemens VII. and his ſucceſſors at Avignon? Nay, you have had three Popes at one time; even when Sigiſmond King of Hungary and Bohemia was elected Emperor, viz. Benedict III. at Avignon; John XXIII. at Bologna; and Gregory XII. at Rimini. I pray you, could every one of them open and ſhut

Three ſeveral Popes living at one time.

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ſhut the gates of heaven and hell? What an infidel was Pope John XXII. who denied the immortality of the ſoul?

What was Clement V. but an open whoremonger and a drunken ſot? What was Boniface VIII? he was called a thief, a robber, and rooted in all unſpeakable ſins, the eighth Nero of Rome. What a furious and wicked Pope, was Julius II.? who given more to war than to Chriſt, caſt St Peter's keys (as they call them) into Tyber. What a profane ſcoffer of Chriſt, was Paul III. who lying in bed with his own couſin Laura Farneſia, was ſore wounded by her huſband? He lay with his own daughter, and poiſoned her huſband; and then lay with his own ſiſter, and after poiſoned both her and his own mother. What was Julius III.? an open ſodomite, and horrible blaſphemer. What was Pope Eugenius? a damnable ſcandalizer of the church, and condemned by the Council of Baſil, for an incorrigible and wilful heretic. Pope John XXIII. was depoſed by the Council of Conſtance, for hereſy, ſimony, murder, inchantment, adultery, and worſt of all, for ſodomy. What was Pope John XIII.? a vile monſter in his life, committing inceſt with both his ſiſters, and father's concubine Stephana. He was a gameſter, and playing at dice, did call for help to the devil, and would drink the devil's health; he was replete with all abominable vices; at laſt being taken in the act of adultery, was wounded to death.

The Papiſts may look here upon deviliſh Popes.

Boniface VIII. aforenamed, came to be Pope, by cozening his predeceſſor Celeſtine, in ſpeaking through the wall in a reed (as if it had been a voice from heaven) admoniſhing him to ſurrender his Popedom; whoſe epithet was thus: *Intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut lupus, mortuus eſt ut canis.* He came in like a fox, he ruled like a wolf, he died like a dog.

At the ſixth Council of Carthage, was not the treachery and falſehood of Pope Zoſimus, condignly ſearched into, in corrupting for ambitious government

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the council of Nice? Bernard about five hundred years ago, complained much of the tyranny of Popes in his time, calling them defrauders, raveners, traitors, darkneſs of the world, Pilates, wolves, and devils.

Albertus Magnus affirmeth, that they who now govern their church, are for the moſt part thieves and murderers, And Platina calleth ſome of their Popes vile monſters, unclean beaſts, and ſtrange creatures. And I remember it was noted by an hiſtorian, *Epiſcopos Romanos ne peccata quidem ſine laude committere*, The Popes could do nothing, were it never ſo miſchievous, but it was commendable.

And even likewiſe are their prime pardons, for *noxas præteritas, aut futuras*; and their future, *poteſtatem, tam quoad commiſſa, quam quoad committenda, crimina abſolvenda*; "That his holineſs hath all manner of power, as well to abſolve them from crimes committed, as from crimes to be committed." And I remember, about twenty years ago, Paulo Papa Quinto, cannonized Carolo Borrameo, the late Biſhop of Milan, for a notable ſaint, being known to be a notorious and wicked liver; done ſooner, by fifteen years, than their ordinary time, and that for the touch of forty thouſand duckets: allotting prayers, miracles, pardons, and pilgrimages to him, and erecting a new order of friars and monaſteries unto him. And yet the poor Biſhop of Lodi, a good and charitable man by all reports, could never, nor cannot attain to the dignity of a ſaint, his means was ſo ſmall when dead, and his friends ſo poor, being alive.

A falſe cannonized ſaint.

And how wonderfully abſurd is the Pope's *bulla di Sancta Cruzada, pro defunctis in purgatorio*; that for one *Pater noſter* at a maſs-ſaying, or a maſs ſaid for them, *Sicavano fuora dalla purgatorio tre anime qualche ci vogliano*, viz. "You ſhall relieve any three ſouls out of purgatory whom you pleaſe. Nay, I have ſeen the Pope's edict ſo gracious, that during one maſs, as many *Paters* as you can recite, as many ſouls you free from thence.

And

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And thus I think, in one half year, he might empty that purging-pit: yet unleſs the ſuppliant touch with his finger, during his prayers, a gaudy bead inrivalled between five ſmall faſt-made irons, placed before the altar, their bulla, their payment for it, their *Paters*, their devotion for their friends ſouls, are all loſt. Then ſay, if peradventure the friends of the defunct be forgetful in this officiouſneſs, and neglect both the ceremony and *Pater noſter*, might not the Pope juſtly be reputed a cruel monſter, that for the want of pattering an abridged *Pater*, his Cerberian office in hell, ſhould detain any poor ſoul in ſuch torments as, they ſay, are in purgatory?

Infinite paſſages of the like kind could I recite, if I had longer time and more leiſure; and eſpecially of their miraculous lies, or lying miracles, in erecting of falſehood, and maintaining of perjury: but, till a fitter occaſion, I will revert to my itinerary diſcourſe, and ſo proceed. Having left my aforeſaid friend Mr Graham, at a tavern at Bilboa near to Rome, I ſet forward through the vale of Ombria, and the country of Romania, whereof Ravenna is Lady, and the Pope Lord, I arrived (the way of Ferrara and Padua) at Venice, who then was levying an army againſt the Croatian Scokes of Gradiſca, and the Duke of Graſſo, now Emperor. Of which army Count Mansfield was general, and with whom I croſſed the gulf to Pola in Iſtria, and from thence to the ſiege of Gradiſca; the diſcourſe whereof I have here formerly avouched in the ſecond part of my firſt travels. Now, to ſpeak of a ſoldier, certainly he is more than praiſeworthy and fortunate, that hath faced the low countries, reviewed Breſcia in Lombardy, and footed and ſighted the arſenal of Venice, then his eyes have firſt ſeen the ſons, the force, the policies, and kingdom of Mars. Secondly, the fiery ſhop of Vulcan, where rareſt arms and weapons are hammered out upon the anvil, for the honour of Mars; and laſtly, the incomparable

Ravenna, the chief city of Romania.

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comparable armory, or ſtore-houſe for ſea and land, the magazine and treaſury of Mars.

Now, leaving both the armies barking at other like to Hyrcanian wolves, I traced the fertile ſoils of Carindia, Carneola, and Stria, even to Vienna; all which were ſubject to the Emperor, ſave a part of Carneola that groans under the Turk. Being arrived at Vienna, I found the town, and the flying fame of it far different, either for greatneſs, ſtrength, or wealth; for the town, riſing upon a moderate circular height, is but of ſmall compaſs without, not paſſing two Engliſh miles.

Vienna in Auſtria, no way anſwerable to common fame.

The ſuburbs round about, being twice as great as the town; and the ſtrength of it is no way comparable to a hundred cities that I have have ſeen; neither is it for wealth ſo much to be admired, being deprived of ſeas, ſhipping, and navigation, having only the needful poſterity of dry-land towns.

Here I found a Turkiſh ambaſſador going down the Danube for Conſtantinople; and with him one Gratianus a Greek, his interpreter, to whoſe familiar love I was much obliged; and with whom I imbarked down the river for Preſburg; a place where the Hungarian crown is kept, and from thence deſcending the river to Commore, the downmoſt town the Emperor retaineth on the Danube, I left my noble interpreter, and traverſed the champaign country.

The chief towns whereof I will briefly touch, and ſo proceed. Buda is the capital city of Hungary, wherein the Turkiſh Baſhaw hath his reſidence, and was taken in by Solyman the Emperor, the 20th of Auguſt 1526; the other is the aforeſaid Preſburg, anciently Boſonia; the reſt are Belgrade or Albegrek, anciently Taurinum, in Dutch Greichs; Weiſſemberg that was taken by Solyman 1520; Valpa and Singidum upon the Danube, both under the Turk; and that of the Seven Churches upon the river Drana taken in, in 1543; and Zigeth taken alſo in the year 1566.

Moreover, upon the Danube, the town Strigonium, commonly

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The ſpecial towns of Hungary.

commonly called *Grana* and Alberoyal, otherwiſe Stulueſenburg, a place deſtined for the burial-places and coronations of the Kings of Hungary, and was taken by the Turks, *anno* 1543.

Near the ſame place is Stridon, where, they ſay, St Jerom was born: And now, above all other, the ſtrong town of Gomorrah, ſtanding in an iſle of the Danube, of that ſame name, which the Turks have ſo oft beſieged, yet never could ſurpriſe it.

There is alſo Tockay, and Januarin or Rab, ſeated too upon the Danube, a town as it were impregnable; yet it was overtaken by the Turks, and laſtly recovered by the Chriſtians.

The forces of the Baſhaw of Buda.

The Beglerbeg of Buda, hath under his command eight thouſand Timariots, and twelve thouſand common ſoldiers, which lie in garriſon in continual pay on the confines of Hungary, Croatia, and Dacia, and thoſe confines belonging to the houſe of Auſtria. The baſhaw hath under his authority, thirteen ſanzacks, lying at theſe thirteen towns here undernamed, to wit, Novaguard, Semendria, Simontorno, Zetſhen, Eccleſiæ, Sirnium, Capar, Zornock, Alba Regalis, Sigedin, Mucchatz, Zegedin, and Sexard.

The other Beglerbegſhip of Hungary is at Temeſera, who retaineth under his command, eight ſanzacks, and as many juriſdictions, ſpreading his authority over ſix thouſand Timariots, and eight thouſand foot-ſoldiers; and theſe ſanzacks lying at Temeſara, Lippa, Itiſhinad, Mudania, &c. The great Turk hath eight Beglerbegs or Baſhaws under him in Europe; that of Boſna being one of them, who commanded ten ſanzacks, and eight thouſand Timariots, the reſidence of which baſhaw is at Bagiliavezza, a commodious place, lying in the midſt of circulating provinces, over which he ſpreads the ballucco of his power.

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The soil of Hungary aboundeth infinitely in all things the earth can produce for the well of man, and produceth admirable good wines; the best whereof grow near and about the town of Sirmia, and so sweet, that they may compare with the wines of Candy; yea, and aboundeth in all kinds of cattle, that it is thought this kingdom may furnish all Europe with beef and mutton. *Hungary is a most fertile and fruitful soil.*

The Hungarians are descended of the Hunns, a people of Scythia or Tartary. The ancient inhabitants divided their habitations in nine circles, which the Germans named *Hagyes*, and fenced them with high walls, made of earth and wood, being twenty foot high, and as much in breadth, being surrounded with divers bulwarks and towers of earth, whereon grew all sorts of herbs, and fructiferous trees. *The first plantation of Hungary.*

The space from side to side of each one of these circles, amounted to twenty Dutch miles; the towns, villages and houses, being within, and so contrived, that each one was within cry of another: This was the first admirable plantation of the Hunns in this kingdom.

The Hungarians have ever been thestuous, treacherous, and false; so that there one brother will hardly trust another, which infidelity among themselves, and distracted deceitful governors, was the chief cause of their overthrow and subjection under infidels; and so have corrupt counsellors, and insolent princes, been the ruin of their own kingdoms; for if we would have a prince fit to govern others, and to direct himself with the square rules of wisdom and judgement, to know how to become all places, and to use all fortunes; let him bind his tender youth with a disposition tempered with sadness, for such a man can neither seduce his minority with ill examples, nor mar his waxen

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en age with a falſe impreſſion, too common a condition of theſe diſſolute times.

The infinite riches of Hungary.

Now, as for the ſoil of Hungary, and kingdom itſelf, and for the goodneſs of it, it may be termed the granary of Ceres, the garden of Bacchus, the paſturage of Pan, and the richeſt beauty of Sylvan; for I found the wheat here growing higher than my head, the vines overlooking the trees, the graſs juſtling with my knees, and the high ſprung woods threatening the clouds; ſurely, if I ſhould enter on particulars here, I have more ſubject to work upon than any kingdom that ever I ſaw. The kingdom is divided in two parts, the higher and the lower. The loweſt, largeſt, and beſt, is under the Turk, and the other narrow proportion under the Emperor *.

The Hungarian miles are the longeſt upon earth, for every one of theirs is ſix of our Scots miles, nine Engliſh; ſo that the moſt that ever I could travel there in one day, was but ſix miles. Their language hath no affinity with any other kind of ſpeech, and yet the greateſt part of the country, both under the Turk and Emperor, are Proteſtants, and are the beſt of all the reſt, the other being Arians and Papiſts,

There is a great number of gentry in this kingdom, but being untravelled abroad, they are far leſs mannerly at home, being luxurious and ill taught, and damnably given to that maſculine miſery the whole ſouthern world is defiled with. Having now traverſed all the country to Grana, and ſo to Gatterad in Valechia, I found the country ſo covered with woods, and them full of murderers, (for I was robbed on theſe confines, and hardly ſaved my life), I was conſtrained, I ſay, to

* No ſoil can be be more fruitful producing corn in ſuch abundance, that it is ſaid to be ſix times as cheap as in England, though it is likely to be much inferior to ours, both in body and quality. Their grapes are large and luſcious, and the wines made from them, particularly the famous ſort of Tockay, is preferred to any other in Europe, not excepting Burgundy or Champaign.——Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

return

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return to Tockay in the Higher Hungary, and from thence, in one day, I ſtepped into Tranſilvania.

This country is ſo invironed with high and impaſſable mountains about, that there is but only five entries to come into it, which makes it ſo ſtrong and impregnable: within there is a rich bottom or plain of thirty miles long, and ſix broad, being beautified with ſix fair towns; the chief whereof are Cronſtadt, Juliaſtrad, and Hermanſtadt. The ſides of the mountains within riſe all upward, even half level way to the tops, which maketh a pleaſant and proſpective country, and the beſt mixed ſoil of Europe: for in the incircled plain, there groweth nothing but wheat, rye, barley, peaſe, and beans; and on the half, or lower parts of the hills about, nothing but vines, and infinite villages; and toward the extreme circulary heights, only paſturage for kine, ſheep, goats, and horſes, and thickets of woods, ſo framed, that every one ſupplieth another; for they of the valley furniſh the other two parts with victual, and they again them with wines, beſtial, butter, and cheeſe, each interchanging all neceſſary things with one another, as they need *. Here I found every where kind and familiar people; yea, and the very vulgar ſpeaking frequently Latin, and ſo commonly do all the Hungarians. The inhabitants here are all Proteſtants; but for their Waywode, or Prince Bethlem Gabor, I ſaw him not; for he was lying ſick of a fever at Juliaſtrad. This province is a free principality, and, notwithſtanding, adherent in ſome reſpect to the authority of the Turk. But now, having left this religious country, and croſſing the north paſſage of

A deſcription of Tranſilvania.

* The air in general is healthy, and temperate the ſoil, producing corn, wine, and fruits; and it is every where encompaſſed with foreſts on the ſides of high hills and mountains, in which are mines of all ſorts of minerals, particularly iron and copper. It is inhabited by the Siculi, Saxons, and Hungarians, and was formerly governed by a Waywode or prince of Tranſilvania; but ſince the year 1711, has been entirely ſubject to the Houſe of Auſtria.—Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

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the hills called *Borean Berger*, or *North Mountain*, I entered in Moldavia; where, for my welcome, in the midſt of a border-wood, I was beſet with ſix murderers, Hungarians and Moldavians; where having, with many prayers, ſaved my life, they robbed me of ſixty Hungarian duckets of gold, and all my Turkiſh cloaths, leaving me ſtark naked, ſave only they returned to me my patents, papers, and ſeals.

This done, and for their better ſecurity, they carried me a little out of the way, and bound my naked body faſt about the middle to an oak-tree, with wooden ropes, and my arms back ſo likewiſe; ſwearing to me, that if I cried for help, or marred them of their deſigns before the ſun-ſet, they would turn back and kill me; promiſing then to ſet me free.

A joyful deliverance from a deſperate thraldom.

But night come, and I forgotten, was left here in a trembling fear, for wolves and wild boars, till the morrow; where at laſt, by God's providence, I was relieved in the morning by a company of herds; who clothing me with an old long coat of theirs, and refreſhing me with meat, one of them carried me five leagues unto the Lord of the ground, the Baron of Starhulds, a Moldavian Proteſtant, with whom I ſtaid fifteen days, and was more than repaired of all my loſſes, by his own bounty, and noble kinſmen, his neighbouring friends; and he would not ſuffer me to go any further in the country, becauſe of the Turks jealouſy over ſtrangers, in regard it was but lately wreſted from a Chriſtian prince, with whom I was converſant at Conſtantinople, in Sir Thomas Glover the ambaſſador's houſe.

Well, I yield to the nobleman's counſel, and giving him all dutiful thanks for his kind regards, he ſent a guide with me for two days journey through a part of Podolia, the upmoſt country of Poland, bordering with Tartary.

The half of which country I found left diſinhabited and

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Gavin Sculp

The Author beset with Six Murderers in Moldavia

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and desolate, by incursions of Tartarians. Here I determined to have entered into Tartary; but finding no conduct nor assurance of my safety, I continued my course to Cracovia, situate on the upper frontiers of Poland, bordering with Hungary.

Tartary is thought to be six hundred leagues in length, bounded eastward, with China; to the south, with the Caspian sea; to the north, with Russia; and to the west, with Podolia and Moldavia.

The Tartars are not expert in war, neither are they so valiant as the Turks, nor so manly as the Polonians, who counter-blow them at rencounters; nevertheless, by stealth of inroads, they mightily suppress the extreme parts of Poland. The Turks term the Cham or Emperor of Tartary, *Ulakim*, that is, a great prince; and the Muscovites call him *Catzar Cataiski*, to wit, the Cæsar of Cataia; and he is so obeyed and reverenced among the Tartars, that they intitle him *the Son of God, the Man of God, and the soul of God*; yea, and the greatest oath that they think can be sworn, which they usually do in matters of fidelity and importance, is by his throne royal.

The Tartars are mighty oppressors of Podolia in Poland.

This custom of idolatrous obeisance came first by one Rangavistah, who being chosen to be their Emperor, would try their promptness and good-will of obedience towards him, commanding seven of his chief princes, and head governors under him, of the people, to kill their infants with their own hands.

And notwithstanding the commandment seemed very rude and intolerable, yet they fearing the common people, who esteem their Emperors to be the divine kinsmen (as it were) of God, they did cut the throats every one of them of their own children, before his own eyes, and the sight of the people.

Insomuch that, ever since, the life and death of the Tartars depend upon the good-will and word of the king, which no way they dare contradict; such is the

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ignorant reverence they carry toward him. As for the idolatrous rites they use at his death, in inclosing, or interring, quick in a vault, near to his tomb, one of every office that he loved best, being alive, to go serve him in paradise, I will not meddle with it, neither with the vulgar superstition, who religiously feast upon the corps of their aged parents, and then do burn their bones into ashes, giving them such a burial as we give our witches; for indeed the worms come short, among the dead Tartars, of their food.

A love not worthy thanks.

Being arrived at Cracow, or Cracovia, the capital city of Poland, (though but of small importance), I met with divers Scottish merchants, who were wonderful glad of my arrival there, especially the two brothers Dicksons, men of singular note for honesty and wealth. It was my luck here to be acquainted with Count du Torne, the first nobleman of Bohemia, who had newly broke out of prison in Prague, and fled hither from Bohemia for safety. Matthias then being Emperor, against whom he had highly offended, by boasting him in his bedchamber, with hard and intolerable speeches, saying to Matthias in his face, and before his wife the Empress, "Lo, there is the right hand that helped to put the Imperial crown on thy head; and behold now there is my foot shall strike it off again."

The Count of Torne fled from Prague to Poland.

This fugitive Earl detained me with him ten days to discourse and bear him company; for then he had but only one follower, that came post with him. I found him princely disposed in all things, and very familiar in his carriage. At last, his train and treasure coming, with many other Bohemian Barons and gentlemen his friends, I humbly left him, and touching at Lublin, where the judges of Poland sit for half the

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the year, I arrived at Warſaw *, the reſident place for the King Sigiſmond, who had newly married the other ſiſter of his former wife, being both ſiſters to this Ferdinando now Emperor: A match, I dare ſay, more fit for the ſavage Sabunks of Libya, than for a Chriſtian prince or ſhepherd.

This Sigiſmond King of Poland did marry two ſiſters of Ferdinando now Emperor.

But it is no matter, Pope Paulus Quintus gave him licence, and in that liberty, a wide paſſage to purgatory; where, when dead, that inceſtuous guilt will be royally purged: Lo there his pontifical abſolution.

Between Cracovia and Warſaw, Lublin, lying halfway, it is a hundred Polonian miles, or French leagues. Here I found abundance of gallant rich merchants, my countrymen, who were all very kind to me; and ſo were they by the way, in every place where I came, the concluſion being ever ſealed with deep draughts, and, "God be with you."

Poland is a large and mighty kingdom, powerful in horſemen, and populous of ſtrangers, being charged with a proud nobility, a familiar and manly gentry, and a ruvidous vulgarity. They are all, for the moſt part, of ſquare and thick bodies, having bull-necks, great thighs and legs, grim and broad faces, and commonly their ſhaven heads are finely covered with overthwarting ſtrokes of crooked ſhables; for they, and the Armenians of Aſia, are of ſtature and thickneſs the biggeſt and groſſeſt people the world affordeth.

The ſoil is wonderful fruitful of corns; ſo that this country is become the granary of weſtern Europe for all ſorts of grain, beſides honey, wax, flax, iron, and other commodities. And for auſpicuouſneſs, I may

* Warſaw is the capital of Warſovia, and of all Poland, alſo the Royal reſidence, it is a large and populous city, defended by a double wall and ditch. In the year 1708, a plague ſwept off thirty thouſand people here, and a fire, for nine days, almoſt burnt down the whole city.——Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

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Poland is the nurſe of Scotland's common younglings.

rather term it to be a mother and nurſe for the youth and younglings of Scotland, who are yearly ſent hither in great numbers, than a proper dame for her own birth, in cloathing, feeding, and enriching them with the fatneſs of her beſt things, beſides thirty thouſand Scots families that live incorporate in her bowels. And certainly Poland may be termed in this kind to be the mother of our commons, and the firſt commencement of all our beſt merchants wealth, or at the leaſt moſt part of them.

And now ceaſing to perambulate through any more particulars of this familiar nation to us, I was kindly tranſported from Warſaw upon a waggon to Dantzick, being fifty leagues diſtant, with a generous young merchant, William Baillie, my Clydeſdale countryman, to whoſe courteſies I ſtill reſt thankful.

Here, in Dantzick, I fell deadly ſick for three weeks ſpace, inſomuch that my grave and tomb was prepared by my countrymen there.

Nevertheleſs, in the end it pleaſed Almighty God I recovered my health, and then imbarked for Elſinore in Denmark; where being better recovered, I returned back in a Flemiſh pink to Stockholm; where, after five or ſix days being there, and finding my ſickneſs like to return again, and fearing the worſt, I made haſte for England.

At laſt, finding the commodity of an Engliſh ſhip belonging to Ratcliffe, we hoiſted ſail, and ſet forward through the ſound, or Baltic ſea, for Elſinore again: Whence, after three days abode, bidding farewell to that tributary town and caſtle, we coaſted the ſcurrile and rocky face of Norway, at two ſeveral parts: but not without great ſtorms, and contrary winds; yea, and once finally endangered with a threatening ſhipwreck, which, with good luck, we happily eſcaped.

Theſe tempeſtuous dangers paſt, upon the ſeventh day the winds again favouring us, we ſafely arrived at London;

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London; from whence I firſt began this voyage, and there ended my ſecond peregrination.

Magnum virtutis principium eſt, ut dixit paulatim exercitatus; animus viſibilia et tranſitoria primum commutare, ut poſt modum poſſit derelinquere. Delicatus ille eſt adhuc, cui patria dulcis eſt; fortis autem jam cui omne ſolum patria eſt; perfectus vero, cui mundus exilium eſt.

The end of the ſecond Book of my Travels.

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PART X.

The Third Book of my Travels.

Now ſwoln ambition, bred from curious toil,
Invites my feet, to tread parch'd Ethiop's ſoil;
To ſight great Preſter John, and his empire,
That mighty king, their prince, their prieſt, their ſire;
Their laws, religion, manners, life, and frame;
And Amais, mount-rais'd, library of fame.
Well, I am ſped, bid England's courts adieu,
And by the way Hibernia's bounds I view;
In whoſe defects the truth, like razor ſharp,
Shall ſadly tune my new-ſtring'd Iriſh harp.
Then ſcud I France, and croſs'd the Pyrenees
At the Columbian heights, which threat the ſkies;
And coaſting Pampelun, I trac'd all Spain,
From Behobia to Jubile Taure again.
Then reſt'd at Malaga, where I was ſhent
And taken for a ſpy, cruſh'd, rack'd, and rent.
Where, ah! when treaſon try'd, by falſe poſition,
They wreſted on me their lawleſs inquiſition;
Which, after tortures, hunger, vermine, gnaſhes,
Condemn'd me quick, ſtake bound, to burn in aſhes.
God's providence comes in, and I'm diſcovered
By merchants means, by Aſton laſt delivered:
Where noble Mauntſel, general of that fleet,
That I was rack'd for, did kind Halkins greet,
With ſtrict command, to ſend me home for court,
To ſhew King James my torments, pangs, and tort.

Lo

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Lo I am come, to Bath I'm ſent, and more
Mine hopeleſs life, made worlds my ſight deplore;
Which here I'll ſing, in tragic tune, to all
That love the truth, and look for Babel's fall.

BUT now having finiſhed the two deſcriptions of my firſt and ſecond adventures, it reſts now moſt neceſſary to relate the meritorious deſign, and miſerable effect, of my third voyage. After I had (I ſay), by the great providence of God, eſcaped infinite dangers by ſeas, ſuffering thrice ſhipwreck; by land, in woods, and on mountains, often invaded; by ravenous beaſts, crawling and venomous worms, daily incumbered; by home-bred robbers, and remote ſavages, five times ſtripped to the ſkin; exceſſive fatigue, unſpeakable adverſities, parching heats, ſcorching drought, intolerable diſtreſſes of hunger, impriſonments, and cold; yet all theſe almoſt incredible ſufferings paſt, could never abate the flame of my auſtere affection conceived; but ambitious curioſity expoſing me to a third voyage, I may ſay as Æneas did in his penitential mood,

O ſocii, (neque enim ignari ſumus ante malorum)
O paſſi graviora: dabit Deus his quoque finem.

O ſocials! we're not ignorant of loſſes;
O ſufferings ſad, God too will end theſe croſſes.

But to obſerve a methodical order, I think it beſt to ſhew the unacquainted reader a reaſonable ſatisfaction for undertaking this third, and almoſt invincible attempt.

Firſt, The moſt ſpecial and urgent cauſe proceeded from a neceſſary good (the neceſſity of knowledge) in the requiſite perfection of Europe's full and ſpacious ſight, the ancient tierce, and now moſt Chriſtian world, leaving formerly no part thereof unſeen, as well under the

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the Turk as Chriſtian, except Ireland, and the half of Spain.

Certain approved reaſons.

The ſecond cauſe was moved from a more inſatiate content, that when I had compaſſed all Europe, my reſolution was, to travel a larger extent of ground in Afric than formerly I had done twice before, even to Æthiopia, Preſter John's dominions. For the ſame effect, and a greater impreſſion to my reſolution, I ſet pen to paper, drawing from the diſtaff of the muſes a poetical pamphlet, dedicated to themſelves, to their profound Apollo, his then hopeful heir, and divers noble peers of both kingdoms.

And having, from a royal favour, obtained his Majeſty's letters, and ſeals of ſafe conduct, and regal recommendation to all kings, princes, and dukes, &c. I, in all obſequious humility, bid farewel to this ſequeſtrate and moſt auſpicious monarchy; and arriving at Dublin in Ireland, Auguſt 22. 1619, I ſaluted the Right Honourable Sir Oliver St John's, late Lord Grandiſon, and then Lord-deputy there; to whom, for regard and ſingular courteſies, I was greatly obliged; ſo was I alſo to many of the Engliſh nobility and knighthood there, who, through the whole country where-ever I came, entertained me kindly, ſending guides with me from place to place; yea, and ſometimes ſafeguards alſo; beſide in their houſes great good cheer and welcome. But in ſpecial, a dutiful remembrance I owe to the memory of that once judicious and religious Lord Arthur, late Lord Chicheſter, Baron of Belfaſt, &c.; who, in his time, for virtue, wiſdom, and valour, wore the diadem of love, and garland of true nobleneſs. Of whom, and for whoſe loſs, if I ſhould more praiſe, and longer lament, my ink would turn to briniſh tears, and I to helpleſs ſorrow. But leaving him who lived in goodneſs here, and now in glory for ever, I celebrate theſe lines to his eternal fame.

The matchleſs Lord Chicheſter, for virtue, wiſdom, and valour.

If

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If ever bounty ſhin'd in loyal breaſt,
If ever judgement flow'd from generous mouth,
If ever viceroy rul'd this kingdom beſt,
If ever valour honour'd hopeful youth,
If ever wiſdom Aſtrea's worth poſſeſs'd,
If ever virtue was inclin'd to ruth,
If ever juſtice enormities redreſs'd,
If ever patron pattern was of truth;
Then, noble Chicheſter, the heavens aſſign,
Theſe gifts (thy honour'd parts) were truly thine.

And now, after a general ſurvey of the whole kingdom (the north-weſt part of Canoch excepted) was accompliſhed, from the 1ſt of September till the laſt of February, I found the goodneſs of the ſoil more than anſwerable to my expectation, the defect only remaining (not ſpeaking of our colonies) in the people, and from them, in the boſom of two graceleſs ſiſters, Ignorance and Sluggiſhneſs.

This kingdom is divided into four provinces, although ſome make five, that is, eaſtern and weſtern Maith; but they are underſtood to be annexed to Leinſter. Their names are theſe, Leinſter, Munſter, Ulſter, and Canoch; the ſouthmoſt whereof is Munſter, a ſoil (and ſo is Leinſter in moſt parts) nothing inferior, if ſeaſonably manured, to the beſt grounds in England. The iſland lieth almoſt in a rotundo, being every way ſpacious; the greateſt river whereof is Shannon, whoſe courſe amounteth to a hundred and ſixty miles, incloſing within it many little iſles. *The four provinces of Ireland.*

And this I dare avow, there are more rivers, lakes, brooks, ſtrands, quagmires, bogs, and marſhes in this country, than in all Chriſtendom beſides; for traveling there in the winter, all my daily ſolace was ſink-down comfort; ſometimes boggy plunging deeps, touching my horſe's belly; ſometimes over-mired ſaddle, body, and all; and often and ever ſet a ſwimming, in great danger, both I and my guides, of our lives; that

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that for cloudy and fountain-bred perils, I was never before reduced to ſuch a floating labyrinth. Conſidering that, in five months ſpace, I quite ſpoiled ſix horſes, and myſelf as tired as the worſt of them.

And now I call to memory, (not without deriſion), though I conceal the particular place and prelate, it was my fortune, in the county of Dunnegal, to be jovial with a biſhop at his table; where, after divers diſcourſes, my ghoſtly father grew offended with me for terming of his wife *miſtreſs*; which, when underſtood, I both called her *Madam* and *Lady Biſhop*. Whereupon he grew more incenſed, and I left him unſatisfied. Reſolve me, reader, if it be the cuſtom here or not? and if, amends ſhall repay overſight, a ghoſtly wife ſhall be ſtill Madam Lady with me; if not, my obſerved manner ſhall be Miſtreſs.

The ignorant and ſluggiſh life of the common Iriſh.

But now, to come to my intended diſcourſe of Ireland, true it is, to make a fit compariſon, the Barbarian Moor, the Mooriſh Spaniard, the Turk, and the Iriſhman, are the leaſt induſtrious, and moſt ſluggiſh livers under the ſun; for the vulgar Iriſh, I proteſt, live more miſerably in their brutiſh faſhion, than the undaunted or untamed Arabian, the deviliſh idolatrous Turkoman, or the moon-worſhipping Caramines; ſhewing thereby a greater neceſſity they have to live, than any pleaſure they have, or can have, in their living.

Their fabrics are advanced three or four yards high, pavilion-like incircling, erected in a ſingular frame of ſmoke-torn ſtraw, green long-pricked turf, and rain-dropping wattles. Their ſeveral rooms, of palatiate diviſions, as chambers, halls, parlours, kitchens, barns, and ſtables, are all incloſed in one, and that one perhaps in the midſt of a mire; where, when in foul weather, ſcarcely can they find a dry part whereupon to repoſe their cloud-baptized heads. Their ſhirts being woven of the wool or linen of their own nature, and their penurious food like to their ruvid condition.

And,

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And, laſtly, theſe only titular Chriſtians are ſo ignorant in their ſuperſtitious profeſſion of Popery, that neither they, nor the greateſt part of their prieſts, know or underſtand what the myſtery of the maſs is, which they daily ſee, and the other celebrate, nor what the name of Jeſus is, either in his divine or human nature. Aſk him of his religion, he replieth, What his father, his great-grandfather were, that will he be alſo. And hundreds of better than the common ſort have demanded me, if Jeruſalem and Chriſt's ſepulchre were in Ireland? and if the Holy Land was contiguous with St Patrick's purgatory?

They alſo, at the ſight of each new moon *, (I ſpeak it credibly), bequeath their cattle to her protection, humbly imploring the pale lady of the night, that ſhe will leave their beſtial in as good plight as ſhe found them; and if ſick, ſcabbed, or ſore, they ſolicit her maiden-faced Majeſty to reſtore them to their health. In which abſurdity they far ſurmount the ſilly Sabunks, and Garolinean Moors of Libya †. Indeed of all things (beſides their ignorance) I only lamented their heavy bondage under three kinds of maſters; the landlord for his rent, the miniſter for his

A fooliſh and ſuperſtitious error.

* To theſe may be added a number of ſuperſtitions. I cannot tell whether the wilder ſort of the Iriſh yield divine honour unto the moon; for when they ſee her firſt after the change, commonly they bow the knee, and ſay over the Lord's prayer: and ſo ſoon as they have made an end, they ſpeak unto the moon with a loud voice, in this manner, "Leave us as whole and ſound as thou haſt found us." They take unto them Wolves to be their Godgibs, whom they term *Chari Chriſt*, praying for them, and wiſhing them well; and ſo they are not afraid to be hurt by them, &c. —— Cambden's Britannia.

† The Iriſh at this day, when they go to battle, ſay certain prayers or charms to their ſwords, making a croſs therewith upon the earth, and thruſting the points of their blades into the ground, thinking thereby to have the better ſucceſs in fight. They alſo ſwear by their Lord's hand; and to forſwear it, hold it more criminal than to ſwear by God Almighty. —— Spenſer's View of the ſtate of Ireland.

tithes,

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tithes, and the Romish priest for his fees. And remark, when their own Irish rent-masters have any voyage for Dublin, or peradventure superspended at home in feasting of strangers, then must these poor ones be taxed and afflicted with the supply of the wasted provision of their prodigal houses; otherwise in supporting their superfluous charges for Dublin.

O what a slavish servitude do these silly wretches endure, the most part of whom, in all their lives, have never third-part food, nature's clothing, nor a secure shelter for the winter's cold!

The miserable sight whereof, and their sad-sounding groans, have often drawn a sorrowful remorse from my humane compassion.

As for their gentry, such as are brought up here at London, learn to become a great deal more civil than those who are brought up at home, after their own rude and accustomable manner. And this I observed, in my traversing the whole kingdom, I never saw one or other, neither could move any of that nation to pledge or present his Majesty's health; but as many other healths as you please, they will both fasten and receive from you, till they fall in the muddy hoth-potch of their dead grandfathers understanding. Indeed for entertainment of strangers, they are freely disposed; and there gentlemen of any good sort, reserve ever in their houses Spanish sack, and Irish uscova, and will be as tipsy with their wives, their priests, and their friends, as though they were naturally infeoft in the eleven royal taverns of Naples.

Two intolerable abuses in Ireland.

And now, amongst many, there are two intolerable abuses of protections in that kingdom; the one of thieves and wood-carns, the other of priests and Papists. I discourse of these corruptions now as I found them then *.

The

* They account it no shame or infamy to commit robberies, which they practise every where with great cruelty. When they go to rob, they pour out their prayers to God, that they may meet with a booty. They spare neither churches nor hallowed places; but thence

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The firſt is prejudicial to all Chriſtian civility, tranquil government, and a great diſcouragement for our coloniſed planters there, belonging to both ſoils of this iſland, being daily moleſted, and nightly incumbered, with theſe blood-ſucking rebels.

And notwithſtanding of their barbarous cruelty, ever executed at all advantages, with ſlaughter and murder upon the Scots and Engliſh dwellers there *, yet they

thence alſo they fill their hands with ſpoil; yea, and ſometimes they ſet them on fire, and kill the men that there lie hidden. And the cauſe hereof is, the moſt filthy life of their prieſts, who of churches make profane houſes, and keep harlots, who follow them whitherſoever they go; but when they are caſt off, ſeek cunning devices to do miſchief by poiſons. The prieſts, lemans, and their baſtards, abide within the circuit of a church, drink until they be drunk, lie together, ſhed blood, and keep up their cattle there. —— Cambden's Britannia.

† About the month of May 1642, when the Scottiſh army, under the command of Major-General Monro, had marched from Carrickfergus, taken in the Newery, beaten the Iriſh out of thoſe parts, with the ſlaughter of many of them, Sir Phelim O'Neal cauſed five thouſand Britiſh, whom he detained in Armagh Tyron, and other parts of the north, to be moſt miſerably murdered in the ſpace of three days. Near unto the deponent's houſe, thirty-ſix perſons were carried to the Cure-bridge at one time, and drowned; at another time, ſix and fifty men, women, and children, all of them being taken out of the deponent's houſe; and at ſeveral other times, ſeveral other numbers, beſides thoſe that were drowned in the black water at Kinnaird, in which town, and the pariſh of Tinon, (whereof the deponent was rector), there was drowned, ſlaughtered, and died of famine, and for want of cloaths, about ſix hundred. The deponent might add to theſe many thouſands more; but the diary which he this deponent wrote amongſt the rebel Iriſh being burned, with his houſe, books, and all his papers, he referreth himſelf to the number in groſs, which the Iriſh themſelves have, upon inquiry, found out, and acknowledged; which, notwithſtanding, will come ſhort of all that have been murdered in Ireland; there being above one hundred and fifty thouſand Proteſtants now wanting of the Britiſh [illegible] the very precinct of Ulſter.

Depoſed 22d of Auguſt 1642. WILLIAM ALDRICH.
HENRY BRERETON.

Sir John Temple's Hiſtory of the Iriſh rebellion.

N. B. This happened a few years after the author was in Ireland.

have,

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have, and find at their own wills, simonaical protections, for lesser or longer times; ever as the confused disposers have their law-sold hands filled with the bloody bribes of slaughtered lives, highway and house robbed people. And then thereafter, their ill-got means being spent, like unto dogs, they return back to their former vomit; so juggling with their in and out goings, like to the restless ocean, that they cannot, nor ever did, become true subjects to our King, nor faithful friends to their country. Unless, by extremity of justice, the one still hanged before the other, the remnant by the gallows may exemplify amendment, contrariwise, that land shall never be quiet: for these villanous wood-carns are but the hounds of their hunting priests, against what faction soever their malicious malignity is intended; partly for entertainment, partly for particular spleens, and lastly for a general disturbance of the country, for the priests greater security and stay.

The filthy corruption of Irish priests and wood-carns, thievish rebels.

The other abuse is, their libertinous masses; the redress whereof, I first to the heavens, and then to my prince bequeath; whose sabbath recusant money, whereof they brag, (as they say), in derision of our luke-warm dispensation, tendeth to none other purpose, but to obumbrate the true light of the gospel, and to feed their absurd and almost irrevocable ignorance.

And nevertheless, at their daily meetings, (experience taught me), there was never a more repining people against our prince and church as they be: for in this presumption a two-fold cause ariseth, want of zeal, and church-discipline on our part, and the officious nine-penny mass on their part; yea, all and each of them, so exacted and compounded with at higher or lower rates, as the officers in this nature please.

The distribution whereof I no wise parallel to the slight concaviating veins of the earth, nor the sole supply of high-rising Atlas, neither to envelop the perpendiculars of long-reaching Caucasus; howsoever demolished

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liſhed churches, impaſſable bridges, indigent ſcholars, and diſtreſſed families, be ſupported therewith, I am as clear of it as they, although I ſmart by the contrary confuſion.

But leaving this, and obſerving my method, I remember I ſaw in the north parts of Ireland two remarkable ſights; the one was their manner of tillage, ploughs drawn by horſe-tails, wanting garniſhing, they are only faſtened with ſtraw, or wooden ropes, to their bare rumps, marching all ſide for ſide, three or four in a rank, and as many men hanging by the ends of that untoward labour. It is as bad a huſbandry, I ſay, as ever I found among the wildeſt ſavages alive; for Caramines, who underſtand not the civil form of agriculture, yet they delve, hollow, and turn over the ground, with manual and wooden inſtruments. But the Iriſh have thouſands of both kingdoms daily labouring beſide them; yet they cannot learn, becauſe they will not learn, to uſe garniſhing, ſo obſtinate they are in their barbarous cuſtoms, unleſs puniſhment and penalties were inflicted; and yet moſt of them are content to pay twenty ſhillings a-year, before they will change their cuſtom.

A bad and uncivil huſbandry in Ireland.

The other as goodly ſight I ſaw was women traveling or toiling at home, carrying their infants about their necks, and laying their dugs over their ſhoulders, would give ſuck to the babes behind their backs, without taking them in their arms. Such kind of breaſts, methinketh, were very fit to be made money-bags for Eaſt or Weſt Indian merchants, being more than half a yard long, and as well wrought as any tanner, in the like charge, could ever mollify ſuch leather.

Northern Iriſh women giving ſuck to their babes behind their ſhoulders.

As for any other cuſtoms they have, to avoid prolixity, I ſpare: only, before my pen fly over ſeas, I would gladly ſhake hands with ſome of our churchmen

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there; for better are the wounds of a friend, than the ſweet ſmile of a flatterer; for love and truth cannot diſſemble.

Many diſſembling impudents intrude themſelves in this high calling of God, who are not truly, neither worthily, thereunto called; the ground here ariſing either from a carnal or careleſs preſumption, otherwiſe from needy, greedy, and lack of bodily maintenance.

An eccleſiaſtic corruption in unlawful preachers.

Such is now the corruption of time, that I know here even mechanic men admitted in the place of paſtors; yea, and rude-bred ſoldiers, whoſe education was at the muſket-mouth, are become there both Libyan grave, and unlearned churchmen; nay, beſides them profeſſed, indeed profeſſed ſcholars, whoſe warbling mouths, ingorged with ſpoonfuls of bruiſed Latin, ſeldom or never expreſſed, unleſs the force of quaffing ſpew it forth from their empty ſculls; ſuch, I ſay, confine their doctrine between the thatch and the church-walls tops; and yet their ſmalleſt ſtipends ſhall amount to one, two, three, or four hundred pounds a-year.

Whereupon you may demand me, how ſpend they, or how deſerve they this? I anſwer, Their deſerts are nought, and the fruit thereof as naughtily ſpent; for ſermons and prayers they never have any; neither have they ever preached any, nor can preach.

And although ſome could, as perhaps they ſeeming would, they ſhall have no auditor (as they ſay) but bare walls, the plants of their pariſhes being the roots of mere Iriſh. As concerning their carriage in ſpending ſuch ſacrilegious fees, the courſe is thus.

The alehouſe is their church, the Iriſh prieſts their conſorts; their auditors be, Fill and fetch more; their text Spaniſh ſack, their prayers carouſing, their ſinging of pſalms whiffing of tobacco, their laſt bleſſing *aqua vitæ*, and all their doctrine ſound drunkenneſs.

And

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And whenſoever theſe parties do meet, their parting is Dane-like, from a Dutch pot, and the miniſter, ſtill purſe-bearer, defrayeth all charges for the prieſt. Arguments of religion, like Podolian Polonians, they ſuccumb; their conference only pleading mutual forbearance; the miniſter afraid of the prieſt's wood-carns, and the prieſts as fearful of the miniſter's apprehending or denoting them; contracting thereby a Gibeonized covenant; yea, and for more ſubmiſſion's ſake, he will give way to the prieſt to mumble maſs in his church, where in all his life he never made prayer nor ſermon.

A flattering covenant betwixt miniſters and maſs-prieſts.

Lo there are ſome of the abuſes of our late weak and ſtraggling eccleſiaſtics there, and the ſoul-ſunk ſorrow of godleſs epicures and hypocrites.

To all which, and much more, have I been an ocular teſtator, and ſometimes a conſtrained conſociate to their companionry; yet not ſo much inforced, as deſirous to know the behaviour and converſation of ſuch mercenary Jebuſites.

Great God amend it, for it is great pity to behold it; and if it continue ſo ſtill, as when I ſaw them laſt, O far better it were, that theſe ill-beſtowed tithes, and church-wall rents, were diſtributed to the poor and needy, than to ſuffocate the ſwine-fed bellies of ſuch idle and profane paraſites.

And here another general abuſe I obſerved, that whenſoever any Iriſh die, the friend of the defunct (beſides other fees) paying twenty ſhillings to the Engliſh curate, ſhall get the corpſe of the deceaſed to be buried within the church, yea often even under the pulpit-foot; and for lucre, interred in God's ſanctuary when dead, who, when alive, would never approach nor enter the gates of Sion, to worſhip the Lord, nor conform themſelves to true religion.

Truly ſuch, and the like abuſes, and evil examples of lewd lives, have been the greateſt hindrance of that land's converſion; for ſuch, like wolves, have been, from

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time to time, but ſtumbling blocks before them; regarding more their own ſenſual and licentious ends, than the glory of God, in converting of one ſoul unto his church.

Now as concerning the unconſcionable carriage of the Iriſh clergy, aſk me, and there my reply. As many of them (for the moſt part) as are Proteſtant [illegible]rs, have their wives, children, and [illegible]tants inveſted Papiſts; and many of theſe churchmen at the hour of their death, like dogs return back to their former vomit. Witneſs the late Vicar of Calin (belonging to the late and laſt Richard Earl of Deſmond, who being on his deathbed, and having two hundred pounds a year; finding himſelf to forſake both life and ſtipend, ſent ſtraight for a Romiſh prieſt, and received the Popiſh ſacrament: confeſſing freely in my hearing, that he had been a Roman-catholic all his life, diſſembling only with his religion, for the better maintaining of his wife and children. And being brought to the burial-place, he was interred in the church, with which he had played the ruffian all his life; being openly carried at mid-day with Jeſuits, prieſts, and friars of his own nation, and after a contemptible manner, in deriſion of our profeſſion, and laws of the kingdom.

Miniſterial offices ſtrangely abuſed.

Infinite more examples of this kind could I recite, and the like reſemblances of ſome being alive; but I reſpectfully ſuſpend, (wiſhing a reformation of ſuch deformity), and ſo concludeth this clerical corruption there. Yet I would not have the reader to think, that I condemn all our clergy there; no, God forbid; for I know there are many ſound and religious preachers of both kingdoms among them, who make conſcience of their calling, and live as lanthorns to incapable ignorants, and to thoſe ſtraggling Stoicks I complain of condemnatory judges; for it is a grievous thing to ſee incapable men to juggle with the high myſteries of man's ſalvation.

And

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And now after the wearisome ending of a tempestuous rain-sacking toil, I embarked at Yoghall in Munster, February 27. 1620. in a little French pink bound for St Malo in Bretagne. Where, when transported, I set forward to Paris, where I found the works of two wicked and perverse authors, the one of which had disdainfully wrote against the life and reign of Queen Elisabeth of eternal renown: the other ignominiously, upon the death of our late Queen Anne of ever blessed memory. The circumstances whereof I will not avouch, since Malaga detaineth the notes of their abjured names, and perfidious pains. *My departure from Ireland to France.*

A just reward (may I say) is founded upon these fond conceits you have of the fantastic French: especially these superstitious stragglers here; who, when they have sucked the milk of their self-ends, and your lavish liberalities without desert, return a kick with their heels (like to the colt of an ass) in your teeth again. And there your meritorious thanks, and their shameful slanders in acquittance of your very vain expence.

Tell me, if you be tied like apes to imitate their ever-changing humours? And can you draw from them (in any art or carriage) a greater draught, than they draw from the Italian: for first, they are imitators; next, mutators; thirdly, temptators; and lastly, your plantators in all the varieties of vanity *. Have you a desire to learn modestly to dance, *The fantastic foolery of the French.*

* When an Englishman comes to Paris, he cannot appear until he has undergone a total metamorphosis. At his first arrival, he finds it necessary to send for the tailor, peruquier, hatter, shoemaker, and every other tradesman concerned in the equipment of the human body. He must even change his buckles, and the form of his ruffles, and, though at the risk of his life, suit his cloaths to the mode of the season. —— On his return to his own country, all this frippery is useless. He cannot appear in London until he has undergone another metamorphosis; so that he will have some reason to think, that the tradesmen of Paris and London have combined to lay him under contribution; and they no doubt are the directors who regulate the fashions in both capitals, &c. —— Dr Smollet's Travels.

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ſkilfully to fence, dexterouſly to manage great horſes, view foreign fights, learn languages, human policies, and the like conducements?

Then rather reach the fountain whence they flow,
Whence ſcience, arts, and practice lively grow,
Than ſuck the ſtreams of ſeparate diſtaſtes;
He well derives, whoſe labour never waſtes,
Fond fools affect, what foolery fools effect,
The ſequel ſight, than ſenſe, doth more infect.

Beſides theſe two infamous authors, what hath Edee, the idea of a knave (and gentleman of the French privy-chamber) done; who, like a wood weather-cock, and giddy-headed fool, (full of deficient vapours) hath ſhamefully ſtained, with his ſhameleſs pen, the light of this kingdom, which now I omit to avouch till a fitter time?

Thus they fondly write, thus they prattle, thus they ſing, thus they dance, thus they brangle, thus they dally in capricious humours, and thus they vary in the fleering conceit of ſa, ſa, ſa, ſa, ſa, far beyond the inconſtancy of all female inconſtancies.

Certain caveats for ſtrangers that go to France.

But to conclude this epitome of France, three things I wiſh the way-faring man to prevent there: Firſt, the eating of victuals, and drinking of wine without price-making; leſt (when he hath done), for the ſtridor of his teeth, his charges be redoubled*. Next to chuſe his lodging (if it fall out in any way-ſtanding tavern) far from marſhy ditches, leſt

* To an Engliſhman it ſeems very ſtrange to get into an inn, and make a bargain for his bed, his ſupper, his horſes, and ſervants, before he eats or ſleeps; yet this is common in France, and for a ſtranger even neceſſary: For though you will meet with no kind of civil reception at the inns upon the road in France, as with us, at your entrance, you will meet with an exorbitant bill (without this precaution) at your departure. Therefore, when you come into an inn, where you intend to ſtay all night, or to dine, aſk the price of your

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left the vehemency of chirking frogs, vex the wished for repose of his wearied body, and cast him in a vigilant perplexity.

And lastly, unless he would arise early, I never wish him to lie near the fore-streets of a town; because of the disturbing clamours of the peasant samboys or nail wooden shoes; whose noise like an equivox, resembleth the clashing armour of armies; or the clangor of the Ulysses tumbling horse to fatal Troy.

But now to my purpose, leaving Paris behind me, I arrived at Pau in Bearn. This province is a principality of itself, anciently annexed to the kingdom of Navarre, lying between the higher Gascony of Guyan, and the Pyrenean mountains of Baske, bordering with the north parts of Navarre; both of which belongeth to the French king, except a little of Baske toward the Columbian Alpes, and that the Spaniard commandeth.

Pau is the justice-seat of Bearn, having a goodly castle situate on an artificial rock; and in this place was the martial Henry IV. born, then king of Navarre.

Here are the finest gardens in Christendom, the gardens of Pretolino (five miles from Florence) only excepted. Yet for fair arbors, spacious over-filing walks, and incorporate trees of interchanging growth, it surpasseth Pretolino: but the other for the variety of fructiferous trees, rare and admirable ponds, artificial fountains, Diana and her alabaster nymphly-pourtrayed train, the counterbanding force of Aguadotti, and the exquisite banquetting room, continued among sounding unseen waters, in form of Gargantus's body, it much excelleth Pau.

Hence I descended the river of Orthes to Bajon,

your room and bed, and order a supper or dinner, at thirty, forty, fifty, or sixty sols per head. You will then be well served, with perhaps many dishes; any one of which, had you ordered in particular, would have been charged triple. —— Mr Thicknesse's and Mr Steven's Travels through France.

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Biſcay in Spain is a barren country.

and croſſing the river Behobia, which divideth France and Spain, I entered into Biſcay, June 19. 1629. This is a mountainous and invincible country, (of which Victoria is the chief city) being a barren and almoſt unprofitable ſoil. The ſpecial commodities whereof are ſheep, wool as ſoft as ſilk, goats, and excellent good iron. Corns they have none, or little at all; neither wine, but what is brought from Navarre in pelagoes, or ſwine-ſkins, carried on mulets backs.

Leaving Biſcay, I entered Navatre, and came to Pampeluna its metropolitan city: here I found the poorest viceroy (*nomen ſine re*) with the leaſt means to maintain him, that ever the world afforded ſuch a ſtyle. Navarre is but a little kingdom, amounting in length (with the ſouth pendicles of the high Pyrenees) to twenty-three leagues; that is, between Porto di St Johanne in Baſque, and Grono upon the river Hebro, dividing the old Caſtile and Navarre. In breadth it extendeth to ſeventeen leagues; that is, between Varen in Biſcay, and Terrafranca, in Arragon; the ſoil is indifferent fertile of corns and wines. From thence I ſet eaſtward to Siraguſa, the capital ſeat of Arragon.

Arragon hath Navarre to the weſt; ſouth, Valentia kingdom; eaſt and ſouth-eaſt, Catalonia; and on the north, the Pyrenean Alpes. It is an ancient and famous kingdom, under whoſe juriſdiction were both the petty kingdoms of Valencia and Barcelona; and not long ago was given to the Caſtilian king by marriage; for although Caſtile hath the language, they have the lineal deſcent of the Romans; the inhabitants whereof being inſtinctively endued with all human affabilities. From thence, returning through the old Caſtile, or kingdom of Burgos, in the way to St Jago of Compoſtella in Galicia; it was my fortune at St Domingo to enter the town-church, accompanied by two French puppies, mindful to ſhew me a miraculous matter.

Where, when come, I eſpied over my head oppoſite

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ſite to the great altar, two milk-white hens, enravelled in an iron cage, on the inner ſide of the porches promontore. *A lying miracle.* And demanding why they were kept, or what they ſignified? Certain Spaniards replied, Come along with us, and you ſhall ſee the ſtory: and being brought to the (choro) it was drawn thereon as followeth. The father and the ſon, two Bourboneans of France, going in pilgrimage to St James, it was their lot to lodge here in an inn; where, ſupper ended, and reckoning paid, the hoſt perceiving their denariate charge, he entered their chamber when they were aſleep, and in bed, conveying his own purſe in the young man's budget.

To-morrow early, the two innocent pilgrims, footing the hard bruiſing way, were quickly over-hied by the Juſtice; where the hoſt making ſearch for his purſe, found it in the ſon's bag. Whereupon inſtantly, and in the ſame place he was hanged, and left hanging there, ſeizing on their money by a ſentential forfeiture.

The ſorrowful father, notwithſtanding, continued his pilgrimage to Compoſtella. Where, when come, and devotion made, our Lord of Mount Serata appeared to him, ſaying, *Thy prayers are heard, and thy groans have pierced my heart; ariſe, and return to St Domingo, for thy ſon liveth.* And he accordingly returned, found it ſo, and the ſon-hanged monſter, after thirty days abſence, ſpoke thus from the gallows: *Father, go to our hoſt, and ſhew him I live; then ſpeedily return.* By which direction the old man entered the town, and finding the hoſt at table, in breaking up of two roaſted pullets, told him, and ſaid, *My ſon liveth, come and ſee.* To which the ſmiling hoſt replied, He is as ſurely alive on the gallows, as theſe two pullets are alive in the diſh. At which proteſtation, the two fire-ſcorched fowls leaped out ſuddenly alive, with heads, wings, feathers, and feet; and cackling, took flight thrice about the table. *A damnable deluſion of a deviliſh miracle.*

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ble. This amazing ſight made the aſtoniſhed hoſt to confeſs his guiltineſs, and the other being relieved from the rope, he was hung up in his place, allotting his houſe for an hoſpitality to pilgrims for ever.

There are ſtill two hens reſerved here, in memory of this miracle, and always changed, as they grow fat, for the prieſts chops, being freely given to the place. And I dare ſwearing ſay, theſe prieſts eat fatter hens than Don Philippo himſelf, they being fed by the people's devotion, at their entrance to the morning and evening ſacrifices, and are termed *holy hens*. Much paper could I blot, with relating the like abſurdities, and miraculous lies of the Romiſh church; but leaving them till a fitter occaſion, I proceed. From thence traverſing a great part of the higher Aſturia, I entered into Galicia, and found the country ſo barren, the people ſo poor, and victuals ſo ſcarce, that this importunate inforcement withdrew me from St Jaques, to Portugal: where I found little better, or leſſer relief, their ſoil being abſolute ſterile, deſert, and mountainous.

The kingdom of Portugal.

Portugal was formerly called *Luſitania*, and *Hiſpania Ulterior*: It is three hundred and twenty miles in length, ſixty-eight in breadth, and ſometimes under. When under the dominion of the Moors it was divided into two kingdoms: the one reſerved the name of all; the other was called *Agarbas*; an Arabic word, that ſignifieth the weſtern part: and were divided with the river Guadron, and the two caſtles Odebera and Alcotino. Agarbas was toward the ſouth, and Portugal northward.

Portugal is now confined, on the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, with Andaluſia; weſt and ſouth-weſt, the main ocean; Galicia to the north; and eaſtward, the old and new Caſtile. After twenty days toilſome climbing in this kingdom, I returned to Salamanca in Caſtilia Vecchia, the ſacerdotal univerſity of Spain; whence ſpring theſe flocks of ſtudents that overſwarm the whole land with rogueries, robberies, and begging. From thence traverſing the Alpes of Siera de Caderama, (which di-

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vided the two Caſtiles) I deſcended the ſouth ſide of the mountains, and arrived at the Eſcurial, where then the late King Philip III. had his reſidence.

The palace of Eſcurial.

This palace ſtandeth alone, and is founded upon the ſkirt of a perpendicular hill of Gaderama, ſquared out from a ſloping ſteepneſs, having a large proſpect ſouthwardly, towards the Eveniſe mountains, beyond Toledo. This palatiate cloyſter is quadrangled four ſtories high; the uppermoſt whereof is window-ſet in the blue tecture; the ſtone-work below having three ranks of larger windows incircling the whole quadrangles, and French-like high rigged. At every ſpacious ſquadrate corner there is an high turret erected, above the coverture, whoſe tops bear each of them a golden globe. In the middle court ſtandeth a round incorporate church ariſing outward in a rotundo, with a wide leaden top, and on each ſide thereof a ſquadrate ſteeple, higher than the round, making a goodly ſhew. It hath neither outward walls nor gates but the two ſelf-doors of the eleven incloyſtered petty courts; ſave only ſome office-houſes without, and they ſtand alone by the hill broken ſide. I may rather

Eſcurial is rather a monaſtery than palace.

term it a monaſtery, than a kingly palace, having a hundred and fifty monks, Carthuſians, of St Hieronymo's order, living within it, the King only remaining in a private corner at his coming thither. Nay, at that inſtant he was ſo private, that before I ſaw his face, I could not believe that the ſovereign of ſo great a monarchy could be ſo quiet; yea, as quiet as a country baron is with us, and had lived ſo nine weeks before. The houſe itſelf I confeſs, excelleth in beauty the Seraglio of the Great Turk at Conſtantinople, though not in diviſions and ground-diſtances, yet for a main incorporate houſe, and was builded by King Philip II. ſtanding ſeven leagues from Madrid, to which I arrived.

Here is the reſidence of the court, though formerly at Valladolid: Madrid, or Madrile, is the centre or mid-

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dle part of Spain, ſituate in the kingdom of Toledo, the new Caſtilia; and diſtant from Liſbon in Portugal, weſtward, one hundred leagues; from Sevilia in Andaluſia ninety leagues; from Granada, ſouthward, ſixty-eight leagues; Barcelona in Catalonia, eaſt ſouth eaſtward, one hundred leagues; from Valentia, fifty leagues; from Siraguſa in Arragon, eaſtward, three leagues; from St Sebaſtian in Biſcay, north-weſtward, ſeventy leagues; and from Pampeluna in Navarre, north-eaſtward, forty-nine leagues. Spain generally is a maſs of mountains, a barren ill manured ſoil, neither well inhabited nor populous; yea, ſo deſert is it, that in the very heart of Spain I have gone eighteen leagues (two days journey) without ſeeing either houſe or village, except two ventas, taverns; and commonly eight leagues without any houſe; villages are ſo far diſtant, the rocky Sera's or Alpes ſo innumerable.

It is miſerable traveling in Spain.

It is miſerable traveling, leſs profitable, in theſe ten provinces, or petty kingdoms, hard lodging and poor, great ſcarcity of beds and dear, and no ready dreſſed diet, unleſs you buy it raw, and cauſe dreſs, or dreſs it yourſelf, buying firſt in one place your fire, your meat from the butcher, your bread from the baker, your wine from the tavern, your fruits, oil, and herbs, from the Botega, carrying all to the laſt place, your bed-lodging. Thus muſt the weary ſtranger toil or elſe faſt; and in a number of places no victuals can be got for gold or money, but is forced to endure the pangs of hunger *. The high-minded Spaniard, and their high-topped mountains, have an infuſed contention

* A deſcription was lately ſent hither to a correſpondent; where he acquaints him, that in eleven days journey from Bilboa to Madrid, by means of mules, the only method of conveyance in this country, at the rate of ſix or ſeven leagues a-day, the inns afforded them neither bread, wine, nor beds; and that meeting with a curate near the capital, he was invited to his houſe, as he ſpoke Latin, preferably to his going to a public inn; but had nothing, ſave a few cheſnuts and a cabbage boiled, in ſimple element, for his entertainment; and the curate's own bed, conſiſting of ſome paltry goat-ſkins

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contention together; the one, through arrogant ambition, would invade the whole earth to enlarge his dominions; the other, by ſteep ſwoln height, ſeem to threaten the heavens to pull down Jupiter from his throne. As I take it, the Spaniard being of a low ſtature, borroweth his high-minded breaſt from the high-topped mountains; for the one in quality, and the other in quantity, are extraordinarily ſimilar.

Certain it is, as the Spaniard in all things ſtandeth greatly upon his reputation, (but never to avouch it with ſingle combat), ſo he vaunteth not a little of his antiquity, deriving his pedegree from Tubal, the nephew of Noah. But (eſpecially as they draw it) how often hath the line of Tubal been baſtarded, degenerated, and quite expelled, by invaſions of Phœnicians, oppreſſions of the Greeks, incurſions of the Carthaginians, the conqueſt and planting of provinces, and colonies of the Romans, the general deluge of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals; and laſtly, by the long and intolerable tyranny of the Moors, whoſe ſlaviſh yoke and bondage in eight hundred years, he could ſcarcely ſhake off, his own hiſtories bear ſufficient teſtimony and record: Then it is manifeſt, that this mixture of nations muſt of neceſſity make a compounded nature, ſuch as having affinity with many, have no perfection in any one.

The long captivity of the Spaniards under the Moors.

There manners are conformable to their deſcent, and their conditional virtues like to their laſt and longeſt conquerors, of whom they retain the trueſt ſtamp.

ſkins laid on muſty ſtraw; and being obliged to part with his black ſilk ſtockings, which the curate condeſcended to take in the night-time from him, and a crown to boot next morning, for his lodging; at the ſame time pretending, that all this was to be given to the poor of the pariſh: And happy he was to get off thus, and by aſking of pardon bare-legged and ſlip-ſhod, having been otherwiſe threatened with the inquiſition if he opened his lips. —— Barrow's Geographical *Dictionary*.

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The moſt wretched peaſants in the world are here, whoſe daily moans might draw tears from ſtones. Their villages ſtand as waſte, like as the Sabunk, Garamont, or Arabian pavilions, wanting gardens, hedges, cloſſes, barns, or back-ſides. This ſluggiſh and idle huſbandry being a natural inſtinct of their neighbour or paternal Moors.

As for induſtrious arts, inventions, and virtues, they are as dull thereof as their late predeceſſors. And truly I confeſs, for the Spaniſh nun, ſhe is more holy than the Italian; the former are only reſerved to the friars and prieſts; the latter, being more noble, have moſt affinity with gentlemen. The Spaniard is of a ſpare diet, and temperate, if at his own coſt he ſpend; but if given *gratis*, he hath the longeſt tuſks that ever played at table.

After a doubtful and dangerous departure from Madrid, (as Sir Walter Aſton, his Majeſty's ambaſſador, can teſtify, with his followers, as ſome of his people have already here done the ſame), being the drift of my own countrymen, I came to Toledo, twelve leagues diſtant from thence. This city is ſituate on a ragged rock upon the river Tagus, being an archbiſhop's ſeat, the primate and metropolitan ſee of all Spain; yet a miſerably impoveriſhed and deformed place.

And although the Spaniard, of all towns in Spain, braggeth moſt of Toledo, it is neither (doubtleſs I know) for beauty, bounds, nor wealth, if not for the Intrado belonging to it, amounting yearly (as they affirm) to two hundred thouſand duckets; for there is no other Epiſcopal ſeat in all Caſtilia, or kingdom of Toledo. Going from Toledo, I croſſed the croſſing Siera de Morada, (which divideth the kingdom of Granada from the Manſha of the new Caſtilia), and arrived at Granada, the capital of Andaluſia.

Naked ambition conferred upon poor Toledo.

Here the Moors had their laſt reſidence in Spain, and was magnanimouſly recovered, *anno* 1499, by Ferdinando the Caſtilian King, and his wife Iſabella.

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It ſtandeth at the foot of Siera de Nevada, (the ſnowy Alpes), who reſerve continually ſnow on the tops, and partly incloſed between two ſnow-melting rivers. In this city is the principal ſeat and college of juſtice of all ſouth Spain; as Valladolid is for the north of Spain; the high court of Madrid having prerogative over both.

It hath a ſpacious and ſtrong caſtle, which was builded by the Moors, and indeed a kingly manſion; where I ſaw the halls and bed-chambers of the Mooriſh kings, moſt exquiſitely over-cieled, and indented with Moſaic work, excelling far any modern induſtry whatſoever.

The Emperor Charles V. and King of Spain, after his return from that misfortunate voyage of Algier, left a monument here, never likely to have been accompliſhed, that is the foundation of an admirable work advanced two ſtories high. Without it is quadrangled, and within round; having two degrees of encircling promontories, ſupported by marble pillars and alabaſter arches.

Being diſmiſſed here, it was my fortune, at Antecara, to encounter with a merchant (Mr Woodſon, a Londoner) newly come from Venice, and bound to Malaga. With whom accompanied, the day following, being Sunday, with ſore travel, we came within night to Malaga; and thereafter, parting to our ſeveral lodgings, the next morning I addreſſed myſelf to the ſhore-ſide; where I had notice given me of a French ſhip belonging to Toulon in Provence, that was lying in the Mould, and ſhortly bound for Alexandria: and finding that tranſportation moſt convenient for my deſign, (my ſafeſt courſe lying through Egypt, and the Red Sea, for Preſter John's dominions and court), I preſently made bargain with the ſhipmaſter for my paſſage and victuals.

Mr Woodſon, a London merchant.

And now, attending my departure thence, upon the fifth day after my coming hither, *anno* 1620, Oct. 27. the

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the Engliſh fleet that went againſt the pirates of Algier, caſt anchor at midnight in the road; whoſe ſudden coming yielded no ſmall fear to the affrighted town, miſtaking them for Turks: for the two caſtle-bells ringing backward, the thundering drums reſounding, and the town all the latter part of the night in arms, bred ſuch diſturbing deſpair to their families, and diſtraction to themſelves, that their wives and children fled to the higher caſtle, without the town; and I ſtaid conſort with the defendants till day-light. But morning come, and the Engliſh colours diſcovered, Don Jaſper Ruiz de Peredas, the governor, went aboard of the Engliſh general Sir Robert Maunſil; where, after congratulating compliments, he being returned aſhore, diſmiſſed the burghers, and their arms. In that afternoon, and the day following, being Saturday, there came hundreds aſhore of my ſpecial friends, and old familiars, Londoners, and courtiers; with whom met, we were jovial together till Sunday morning. Then I went aboard the Lion, his Majeſty's ſhip, and ſaluted the general, who kindly entertained me to the next day, that the fleet was divided in three ſquadrons, and he under ſail; and then unhappily came I aſhore in a fiſher-boat, to my dear-bought deſtruction, being ſore againſt the general's will but that I ſhould have gone with him to Algier; ſave only that my linen, letters, and ſacket, was lying in my hoſtery, and ſo could not go. But what ſhall I ſay?

Malaga affrighted with the Engliſh fleet.

Quod fortuna dedit, nemo tollere poteſt.

And ſo now followeth the ſorrowful relation of my tragical ſufferings, which, as briefly as I may, I ſhall ſuccinctly avouch, although the larger the better to be underſtood.

Sad

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Sad ſoul, mix truth with grave and prompt diſcourſe;
Let paſſions be; this tragic ſtyle muſt reſt
On faith and patience, columns of recourſe,
Which underpropp'd my ſufferings here expreſt.
Lord, weigh my words: with wiſdom, give me grace,
In all this work to give thy glory place.

I was no ſooner entered the town, and going up a private way to my lodging, to ſhun company and acquaintance, for that night was I to have imbarked for Alexandria, but I was ſuddenly ſurpriſed in that narrow depopulated ſtreet, with nine Alguozilos, ſergeants; who incloſing me on both ſides, laid violent hands on me, wrapping me up in a black frizado cloak; and gripping my throat to ſtop my crying, they carried me on their arms to the governor's houſe, and incloſed me in a low parlour.

To which when the governor came, for I was acquainted with him before, I ſadly ſpoke, ſaying, "My moſt noble governor, and worthy Lord, I humbly beſeech your goodneſs to ſhew for what offence or cauſe I am thus violently brought before you, knowing that in me, and from my carriage, there is no injury committed." Whereat, without anſwer, and ſhaking his head, he cauſed incloſe me in a little cabinet within the parlour, till he went for maſs, commanding them, with all poſſible, diligence to fetch hither the captain of the town, Don Franciſco di Cordova, the Alcalde Major, and the ſtates ſcrivan, enjoining them to conceal my apprehending till further trial, under pain of death. *A ſad requeſt to a mercileſs governor.*

At laſt he came from the maſs, and they come hither, the ſergeants were diſmiſſed, the doors made faſt, and I was brought forth before theſe four cavaliers, all placed in chairs, and the ſcrivan-table ſet, with pen, ink, and paper, to write my confeſſion. Where, after long ſilence, the governor aſked me of my nation, and how

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long, and how often, I had been out of my country? and whither I was bound? and how long I had been in Spain?

To whom I punctually returned my dividuate anſwers.

Whereupon, being incloſed in my former cabinet, within a while Don Franciſco entered my room, demanded me if I had been in Seville, or was come from it; and clapping my cheeks, with a Judas-ſmile, made this intreaty, "My dear brother, and gallant companion, confeſs freely that you have been in Seville; for your countenance bewrayeth, there are ſome hidden purpoſes in the cloſet of your breaſt; and *Para fuyrmas malo*, you had beſt in time relate to me the truth."

Whereat I ſaying No, as truth required, he went back, reſolving them of my ſtiff denial; and they therewith incenſed, I was invited to their former preſence, and great accuſations enſuing; firſt, the governor made me ſwear, and hold up my hand, that I ſhould tell the particular truth of every thing he was to demand of me; which indeed I did according to my knowledge.

A tyrannical conſtrained oath.

Then he required, if the Engliſh general was a Duke, or great Signor? and what could be the reaſon that he refuſed to come aſhore there? for that was the firſt impreſſion of their falſe conceived jealouſy. Next he aſked me, if I knew his name, and the other captains? and what their names were? and what their intention was? or if I had known of their coming abroad, or preparation for it, before my departure from England?

The ſcrivan writing down, mean while, every word he ſpoke, and what I anſwered: well, to all the former particulars giving full ſatisfaction, and to the laſt denying that I knew of the forthcoming of the fleet, they all four gave a ſhout to the contrary. Whereupon the governor ſwearing, curſed and ſaid, "Thou lieſt like a villain; thou art a ſpy and a traitor; and cameſt

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cameſt directly from England of purpoſe to Spain; and haſt been lying nine months in Seville, getting ſure intelligence when the Spaniſh navy was looked for from the Indies; and that thou expreſsly came here to meet with the Engliſh armado, (knowing of their diet), to give them credible knowledge thereof; and that by thy information they might the more readily compaſs their ends; and thus thy treachery and ſubtilty hath been employed.

Whereat I being aſtoniſhed, and ſeriouſly anſwering for the intention of the Engliſh fleet, and my own innocency concerning them, he threatening ſaid, I was ſeen familiar, aboard and aſhore, with the whole captains, and known to be of their ſpecial acquaintance; beſides, three hundred other gentlemen, and mariners, with whom you was ſo familiar, and they with thee, that it far exceeded the kindneſs of accidental meeting. *The Engliſh acquaintance my greateſt hindrance.*

All this we ſaw, and hourly remarked, (ſaid he), and thou art newly come from the general, when thou waſt taken; where, conſulting with their council of war this morning, (concerning what they aſſigned thee to accompliſh), thou haſt delivered thy opinion, and the expectation of Seville, touching the returning of his Majeſty's armado di plato; and therefore thou art a ſpiono, a traitor, and a ſcelerate velacco: for we are not ignorant (ſaid he) of the burning of St Thome in the Weſt Indies; for there, and then, we had a certain evidence of the Engliſh infidelity, and treacherous exploits in time of peace: wherefore theſe Lutherans, and ſons of the devil, ought from us good Catholics to receive no credit.

Whereupon I beſought him to ſend for ſome ſufficient Engliſh factors, there ſojourning, who would teſtify the contrary in my behalf, their country, and their fleet; but that he would not, for my being diſcovered. At laſt, ſeeing his damnable opinion, and to clear myſelf of ſuch falſe imputations, I requeſted him

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to ſend a ſergeant to my poſado, or lodging, for my cloak-bag, where he ſhould ſee a more evident teſtimony of my carriage and honeſt purpoſe, and thereupon the approbation of my prince.

This demand he liked well, thinking thereby to find out all the ſecrets and practices of my negotiation with the Engliſh fleet. Whereupon forthwith, and with cloſe circumſpection, he had it brought unto him, my hoſtage-houſe not knowing where I was. The cloak-bag I opened myſelf; and ſhewing him his Majeſty's letter in parchment, and under his hand and ſeal, dated at Theobals 1619, July 17. and compiled and wrote by Mr Thomas Reid, then ſecretary for the Latin tongue, done in my behalf, and my intended reſolution for Ethiopia; the King's ſafe conduct he miſregarded, giving it neither reſpect nor truſt.

His Majeſty's letters and ſeals miſregarded.

After which, I ſhewed him divers patents, ſeals, and the great ſeal of Jeruſalem, paſſports, and my book of arms, called *Liber amicorum*, wherein I had the hand-writs and arms of ſundry kings, dukes, princes, vice-roys, marquiſes, earls, lords, and governors, &c. done in proſe and verſe, in Greek, Latin, or their maternal tongues, being as propitious pledges of their favour in commendation of me, and of my travels.

But all theſe would not ſatisfy him; nay, rather confirming a greater jealouſy of his former ſuſpicion. Whereupon, miſconſtruing all, they ſeized abſolutely upon my cloak-bag, viewing and detaining all I had at their pleaſure; ſhutting me up the third time. This done, and within night, being called again, the governor commanded me to ſubſcribe my confeſſion; which I voluntarily obeyed, though they ſtill urged me further and further to confeſs. Meanwhile theſe four accomplices conſulting about my impriſonment, the Alcalde, or chief Juſtice, would have had me along with him to the town-jail; but the Corrigidor refuſed, ſaying, "Para non ſtar viſto con ſus peſanos;" That he may not be ſeen by his countrymen, it behoveth

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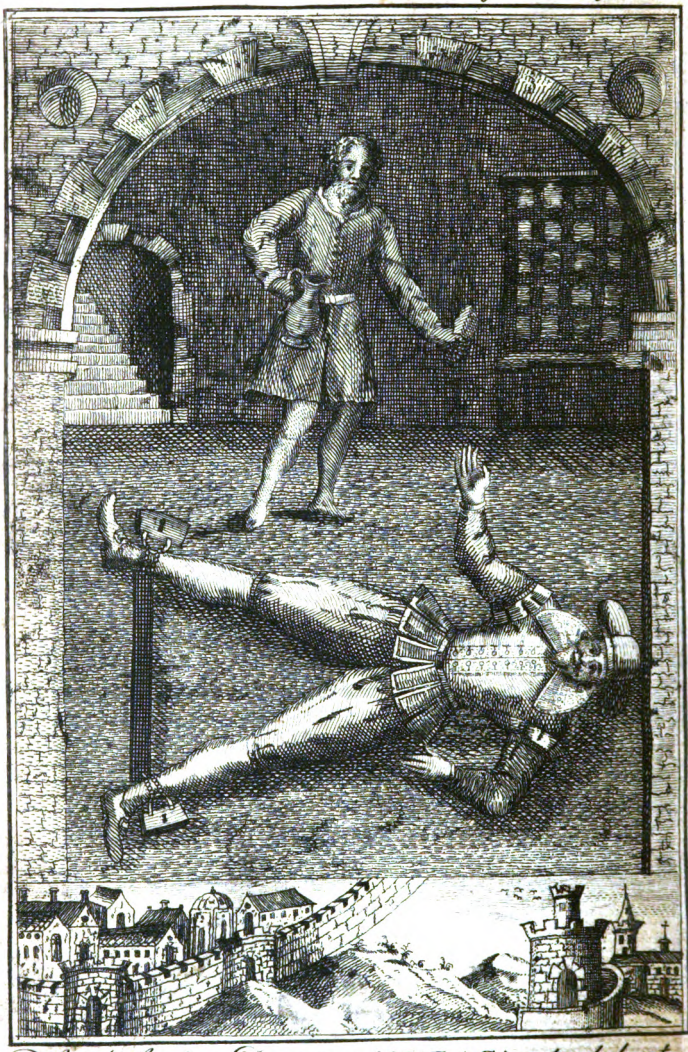

The Author in a Dungeon at MALAGA, extended at full Length on the Floor, loaded with Irons, far above the Weight of himself.

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veth me to have a care of his concealment; and I warrant you (said he) I shall lodge him well enough.

Upon the knowledge of this, that I was secretly to be incarcerate in the governor's palace, entered the Mr Serjeant, and begged my money, and licence to search it; and liberty granted, he found in my pockets eleven Philippoes, or ducatoons; and then unclothing me before their eyes, even to my shirt; and searching my breeches, he found in my doublet-neck, fast shut between two canvasses, a hundred and thirty-seven double pieces of gold. Whereat the Corrigidor arose, and counting my gold, being five hundred and forty-eight ducats, he said to the serjeant, Cloath him again, and inclose him there in the cabinet till after supper. Meanwhile the sergeant got the eleven ducatoons of silver; and my gold, which was to take me for Ethiopia, the governor seized upon; giving afterwards two hundred crowns of it to supply the new-laid foundation of a Capuchine monastery there, reserving the rest (being three hundred and forty-eight ducats) for his own avaritious ends. *An unjust robbery by unjust judges.*

This done, and midnight come, the sergeant and two Turkish slaves releasing me from the inferior room, brought me through certain ascending passages, to a chamber in a sequestrate side of the palace, toward the garden, and right above his summer-kitchen; where, there and then, the serjeants and the two slaves thrust on every ancle a heavy bolt, my legs being put to the full stride, by a strong gad of iron, far above a yard long; upon the ends of which the two bolts depended that were fastened about my legs; insomuch, that I could never sit up, nor walk, nor stand, nor turn me; but lay continually on my back, the irons being thrice heavier than my body.

Whereupon beholding my inevitable misery, and such monster-made irons, my sighing soul deplored thus:

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A miſerable and helpleſs lamentation.

"Alas! ſergeant, and you two ſlaves, remark in me the juſt judgements of God; and lo, how the heavens have reduced me to this meritorious reward, and truly deſerved, for I have dearly and truly bought it; that I, whoſe legs and feet the whole univerſe could ſcarcely contain, now theſe bolts and irons keep them faſt, in a body-length of a ſtone-paved floor. O fooliſh pride! O ſuppreſſing ambition, and vaporous curioſity! Wo worth the fury of your aſpiring vanities; you have taken me over the face of the earth, and now left me in a dungeon hole. My ſoul, O my ſoul is leager unto this proverb, *Man propoſeth, and God diſpoſeth.* O happy had I been, thrice happy, in a ſhepherd's life."

Thus, and more, lamenting the deſtiny of nature, they left me with ſolacious words, and ſtraight returned again with victuals, being a pound of boiled mutton, a wheat-bread, and a ſmall pint of wine; which was the firſt, the beſt, and the laſt of this kind, that ever I got in that woful manſion. The ſergeant leaving me, (never ſeeing him more, till a more unwelcomed ſight), he directed the ſlaves, that after I had contented my diſcontented appetite, they ſhould lock the door, and carry the keys to Areta, a Spaniard, and keeper of the ſilver-plate.

A little while after he was gone, the other drudge left me alſo, who was newly turned Chriſtian; where being alone with Hazier, the natural Turk, who was to attend me, feed me, and keep me, lying nightly a conſtrained centinel, without the door of my impriſonment, he demanded me for what cauſe I was committed, and what bad action I was guilty of? To whom I anſwered, Only for a naked ſuſpicion; miſtaking the honourable intention of the Engliſh armado, I am as a ſpy apprehended, and falſely accuſed.

Whereupon the ſilly ſlave falling down on his knees, held up his hands, crying, *Hermano, Hermano, es muy grand*

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grand meneſter, para tomar pazenza, &c. "Brother, brother, it is much needful for you to take all in patience; for it is impoſſible now you can eſcape ſome fearful trial, and thereupon a horrible puniſhment, even unto death; and, alas, to relieve you, if I durſt, (as I dare not under death), to diſcover you to your countrymen, I would do it upon my knees." And leaving me with a weeping good-night, he made faſt the door, and tranſported the keys, as he was directed. *The mourning of Hazier, a Turkiſh ſlave.*

The day following, the governor entered my priſon alone, intreating me to confeſs that I was a ſpy, and he would be my friend, and procure my pardon; neither, in the mean time, ſhould I lack any needful thing. But I ſtill atteſting my innocency, he wrathfully ſwore I ſhould ſee his face no more, till grievous torments ſhould make me do it; and leaving me in a rage, he obſerved too well his condition.

But withal, in my hearing, he commanded Areta, that none ſhould come near me, except the ſlave, nor no food ſhould be given me, but three ounces of muſted brown bread every ſecond day, and a fuleto, or Engliſh pint of water; neither any bed, pillow, or coverlet, to be allowed me. And cloſe up, ſaid he, this window in his room, with lime and ſtone; ſtop the holes of the door with double matts, hanging another lock to it; and, to withdraw all viſible and ſenſible comfort from him, let no tongue nor feet be heard near him, till I have my deſigns accompliſhed. And thou, Hazier, I charge thee, at thy incomings to have no conference with him, nor at thy outgoings abroad to diſcover him to the Engliſh factors, as thou wilt anſwer upon thy life, and the higheſt torments that can be deviſed.

Theſe directions delivered, and alas too acceſſory to me in the performance, my room was made a dark-drawn dungeon, my belly the anatomy of mercileſs hunger, my comfortleſs hearing the receptacle of ſounding bells, my eye wanting light, a loathſome lan-

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guiſhing in deſpair, and my ground-lying body the woful mirror of misfortunes; every hour wiſhing another's coming, every day the night, and every night the morning.

A ſpeedy expedition, or mercileſs miſchief.

And now being every ſecond or third day attended with the twinkling of an eye, and my ſuſtenance agreeable to my attendance, my body grew exceeding weak and infirm; inſomuch that the governor (after his anſwers received from Madrid) made haſte to put in execution his bloody and mercileſs purpoſe before Chriſtmas holy days; leſt, ere the expiring of the Twelfth-day, I ſhould be utterly famiſhed, and unable to undergo my trial, without preſent periſhing; yet unknown to me, ſave only in this knowledge, that I was confident to die a fearful and unacquainted death: for it is a current cuſtom with the Spaniard, that if a ſtranger be apprehended upon any ſuſpicion, he is never brought to open trial, and common jail, but clapped up in a dungeon, and there tortured, impriſoned, or ſtarved to death: Such meritorious deeds accompany theſe only titular Chriſtians; for the Spaniard accounteth it more to be called a Chriſtian, than either to believe what he profeſſeth, or to conform himſelf to the life of Chriſtianity; yea, I ſparingly avouch it, he is the worſt and baddeſt creature of the Chriſtian name; having no more religion, and leſs reſpect to devotion, than an external preſumptuous ſhow; which perfecteth this ancient proverb, *The Spaniard eſt bonus Catholicus, ſed malus Chriſtianus.*

In the end, by God's permiſſion, the ſcourge of my fiery trial approaching; upon the forty-ſeventh day after my firſt impriſonment, and five days before Chriſtmas, about two a clock in the morning, I heard the noiſe of a coach in the fore-ſtreet, marvelling much what it might mean.

Within a pretty while, I heard the locks of my priſon-

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ſon-door opening; whereupon bequeathing my ſoul to God, I humbly implored his gracious mercy and pardon for my ſins; for neither in the former night nor this, could I get any ſleep, ſuch was the force of gnawing hunger, and the portending heavineſs of my preſaging ſoul.

My tranſportation from priſon to the fields to be racked.

Mean while the former nine ſerjeants, accompanied with the ſcrivan, entered the room without ſpeaking a word, and carrying me thence, with irons and all, on their arms through the houſe to the ſtreet, they laid me on my back in the coach; where two of them ſat up beſide me, (the reſt uſing great ſilence), went ſoftly along by the coach-ſide.

Then Baptiſta the coachman, an Indian Negro driving out at the ſea-gate, the way of the ſhore-ſide, I was brought weſtward almoſt a league from the town, to a vine-preſs houſe, ſtanding alone amongſt vineyards, where they incloſed me in a room till day-light; for hither was the rack brought the night before, and privately placed in the end of a trance.

And all this ſecreſy was uſed, that neither Engliſh, French, or Flemings, ſhould ſee, or get any knowledge of my trial, my grievous tortures, and dreadful diſpatch, becauſe of their treacherous and cruel proceedings.

At the break of day the governor Don Franciſco, and the Alcalde, came forth in another coach; where, when arrived, and I invited to their preſence, I pleaded for a trenchman, being againſt their law to accuſe or condemn a ſtranger, without a ſufficient interpreter; the which they abſolutely refuſed; neither would they ſuffer or grant me an appellation to Madrid.

A ſtranger ought not to be accuſed with ſtrangers, without an interpreter.

And now, after long and new examinations, from morning till dark night, they finding my firſt and ſecond confeſſion to run in one, that the governor ſwore he

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he had learned the art of memory; saying further, Is it possible he can, in such distress, and so long a time, observe so strictly in every manner the points of his first confession, and I so often shifting him to and fro?

Well, the governor's interrogation and my confession being mutually subscribed; he and Don Francisco besought me earnestly to acknowledge and confess my guiltiness in time; if not, he would deliver me in the Alcalde's hands there present; saying moreover, "Thou art as yet in my power, and I may spare or pardon thee, providing thou wilt confess thyself a spy, and a traitor against our nation.

But finding me stand fast to the mark of my spotless innocency, he, invective and malicious he, after many tremendous threatenings, commanded the scrivan to draw up a warrant for the chief Justice: which being done, he set his hand to it, and taking me by the hand, delivered me and the warrant into the Alcalde Major's hands, to cause me to be tortured, broken, and cruelly tormented.

Whence being carried along on the serjeant's arms, to the end of a trance or stone-gallery, where the potaro or rack was placed, the encarnador, or tormentor, begun to disburden me of my irons, which being very hard imbolted, he could not unloose the wedges for a long time: whereat the chief justice being offended, the malicious villain, with the hammer which he had in his hand, struck away above an inch of my left heel with the bolt; whereupon I grievously groaning, being exceeding faint, and without my three ounces of bread, and a little water for three days together, the Alcalde said, "O traitor, all this is nothing, but the earnest of a greater bargain you have in hand.

A merciless hurt before they began to rack me.

Now the irons being dissolved, and my torments approaching, I fell prostrate on my knees, crying to the heavens.

"O Great and Gracious God, it is truly known to thy

thy all-ſeeing eye, that I am innocent of theſe falſe and fearful accuſations; and ſince, therefore, it is thy good-will and pleaſure, that I muſt ſuffer now by the wicked hands of mercileſs men, Lord, furniſh me with courage, ſtrength, and patience, leſt, by an impatient mind, and feeble ſpirit, I become my own murderer, in confeſſing myſelf guilty of death, to ſhun preſent puniſhment. And according to the multitude of thy mercies, O Lord, be merciful to my ſinful ſoul; and that for Jeſus thy Son and my Redeemer's ſake."

After this, the Alcalde and ſcrivan, being both chair-ſet, the one to examine, the other to write down my confeſſion and tortures, I was by the executioner ſtripped to the ſkin, brought to the rack, and then mounted by him on the top of it; where, ſoon after, I was hung by the bare ſhoulders, with two ſmall cords, which went under both my arms, running on two rings of iron, that were fixed in the wall above my head.

Thus being hoiſted to the appointed height, the tormentor deſcended below, and drawing down my legs, through the two ſides of the three planked rack, he tied a cord about each of my ancles: And then aſcending upon the rack, he drew the cords upward, and bending forward with main force my two knees againſt the two planks, the ſinews of my two hams burſt aſunder, and the lids of my knees being cruſhed, and the cords made faſt, I hung ſo demained for a large hour.

The hams and lids of my knees were both broken.

At laſt the encarnador informing the governor, that I had the mark of Jeruſalem on my right arm, joined with the name and crown of King James, and done upon the Holy grave, the Corrigidor came out of his adjoining ſtance, and gave direction to tear aſunder the name and crown (as he ſaid) of that heretic king, and arch-enemy to the Holy Catholic church *. Then the tormentor,

* Had King James been acquainted with this caſe, and at the ſame time been maſter of the ſame courage and reſolution Oliver Cromwell

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tormentor, laying the right arm above the left, and the crown upmoſt, did caſt a cord over both arms, ſeven diſtant times; and then lying down upon his back, and ſetting both his feet on my hollow pinched belly, he charged, and drew violently with his hands, making my womb ſupport the force of his feet, till the ſeven ſeveral cords combined in one place of my arm, (and cutting the crown, ſinews, and fleſh to the bare bones), did pull in my fingers cloſe to the palm of my hands: the left hand of which is lame ſo ſtill, and will be for ever.

Now mine eyes begun to ſtartle, my mouth to foam

Cromwell was, Lithgow would doubtleſs ſoon have obtained his liberty, and met with a different ſort of treatment. The ſtory of Cromwell is as follows. In Spain it is well known the inquiſitors pretend to have a juriſdiction over the ſubjects of other kings; of this we have an inſtance in Thomas Maynard Conſul of the Engliſh nation at Liſbon, who was thrown into the priſon of the inquiſition, under pretence that he had ſaid or done ſomething againſt the Roman religion. M. Meadows, who was then reſident, and took care of the Engliſh affairs at Liſbon, adviſed Cromwell of the affair; and after having received an expreſs from him, went to the King of Portugal, and in the name of Cromwell demanded the liberty of Conſul Maynard. The King told him, it was not in his power; that the Conſul was detained by the inquiſition, over which he had no authority. The reſident ſent this anſwer to Cromwell, and having ſoon after received new inſtructions from him, That ſince his Majeſty had declared he had no power over the inquiſition, he was commanded by Cromwell immediately to declare war againſt it. This unexpected declaration ſo terrified the King, and the inquiſition, that they immediately determined to free the Conſul from priſon, and immediately opened the doors, and gave him leave to go out. The Conſul refuſed to accept a private diſmiſſion; but, in order to repair the honour of his character, demanded to be honourably brought forth by the inquiſition. The ſame Maynard continued many years after, in the ſame character in the reigns of Charles and James II. and lived at Liſbon till he was about eighty years old, without any moleſtation from the inquiſition. This ſtory was well known to all foreign merchants who lived at that time, and many years after, at Liſbon.——The General Hiſtory of the Inquiſition in Spain and Portugal, in the notes, where the ſufferings of our author is recorded.

and

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and froth, and my teeth to chatter like to the doubling of drum-ſticks. O ſtrange inhumanity of men-monſter manglers! ſurpaſſing the limits of their national law; threeſcore tortures being the trial of treaſon, which I had, and was to endure; yet thus to inflict a ſevenfold ſurpluſage of more intolerable cruelties: And notwithſtanding of my ſhivering lips in this fiery paſſion, my vehement groaning, and blood-ſpringing fonts from my arms, broke ſinews, hams, and knees, yea, and my depending weight on fleſh-cutting cords; yet they ſtruck me on the face with cudgels, to abate and ceaſe the thundering noiſe of my wreſtling voice. *O cruel and inhuman murder.*

At laſt, being looſed from theſe pinnacles of pain, I was hand-faſt ſet on the floor, with this their inceſſant imploration: Confeſs, confeſs, confeſs in time, for thine inevitable torments enſue: where finding nothing from me, but ſtill innocent, "O I am innocent, O Jeſus! the Lamb of God, have mercy upon me, and ſtrengthen me with patience to undergo this barbarous murder."

Then, by command of the Juſtice, was my trembling body laid above, and along, upon the face of the rack, with my head downward, incloſed within a circled hole, my belly upmoſt, and my heels upward toward the top of the rack: my legs and arms being drawn aſunder, were faſtened with pins and cords, to both ſides of the outward planks; for now was I to receive my greateſt torments. *Here begun my main tortures.*

Now what a pottare, or rack, is, (for it ſtood by the wall declining downward), it is made of three planks of timber, the upmoſt end whereof is larger than a full ſtride; the lower end being narrow, and the three planks joining together, are made conformable to a man's ſhoulders; in the downmoſt end of the middle plank there was a hole, wherein my head was laid. In length it is longer than a man, being interlaced with ſmall cords from plank to plank, which divided my ſupported

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ſupported thighs from the middle plank; through the ſides of which exterior planks there were three diſtant holes in every one of them; the uſe whereof you ſhall preſently hear.

Now the Alcalde giving commiſſion, the executioner laid faſt a cord over the calf of my leg, then another on the middle of my thigh, and the third cord over the great of my arm; which was ſeverally done, on both ſides of my body receiving the ends of the cords from theſe ſix ſeveral places, through the holes made in the outward planks, which were faſtened to pins, and the pins made faſt with a device: for he was to charge on the outſide of the planks with as many pins as there were holes and cords, the cords being firſt laid meet to my ſkin; and on every one of theſe ſix parts of my body I was to receive ſeven ſeveral tortures, each torture conſiſting of three winding throws of every pin; which amounted to twenty-one throws in every one of theſe ſix parts.

The manner how my body was firſt faſtened to the rack before my tortures were inflicted.

Then the tormentor having charged the firſt paſſage about my body, (making faſt by a device each torture as they were multiplied), he went to an earthen jar ſtanding full of water, a little beneath my head; from whence carrying a pot full of water, in the bottom whereof there was an inciſed hole, which being ſtopped by his thumb, till it came to my mouth, he did pour it in my belly; the meaſure being a Spaniſh ſombre, which is an Engliſh pottle. The firſt and ſecond ſervices I gladly received; ſuch was the ſcorching drought of my tormenting pain, and likewiſe I had drunk none for three days before.

But afterward, at the third charge, perceiving theſe meaſures of water to be inflicted upon me as tortures, O ſtrangling tortures! I cloſed my lips, gainſtanding that eager crudelity.

Whereat

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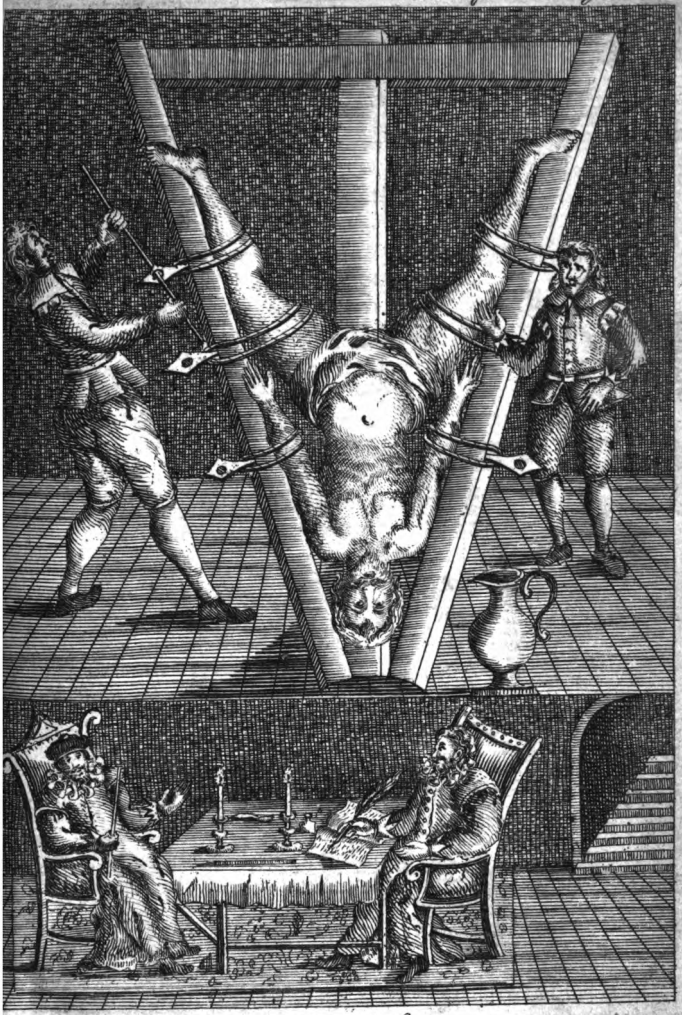

A Representation of the Author's grievous TORTURES in the Inquisition at Malaga.

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Whereat the Alcalde enraged, ſet my teeth aſunder with a pair of iron cadges, detaining them there at every ſeveral turn, both mainly and manually: whereupon my hunger-clunged belly waxing great, grew drum-like imbolſtered; for it being a ſuffocating pain, in regard of my head hanging downward, and the water reingorging itſelf in my throat with a ſtruggling force, it ſtrangled and ſwallowed up my breath from youling and groaning. *A cruelty beyond cruelties*

And now, to prevent my renewing grief, (for preſently my heart faileth and forſaketh me), I will only briefly avouch, that between each one of theſe ſeven circular charges, I was always re-examined, each examination continuing half an hour, each half hour a hell of infernal pain, and between each torment a long diſtance of life-quelling time.

Thus lay I ſix hours upon the rack, between four o'clock in the afternoon, and ſen o'clock at night, having had inflicted upon me threeſcore and ſeven torments. Nevertheleſs, they continued me a large half hour, after all my tortures, at the full bending; where my body being all begored with blood, and cut through in every part to the cruſhed and bruiſed bones, I pitifully remained, ſtill roaring, howling, foaming, bellowing, and gnaſhing my teeth, with inſupportable cries, before the pins were undone, and my body looſed. *A helliſh and unſupportable pain.*

True it is, it paſſeth the capacity of man, either ſenſibly to conceive, or I patiently to expreſs, the intolerable anxiety of mind, and affliction of body, in that dreadful time I ſuſtained.

At laſt my head being by their arms advanced, and my body taken from the rack, the water re-guſhed abundantly from my mouth; then they re-cloathing my broken, bloody, cold, and trembling body, being all this time ſtark naked, I fell twice in a ſounding trance; which they again refreſhed with a little wine, and two warm eggs; not done out of charity, but that I ſhould be

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be reſerved for further puniſhment; and if it were not well known that theſe ſufferings are true, it would almoſt ſeem incredible to many, that a man being brought ſo low, with ſtarving hunger, and extreme cruelties, could have ſubſiſted any longer reſerving life.

A lamentable remembrance of inhuman cruelty.

And now at laſt they charged my broken legs, with my former eye-frighting irons; and done, I was lamentably carried on their arms to the coach, being after brought, and ſecretly tranſported, to my former dungeon; without any knowledge of the town, ſave only theſe my lawleſs and mercileſs tormentors. Where, when come, I was laid with my head and my heels alike high, on my former ſtones.

The latter end of this woful night, poor mourning Hazier the Turk was ſet to keep me; and on the morrow the governor entered my room, threatening me ſtill, with more tortures, to confeſs; and ſo cauſed he every morning, long before day, his coach to be rumbled at his gate, and about me, where I lay, a great noiſe of tongues, and opening of doors; and all this they did of purpoſe to affright and diſtract me, and to make me believe I was going to be racked again, to make me confeſs an untruth; and ſtill thus they continued every day of five days to Chriſtmas.

A dreadful affrighting, or more tortures.

Upon Chriſtmas day, Mariana, the ladies gentlewoman, got permiſſion to viſit me, and with her licence, ſhe brought abundance of tears, preſenting me alſo with a diſh of honey, ſugar, ſome confections, and raiſins in great plenty, to my no ſmall comfort, beſides uſing many ſweet ſpeeches, for conſolation's ſake.

She gone, and the morning of St John's day come, long before day, the town was in arms, the bells ringing backward, the people ſhouting, and drums beating; whereat my ſoul was overjoyed, thinking that the Moors had ſeized upon all. And in the afternoon the Turk

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Turk coming to me with bread and water, being by chance the second day, I asked him what the fray was? Who replied, Be of good courage; I hope in God and Mahomet, that you and I ere long shall be set at liberty; for your countrymen, the English Armada, and mine the Moors, are joined together, and are coming to sack Malaga; and this morning post came from Alicant to inform the governor thereof: whereupon he and the town have instantly pulled down all the cooper shops and dwelling-houses, that were built without, by the shore-side, adjoining to the town-walls: But yet, said he, it is no matter; the town may easily be surprised, and I hope we shall be merry in Algier, for there is above a hundred sail seen coming hither; and therewith kissing my cheek, he kindly left me. *Alas, too good news not to have been true.*

Indeed, as for such news from Alicant, the pulling down of twenty-eight houses, the shore planted with cannon, the suspicion they had of the English, and the town four days in arms, these were all true, save only the confederacy of the English with the Moors, that was false.

Witnesses Sir Richard Halkins, and the captains of his squadron, who, a little after Christmas, coming to the road, went to the governor to clear himself and the fleet of that absurd imputation laid to their charge. The Twelfth-day of Christmas expired, they began to threaten me on still with more tortures, even till Candlemas. In all which comfortless time, I was miserably afflicted with the beastly plague of gnawing vermin, which lay crawling in lumps, within, without, and about my body: yea, hanging in clusters about my beard, my lips, my nostrils, and my eye-brows, almost incloſing my sight.

And for a greater satisfaction to their mercileſs minds, the governor caused Areta, his silver-plate keeper, to gather and sweep the vermin upon me twice in eight days, which tormented me almost to death, being a

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perpetual punishment; for mine arms being broke, my hands lucken, and sticking fast to the palms of both hands, by reason of the shrunk sinews, I was unable to lift mine arms, or stir my fingers, much less to avoid the filthy vermin; neither could my legs and feet perform it, being impotent in all. Yet I acknowledge the poor infidel, some few times, and when opportunity served, would steal the keys from Areta, and about midnight would enter my room, with sticks and burning oil, and sweeping them together in heaps, would burn the greatest part, to my great release; or doubtless I had been miserably eaten up and devoured by them.

No pain so grievous as a lame man to be still tormented with gnawing vermin.

And now eight days before Candlemas, the slave informed me, that an English seminary priest, born in London, and belonging to the bishop's college of Malaga, and a Scottish cooper, named Alexander Ley, born in Dunbar, and there married, were translating all my books and observations out of English, into the Spanish tongue, bringing every other day numbers of wrote papers to the governor, and for their pains had thirty ducats allowed; and that they were saying I was an arch-heretic to the Pope and the Virgin Mary.

Returning him thanks, I was assured of their bloody inquisition, preparing myself in God, with faith and patience to receive and gainstand it: for my spiritual resolution was surely founded; being deprived of company, and human faces, I had entirely the light of my soul to celebrate God Almighty.

And hereupon, the second day after Candlemas, the governor, the inquisitor, a canonical priest, entered my dungeon, accompanied with two Jesuites, one of which was predicator and superior of the Tiatinean college of Malaga. Where being chair-set, candle lighted, and door locked,

A politic inquiry of a damnable inquisition.

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ed, the Inquiſitor, after divers frivolous queſtions, demanded me, if I was a Roman catholic, and acknowledged the Pope's ſupremacy? to whom I anſwered, I was neither the one, nor did the other. And what power (ſaid I) have you to challenge me of my religion, ſince it is a chief article of the former concluded peace, that none of our king's ſubjects ſhould be troubled by your inquiſition? But as you have murdered me for alledged treaſon, ſo you mean to martyr me for religion.

And you governor, as you have tortured and hunger-ſtarved this helpleſs body, conſumed with cold and vermin, to the laſt of my life, the Almighty God, who revealeth the ſecrets of all things, (although I be never relieved) will certainly diſcover it to my country, and to the world. And is this the beſt of your good deeds you repay to our merciful king, who then being only king of Scotland, in the time of your juſt overthrow of 1588, gave ſuccour to thouſands of your ſhipwrecked people for many months, and, in the end, cauſed to tranſport them ſafely to their deſired ports? leaving to the world's memory an eternal ſtamp of Chriſtian bounty, mercy, and royal charity; and your acquittance to him, is an imputation of treachery to his fleet, detaining and miſregarding his letters and ſeals, and now impoſing on a tormented innocent your lawleſs inquiſition.

To which the governor anſwered, All that was true; but it was done more through fear than love, and therefore deſerved the leſs thanks; but in the mean time we will follow the uttermoſt of our ends. And the Jeſuite predicator, to confirm his words, ſaid, there was no faith to be kept with heretics; which directly or indirectly is the ſublime policy of conquerors, which our mighty and invincible nation evermore taketh notice of, and obſerveth.

Then the inquiſitor ariſing, expreſſed himſelf thus:

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A damnable inquisitor applying false attributes to our blessed lady.

"Behold the powerful majesty of God's mother, commander of her Son, equal to the Father, wife to the Holy Ghost, queen of heaven, protector of angels, and sole gubernatrix of the earth, &c. how thou being first taken as a spy, accused for treachery, and innocently tortured (as we acknowledge we were better informed lately from Madrid of the English intention), yet it was her power, her divine power, which brought these judgements upon thee; in that thou hast wrote calumniously against her blessed miracles of Loretta, and against his holiness, the great agent, and Christ's vicar on earth: Therefore thou hast justly fallen into our hands, by her special appointment; thy books and papers are miraculously translated, by her special providence, with thy own countrymen; wherefore thou mayest clearly see the impenetrable mysteries of our glorious Lady in punishing her offenders; and for a humble satisfaction, repent thee of thy wickedness, and be converted to the holy mother-church." And after many such like exhortations of all the four, the inquisitor assigned me eight days for my conversion; saying, that he, and the Tiatines would twice a-day visit me in that time, intreating me to be advised, against the next morning, of those doubts and difficulties that withstood my conscience.

A sycophantical oration from a juggling Jesuite.

Then in leaving me, the Jesuit predicator making a cross upon my crossed breast, said, *My son, behold you deserve to be burnt quick, but by the grace of our Lady of Loretta, whom you have blasphemed, we will both save your soul and body.* Spewing forth also this feminine Latin, *Nam mansueta et misericordiosa est ecclesia: O ecclesia Romana! extra quam non est salus.* They gone, and I alone, all this night was I instant with my God, imploring his grace to rectify my thoughts, illuminate my understanding, confirm my confidence, beatify my memory, to sanctify

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tify my knowledge, to expel the ſervile fear of death, and to ſave my ſoul from the intangling corruption of any private ends, illuſions, or worldly conſiderations whatſoever.

The next morning, the three eccleſiaſtics returned, and being placed with chairs and candles, the inquiſitor made interrogation of what difficulties, errors, or miſbelief I had? To whom ingenuouſly I anſwered, I had none, neither any difficulty, error, nor miſbelief; but was confident in the promiſes of Jeſus Chriſt, and aſſuredly believed his revealed will in the goſpel, profeſſed in the reformed Catholic church; which being confirmed by grace, I had the infallible aſſurance in my ſoul of the true Chriſtian faith.

To theſe words he anſwered Thou art no Chriſtian, but an abſurd heretic, and without converſion, a member of perdition. Whereupon I replied, Reverend Sir, the nature of charity and religion do not conſiſt in opprobrious ſpeeches: wherefore if you would convert me (as you ſay) convince me by argument; if not, all your threatenings of fire, death, or torments, ſhall not make me ſhrink from the truth of God's word in ſacred ſcriptures. Whereupon the mad inquiſitor clapt me on the face with his foot, abuſing me with many railings; and if the Jeſuites had not intercepted him, he had ſtabbed me with a knife; where, when diſmiſſed, I never ſaw him more.

The fury of a mad inquiſitor to have almoſt ſlain me.

The third day enſuing, and having broke their promiſe, the two Jeſuites returned, and after a frowning ſilence, the ſuperior aſked me of my reſolution. I told him, I was reſolved already, unleſs he could ſhow me good reaſons to the contrary. Whereupon, having paſt with me ſome few ſuperficial arguments, concerning their ſeven ſacraments, interceſſion, tranſubſtantiation, images, purgatory, miracles, merit, &c. he began to brag of their Church, her antiquity, univerſality, and uniformity.

Ancient, no (ſaid I) ſince the profeſſion of my faith hath

hath been ever since the first time of the apostles; and Christ had ever his own church, (howsoever obscure), in the greatest time of your darkness. So Rome, four hundred years and upwards, was the true church; but afterwards falling into apostacy by means of her corrupt leaders, we have left her in nothing, but what she hath left her former self.

Universal, no; although she assumeth a Catholic name, was not the church in the east, a greater church than yours in the west, for hundreds of years? and I pray you what are now the oriental churches in Asia, (besides the Greeks), and the Ethiopian Africans, that do not so much as know, or hear of your Pope, far less his profession? With no small ado Boniface III. obtained of Phocas the emperor to be called universal bishop; which was assisted afterward by Pippin the French king, and ratified by Paleogolus, the father of Constantine, who lost Constantinople. And what long controversies about this new power, was between your Popes, and the councils of Carthage, Chalcedon, Ephesus, Alexandria, and Nice?

The Romish church falls short of true antiquity, universality, and unifor-

Uniform, no; some of your priests give the sacrament only in bread, for real flesh and blood; some in wine without bread, and some in both. The Bavarians in their own language, sing the psalms in prose at their masses, which is not done elsewhere. The second commandment goeth current amongst some of your Catholics in France, yet not in Bretagne, nor Provence; so doth it in Austria and

[illegible] not in Italy and Spain.

[illegible] what your former Popes have con- [illegible] succeeding Popes have disanulled, and daily [illegible] lines, and your ancient historics,

[illegible] at one time three Popes in three [illegible] oftentimes two at once; one pro- [illegible] and another atheism. What mutu- [illegible] daily among your monasteries, each envying

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envying another's privilege, another's preferment, another's wealth: and your order, Father, by all the other monaſtics, is hated and vilipended to death; beſides diverſities of doctrine, between your profeſſors and the Dominicans, and hundreds of like diſunities you have both in ceremony and order, which now I ſuſpend: So I pray you, Father, where is your uniformity, much leſs your univerſality, and worſt of all, your antiquity?

Having thus concluded, the fiery-faced Jeſuits, with boiſterous menacings, left me; and the eighth day thereafter, being the laſt day of their inquiſition, they returned again, in a more mild diſpoſition: where, after divers arguments on both ſides, the two Jeſuits, with tears diſtilling from their eyes, ſolidly proteſted they were ſorry, from their heart, for that terrible death I was to undergo; and above all, the loſing of my ſoul. And falling down on their knees, cried, "Convert, convert, O dear brother! for our bleſſed Lady's ſake, convert." To whom I replied, that neither death nor fire I feared, for I was reſolved for both; yet thinking myſelf unworthy to ſuffer for Chriſt and the goſpel's ſake, conſidering my vileneſs, and my own unworthineſs: yet the Spirit of God aſſureth my faith, it is his divine pleaſure it ſhould be ſo, that I muſt ſuffer. Wherefore, if I ſhould turn, truſt me not; for I would but diſſemble with you, through fear, flattery, or force, to ſhun preſent death.

The Jeſuits laſt allurements for my converſion to their ſect.

Whereupon they called the governor, and after their privy conſulting, he thus ſpoke: "Dear brother, my greateſt deſire is, to have thee a good Chriſtian, a Roman catholic; to which, if thy conſcience will yield, I will ſhew thee as great courteſy, as thou haſt received cruelty: for pity it were that ſuch an invincible ſpirit, and endued with ſo many good parts, ſhould periſh in both worlds for ever. Pluck up thy heart, and let the love of our bleſſed Lady enter into thy ſoul; let not thy former ſufferings diſmay thee; for (thy ſores being

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yet green and curable) I ſhall tranſport thee to a fine chamber, and there thou ſhalt have all things needful for the recovery of thy health and ſtrength. Thy money and patents ſhall be refunded; but thy heretical books are burnt already. And laſtly, (ſaid he) I will ſend thee with my own ſervant to court, council, and king, with letters from the holy inquiſition, and from me faithfully promiſing thou ſhalt enjoy a penſion of three hundred ducats a-year."

But having ſatisfied his bewitching policy with a Chriſtian conſtancy, they all three left me in a thundering rage; vowing, I ſhould that night have the firſt ſeal of my long ſorrows. And directing their courſe to the biſhop and inquiſitor, for the (governor had wreſted the inquiſition upon me, to free him of his former aſperſion laid upon the Engliſh fleet, and my trial therefore, converting it all to matters of religion), the inquiſition, I ſay, ſat forthwith; where firſt, I was condemned to receive that night eleven ſtrangling torments in my dungeon; and then, after Eaſter-holidays, I ſhould be tranſported privately to Granada, and there, about midnight, to be burnt body and bones into aſhes, and my aſhes to be flung into the air. Well, that ſame night the ſcrivan, ſergeants, and the young Engliſh prieſt, entered my melancholy priſon; where the prieſt, in the Engliſh tongue, urging me all that he could, though little it was he could do, and not prevailing, I was diſburdened of mine irons, uncloathed to my ſkin, ſet on my knees, and held up faſt with their hands; where inſtantly ſetting my teeth aſunder with iron cadges, they filled my belly full of water, even gorging to my throat: then with a garter they bound faſt my throat, till the white of mine eye turned upward; and being laid on my ſide, I was by two ſergeants tumbled to and fro ſeven times through the room, even till I was almoſt ſtrangled. This done, they faſtened a ſmall cord about each of my great toes, and hoiſting me therewith to the roof of a high loft, (for

A condemnatory ſentence to death by the inquiſition.

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(for the cords ran on two rings of iron faſtened above), they cut the garter, and there I hung, with my head downward, in my tormented weight, till all the guſhing water diſſolved. This done, I was let down from the loft, quite ſenſeleſs, lying a long time cold dead among their hands; whereof the governor being informed, came running up ſtairs, crying, Is he dead? O fie villains, go fetch me wine; which they poured in my mouth, regaining thereby a ſlender ſpark of breath.

Theſe ſtrangling torments ended, and I re-cloathed, and faſt bolted again; they left me lying on the cold floor, praiſing my God, and ſinging of a pſalm. The next morning, the pitiful Turk viſiting me with bread and water, brought me alſo ſecretly in his ſhirt-ſleeve two handful of raiſins and figs, laying them on the floor, amongſt the crawling vermin; for having no uſe of arms or hands, I was conſtrained by hunger and impotency of time, to lick one up with another with my tongue. This charity of figs the ſlave did once every week or fortnight, or elſe I had long or then famiſhed.

A Turkiſh ſlave's charity in the bowels of compaſſion.

After which ſorrowful diſtreſs, and inhuman uſage, the eye-melting Turk taking diſpleaſure, fell five days ſick, and bedfaſt; but the houſe Spaniards underſtanding his diſeaſe, made him believe I was a devil, a ſorcerer, a necromancer, and a blaſphemous miſcreant againſt their Pope, their Lady, and their church; giving him ſuch a diſtaſte, that for thirty days he never durſt look me in the face, being afraid of witchcraft.

All the time of his abſence, one Ellinor the cook, an Indian Negro woman, attended me; for ſhe being a Chriſtian drudge, had more liberty to viſit me than the ſlaviſh infidel; who certainly, under God, prolonged then my languiſhing life, conveying me, for four weeks ſpace, once a-day, ſome leſs or more nouriſhment, and in her pocket a bottle-glaſs of wine. Being no ways like to the ſoul-betraying tears of her crocodilean ſex, which

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The deceitfulneſs of female inconſtancies.

which the Spaniſh proverb prettily avoucheth: "Las mugeres engannan a los hombres; dellas laſtimandoles con ſus lagrimas fingidas, dellas hallagandoles, con palabras leſongeras." viz. Women deceive men; ſome of them grieving them with their feigned tears, and others fawning on them with flattering words. But,

Kind Ellinor, though black by nature born,
Made bounty, not her beauty, to adorn
Her new-chang'd Pagan life, (though veil'd by night
Of Romiſh ſhades) to ſhine on me more bright,
Than ſun-ſcorch'd Ethiope beams, art-glancing ſpangles,
Or that Egyptian bird, man's ſight entangles
With rareſt colours; for her loving ſight,
Tho' black as pitch, gave me tranſparent light,
Food, and ſtol'n food, tho' little, yet enough;
(The finer ſoil, the ebber tills the plough);
Second with wine, a mutchkin, thrice a-week
Pack'd in her pocket, for it might not ſpeak.
Thus females have extremes, and too we ſee,
Either too wicked, or too good they be;
For being good, no creature can excel them;
And being bad, no ill can parallel them:
But ſure this gift from courſe of nature came,
Rais'd up by heaven to be my nurſing dame;
For ſhe, a ſavage bred, yet ſhew'd more love
And human pity than deſert could move;
Wherein ſhe ſtain'd the Spaniards; they did nought
But what revenge on ſlaughter'd ſorrow wrought.
Thus, they who turn'd her, went themſelves aſtray,
And ſhe, though ignorant, trac'd the Chriſtian way:
For which, great God reward her, make her ſoul
As white within, as ſhe without is foul;
And if I might, as reaſon knows, I would
Her love, and praiſe, my deeds ſhould crown with gold.

Now

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Now about the middle of Lent, Hazier, my former friend, was appointed to attend me again, suspecting Ellinor's compassion: but as my miseries were multiplied, my patience in God was redoubled; for men are rather killed with the impatience they have in adversity, than adversity itself: and of all men, that man is most unhappy, to whom God, in his troubles, hath not given patience; for as the violent enemy of age is grief, so is the mind's impatience the arch-corrupter of all our troubles. But indeed in the weakness of judgement, when men seem lost by long affliction to themselves, then they are often and ever nearest to God: for who would have thought that I, who had seen so many sects and varieties of religion dispersed over the face of the earth, could have stuck fast to any religion at all; travelers being reputed to be *Ubique et omnibus parati*. But I will tell thee, Christian, it was the grace of God in me, and not mine; for as fire lying hid under ashes, when touched will flame; so I, seeming to myself careless of Christianity, then God pricking my conscience, made trial of my faith: for Christ forbid, that every ship which coasteth the rocky shore, should leave her ruins there.

An impatient mind in trouble is a triple torture.

This I speak not for any self-praise, but to glorify God, and to condemn the rash censures of opinion, and, with Phocion, I mistrust myself, because of popular applause: *Erubuit quasi peccasset, quod placuerit.* But now, to abbreviate a thousand circumstances of my lamentable sufferings, which this volume may not suffer to contain, by God's great providence, about a fortnight before Easter, *anno* 1621, there came a Spanish cavalier of Granada to Malaga, whom the governor one night invited to supper, being of old acquaintance; where, after supper, to entertain discourse, the governor related and disclosed to the stranger, (God working thereby my discovery and deliverance), all the proceedings and causes of my first apprehending, my confessions, torments, starvings, their mistaking of the English fleet, and finally,

God's great mercy in my first discovery by a stranger

the

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the wresting of the inquisition upon me, and their condemnatory sentence; seeming also much to lament my misfortunes, and praising my travels and deserts.

Now, all this while the gentleman's servant, a Flanderish Fleming, standing at his master's back, and hearing all the governor's relations, was astonished to hear of a sakeless stranger to have endured, and to endure, such damnable murder and cruelty. Whereupon the discourse ending, and mid-night past, the stranger returned to his lodging, where the Fleming having bedded his master, and himself also in another room, he could not sleep all that night; and if he slumbered, still he thought he saw a man torturing, and burning in the fire; which he confessed to Mr Wilds when morning came.

Well, he longed for day; and it being come, and he clothed, he quietly left his lodging, inquiring for an English factor; and coming to the house of Mr Richard Wilds, the chief English consul, he told him all what he heard the governor tell his master; but could not tell my name; only Mr Wilds conjectured it was I, because of the other's report of a traveller, and of his first and former acquaintance with me there.

Whereupon the Fleming being dismissed, he straight sent for the other English factors, Mr Richard Busbiche, Mr John Corney, Mr Hanger, Mr Stanton, Mr Cook, Mr Rowley, and Mr Woodson; where advising with them what was best to be done for my relief, they sent letters away immediately, with all post diligence, to Sir Walter Aston, his Majesty's ambassador lying at Madrid. Upon which he mediating with the King and council of Spain, obtained a straight warrant to command the governor of Malaga, to deliver me over into English hands; which being come, to their great disliking, I was released on Easter Saturday before mid-night, and carried upon Hazier the slave's back to Mr Busbiche's

These are the English factors which first wrought my relief.

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biche's houſe, where I was carefully attended till daylight.

Meanwhile (by great fortune) there being a ſquadron of his Majeſty's ſhips lying in the road, Sir Richard Halkins came early aſhore, accompanied with a ſtrong train, and received me from the merchants; whence I was carried on mens arms, in a pair of blankets, to his Majeſty's ſhip the Vanguard. And three days thereafter, I was tranſported to a ſhip bound for England, the fleet's victualler, named *The Good will of Harwich*, by direction of the General Sir Robert Maunſel. Where being well placed, and charge given by Sir Richard Halkins to the ſhipmaſter William Weſterdale, for his carefulneſs towards the preſervation of my life, which then was brought ſo low and miſerable, the aforeſaid merchants ſent me from ſhore (beſides the ſhip's victuals) a ſuit of Spaniſh apparel, twelve hens, a barrel of wine, a baſketful of eggs, two roves of figs and raiſins, two hundred oranges and lemons, eight pounds of ſugar, a number of excellent good bread, and two hundred reals in ſilver and gold, beſides two double piſtoles Sir Richard Halkins ſent me as a token of his love.

I durſt not ſtay aſhore for fear of the inquiſition.

The kindneſſes of whom to bury in oblivion, were in me the very ſhame of ingratitude, I being then a loſt man, and hopeleſs of life, which argued in them a greater ſingularity of kindneſs and compaſſion. Yet I remember, for all my lameneſs and diſtraction, I intreated Sir Richard Halkins to go aſhore to the governor, and demand him for my gold, my eight patents, my book of arms, and his Majeſty's letters and ſeals; the which he willingly obeyed, (being accompanied with Captain Cave and Captain Raymond), but could obtain nothing at all, ſave blandiſhments and lying excuſes.

Religious Sir Richard Halkins, my ſpecial friend.

And now, on the twelfth day of our lying in the road, our ſhip weighing her anchors, and hoiſting her ſails,

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ſails, we paſſed through the ſtraits of Gibraltar, or Fretum Herculeum; for this was the furtheſt land that Hercules could attain unto; which made him erect a pillar, and indent thereon, *Nil ultra.* But when Charles V. returned from that untoward voyage of Algier, he cauſed to ſet up in the ſame place, *Plus ultra.*

Here, in this channel, I remarked a perpetual current, flowing from the ocean to the Mediterranean ſea, without any regreſs; which indeed is admirable, the Mediterranean ſeas being hemmed in, and environed in with the main continent of South Europe, the north and north-weſt coaſts of Aſia, and the northern parts of Afric, ſave only the narrow paſſage of Helleſpont, which from Mare Propontis bendeth his courſe to Mare Euxinum; and yet the Euxine, or Black Sea, hath no affinity with any other moving waters, being likewiſe encompaſſed with the main continent; and from it alſo runneth a continual current, through Boſphorus Thracicus, to the Mediterranean.

The ſtrait of Gibraltar five leagues broad.

This narrow ſea on Afric, or ſide of Fez, conſiſteth between Cape di Sprat and the promontory of Ceuta, and upon the coaſt of Spain, between Cape de Trafolger and the butting forehead-land of Gibraltar, or Jubile Tauro; the paſſage being five leagues broad, and nine in length.

And to be brief, upon the fiftieth day after my departure from Malaga, I arrived at Dartford upon Thames; whence the next morning I was carried to Theobald's on a feather-bed, and brought to the privy gallery, for the King's coming from park. Witneſs all the court of England, even from the King to the kitchen, what a martyred anatomy I was at their firſt ſight of me, and what ſmall hope was either expected of my life or recovery.

Where, when immediately having made my moſt humble and grievous complaints unto his Sacred Majeſty, his gracious conſideration (in the mean time) was ſuch, for the recovery of my health, that I was twice ſent to the bath

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bath at the charges of his royal love, during the ſpace of twenty-ſeven weeks; where, by the divine providence, and his princely clemency, I have recovered for the time, in a large meaſure, the health and ſtrength of my body, although my left arm and cruſhed bones be incurable,

Meanwhile, in the firſt week of my arrival in England, I was conveyed from Theobald's (by his Majeſty's direction) to Don Diego Surmento de Gundamore, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, then reſident in Holborne; where he votally undertook, before the then two Lord Marquiſſes Hamilton and Buckingham, (confirming it the day following to his Majeſty at Greenwich), that after a fair trial had from Spain, concerning my grievances, I ſhould have all my money, cloaths, obſervations, teſtimonial patents, and his Majeſty's ſeals reſtored to me again, with a thouſand pound Sterling alſo, (being modified by his royal pleaſure), of the governor of Malaga's means, for the maintaining of my lame and racked body.

A falſe promiſe unperformed.

Theſe promiſes were made the 6th of June 1621, and were to be performed againſt Michaelmas-day enſuing. But this day come, he continued his drifts to the Prima Vera; and it alſo arrived, he deferred time, with new proteſtations, only to Eaſter or Paſcua; and that ſeaſon come, he turned my Paſcua to priſon. For a little before his departure, (ſeeing his policy too ſtrong for my oppreſſed patience), I told him flatly in his face, from the grief of my ſoul, what he was, and what he went about; which afterward proved true. Whereupon, in the chamber of preſence, before the Emperor's ambaſſador, and divers knights and gentlemen his Majeſty's ſervants, he raſhly adventured the credit of leager honour, in a ſingle combat againſt me, a retorted plaintive; where indeed his fiſtula was contrabanded with a fiſt, and for victory favour lent him authority, becauſe of my commitment; for I lay nine weeks incarcerate in the Marſhalſea at Southwark;

A ſingle combat between a Spaniſh Earl and a Scottiſh traveler.

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Southwark; whence I returned with more credit than he left England with honesty, being both vanquished and victor. And my muse, left to mourn for my liberty, deplored thus.

Low levell'd lie my lofty sharing aims,
Low droops the flight of my swift-wing'd design;
Low bows that top, whose height true merit claims;
Low headlong falls the scope of my engine;
Low turns my round, harsh grow the sacred nine;
Low sink my joys, pale grief converts in care;
Low lurks ambition in this breast of mine;
Low stoop these smiles, that fortune wont to share;
Low rest my drifts, my curious travels rare;
Low scud the limits of my high-bred thought;
Low plunge my hopes in dark deeps of despair;
Low I o'erthrown, with crosses low am brought;
Low live I here, in sad restraint and strife;
Low then the lower of the lowest life;
Low as I am, I'll lowly sacrifice
Low deep-fetch'd sighs to Heaven, on my low knees.

A false aspersion laid on me by Papists.

But I remember, in the aforesaid time of this my imprisonment, there were two Papists, my countrymen, who wrote to me a letter, not like to a familiar epistle of Cicero; no, but they would have fastened an untruth upon me, affirming that I was a Roman Catholic in my heart; and that they would justify it, that I received the sacrament at Rome in the first year that Paulus (Burgesius) Papa Quintus came to his triple crown. To whom, in a true and Christian defence, my serious and approbable reply was thus.

This

This is your Papal mark,
That as you run astray,
You either would, or needs will have,
Christ's flock to lose their way.
Can you avouch this point,
And dare you blaze your shame,
Thus, painter-like, to pourtray so
A figure for a name?
Shall symbolizing I,
By paragraphs defin'd,
In paradoxic passages,
Equivocate my mind?
No tincture shall ingross,
My senses so delude,
To maculate my splendent path,
With positives intrude.
In this aversion I,
I more than victor live;
Let critics stern aspersions spew,
This project I'll atchieve.
My words shall seal the truth,
My heart reserves the stamp;
Wherein my characters of faith,
As zealous shall incamp.
That desuetude of soul,
I never did embrace,
Nor shall, nor did, God is my judge;
Such was his heavenly grace.
No secondary mean
Shall aggravate my hope;
The ancient rule of Primacy
Shall be my modern scope.
Can such occurrents stand,
As ominous in me,
When you detract, and falsely wrest
The truth in perjury?
It is your lineal strain,
Collusions to induct;
With mystic contradictories,
Your implies you construct.

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No inference can pry,
Nor ſtrange illation prove,
In your exorbitanting brains,
My period I did move.
This Microcoſmus mine,
Such imputation ſcorns;
And turns this grim demoniate ſpite,
On your hell-forked horns.
My name you preſs to ſtain,
By baſe abortive lies,
To circumciſe my recent fame,
With ſharp-edg'd calumnies;
And labour to depreſs,
That confluence I have,
From heaven aſcrib'd, confirm'd by grace,
The pledge my ſpirit doth crave.
That ſtrife cannot avail,
I ſo aſſume the right;
Your doubled dark'ned eyes perceive,
I triumph in the light.
It's not your bloody prieſts,
Nor tortures can prevail:
I paſs'd your purgatory once,
The reſt muſt you impale.
For what by dread or ſtrain,
You cannot work nor do,
You wreſt, you lie, you paint, you feign,
And add illuſions too.
Theſe latent forgeries,
Annexed to your faith,
As pendicles precipitate,
Inhance your ſoul to death;
With ſhrewd acerbious ſpeech,
You anathematize;
My will reciprocal to yours,
Such guile you moralize.
But this reflexing heart,
In a tranſparent flame,
Can by experience conſtrue well
Your churches ſire and dame.

No

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No tort I introduct,
To damnify your sex,
Whose empty sculls (illuding fear)
Yourselves perversely vex.
I organize the truth,
You allegate the sense,
Disbending cominous defects,
In your absurd pretence.
Your immaterial proofs,
I wish you would detect;
My process craves sedulity,
For what you gulls suspect.

After this, their following answer being mortified, and I set at liberty by a just favour of the privy-council, my formalists durst never attempt any further dispute with me, neither any passing countenance in our rencounters. But what shall I say concerning my grievances? *Sed qui patitur vincit:* Since there is no help or redress to be had for wrongs past, no, neither (alas) for any present in either mean or mighty falls; for when the stars of great states decline under the self-same constellation of my sorrows, and made the deplored for spectacles of the inconstancy of fortune, what shall I then, in a private life, and public pilgrimage, expect, but the common calamity of this age, and the irrevocable redress of my miseries sustained, for this crown and kingdom of England, which shall be presently cleared? Yet would to God I might do as Xerxes the Persian king did, that when the Grecians had taken Sardis, the metropolis of Lydia, he commanded one of his servants to stand before him every day at dinner, and cry aloud, saying, *The Grecians have taken Sardis*; whereby he was never at quiet till it was recovered.

So would I, oppressed I by mighty powers, (though not a king, yet the faithful subject of a king), cry daily, from the heart-broken sorrow of my incompa-

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Incompatible grief, without deserved relief.

tible injuries, Oh barbarous and inhuman Malaga! when shall my soul be revenged on thy cruel murder? and when shall mine eyes see thy mercileſs deſtruction? But tuſh, what dream I? Now-a-days grief can find no relief, far leſs compaſſion, and meaner revenge; and ſo farewel ſatisfaction, when flattering fear dare challenge obſequiouſneſs to the alteration of any thing.

But afterward, when death, Heaven's fatal meſſenger, and enemy to nature, had darted King James of matchleſs memory, who ſometimes, (beſides my ſovereign), in ſome reſpects, and for the former cauſe, was a father to me, then was I forcibly (I ſay) conſtrained to prefer a bill of grievance to the upper houſe of parliament, *anno* 1626, which I daily followed ſeventeen weeks. Well, my grievances were heard and conſidered; and thereupon an order granted me (bearing the Lords reference and pleaſure concerning my ſuit) unto Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper of England's great ſeal, and through whoſe office my buſineſs ſhould have paſſed; which order was delivered unto him by Mr James Maxwell Knight of the Black Rod, and one of his Majeſty's bed-chamber, in behalf of the Lords of the upper houſe. The order thus being reſerved then with the Lord Keeper for a month, he appointed me to fetch him (becauſe of a warrant to his ſtate-office) the certificates of Sir Walter Aſton, Sir Robert Mannſel, and Sir Thomas Button, to clear my ſufferings, and the cauſes wherefor; which I gladly obeyed, and brought all their three certificates unto him; yea, and Sir Walter Aſton (beſides his hand-writ) ſpoke ſeriouſly face to face with him thereupon.

A direction for certificates by the Lord Keeper.

Meanwhile the houſe breaking up abruptly, (becauſe of ſovereign diſliking), their order for my ſuit could take none effect as then, nor yet ſince, in regard it was no ſeſſion of parliament; and ſo my order and relief lieth ſuſpended till ſome happy time.

But

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But now to confound the calumnious and vituperous Papiſts, the miſcreant and miſerable Atheiſts, the peeviſh and ſelf-opiniating Puritans, the faithleſs miſbelieving mungrels of true religion, and of this truth; and the very objections have been ſaid ſometimes in my face, by irreligious and diſdainful Nullifidians, who have ſaid and thought, that I could neither be ſo conſtant, nor they ſo cruel; I think it not amiſs to ſet down verbally one of their certificates here, being all one ſtyle, and to one purpoſe; and thus it followeth.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Coventry Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, &c.

"MAY it pleaſe your Honour, I have taken boldneſs to certify your good Lordſhip, of the truth concerning the grievous ſufferings of this heavily injured man William Lithgow. True it is, that this bearer, being bound for Alexandria in Egypt, having with him letters of ſafe conduct, under the hand and ſeal of his late Majeſty King James of bleſſed memory, rencountered with us and our fleet at Malaga, whereof I was employed as vice-admiral againſt the pirates of Algier; where he repairing aboard of us, and frequenting our company aſhore, was preſently (after we had ſet ſail) apprehended by command of the governor and magiſtrates there, as a ſpy, whom they ſuſpected had of purpoſe been left behind by our general, and us of the council of war, for the diſcovery of that place, and other adjacent parts: Whereupon being ſecretly impriſoned in the governor's palace, and after ſerious examination of our intention, he was, without any cauſe done or offered by him, moſt unjuſtly put to the cruel rack and tortures, beſides all other his unſpeakable miſeries, which for a long time he ſuſtained thereafter; whereof I was credibly and infallibly informed by Mr Richard Wilds, to whom he was firſt diſcovered, and by other Engliſh factors of good note, then reſident there, in my repairing divers times to the road of that town with

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my ſquadron of ſhips, during the time of his long impriſonment, and after his deliverance. And afterward the governor there being better informed of our loyal proceedings in thoſe parts, and to colour their former cruelties, and ſuſpicion had of us, he did wreſt the inquiſition upon him; where being condemned to death, he had doubtleſs undergone (as I was likewiſe truly informed by the aforeſaid merchants) the final ſentence of their inquiſition, if it had not been for the religious care and ſpeedy prevention of Sir Walter Aſton, then leiger ambaſſador there; by whoſe earneſt mediation he being delivered, and afterwards ſent home by direction of Sir Robert Maunſel, general. I now commend his grievous and lamentable cauſe unto your Lordſhip's tender and religious conſideration. Reſting, your Lordſhip's to command, to ſerve you,

From Fulham, this 10th of July 1626. Sir THOMAS BUTTON.

And now to conclude this tragical diſcourſe, the religious eye may perceive God's compaſſionate love four ways here extended. Firſt, his powerful providence in my long and admirable preſervation in priſon; hunger, vermin, and tortures, being my comfortleſs companions. Secondly, The pitiful kindneſs of his all-ſeeing eye, in the miraculous wonder of my diſcovery, when the perverted policy of ſubtil ſerpents had wickedly ſuggeſted my concealment. Thirdly, His unſpeakable mercy in my unlooked for deliverance, being, by hopeleſs me, not thought nor ſought, and yet by his munificence was wrought. And laſtly, His gracious goodneſs in the recovery (after ſome large meaſure) of my health and uſe of body again. All praiſe and glory be to his majeſty therefore *.

God's miraculous mercy in my deliverance.

AND

* Stand amazed at the iniquity of the inquiſitors, and the horrors of the inquiſition. Behold perſecution improved into a ſcience by men of exquiſite ſubtlety and malice, maſters in this curſed art, who make a ſolemn buſineſs of racking and torturing their fellow-creatures.

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AND finally, merit being maſked with the darkneſs of ingratitude, and the morning ſpring tide of 1627 come, I ſet face from court for Scotland, ſuiting my diſcontents with a pedeſtrial progreſs, and my feet with the palludiate way; where fixing mine eyes on Edinburgh, and proſecuting the tenor of a regal commiſſion, (which partly being ſomewhere obeyed, and otherwhere ſuſpended), it gave me a large ſight of the whole kingdom, both continent and iſles: the particular deſcription whereof, in all parts, and of all places, beſides ports and rivers, I muſt refer to the one volume already perfected, intitled *Lithgow's ſurvey of Scotland*, which this work may not contain, nor time ſuffer to publiſh, till a fitter occaſion; only commenting a little upon ſome generals, I haſten to be at *finis*.

Traverſing the weſtern iſles, (whoſe inhabitants, like to as many bulwarks, are abler and apter to preſerve and defend their liberty and precincts from incurſive invaſions, than any need of forts or fortified places

creatures, who are grown wiſe to invent, and dextrous to execute, infinite torments upon innocent Chriſtians, protracting life only to increaſe miſery; who having extinguiſhed all ſeeds of humanity and tenderneſs in themſelves, have alſo found a method to harden the hearts of ſpectators againſt the leaſt degrees of ſympathy, pity, and concern; yea, to inſpire them with a helliſh joy and triumph over the ſervants of God, in the extremities of miſery, and in agonies inexpreſſible.

No man ſure who can poſſibly conceive devils half ſo wicked as the Romiſh inquiſitor, or hell half ſo terrible as their priſons. Can fallen angels be ſo baſe? Can arts ſo mean, and ſo barbarous, be practiſed in hell? Read and tremble, to ſee any of the human race thus degenerated, and grown more barbarous, by a thouſand degrees, than the moſt ſavage beaſts. Read, and weep over ſuffering innocency, and virtue in diſtreſs. Pity thy brethren in their deep afflictions, in their diſmal cells, ſhut up among crawling vermin within, and friends without. Read and admire at the faith and patience of the ſaints, who go through theſe dreadful ſcenes, ſupported by an inviſible hand of grace, by an inward teſtimony, by hope in immortality.

Read, Chriſtian, and fall down on thy knees to bleſs God, who has delivered thee, and thy country, from Popery, the worſt plague God ever ſuffered to ſpread in our world. —— General Hiſtory of the Inquiſition in Spain and Portugal.

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The kindneſs received from the illuſtrious Lord the Marquis of Hamilton.

they have, or can be required there, (ſuch is the deſperate courage of theſe awful Hebridians), I arrived, I ſay, at the iſle of Arran, *anno* 1628, where for certain days, in the caſtle of Braidwick, I was kindly entertained by the illuſtrious Lord James, Marquis of Hamilton, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, &c.

Whom GOD may ſtrengthen, with the livelieſt heart,
And fearleſs mind of all ev'r fac'd that art,
For Bohem's queen: heavens proſper his intent!
With glorious ſucceſs, and a brave event;
That by a king been ſped, for a king's ſake,
To help a king, all three from him may take
Auſpicious ſervice, friendſhip, faithful love,
'Gainſt whom, and his, no time can breach improve.
Let then, great God, bleſt ſparks of favour fall
On his deſigns, and theirs, our friends, and all;
And angels guard him: let thy mighty hand,
Partition-like, 'twixt him, and dangers ſtand:
That martial ends, and victory may crown
His happy hopes, his life, with love renown.

This iſle of Arran, is thirty miles long, eight in breadth, and diſtant from the main twenty-four miles; being ſurclouded with Goatfield hill, which, with wide eyes, overlooketh the weſtern continent, and the northern country of Ireland: bringing alſo to ſight, in a clear ſummer day, the iſle of Man, and the higher coaſt of Cumberland. A larger proſpect no mountain in the world can ſhow, pointing out three kingdoms at one ſight; neither is there any iſle like to it, for brave gentry, good archers, and hill-hovering hunters. Having again come to the main land, I coaſted Galloway, even to the Mull that butteth into the ſea, with a large promontory, being the ſouthmoſt part of the kingdom: and thence footing all that large country to Dumfries, and ſo to Carliſle; I found here in Galloway, in divers road-

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road-way inns, as good cheer, hospitality, and seemable attendance, as though I had been ingrafted in Lombardy or Naples.

The wool of which country, is nothing inferior to that of Biscay in Spain; providing they had skill to fine, spin, weave, and labour it as they should: nay, the Calabrian silk had never a better lustre, and softer gripe, than I have seen and touched this growing wool there, on sheeps backs; the mutton whereof excelleth in sweetness. So this country aboundeth in cattle, especially in little horses, which, for mettle and riding, my rather be termed bastard barbs, than Galloway nags.

The nobility and commodities of Galloway excell in goodness.

Likewise their nobility and gentry are as courteous, and every way generously disposed, as either discretion would wish, or honour command. That (Cunninghame being excepted, which may be called the academy of religion, for a sanctified clergy, and a godly people) certainly Galloway is become more civil of late, than any maritime country bordering with the western sea. But now to observe my former summary condition; the length of the kingdom lieth south and north, that is, between Dungsby-head in Caithness, and the aforesaid Mull of Galloway; being distant *per rectam lineam*, which my weary feet trod over from point to point, (the way of Lochryne, Carrick, Kyle, Ayr, Glasgow, Striveling, St Johnstone, Stormont, the Blair of Athol, the Brae of Marr, Badenoch, Inverness, Roffie, Sutherland, and so to the north promontory of Caithness) extending to three hundred and twenty miles; which I reckon to be four hundred and fifty English miles: confounding hereby the ignorant presumption of blind cosmographers, who in their maps make England longer than Scotland, when contrariwise, Scotland outstrippeth the other in length a hundred and twenty miles. The breadth whereof, I grant, is narrower than England; yet extending between the extremities of both coasts in divers parts to sixty, eighty, and a hundred of our

Scotland is 120 miles longer than England.

miles:

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miles: but becauſe of the ſea ingulfing the land, and cutting it in ſo many angles, making great lakes, bays, and dangerous friths, on both ſides of the kingdom, the true breadth thereof cannot juſtly be conjectured, nor ſoundly ſet down.

Our chief freſh water lakes are theſe. Loch-Lomond, containing twenty-four iſles, and in length as many miles, divers whereof are enriched with woods, deer, and other cattle; the large and long lake of Loch-Tay, in Athol, the mother and god-mother of head-ſtrong Tay, the greateſt river in the kingdom: and Lochneſs, in the higher parts of Moray, the river whereof, (that graceth the pleaſant and commodious ſituation of Inverneſs) no froſt can freeze; the propriety of which water will quickly melt and diſſolve any hard congealed lumps of frozen ice, be it on man or beaſt, ſtone or timber.

The chief rivers are Clyde, Tay, Tweed, Forth, Dee, Spey, Nith, Neſs, and Dingwalls flood-ingorging lake, that confirmeth *porta ſalutis*; being all of them, where they return their tributes to their father Ocean, portable, and, as it were, reſting-places for turmoiled ſeas and ſhips: and the principal towns are Edinburgh, Perth, Glaſgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, St Andrews, Ayr, Striveling, Lithgow, Dumfries, Inverneſs, Elgin, Montroſe, Jedburgh, Haddington, Leith, &c.; and for antiquity, old Lanerk, &c.

So the moſt delicious ſoils of the kingdom, are theſe following. Firſt, The bounds of Clyde, or Clydeſdale, between Lanerk and Dunbarton, diſtanced twenty-ſix miles; and thence downward to Roſſay, that kiſſeth the divulgements of the river; the beginning whereof is at Arick-ſtone, ſixteen miles above Lanerk, whoſe courſe contendeth for ſixty miles: all which, being the beſt mixed country for corns, meads, paſturage, woods, parks, orchards, caſtles, palaces, divers kinds of coal, and earth fewel, that our included Albion produceth; and may juſtly be ſurnamed the paradiſe of Scotland. Beſides, it is adorned, on both borders along, with the greateſt peers and nobility in the kingdom;

Clydeſdale is the paradiſe of Scotland.

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dom; the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of [illegible]milton, the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Argyle, and [illegible]e Earls of Glencairn, Wigton, and Abercorn.

And for Lord Barons, Sempill, Roſs, Blan[illegible]re, and Dalziel; the chief gentry whereof, are the Kn[illegible]hts and Lairds of Luſs, Shellmorely, Blackhall, G[illegible]enock, New-wark, Houſton. Pollock Maxwell, Sir George Elphingſton of Blythſwood, Minto, Cambu[illegible]nethen, Calderwood, the two Knights of Lee, and C[illegible]ſtlehill, Sir James Lockharts elder and younger, L[illegible]mington, Weſtraw, his Majeſty's Gentleman Sewer, Bl[illegible]kwood, Cobinton, Stanebyres, and Corehouſe, &c. All which in each degree, as they illuminate the ſoil with grandure, ſo the ſoil reflecteth on them again with beauty, bounty, and riches.

But leſt I partial prove, becauſe my breath
Firſt ſprung from Lanerk, ſo my Chriſtian faith,
Where thence (O natal place) my ſoul did coil,
Blood, ſpirit, and ſenſe, fleſh, birth, life, love, and ſoil,
I'll leave Clyde's fragrant fields, reſplendent banks,
Bedeck'd with ſilvans ſtately beauteous ranks
Of Pandedalian ſparks; which lend the ſight
Of variable colours, beſt nature's light;
And cloſe theſe ſilver ſhades, that dazzling bloom
'Mongſt thickeſt groves, with many brae-fac'd broom;
Strict in the records of eternal fame,
For ſight, for gain, for birth, for noble name.

And now the ſecond ſoil for pleaſure is the platformed carſe of Gowry, twelve miles long, (wheat, rye, corns, fruit-yards, being its only commodity), which I may term, for its levelled face, to be the garden of Angus, yea, the diamond-plot of Tay, or rather the youngeſt ſiſter of matchleſs Piedmont; the inhabitants being only defective in affableneſs, and communicating courteſies of natural things, *Carſe and Moray two pleaſant ſoils.*

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things, whence ſprung this proverb, *The carles of the Carſe.*

The third, and beautiful ſoil, is the deleſtable planure of Moray, thirty miles long, and ſix in breadth; whoſe comely grounds, enriched with corns, plantings, paſturage, ſtately dwellings, over-faced with a generous Octanian gentry, and topped with a noble earl, its chief patron, it may be called a ſecond Lombardy, or pleaſant meadow of the north.

Neither may I (abandoning eye-pleaſing grounds) ſeclude here that ſudaick bottom, reaching thirty miles betwixt Perth and Montroſe, involving the half of Angus, within a fruitful, populous, and nobilitate planure; the heart whereof ſaluting Glamis, kiſſeth Cowpar: ſo likewiſe, as thrice-divided Lothian is a girnal of grain for foreign nations; and Fyfe, betwixt Crail and Largo, the Ceren trenches of a royal camp; the incircling coaſt, a neſt of corporations; and meandering Forth, from tiptoed Snadoun, the proſpicuous mirror for matchleſs majeſty: even ſo is melting Tweed, and weeping Tiviot, the Egyptian ſtrands that irriguate the fertile fields, which imbolſter both boſoms, ſending their bordering breath of daily neceſſaries to ſtrengthen the life of Berwick.

Now as for the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, certainly, as they are generous, manly, and full of courage; ſo are they courteous, diſcreet, learned ſcholars, well read in beſt hiſtories, delicate linguiſts, the moſt part of them being brought up in France or Italy; that for a general complete worthineſs, I never found their matches amongſt the beſt people of foreign nations; being alſo good houſe-keepers, affable to ſtrangers, and full of hoſpitality.

The nobility and gentry of Scotland, are the beſt houſe-keepers, and generous gentlemen in the world.

And in a word, the ſeas of Scotland and the iſles abound plentifully in all kinds of fiſhes, the rivers are ingorged with ſalmon, the Highland mountains overclad with fir trees, infinite deer, and all ſorts of other beſtial;

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beſtial; the valleys full of paſture and wild fowl, the low-laid plains inriched with beds of grain, juſtice all-where adminiſtered, laws obeyed, malefactors puniſhed, oppreſſors curbed, the clergy religious, the people ſincere profeſſors, and the country peaceable to all men.

The chief commodities whereof, tranſported beyond ſea, are theſe; wheat, corns, hides, ſkins, tallow, yarn, linen, ſalt, coal, herrings, ſalmon, wool, keilling, ling, turbot, and ſeaths. And laſt, and worſt, all the gold of the kingdom is daily tranſported away with ſuperfluous poſting for court, whence they never return any thing, ſave ſpend all, end all; then farewell fortune. So that numbers of our nobility and gentry now become, with idle projects, down-drawers of deſtruction upon their own necks, their children, and their eſtates; and poſting poſtilions, by diſſolute courſes, to enrich ſtrangers, leave themſelves deſervedly deſolate of lands, means, and honeſty for ever: doing even with their former virtue, long continuance, and memory of their noble anceſtors, as Mr Knox did with with our glorious churches of abbacies and monaſteries, (which were the greateſt beauty of the kingdom), knocking all down to deſolation; leaving nought to be ſeen of admirable edifices, but like to the ruins of Troy, Tyre, and Thebes, lumps of walls, and heaps of ſtones.

Prodigal and ſuperfluous poſting from Scotland to court.

So do our ignoble gallants, though nobly born, ſwallow up the honour of their famous predeceſſors, with poſting foolery, boy-winding horns, gormandizing gluttony, luſt, and vain apparel; making a tranſmigration of perpetuity to their preſent belly and back. O laſcivious ends! which I have juſtly ſifted, in my laſt work intitled *Scotland's welcome to King Charles*; with all the abuſes and grievances of the whole kingdom beſides.

But now leaving prodigals to their purgatorial poſtings, I come to trace through Roſs, Sutherland, and Caithneſs; ſoils ſo abundant in all things fit to illuſtrate greatneſs,

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greatneſs, embelliſh gentry, and ſuccour commons, that their fertile goodneſs far exceeded my expectation, and the affability of the better ſort my deſervings; being all of them the beſt, and moſt bountiful Chriſtmas-keepers (the Greeks excepted) that ever I ſaw in the Chriſtian world; whoſe continual incorporate feaſting one with another, beginning at St Andrew's day, never end till Shrovetide: which raviſhed me to behold ſuch great and daily cheer, familiar fellowſhip, and jovial chearfulneſs, that methought the whole winter there ſeemed to me, but the jubilee of one day. And now being arrived at Maji, to imbark for Orkney, ſight, time, and duty, command me to celebrate theſe following lines, to gratify the kindneſs of that noble Lord, George Earl of Caithneſs, with his honourable couſin, and firſt accadent of his houſe, the right worſhipful Sir William Sinclair of Cathell Knight, Laird of Maji.

A dutiful remembrance of two noble perſons.

Sir! ſighting now thyſelf, and palace fair,
I find a novelty, and that moſt rare;
The time though cold and ſtormy, ſharper ſun,
And far to ſummer, ſcarce the ſpring begun;
Yet with good luck, in Februar, Saturn's prey,
Have I not ſought, and found out fruitful May;
Plank'd with the marine coaſt, proſpective ſtands,
Right oppoſite to the Orcade iſles and lands:
Where I for flowers, ingorg'd ſtrong grapes of Spain,
And liquor'd French, both red and white amain.
Which palace doth contain two four-ſquar'd courts,
Graft with brave works, where th' art-drawn pencil ſports
On walls, high chambers, galleries, office-bowers,
Cells, rooms, and turrets, platforms, ſtately towers;
Where green-fac'd gardens, ſet at Flora's feet,
Make nature's beauty quick Apelles greet.
All which ſurvey'd, at laſt the midmoſt gate,
Deſign'd to me the arms of that great 'ſtate,

The

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The earls of Caithneſs; to whoſe praiſe imbag'd,
My muſe muſt mount, and here's my pen incadg'd:
Firſt then their arms; a croſs, did me produce
Limb'd like a ſcallet, trac'd with flower-du-luce;
The lion, red, and rag'd, two times divided
From coin to coin, as heralds have decided:
The third join'd ſtance denotes to me a galley,
That on their ſea-rapt foes dare make a ſally;
The fourth a gallant ſhip, puft with taunt ſail
'Gainſt them their ocean dare, or coaſt aſſail;
On whoſe bent creſt, a pelican doth ſit,
An emblem for like love, drawn wondrous fit:
Who, as ſhe feeds her young with her heart-blood,
Denotes theſe lords, to theirs, like kind, like good:
Whoſe beſt ſupporters guard both ſea and land,
Two ſtern-drawn griffins, in their ſtrength do ſtand:
Their dictum bears this verdict, for heaven's ode
Aſcrib'd this clauſe, *Commit thy work to God.*
O ſacred motto! Biſhop Sinclair's ſtrain,
Who turn'd Fyfe's lord, on Scotland's foes again.
Lo! here's the arms of Caithneſs, here's the ſtock!
On which branched boughs rely, as on a rock.
But further in, I found like arms more patent;
To kind Sir William and his line as latent;
The premier accade of that noble race,
Who for his virtue may reclaim the place;
Whoſe arms, with tongue and buckle, now they
make
Faſt croſs ſign ty'd, for a fair Leſly's ſake.
The lion hunts oe'r land; the ſhip, the ſea;
The ragged croſs, can ſcale high walls we ſee;
The wing-laid galley, with her factious oars,
Both heavens and floods command, and circling
ſhores;
The feather'd griffin flees, O grim-limb'd beaſt,
That winging ſea and land, upholds this creſt;
But for the pelican's, life-ſprung kind ſtory,
Makes honour ſing, *Virtute et amore* *.

* Sir William Sinclair's motto.

Nay,

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Nay, not by blood, as she herself can do,
But by her pattern, feeding younglings too;
For which this patron's crescent stands so stay,
That neither spite, nor tempest, can shake May;
Whose 'scutcheons cleave so fast, to top, and side,
Portends to me, his arms shall ever bide.
So Murckle's arms are so, except the rose,
Spread on the cross, which Bothwell's arms disclose;
Whose uterine blood he is, and present brother
To Caithness Lord; all three sprung from one mother:
Bothwell's prime heretrix, plight to Hepburn's race,
From whom religious Murckle's rose I trace,
This country's instant shrieve; whose virtue rais'd
His honoured worth, his godly life more prais'd.
But now to rouse their roots, and how they sprung,
See how antiquity times triumph sung.
This scallet, worth them blanch'd, for endeavour
And service done to England's conqueror;
With whom from France they first to Britain came,
Sprung from a town, St Clair; now turn'd their name.
Whose predecessors, by their val'rous hand,
Won endless fame, twice in the Holy Land;
Where, in that Christian war, their blood been lost,
They loath'd of Gaul, and sought out Albion coast.
Themselves to Scotland came, in Canmoire's reign,
With good Queen Marg'ret, and her English train.
The ship from Orkney sail'd, now rul'd by Charles,
Whereof they Sinclairs long time had been Earls.
Whose Lord, then William, was, by Scotland's King,
(Call'd Robert Second, First, whence Stewarts spring),
Sent with his second son to France, cross'd James,
Who eighteen years liv'd captivate at Thames.
This pris'ner last turn'd king, call'd *James the First*,
Who Sinclair's credit kept in honour's thirst.
The galley was the badge of Caithness lords,
As Malcom Canmoire's reign at length records;
Which

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Which was to Magnes given, for ſervice done
Againſt Macbeath, uſurper of his crown.
The Lion came, by an heretrix to paſs,
By Marriage; whoſe ſire was ſirnam'd *Douglas*.
Where, after him, the Sinclair now record,
Was ſheriff of Dumfries, and Nithſdale's lord;
Whoſe wife was niece to good King James the Third;
Who, for exchange, 'twixt Wick and ſouthern Nidde,
Did lands incambiate; whence this Caithneſs ſoil
Stands faſt for them, the reſt their friends recoil.
Then circle-bounded Caithneſs, Sinclair's ground,
Which Pentland frith environs, Orkney's ſound;
Whoſe top is Dunkane's bay, the root the Ord;
Long may it long ſtand faſt for their true Lord:
And as long too, Heavens grant what I require,
The race of Maji may in that ſtock aſpire;
Till any age may laſt, Time's glaſs be run,
For earth's laſt dark eclipſe, of no more ſun.

Forſaking Caithneſs, I embraced the trembling ſurges (at Dungſby) of ſtruggling Neptune, which ingorgeth Pentland, or Pictland frith, with nine contrarious tides; each tide overthwarting another with repugnant courſes, have ſuch violent ſtreams, and combuſtious waves, that if theſe dangerous births be not rightly taken in paſſing over, the paſſengers ſhall quickly loſe ſight of life and land for ever; yea, and one of theſe tides is ſo forcible, at the back of Stromaii, that it will carry any veſſel backward, in deſpite of the winds, the length of its rapid current.

A dangerous place in Pentland frith.

This dreadful frith is in breadth, between the continent of Caithneſs and the iſle of South Ranaldſhaw in Orkney, twelve miles: and I denote this credibly, in a part of the north-weſt end of this gulf, there is a certain place of ſea where theſe diſtracted tides make their rencountering rendezvous, that whirleth ever about, cutting in the middle circle a ſloping hole,

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with which, if either ſhip or boat ſhall happen to incroach, they muſt quickly either throw over ſomething into it, as a barrel, a piece of timber, and ſuch like, or that fatal euripus ſhall then ſuddenly become their ſwallowing ſepulchre: A cuſtom which thoſe inhabiting Caithneſs and Orkneys have ever heretofore obſerved.

Arrived at South Ranaldſhaw, an iſle of five miles long, and croſſing the iſle of Burray, I viewed Kirkwall, the metropolis of Pomonia, the main land of Orkney, and the only miſtreſs of all the circumjacent iſles, being thirty in number; the chief whereof (beſides this tract of ground, in length twenty ſix, and broad five, ſix, and ſeven miles) are, the iſles of Sanda, Weſtra, and Stronza. Kirkwall itſelf is adorned with the ſtately and magnificent church of St Magnes, built by the Danes, whoſe ſigniory with the iſles lately it was; but indeed for the time preſent more beautified with the godly life of a moſt venerable and religious biſhop, Mr George Graham, whom now I may term (ſovereignty excepted) to be the father of the country's government, than eccleſiaſtic prelate: the inhabitants being left void of a governor, or ſolid patron, are juſt become like to a broken battle, a ſcattered people without a head; having but a burgeſs-ſheriff to adminiſter juſtice, and he too an alien to them, and a reſidenter in Edinburgh: ſo that in moſt differences, and queſtions of importance, the plaintives are inforced to implore the biſhop for their judge, and he the adverſe party for redreſs.

Zetland mightily impoveriſhed by corrupted government.

But the more remote parts of this ancient little kingdom, as Zetland, and the adjacent iſles there, have found ſuch a ſting of decular government within theſe few years, that theſe once happy iſles, which long ago my feet traded over, are metamorphoſed in the anatomy of ſuccourleſs oppreſſion, and the felicity of the inhabitants reinvolved within the cloſet of a Cittadinean cluſter.

But

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But now, referring the whole particulars and dividual deſcriptions of theſe ſeptentrion iſles, the main continent, and the gigantic Hebridian iſles, to my aforeſaid work to be publiſhed, intitled, *Lithgow's Survey of Scotland*, I ſend this general verdict to the world.

Now having ſeen moſt part of thy ſelf-glore,
Great kingdoms, iſlands, ſtately courts, rich towns,
Moſt gorgeous ſhows, pomp-glory deck'd renowns,
Herbageous fields, the pelage-beating ſhore,
Propitious princes, prelates, potent crowns,
Smoke-ſhadow'd times, curs'd churls, miſers, clowns,
Impregnate forts, devalling floods, and more
Earth-gazing heights, vale-curling plains in ſtore,
Court-riſing honours, thrown on envy's frowns,
Worm-veſtur'd works, enamell'd arts, wit's lore,
Maſs-marbled manſions, minerals, coin'd ore,
State ſuperficial ſhows, ſwift-gliding moons;
I loathe thy ſight, pale ſtreams, ſtain watry een,
Whoſe glorious ſhades evaniſh, no more ſeen.

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The continuation of Mr William Lithgow's Travels, left in manuſcript; giving an account of many ſtrange and wonderful rarities and things in Scotland, England, and many other places, not before touched on.

Returning, now I Britain's wonders ſhow,
And thoſe relating, to a period grow.
My mighty taſk in various lands is ſeen,
Which to the wond'ring world has grateful been.
My weary ſteps, ſince I this work begun,
Have meaſur'd earth, and travel'd with the ſun.
Then give me leave to reſt, when I have told
What I of late in Albion did behold;
Of fowl, wells, rivers, mountains, ruin'd walls,
With miracles the Pope authentic calls;
And by the way, let Jetzer's ſtory come,
The Papiſts ſhame, and brand of cheating Rome.

HAving, as aforeſaid, trode my native ſoil, as well as other diſtant lands, with a kind of toil mixed with pleaſure, and ſeen many rarities in that ancient and honourable kingdom; where I found in all places worthy entertainment from a generous and liberal nobility and gentry; many of whoſe names I have mentioned, that they may ſtand on record for ever, as patrons of hoſpitality: Having, I ſay, footed it from the Tweed to the Orcades, about four hundred miles, where a ſort of fowl, called *Gulls* by ſome, and by others *Banacles*, are held to be generated in the water of a certain bloſſom dropping off a tree: And reſting a while my weary limbs, among other curioſities, I inquired into this, and

Remarks on a ſtrange ſort of geeſe in the Orcades.

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and obſerved the places where they were ſaid to be generated; which was in meers and ſtanding waters, incumbered with flags and ruſhes; by the brinks of which grew trees like ſallows, but with broader leaves, bearing a certain bloſſom or bud, fuſed on the top, and indifferent hard in other parts; which coming forth in the beginning of the ſpring, in a ſhort time falls off by the ſhaking of the wind, into theſe waters, and are fancied, by a Pythagorean myſtery, to tranſmigrate into a kind of geeſe, by the maturing of the ſun's heat; which, though a contradiction to reaſon, that things of one nature, by ſuch a means, ſhould turn into its contrary, and that a vegetable ſhould become an animal, gains a great credit, not only in Scotland, but England; when my opinion is, that thoſe fowls breeding in the flags, and the young ones creeping out in great abundance, and there left by the old ones, who fly from them as ſoon as they have hatched them, creates the miſtake. But not to dwell upon this,

Having ſeen here the ruins of ſome churches, monaſteries, and caſtles, laid in rubbiſh by the Danes, in their fierce war upon this kingdom, pieces of whoſe walls ſtill remain ſad monuments of their cruelty, and made an end of what buſineſs I had in theſe parts, I thought of returning for England, to give the court there an account of my undertakings; which I ſoon put in execution, and with ſome regret took leave of my worthy friends Mr Johnſon and Mr Libarton, who had accompanied me thither, and ſplendidly entertained me, as having poſſeſſions in thoſe parts And ſo having already taken notice of what is extraordinary in this kingdom, I ſhall omit to relate any thing I ſaw in my return to the Tweed; and ſince I have ſaid little yet of England, and the rather till now I have declined it, becauſe it is ſo perſpicuous, I ſhall think it convenient to give you a general account of ſome rarities I obſerved in my viewing divers counties, that may be as pleaſing, and well deſerving to be known, as the reſt I have laid down.

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Paſſing over Saliſbury plain, I could not chuſe but ſtop to ſee that one wonder of the world, ſo much admired by all that have beheld it, called *Stone-Henge*; and upon view, I found it to be a triple row of ſtones, circular, placed one within another, of a vaſt magnitude, reared ſtraight on end, for the moſt part twenty-eight feet long, and ſeven feet broad, beſides others of a vaſt bulk, though ſomewhat leſs than the upright ones, which are overthwart one from another, faſtened with tenents and mortiſes. People are of various opinions, how ſuch vaſt ſtones ſhould be brought thither; and one told me, that it was a common tradition there, that they were brought there by the devil; which made me not a little ſmile at the fellow's ſimplicity, who believed it as firmly himſelf; eſpecially when I conſidered what the beſt hiſtorians had writ about them, viz. that they were ſet up as a monument for Hengiſt, a Saxon, and brother to Horſus, ſlain there in a mortal battle againſt the Britains; and this ſtands on the plain, between ſix and ſeven miles from Saliſbury.

The wonderful ſtones on Saliſbury plain.

There is another wonder obſerved by me, at a place called *Halford*, which is a ſolid rock, of a conſiderable bigneſs, hollow at the top; and in that hollowneſs the water riſes with the flowing of the ſea, and with its ebbing ſinks again; which much conſternates the country people: but in making my obſervation, I could find no other cauſe than that; as moſt agree, the ſea being higher than the earth, the ſprings are conveyed from it by ſecret conduits under the earth, and ſo have courſe and recourſe to this rock, as the ocean riſes and falls; which is the true cauſe of it.

A wonderful rock near Halford.

Paſſing over Adderly hills in Glouceſterſhire, I ſuppoſed, at firſt view, ſome one or other had ſcattered oyſters and cockles there; but when I went to take them up, tho' they had their perfect reſemblance, I found them to be only ſtones, and brought

Many ſtrange things obſerved.

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brought ſeveral of them along with me for a rarity; which I preſented to my friends at court, to their great admiration; who, upon inquiry, found them to be natural ſtones, without transformation, as the country-people hold it, of fiſh into ſtones, when the univerſal deluge carried them out of the ſea and lodged them on the tops of thoſe hills. I ſaw at Laſſington, in the ſame ſhire, another wonder, of a found there, which is a ſtone called a *Star-Stone*, of a grey colour, about the breadth of a ſingle penny, and the thickneſs of a half-crown. Many of them, where they grow, cluſtering together, and are eaſily ſeparated; which done, and they put into vinegar, they naturally move as the needle to the loadſtone, till they join to each other.

The peak of Derby, and a ſtrange diſcovery.

The peak of Derby, being extraordinarily noted, I could not in my travels omit to viſit it, eſpecially upon the account of the dreadful cave, called the *Devil's Arſe*, ſomewhat reſembling that of Sybil's in Cuma, which I have mentioned before. It goes into a very deep deſcent; and out of it, at ſeveral times, iſſues a hollow whiſtling wind; and in it is heard, in ſtill weather, a ſinging, or rather howling tone, which the vulgar, eſpecially in Popiſh times, have taken for the noiſe of ſouls tormented, and fabled this an inlet to hell; when, by all the obſervations I could make, upon ſtrict inquiry, it proceeded from no other than ſome ſprings of water that guſhed out of the ſides of the rock in the deep receſs, and paſſed away by currents, and conveyances under ground to the neighbouring rivers, though Gervaſius tells us a fabulous ſtory, that it is an inlet into Fairy Land: for, ſays he, a ſwine-herd belonging to William de Peverel, having loſt a ſow great with pigs, and hunted all places about the country but this, concluded at laſt ſhe might be gone into this tremenduous cave; and, fearing his maſter's anger above all things, he reſolved to venture into it, though he periſhed, rather than return home with the news of his loſs; and ſo with

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trembling ſteps he deſcended a pretty way, when a ſtrong blaſt of wind met him, and beat him backward; and there he lay a pretty while groveling, before he could recover his feet; but in the end, getting up, and plucking up a good heart, he reſolved to take the other touch; and ſo went down a ſteep way, till at laſt, to his great amazement, he ſaw the glimmering of a light, and by it diſcerned many rooms and apartments, and ſprings of water, the ſources of rivers, as he fancied, and alſo heard ſtrange voices; yet this hog-keeper undauntedly followed the deſcent, till the light growing brighter and brighter, after many turnings and windings, he came into a ſpacious country, where it was harveſt-time, and there he found his ſow that had newly ferried: and though he was intreated by the inhabitants there to ſtay, yet all their plenty, and offers of greatneſs, could not, it ſeems, entice him from his honourable employment of a ſwine-herd; but he returned again, with his ſow and her pigs, the ſame way he came into this new world, and told the wonderful things he had ſeen, which were believed by as many as would give credit to them.

The miracle of King Edmond's head.

Coming to St Edmondſbury, formerly ſo famous for the reſt of pilgrims, I found the ruins of its ancient monaſtery, where is ſtill the remains of its ancient grandeur. The circuit appears to have been very large. There are many gates of entrance, and ſome of them of braſs, divers towers, and a ſtately church; upon which attend three others in one church-yard, very curious and fine for workmanſhip. This town took its name, or was rather built in memory of King Edmond, a Saxon king; who being overthrown in a mortal battle by the Danes, was bound naked to a ſtake, and here ſhot to death. And of him, amongſt other miracles, the Papiſts have fabled this, viz. that his head being cut off, and thrown into a wood by his mercileſs enemies, divers of his ſubjects, as ſoon as they were retired, went to ſearch for it, to bury it with the body, but could not find it; when juſt as they were about

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about to give over any further queſt, the head [illegible] out aloud, and cried, *Here, here.* Nor did it [illegible] crying, till they were directed to the place; and [illegible] they found it, held up between the paws of a fierce [illegible] ravenous wolf, without her ſo much as offering to [illegible] jure it; but quietly reſigning it, ſhe followed them [illegible] the place of burial, and would not leave them till the head and body were interred; and then having howled over the grave a while, ſhe retired to the woods. And a thouſand miracles were held to be done to ſuch as came and offered at his ſhrine, over which a ſtately church was built.

The well of St Winefred, and other things.

And now I am at Popiſh miracles, I will give you a view of St Winefrid's well in Flintſhire, held in great veneration by Papiſts at this day, who make ſecret pilgrimages thither. After my long perambulation in thoſe craggy rough countries, and not much delighted with the mountainous ſituation, fearful overhanging rocks, and deep valleys of water, or mighty water-rills cut by the wearing of the floods, falling in great rains from the mountains, I drew from the place where the devil is fabled by tradition to have his birth. I came within a few miles of this well; and though it lay a little out of my road, I was reſolved to ſpare time to viſit it; and being in ſummer-time, I found divers there, ſome dipping for devotion, and others fetching the water away in pitchers, for divers uſes. This well is but ſhallow, and not very large in circumference. Out of it runs a pretty ſtream, that they told me has turned a mill. The ſtones in the ſtream and well are many of them ſpeckled with red, which the ſuperſtitious hold to be the blood of St Winefrid, ſhed there in this manner.

How the well firſt ſprung up, &c.

It happened one Sunday, when her parents were gone to church, one Caradock, ſon to Allan, a king of the Pagan Saxons, coming to her as ſhe ſat in the houſe, would have allured her with many gifts and promiſes to his luſt; but ſhe having

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vowed chaſtity, would in no manner conſent, but excuſed herſelf by her meanneſs of birth, telling him, what a mighty diſparagement it would be to him to meddle with one of her quality. But for all this, ſeeing him reſolutely bent, ſhe went into her chamber, as if ſhe had gone to dreſs herſelf, that ſhe might be more acceptable to him, for ſo he took her going thither to intend; but, on the contrary, ſhe ſlipped down by a rope, and was running in the fields towards the church, that ſtood near a mile off, upon a little hill; which he perceiving out at the low window, and being much enraged to be ſo diſappointed, purſued her with his drawn ſword, and overtaking her, ſtruck off her head; and, where it fell, this well ſprung up, as if the very earth had wept, and guſhed out in tears for her death; and as the ſuperſtitious Papiſts ſay, that by the Holy Virgin's merits, this water cures abundance of diſeaſed perſons; which indeed may naturally happen by its mineral virtue, as is ſeen in other wells. But ſee a greater wonder: the head cut off, (ſay they), run down the hill to the church; and there being known, Biſhop Bueno took it up, and brought it where the body lay; and there finding the murderer wiping his ſword, he imprecated God's judgement on him, and immediately he fell down dead, and ſunk into the ground; and after that, the ſame Biſhop ſet on St Winefrid's head again, and brought her to life.

The muſical cave in Glamorganſhire.

In Glamorganſhire, at a place called *Aberbarry*, there is another rarity, which has formerly been the occaſion of many fables, which is a cave at the bottom of a pretty large hill. At certain times the noiſe of cymbals, and other muſic, is heard in it; which was held to be the rejoicing of ſouls that were about to be delivered out of purgatory by the prayers of the prieſts, by the poor bigotted Papiſts, when indeed it is no other than the wind ſitting full in the cave's mouth, which is much narrower than the inward part; and there breaking againſt the clifts and craggy rocks on the other ſide, makes a kind of muſical harmony as it iſſues out again.

Near the iſle of Barry, there is likewiſe a cliff or rock, in

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in which there is heard, at certain t
the noiſe of hammers, as if a great ma
ny ſmiths were ſmiting upon anvils with
mighty ſledges. This ſome will have to
be the ſounding of the ſea echoing from
ing porous or hollow within; and inde
be of their opinion.

But what I more remarkably obſerved is,
worth in Yorkſhire, a ſpring that ebbs
and flows four times in an hour; and
another does the ſame in the foreſt of
the Peak in Derbyſhire, obſerving a con-
ſtant time of its flux and reflux. And
in my Welſh peregrination, which I had almoſt forg
there is a very ſtrange wonder, which is a well by
river Ogmorein, that when the ſea flows, is very n
empty of water; and when it ebbs, the water ſprings
in it, contrary to all other wells near the ſea that I ha
ever heard of.

An
and
well.

Theſe, and many other rarities in England, I might mention, which I have obſerved in my curious ſurvey of the kingdom, not coming ſhort of many that are abroad; to which, in times paſt, divers ſuperſtitious attributes have been made, of ſundry kinds, to awe or draw the devotion of the unthinking vulgar, and fill the coffers of the Romiſh clergy, who made it their buſineſs to impoſe on the ignorant for their advantage; each ſeveral ſort of monaſtics ſtudying who ſhould out-do the other in contriving ſome new-invented matter, in or near their convent; and when they had ſettled a belief in the people of any miracle or ſtrange thing, they improved it to a vaſt gain, like mountebanks, ſtriving to draw off each others company. And of theſe rare adventures, it will not be amiſs to tell you of one ſubtle contrivance at Bearn in Switzerland, ſo noted through the world; and the which proved ſo high a matter of blaſphemy in the end, that the contrivers were publicly burnt by the Pope's definitive ſentence.

The remarkable ſtory of Jetzer, and the friars of Bern.

It ſo happened, that the Franciſcan friars, working more feigned miracles than the Dominicans, by the pretended

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pretended virtue of their ſaints, the latter grew angry to be out-done, and reſolved to repair their diſgrace by ſome new invention; but what it ſhould be, they for a long time could not conclude on. At laſt, finding the former held that the virgin Mary was born without original ſin, and that the people agreed with them in that point, which themſelves had not held, they concluded to make their own opinion good; and thereupon held a chapter at Umplen, *anno* 1504, to contrive a method for the ſupporting their credit, where four of their number undertook to manage the intrigue; which, to repair their loſt credit, they undertook to be done by dream or viſion, that the people might be that way impoſed on. And Bearn was aſſigned for the ſcene of this project, where they found one Jetzer, a novice of the convent of Dominicans there, and pitched upon him as a fit tool for their purpoſe; who being there as a lay-brother, and withal very ſimple, much inclined to auſterities, one of the friars ſecretly conveyed himſelf unto his cell or apartment; and there, in a ſtrange figure, appeared to him, the doors being ſhut, ſpitting fire out of his mouth through a trunk, inſinuating he was come out of purgatory; having a dog with him, which he ſaid was the ſpirit that tormented him, crying out exceſſively, that he underwent the pains of purgatory for leaving off the habit of that order. This, through an affrighting vizard, with a terrible and unuſual voice, much terrified the poor friar Jetzer. Then the other told him, he might yet be reſcued by his means, requiring a promiſe of him to do what he ſhould require; which Jetzer, in his fright and amazement, promiſed ſhould be done. Then he told him to perform this, he knowing his ſanctity, the whole monaſtery muſt diſcipline themſelves a week with a whip, and he lie in one of their chapels, proſtrate in the form of one ſtretched on a croſs, in the ſight of all that ſhould congregate during the time of maſs; and then he ſhould find the effects of the bleſſed Virgin's love towards him; telling him moreover, that he would appear again with two other ſpirits, and confirm him of glorious rewards for all he ſhould ſuffer on his behalf.

Jetzer,

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Jetzer, in the morning, gave an account of this ſuppoſed ſpirit's appearing to him; who being confederates in the matter, adviſed him to do as he was ordered; and each undertook the diſcipline propoſed, he performing his as had been directed in one of the chapels of their church; the rumour of which drew a number of people together as ſpectators, they confirming and magnifying the miracle to them in their ſermons: and the better to underſtand Jetzer's firmneſs in this matter, the confeſſing friar was of the party who ſcrutinized his very thoughts. They gave him upon this the hoſty, with a piece of wood, which they ſaid was part of the true croſs, to fortify him in his reſolution, and huſh his fears.

The ſucceeding night, the friar, as he had propoſed, brought two others with him, in ſuch horrid ſhapes, that poor Jetzer took them for devils indeed. But he made them retreat at the oppoſing his hoſty and piece of wood; but ſoon advancing again, and telling him his life and actions, which the confeſſor had drawn from him, he began to hearken to what they had to ſay, and thought it was a real apparition. Then they praiſed the Dominican order, and declared it was exceſſive dear and near to the bleſſed Virgin, who knew herſelf to be conceived in original ſin; and that the doctors who had taught the contrary were in purgatory; and named many that had been blotted and branded for affirming the contrary; and then they injoined him another diſcipline. After which they departed; and after that appearing again, they told him they were delivered out of purgatory by his ſufferings and ſanctity; but having died without the ſacrament, they muſt receive it before they went to heaven; and after that ſay maſs for their great charity, who had reſcued them out of the pains.

All this while Jetzer imagined this voice reſembled that of the prior's; but his reſolution to know the end, overcame that ſuſpicion. Soon after this, the ſame friar appeared to him in a nun's habit, telling him ſhe was St Barbara, for whom he had a very great devotion; and that the holy Virgin was ſo ſingularly pleaſed with his devotion, that ſhe intended to give him a ſpeedy viſit.

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visit. Upon this, he called the convent together, and gave them an account of what he had seen and heard; which filled them with seeming wonder, and a longing desire of the accomplishment. There was some intermission before the promised apparition of the blessed Virgin; but at three days end, the friar came in, habited as the Virgin was used to go on festival days; and about her seemed to be some little angels, which, in the end, proved no other than the statues of angels, that used to be placed on the altar on high days; which were raised and lowered, as seeming to fly by the help of cords and pulleys, placed there for the purpose, which made the apparition seem more strange: and after a few majestic paces, the Virgin addressed herself to him with many endearments, extolling his charity and discipline as meritorious; telling him, she was born in original sin; and that Pope Julius, then reigning, should put an end to the dispute, and abolish the feast that Pope Sextus IV. had instituted; and that he should be the instrument to persuade the Pope of the truth of what he had heard.

Things thus forwarded, she gave him, as she said, three drops of her Son's blood, being three tears he shed over Jerusalem; which were a sign she was three hours in original sin, and then by his mercy delivered out of that state. Then she gave him five drops of blood in the form of the cross, which, she said, were tears she had shed whilst her son was crucifying. After this, to make matters more credible, she gave him a hosty, appearing white at first, but afterward as red as blood, which was supposed to be changed by leger-demain.

These and such like passages, continued several nights. At last, this supposed Virgin came, and declared she would give him such marks of her Son's love, as should remain in his remembrance; and with that struck his hand through with a nail, though against his will, that he could see the light through it; which paining him extremely, he supposed an ointment was applied to it; but his confessor persuaded him it was no such matter, but the fragrance of the holy Virgin's touch.

The ensuing night, the same apparition brought linen

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nen cloaths, which had ſome real or imaginary virtue to allay the pain that he felt by the wound; ſaying, they were part of thoſe her Son was wrapped in at his burial; and then gave him a ſomniferous draught, which ſoon caſt him into a deep ſleep, and imprinted four other ſlight wounds in his hand, feet, and ſide, he not feeling them by reaſon of his ſtupefaction; to perform which, they uſed divers charms and conjurations, mixing ingredients of wichcraft, and the like. The ſub-prior to perfect this, renouncing God, ſigning the act by his blood in a formal writing, dedicating himſelf to the devil; but the reſt came not into this wicked reſignation to the devil, yet they renounced God.

The potion was a mixture of chriſm with ſpring-water, the hair of a child's eye-brows, quickſilver, incenſe, part of an Eaſter wax-candle, conſecrated ſalt, and the blood of an unbaptized infant. Such deteſtable ways have wretches to bring about their temporal gain, even to their own damnation.

Theſe charms ſo wrought upon poor Jetzer, that being awake, and finding his wounds, he imagined he was really acting the paſſion of our Saviour; and thus he was ſhewed to the people upon the altar, to their great amazement, and the confuſion of the Franciſcans, who oppoſed the miracle; and having given him another draught, which put him into convulſions, there was a voice heard through a hollow pipe, placed in a hole, which remains to this day in the wall of one of the cells, as ſoon as he came to himſelf, which ſeemed to come from the Virgin Mary's picture, which held a little Jeſus in her arms; for the picture being ſo artificially painted, that it ſeemed to ſhed tears; the child aſked the mother, Why ſhe wept? who anſwered, Becauſe his honour was given to her; ſince it was ſaid, ſhe was born without ſin. But the friar ſo overacted it at laſt, that Jetzer, by overhearing their diſcourſe, diſcovered the cheat; and almoſt killed a fat friar, who came to him, repreſenting the Virgin Mary, with a crown upon her head, by beating a quart-pot about his ears. So that now ſeeing he would be no longer impoſed upon, they told him their deſign, and deſired him to

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go on with the impoſture; but he refuſing, they attempted ſeveral times to poiſon him, and once with a ſacramental wafer, but he overcame it; then they, by cruel uſage, made him ſwear to comply and never diſcover it, but get out of the convent. He caſt himſelf into the hands of the magiſtrates, and diſcovered the whole intrigue; whereupon four of the friars were impriſoned, and an account of the matter ſent to Rome; but it was put off, by the favour of ſome biſhops that were to hear it, for a time: though at laſt, a Spaniſh biſhop, being impowered by the Pope, cauſed the friars to be degraded of their prieſthood; and being delivered over to the ſecular power, they were on the laſt of May 1509, burnt in a meadow over againſt the great church, which place is now ſhowed to ſtrangers; as alſo the hole in the wall, through which the feigned voice came.

And thus you may ſee the ſuperſtition and fallacies of the Romiſh clergy, and how they fool and bubble the world, by cheats and deluſions.

From whoſe religion ſhield us, three in one,
The Father, Spirit, and eternal Son;
That no falſe miracles, or fabl'd lies
May cheat our ſouls of the immortal prize.

And now to conclude, as a painter may ſpoil a picture, but not the face; ſo may ſome ſtoical reader miſconſtrue and miſconceive ſome parts of this eye-ſet hiſtory, though not able to mar the truth of it. Yet howſoever, here is the juſt relation of nineteen years travels, perfected in three dear bought voyages: the general computation of which large ſpaces, in my goings, traverſings, and returnings, through kingdoms, continents, and iſlands, which my painful feet traced over (beſides my paſſages of ſeas and rivers) amounteth to thirty-ſix thouſand and odd miles, which draweth near to twice the circumference of the whole earth. And ſo farewel.

FINIS.

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