



EARLY TRAVELS

IN

PALESTINE,

COMPRISING THE NARRATIVES OF

ARCULF, WILLIBALD, BERNARD, SÆWULF, SIGURD,
BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILLE,
DE LA BROCQUIÈRE, AND MAUNDRELL.

EDITED, WITH NOTES,

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REFERENCES TO PLAN OF JERUSALEM,

REDUCED FROM A LARGE PLAN, CONSTRUCTED BY SCHULTZ, PRUSSIAN CONSUL
AT JERUSALEM.

1. Chapel of Scourging.
2. Scala Sancta.
3. Pilate's House.
4. Chapel of Crowning with Thorns.
5. Arch of '*Ecce Homo.*'
6. First place where Simon carried the Cross.
7. Second do. do.
8. Gate of Judgment (Porta Judiciaria).
9. House of Urias.
10. Bath of Bathsheba.
11. House of the High Priest Zacharias.
12. " St. Marcus.
13. " St. Thomas.
14. " High Priest Annas.
15. " " Caiphaa.
16. Room in which the Last Supper was instituted.
17. House of the Virgin Mary.
18. Place where St. Peter wept.
19. House of Sta. Anna.
20. " the Pharisee Simon.
21. Place where Stephen was stoned.
22. " Jesus sweated blood.
23. " the Disciples slept.
24. " Judas kissed Christ.
25. " Jesus taught the Lord's Prayer.
26. " " wept over Jerusalem.
27. " the Apostles learned the Creed.
28. Judas hanged himself.
29. Tomb of Jehoshaphat.
30. " Absolom.
31. " Jacob.
32. " Zacharias.

INTRODUCTION.

THE attentive reader of history cannot fail to remark how often, in the confusion of the middle ages, the very movements or principles which seem in themselves most barbarous, or are most strongly tinged with the darkest shades of superstition, have been those which, in the sequel, gave the strongest impulse to the advancing spirit of civilization which has at length changed that dark past into this bright present. It is in the contemplation of this oft-recurring fact, that we trace, more distinctly, perhaps, than in any other, the inscrutable but unerring ways of that higher Providence to whose rule all things are subjected. Few of those duties enjoined by the ancient Romish Church were accompanied with, and seemed to lead to, more abuses and scandals than the pilgrimages to the Holy Land, so natural an attraction to every Christian; few were attended with so much bigotry, and blindness, and uncharitableness, or ended in observances and convictions so grossly superstitious and so degrading to the intelligence of mankind. Yet it was this throwing of people upon the wide and distant scene, on which they were forced into continual intercourse, hostile or friendly, according to the circumstances of the moment, with people of different manners, creed, sentiment, and knowledge, that gradually softened down all prejudices, and paved the way for the entire destruction of that system to which it seemed intended to give support. If the seeds of civilization ever existed in the cloister, they were seeds cast upon the barren rock, and it was not until they were transplanted to another and richer soil, that they began to sprout and give promise of fruit.

Even in this point of view the narrative of those early pilgrimages must possess no ordinary degree of interest, and it gives us no little insight into the history of the march of intellectual improvement to accompany these early travellers in

their wanderings, as they have themselves described them to us, and to watch their feelings and hear their opinions. The human mind is one of those important objects of study that we can never look upon from too many standing-places. But there is another point of view in which the narratives of the early pilgrims, of which so many have been preserved, are perhaps still more interesting. That favoured land to which they relate, the scene of so many events of deep import to our happiness in this world and in the future, has never lost its attractions, and more steps, as well as more eyes, are now turned towards it, than in those so-called ages of faith, when every mile on the road was believed to count in heaven for so much towards the redemption of the past crimes and offences, however great, of the traveller. Pilgrims innumerable still visit the holy places, with a purer faith and a less prejudiced understanding, yet with the desire of knowing what others in past ages saw, which is now not to be seen, or which is seen under different circumstances; to know what they thought of objects which still offer themselves to view; and to trace in their successive observations and reflections the gradual development of a thirst for discovery and knowledge which has at length given them the power of being so much wiser than their forefathers. It was the interest created by the objects these pilgrims visited personally, and the curiosity excited by the vague information obtained from intercourse with men who came from parts still more distant, that laid the first foundation of geographical science, and that first gave the impulse to geographical discovery.

A comparison of the numerous narratives to which we allude, places before our eyes the most distinct view we can possibly have of the various changes which have swept over the land of Palestine since it was snatched from the power of the Roman emperors. The more ancient are, of course, the most interesting, because they relate to a period when a far greater number of monuments of still earlier antiquity remained in existence than it has been the lot of any modern pilgrims to visit, and the traditions of the locality were then much more deserving of attention, because they were so much nearer to the time of the events to which they related. It can hardly be supposed that the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, under the Romans, did not preserve some

authentic traditions concerning the localities of the more important events of Gospel history.

We have fortunately one document of a very remarkable character, which has preserved to us the local traditions of the Christians of Syria under the Romans. It was first brought to light by the celebrated French antiquary, Pierre Pithou, who printed it, in 1588, from a manuscript in his own library, under the title of "*Itinerarium a Burdigala Hierusalem usque*;" and it was afterwards inserted in the editions of the "*Antonine Itinerary*," by Schott and Wesseling. The author of this Itinerary was a Christian of Bordeaux, who visited the Holy Land in the year 333*, and it was evidently compiled for the use of his countrymen. This visit took place two years before the consecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built by the emperor Constantine and his mother Helena. The compiler of this Itinerary, who is the first traveller to the East who has left us an account of his journey, departed from Bordeaux, then one of the chief cities of Gaul, passed by Arles and other towns, and crossed the Alps into Italy, which country he traversed, passing through Turin, Pavia, Milan, Brescia, Verona, &c., to the then magnificent city of Aquileia; thence he crossed the Julian Alps, and passed through Noricum, Pannonia, Illyria, Dacia, and Thrace, to Constantinople, and thence, after crossing the Bosphorus, he continued his route through Asia Minor to Syria. Hitherto the Itinerary is a mere recapitulation of names and distances, but, after his arrival in Syria, he continually interrupts his bare list of names, to mention some holy site, or other object which attracted his attention. On his arrival at Jerusalem, he gives us a long description of that city and its neighbourhood. From Jerusalem he returns to Constantinople, varying a little his route, and thence he retraces his steps as far as Heraclea in Thrace, where he leaves his former road, passing through Macedonia to Thessalonica, and thence to Italy, where he visited Brundisium, Capua, and Rome, and thence returned to Milan.

* This date is fixed by a statement of the writer of the Itinerary:— "*Item ambulavimus Dalmatio et Dalmaticæi Zenophilo cons. iii. Kal. Jun. a Kalcidonia, et reversi sumus ad Constantinopolim vii. Kalend. Jan. consule suprascripto.*" We know from the historians that Flavius Valerius Dalmatius (brother of the emperor Constantine) and Marcus Aurelius Xenophilus were consuls together in 333.

Although this Itinerary has come down to us as a solitary narrative, we learn from the writings of some of the Greek fathers, that pilgrimages to the Holy Land had already, at that period, become so frequent as to lead to many abuses; and the early saints' lives have been the means of preserving to us brief notices of some of the adventures of the pilgrims, which are obscured by the incredible miracles with which those narratives abound. St. Porphyry, a Greek ecclesiastic of the end of the fourth century, after living five years as a hermit in the Thebaid of Egypt, went with his disciple Marcus to Jerusalem, visited the holy places, settled there, and finally became bishop of Gaza. St. Eusebius of Cremona, and his friend St. Jerome, embarked at Porto, in Italy, in June 385, in company with a great number of other pilgrims, and in the midst of tempests passed the Ionian Sea and the Cyclades to Cyprus, where they were received by St. Epiphanius. They went thence to Antioch, where they were welcomed by St. Paulinus, who was bishop of that city, and from thence they proceeded to Jerusalem. After passing some time in the holy city, and visiting the surrounding country, they went to Egypt, to visit the hermits of the Thebaid, and then returning, they took up their abode at Bethlehem, where they founded a monastery. Nearly at the same time, St. Paula, with her daughter, left Rome for Syria, and landed at Sidon, where she visited the tower of Elijah. At Cæsarea she saw the house of the centurion Cornelius, which was changed into a church, and the house of St. Philip, with the chambers of his four daughters. Near Jerusalem she beheld the tomb of Helena, queen of Adiabene. The governor of Palestine, who was acquainted with the family of St. Paula, prepared to receive her in Jerusalem with due honours, but she preferred taking up her abode in a small cell, and she hastened to visit all the holy objects with which she was now surrounded. She went first to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where she prostrated herself before the true cross, and entered the sepulchre itself, after having kissed the stone which the angels had taken from the entrance. On Mount Sion, she was shown the column to which Christ was bound when scourged, and which then sustained the gallery of a church. She saw also the spot where the Holy Ghost had descended on the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. She thence went to Bethlehem, visiting on the way the sepulchre of

Rachel. At Bethlehem she descended into the grotto of the Nativity. She next visited the tower of Ader of the Flocks. At Bethphage, she saw the sepulchre of Lazarus, and the house of Martha and Mary; on Mount Ephraim, she was shown the sepulchre of Joshua, and of the high priest Eleazar; at Sichem, she entered the church built over the well of Jacob, where our Saviour spoke to the Samaritan woman; she next visited the sepulchres of the twelve patriarchs; and, at Sebaste, or Samaria, she saw those of Elisha and Abdias, as well as that of St. John the Baptist. To the latter were brought, from all parts, people possessed with demons, to be cured. St. Paula went subsequently to Egypt, to visit the hermits of the desert, whence she returned to Bethlehem, where she built cells and hospitals for pilgrims, and there she lived in retirement till her death*. St. Antoninus visited the Holy Land early in the seventh century; his life contains some absurd legendary stories relating to the cross, which he saw in the church of Golgotha; and he tells that there stood on one part of Mount Sion an "idol of the Saracens," made of very white marble (no doubt an ancient sepulchre), which, at the time of the festival of that idol, suddenly became black as pitch, and after the festival was restored to its original colour. At Nazareth, St. Antoninus praises the beauty of the Jewish women who resided there; and he tells us that the land round that place was prodigiously fertile, and that it produced excellent wine, oil, and honey. The millet grew there to a greater height than elsewhere, and the straw was stronger. After visiting all the holy places, St. Antoninus, like all the other pilgrims who went to the east before the conquests of the Saracens, repaired to Egypt, to visit the hermits of the Thebaid. He landed at Alexandria, a very fine city, the people of which were light in disposition, but friendly to the travellers who came thither. He saw there, in the Nile, a multitude of crocodiles, a great number of which were collected together in a pond. Perhaps this was some remnant of the ancient worship of the Egyptians. On his return to Jerusalem, St. Antoninus fell sick, and was received into a

* St. Jerome, in one of his Epistles, has given us the history of the adventures of St. Paula. The lives of the other saints mentioned here will be found in the large collection of the Bollandists. The abstract given here is taken from the Essay on Early Pilgrimages, by the Baron Walckenaer, inserted in Michaud's History of the Crusades.

hospital destined for poor pilgrims; he then went into Mesopotamia, and returned by sea to Italy, his native country.

Soon after this period, the circumstances of the pilgrims who arrived in the Holy Land were entirely changed, in consequence of the conquests of the Saracens, who, under Omar, obtained possession of Jerusalem in 637, by a capitulation, however, which allowed them the use of their churches on payment of a tribute, but forbade them to build new ones. This interdiction could not be in itself a great grievance, for the whole of Palestine must have been literally covered with churches when it passed under the Mohammedan yoke. The conquerors soon saw that greater advantages would be reaped by preserving the holy places, and encouraging pilgrimage, than by destroying them; many of them, indeed their own creed taught them, were to be considered as objects of reverence; and thus for two or three centuries the Christians of the west continued to flock to the Holy Sepulchre as numerous as before, subject, perhaps, to not much greater taxation at the holy places than in former times, but exposed on their way to more or less insult and oppression, according to the political or local circumstances of the moment.

Not many years after it had thus fallen under the power of the Arabs, the Holy Land was visited by a French bishop named ARCUF, whose narrative stands at the head of the present volume. The French antiquaries have not been able to discover of what see Arculf was bishop, or when he lived; and all that is known of him is the statement of Adamnan, who wrote down his narrative, that on his return from the east he was carried by contrary winds to the shores of Britain, and that he was received at Iona. We learn from Bede*, that Adamnan visited the court of the Northumbrian king Aldfrid, and that he then presented to the king his book on the Holy Places, which he had taken down from the dictation of bishop Arculf. The visit to king Aldfrid is generally placed in 703, but by an apparent misunderstanding of the words of Bede, and it is probable that it occurred at least as early as 701†. The pilgrimage of Arculf must thus have taken place in the latter part of the seventh century. In relating a miracle concerning the *sudarium* or napkin taken from the head of our Saviour (which has not been

* Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 15.

† See my *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon period, p. 202.

thought worth retaining in the present translation), Arculf is made to speak of "Majuvias, king of the Saracens," as having lived in his time*, and the character of the story leaves no doubt that the king referred to was Moawiyah, the first khalif of the dynasty of the Ommiades, who reigned from 661 to 679. I am inclined to think that Arculf's visit to Jerusalem must be placed not long after this khalif's death.

Arculf's travels, having been reduced to a sort of treatise by Adamnan, do not always present the exact form of a personal narrative, and we cannot trace his course from his native land as we do those of most subsequent travellers. He seems to have followed in the steps of the more ancient pilgrims, and his visit to Egypt, with the avowal of his voyages up the Nile, can only be explained on the supposition that he also went to visit the Coptic monks of the Desert, who had been allowed to remain there, tributary to their Arabian conquerors. He either derived little satisfaction from this visit, or Adamnan considered it as having no interest for his countrymen; and we find no allusion to the Egyptian monks in the later pilgrimages. Arculf speaks of no difficulties he had to encounter, and his narrative is of especial interest, from the circumstance of his visiting the country when all the buildings of the Roman age were still standing.

The narrative of bishop Arculf, besides its intrinsic value as a minute and accurate description of localities and monuments at this interesting period, is of especial importance to us, because, through the abridgment made by Bede, it became the text book on this subject among the Anglo-Saxons, and led to that passion for pilgrimages with which they were soon afterwards seized, and which was not uncongenial to the character of that people whose adventurous steps have since been carried into every corner of the world.

Among the Anglo-Saxons who followed the example of Arculf, one of the most remarkable, and the earliest of whose adventures we have any account, was WILLIBALD, a kinsman, it is said, of the great Boniface, and a native of the kingdom of Wessex, probably of Hampshire. His father, who appears to have been of high rank, was honoured with a place in the Roman calendar, under the title of St. Richard. He, with his two sons, Willibald and Wunibald, and a daughter,

* Majuvias, Saracenorum rex, qui nostra ætate fuit, judex postulatus.

afterwards so celebrated under the name of St. Walpurgis, left England probably in the year 718, and travelled through the land of the Franks on their way to Italy. At Lucca, Willibald's father sickened and died; and, having buried him, the three children reached Rome in safety, but there they were seized with a severe fever, on their recovery from which Willibald determined to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I have fixed the date of his departure to the year 721, because that would place his departure from Tyre on his way to Constantinople, in 724; and I have stated on another occasion*, that it is in the highest degree probable that the difficulties Willibald and his companions experienced in obtaining a passport, and the troubles they met with in their departure from Syria, were coincident with the persecution of the Christian churches in that country in the year just alluded to, when the khalif Yezid II., at the end of his reign, had been instigated by the Jews to publish an edict against the paintings in the churches of his Christian subjects, in consequence of which many of the latter fled their homes. After the death of Yezid, hostilities recommenced between the Greeks and the Arabs, and continued during many years; and it is evident that the two countries were not yet at war when the pilgrims left. At the same time, the whole tenor of the narrative shows that they quitted Syria on account of some sudden change in the internal state of the country, and that they were anxious to get away, for they came to Tyre at the wrong season of the year for making the voyage to Constantinople, and they sailed in rough and tempestuous weather. In 740 or 741, Willibald was consecrated bishop of Eichstadt, being then forty-one years of age. He died, it is supposed, in the year 786. His life was written before his death, by a nun of Heidenheim, of whose name we are ignorant, but who was his kinswoman, and who took down the account of his travels, as she avows, from his own mouth.

The war with the Greeks did not, however, put a stop to pilgrimages from the west, but the travellers now seem to have been obliged to pass by way of Egypt. The geographer, Dicuil, in his treatise *De Mensura Orbis Terræ*, which he wrote at a very advanced age, in 825, tells us, when speaking of Egypt, that when a youth at school in France, he heard a monk named Fidelis give an account of his travels in Egypt

* See the *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon period, p. 341. 342.

and the Holy Land, to his master, Suibneus, and, from the accuracy with which he cites it, he must have taken notes at the time. He says, that Fidelis went with a party of pilgrims, clerks and laymen, who sailed direct to the mouth of the Nile, no doubt to Alexandria. Proceeding up the Nile a long way, they were struck with astonishment at the sight of the seven "barns" (*horraa*), built by Joseph, according to the number of the years of abundance, which looked at a distance like mountains, four in one place, and three in another. Curiosity led them to visit the group of three, and near them they found a lion, and eight men and women, all lying dead; "the lion had slain them by its strength, and they had killed the lion with their spears and swords, for the places occupied by both these groups of barns are deserts." They found that these buildings, in their whole elevation, were of stone; at the bottom they were square, in the upper part round, and twisted at the summit in a spire. Fidelis measured the side of one from one angle to the other, and found it to be four hundred feet. Then, entering their ships in the river Nile, they navigated direct to the entrance of the Red Sea, where they entered a port, not far to the east of which was the spot where Moses passed on dry land. Fidelis wished to go to this place, where he expected to see the traces of Pharaoh's chariot wheels, but he could not prevail with the sailors to turn away from their own course. He observed, however, that the sea appeared there to be about six miles across. They sailed thence, without loss of time, along the western part of the Red Sea, or that part which extends itself in a gulf or bay far to the north. From thence we are left to suppose that they proceeded to Palestine*. The barns of Joseph were of course the pyramids, with respect to the form of the upper part of which the pilgrim might easily have been deceived; but it will be at once evident to any one acquainted with the geography of Egypt, that the channel by which he passed in a ship from the Nile to the Red Sea, was the ancient canal of Hadrian. This canal is said to have been repaired, and rendered navigable by the Arabs, not long after they had rendered themselves masters of Egypt, but we know that it was finally blocked up by the khalif Abu Giafar Almanson, in 767, to hinder provisions from being sent to the people of Mecca and Medina, who had

* Dicuil, *De Mensura Orbis*, vi. 8, ed. Letronne.

revolted against his authority. It was therefore previous to this date that Fidelis visited Egypt.

Peace, broken immediately after the departure of Willibald, was not restored till the learned reign of the magnificent Haroun-er-Raschid (786-809), whose name, and his friendship and intercourse with the no less splendid monarch of the west, Charlemagne, have been so often celebrated in history and romance. Their friendship led to the opening of Palestine to the Christian pilgrims on much more liberal terms, and various privileges and comforts were secured for them in the holy city. Pilgrimages now became more frequent, and several are mentioned during the latter part of the eighth and the course of the ninth centuries.

The only one of these pilgrims whose own account of his adventures has been preserved, was a Breton monk, evidently of the celebrated monastery of Mount St. Michel, named BERNARD, who is distinguished in the manuscripts by the title of *Bernardus Sapiens*, or Bernard the Wise, although we have no other testimony to his wisdom except the account of his pilgrimage. This very curious narrative was discovered by Mabillon, in a manuscript of the library of Rheims, and printed in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedictini*. Bernard has given, at the commencement of this narrative, the date of the year in which he started. In Mabillon's text, and in a manuscript of the Cottonian Library, now lost, it is 870; while in another manuscript of the Cottonian Library, still existing, it is given as 970. Internal evidence at once fixes the date of Bernard's pilgrimage to the ninth century, and not to the tenth; and as it is evident that he was at Bari before the siege by Louis II., we can have little hesitation in considering both the dates given by the manuscripts as errors of the scribes, and in fixing Bernard's departure to the year 867.

Bernard left Europe at a time when the Saracens of the west were engaged in hostility with the Christians, and he was obliged to furnish himself with a variety of protections. Although he points at the disadvantageous contrast between the barbarity and turbulence of the western Christians and the well regulated government of the Arabs in the east, it is quite evident that a change had taken place in the condition of the Christians in Syria, and that the pilgrims no longer enjoyed the immunities obtained for them by the emperor Charlemagne. They now, on the contrary, seem to have been

subjected to extortions on every side. Bernard, like Fidelis, went by way of Egypt, and proceeded thence into Palestine by land. He is the first traveller who mentions the afterwards celebrated miracle of the holy fire. At Jerusalem Bernard lodged in the hostel which had been founded by Charlemagne, and which was still appropriated to its original destination.

Somewhere near this period a noble Breton of the name of Frotmond, who, with his brother, had committed one of those deeds of blood which so often stain the history of the middle ages, was condemned by the church to a penance, not uncommon in those times. A chain was close riveted round his body and his arms; and in this condition, covered only with a coarse garment, his head sprinkled with ashes, he was to visit, bare-foot, the holy places, and wander about until God should deign to relieve him of his burthen. In the fourth year of his wanderings he returned to France, and went to the monastery of Redon, where he was miraculously delivered from his chains, which had already eaten deep into his flesh, at the tomb of St. Marcellinus. The account of his pilgrimage was collected from the traditions of the monastery long after Frotmond's death, by one of the monks. It is said that he and his brethren went direct to the coast of Syria, and made some stay at Jerusalem, practising there all kinds of austerities. They next went into Egypt, and took up their abode among the monks of the Thebaid, and then went to pray at the tomb of St. Cyprian, on the sea-coast, two leagues from Carthage. They then returned to Rome; but still not obtaining pardon of the pope (Benedict III.), they again passed the sea to Jerusalem, from whence they went to Cana, in Galilee, and then they directed their course to the Red Sea. They next proceeded to the mountains of Armenia, and visited the spot where Noah's ark rested after the deluge. On their way they suffered all kinds of outrages from the infidels, who stripped them naked and scourged them cruelly. This, however, did not turn them from their purpose, and they went subsequently to Mount Sinai, where they remained three years, and so returned to Italy, and thence to France. Frotmond started on his wanderings in the year 868.

Other pilgrimages are mentioned as having taken place before the end of the ninth century, at which time new wars broke out between the Greeks and the Saracens, in the course of which the whole of Judea was taken from the Mohamme-

dans by the emperor John Zimisces, and the holy places were again thrown open to pilgrims from all parts. On the death of Zimisces, in 976, the Greek empire again sunk into weakness, and Palestine was snatched from them by the Fatimite khalifs of Egypt, whose policy it was at first to treat the Christians with lenity, seek commercial relations with the Franks, and encourage the pilgrimages to the holy places. But all these fair prospects were soon cut short by the accession to the throne of Hakem, the third khalif of the Fatimite dynasty, who threw his kingdom into confusion by his cruel despotism, and who made the unfortunate Christians feel the whole weight of his fury. They were everywhere oppressed and massacred, their churches were taken from them, profaned, and destroyed, and the holy places were deserted. During the whole of the eleventh century the Christians of Syria were thus treated with every kind of indignity. Pilgrims still made their way to Jerusalem, and a great number of brief notices of their adventures are preserved by the numerous writers of the age; but they brought back with them little more than complaints of the profanations to which the holy places were exposed, and of the wretched condition to which their brothers in faith had been reduced. The celebrated Gerbert, afterwards pope, under the name of Sylvestre II., was one of the first who made the pilgrimage during the persecutions of Hakem; and on his return, in 986, he published a letter, in which he made Jerusalem deplore her misfortunes, and supplicated the whole Christian world to come to her aid. The French and the Italians were excited to vengeance, and they began to make pilgrimages in armed bodies, and even to attack the coasts of Syria. This only served to exasperate their enemies, who interdicted the Christians in their dominions from the exercise of their religion, took from them their churches, which they profaned by turning them into stables and to still more degrading purposes, and threw down the church of the Sepulchre, and the other sacred places in Jerusalem, in 1008. According to the best authorities the church of the Holy Sepulchre was rebuilt by Hakem's grandson, Al-Mostanser-Billah, between 1046 and 1048, in consequence of a treaty with the Byzantine emperor.

The news of these events threw all Christian Europe into consternation, and excited every where the desire for vengeance on the infidels; but it increased the eagerness for pilgrimage,

and, in spite of all the insults and perils to which they were exposed, devotees of all ranks and conditions made their way to Jerusalem in crowds. New revolutions were, however, taking place there; for another people, the Seldjouk Turks, having rendered themselves masters of Persia, and established there a new dynasty of monarchs, the Abassides, passed forwards into Mesopotamia, and then conquered Syria from the Fatimites. The Seldjouks took Jerusalem in 1071, massacred both Saracens and Christians, and delivered up to pillagers the mosques as well as the churches. The fate of the pilgrims under the new rulers of Palestine was more deplorable than ever. They were not allowed to enter the gates of Jerusalem without payment of a very heavy tax; and, as most of them had been plundered on the way, if they had anything to tempt the merciless rapacity of the infidels, the greater part remained outside, to perish by hunger or by the sword. Those who gained admission into the city only entered to suffer new outrages, and, which was still worse, to see everything they held most sacred trodden under foot and defiled by unbelievers.

The Turks, in their turn, became divided and enfeebled; and the Fatimites made a successful effort to recover their power in Syria. In 1096 Jerusalem was delivered, by capitulation, to the general of the khalif Al-Mostaali-Billeh; but the change of masters seems to have ameliorated in no degree the condition of the Christians.

The cry of the eastern Christians had, however, already made itself effectually heard throughout Europe. The voice of Peter the Hermit was first raised in 1095, in the November of which year he stood by the pope, Urban II., at the council of Clermont, and the first crusade was proclaimed. The vast army of invaders assembled in the autumn of 1096, traversed Europe and Asia Minor, and those who escaped from the terrible sufferings and losses it experienced on the road reached Palestine in 1099, and took Jerusalem by assault on the 15th of June. Ten days after the conquerors elected Godfrey of Boulogne king of Jerusalem.

The first pilgrim who followed the crusaders, who has left us a personal narrative, was an Anglo-Saxon named SÆWULF. Our only information relating to this personage, beyond what is found in his own relation, occurs in a passage of William of Malmesbury which appears to relate to him. This writer, in

his History of the English Bishops *, tells us that Sæwulf was a merchant who frequently repaired to bishop Wulstan, of Worcester, to confess his sins, and as frequently, when his fit of penitence was over, returned to his old courses. Wulstan advised him to quit the profession in which he met with so many temptations, and embrace a monastic life; and, on his refusal, the bishop prophesied that the time would arrive when he would take the habit which he now so obstinately refused. William of Malmesbury says that he himself witnessed the fulfilment of this prediction, when in his old age the merchant Sæwulf became a monk in the abbey of Malmesbury. It is fair to suppose that, in a moment of penitence, the merchant sought to appease the divine wrath by undertaking the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the road to which had then been laid open by the first successes of the crusaders. Nothing in the narrative proves that our traveller was a monk.

The date of Sæwulf's voyage has been fixed by his learned editor, M. D'Avezac, from internal evidence of the most satisfactory kind. Sæwulf makes two or three allusions to historical personages in the course of his adventures. Thus, on his arrival at Cephalonia, he informs us that Robert Guiscard died there. This celebrated warrior, the first duke of the Normans in Italy, the father of the celebrated crusader Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, was meditating the conquest of Greece, when he died, according to some poisoned, in July 1085 †. Further on Sæwulf mentions two Christian princes, distinguished by their activity in the first crusade, as still living: Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, and Raymond, duke of Toulouse. The first was made king on the 25th of December, 1100, and the latter died on the 28th of February, 1105. Sæwulf mentions further, that when he returned from Syria Tortosa was in the possession of duke Raymond, while Acre still remained in the hands of the Saracens. The latter place was captured on the 12th of March, 1102, while Acre did not fall into the hands of the Christians till the 15th of May, 1104. Now he informs us further that he embarked at Joppa, on his re-

* W. Malmesbury de Gest. Pontif., p. 282. See also my Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Norman Period, p. 38.

† See, on Robert Guiscard, W. Malmesbury, Hist. book iii. pp. 294, 295. (Bohn's Antiquarian Library.)

turn on the day of Pentecost, which day in the year 1104 fell on the 5th of June, and, as Acre had then been taken, this could not be the year; and we have only to choose between 1102 and 1103. To remove all doubt on the subject, M. D'Avezac points out an element of calculation contained in Sæwulf's text, which enables us to fix the exact date of his departure from Italy, after having brought it within so small a compass from the historical allusions. Sæwulf says that he set sail from Monopoli on Sunday, the feast of St. Mildred. St. Mildred's day is the 13th of July, and that day fell on a Sunday in the year 1102. It was, he says, an unlucky day—*dies Ægyptiaca*, and they fell in with a storm which drove them along the coast to Brindisi, whence, after a short stay to refit, they sailed again on an unlucky day. Now the ordinary formula to find the unlucky or Egyptian days, composed by the medieval calculators, give us the 13th and 22nd of July, as falling under this character. It was, therefore, the 13th of July, 1102, when Sæwulf sailed from Monopoli, and the 22nd of the same month when he left Brindisi; and it was the day of Pentecost, 1103, when he embarked at Joppa, on his return. These dates will agree very well with the age of the Sæwulf mentioned by William of Malmesbury.

The events preceding, and connected with the crusades, had considerably modified the route followed by the pilgrims in their way to Jerusalem. They had previously gone by way of Egypt, because it was no doubt safer to pass in ships employed in commerce with the Saracens, or to go with Saracenic passports from the west, than to encounter the hostile feelings with which people were received who came into Syria from the neighbouring territory of the Greeks. But now they might proceed with greater security through the Christian states on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, either visiting Constantinople before they proceeded to Jerusalem, or, if their eagerness to see the holy city overcame all other considerations, sailing along the coast of Greece and through the islands of the Archipelago. The latter course was taken by Sæwulf; he sailed from Italy to the Ionian islands; proceeded overland to Negropont, where he embarked in another ship, and, after touching at several of the islands, proceeded along the coast of Asia Minor to Jaffa, whence he travelled by land to Jerusalem, reserving his visit to the metropolis of the Grecian empire for his return. The narrative appears to

be truncated, which has deprived us of Sæowulf's observations of Constantinople.

Sæwulf's account of the disastrous storm which attended their arrival at Jaffa shows us what multitudes of pilgrims now crowded to the Holy Land. Among these were people of all classes, rich and poor, noble and ignoble, laymen equally with monks and clergy. Some went in humility and meekness to visit the scene of their salvation, while others, embarking with crews of desperate marauders, although they went to the Holy City with the same professions, proceeded as privateers, or rather as pirates, plundering and devastating on their way. Among this latter class the descendants of the sea-kings of the north appear to have been especially distinguished, and the Scandinavian sagas have preserved more than one narrative, half authentic and half romantic, of their adventures. It has been thought advisable to give, as a specimen of these, the story of SIGURD THE CRUSADER, a northern prince, whose presence at the capture of Beyrout, in 1110, is mentioned by William of Tyre.

The land of Palestine was at this time beginning to attract, in an unusual degree, the attention of another class of travellers from western Europe—learned men of the Jewish nation—who were anxious to discover and to make known to their brethren the condition of the various synagogues in the East, after so many sanguinary revolutions, as well as to visit the burial-places of the eminent Hebrews of former days. Several of their relations, written in Hebrew, are still preserved in manuscript, and a few have been printed*. The earliest of these of any importance is that of BENJAMIN OF TUDELA. We have an "Itinerary of Palestine" made by Samuel bar Simson in 1210; a "Description of the Sacred Tombs" by a Jew of Paris named Jacob, in 1258; and several tracts of the same kind in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Mr. Asher, to whom we owe the best edition of Benjamin of Tudela, has fixed the date of Benjamin's travels from his own narrative with great acuteness. It appears from different circumstances to which he alludes, that his visit to Rome must

* An interesting volume of these narratives, translated into French, and accompanied with valuable notes, has recently been published under the title, "Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte des xiii, xiv^e, xv^e, xvi^e, and xvii^e siècles, traduits de l'Hébreu, par E. Carmoly," Brussels, 1847.

have taken place subsequent to 1159, that he was at Constantinople probably in December 1161, and that his account of Egypt, which almost concludes the work, must have been written prior to 1171*. "If we add to these dates," Mr. Asher observes, "that of his return, as given in the preface, we shall find that the narrative refers to a period of about fourteen years, viz. from 1159 or 1160, to 1173." To these dates pointed out by Mr. Asher, it may be added, that he appears to have been at Antioch immediately after the accession of Bohemond III. in 1163; and that he probably reached Sicily, on his way back, early in 1169. By comparing these dates with the general course of the narrative, I have endeavoured to arrange with tolerable accuracy the successive years of Benjamin's wanderings; the dates of which are given at the heads of the pages.

Rabbi Benjamin is the first European traveller whom we find taking a wider circuit in his travels than that which would have been restricted by the limits of Christian or Jewish pilgrimage. As Mr. Asher observes, he appears evidently to have been a merchant, and hence, though the object most at his heart seems to have been to note the number and condition of the Jews in the different countries he visited, he has preserved some valuable information relating to their trade and commerce at that period, and, in spite of some credulity, and an evident love of the marvellous, he describes what he saw with more good sense and accuracy than the Christian travellers of the same age. Benjamin, who was a Jew of Spain, began his travels from Saragossa, and proceeded through Italy and Greece to Constantinople, which city he describes at considerable length. He proceeded thence, by the Greek Islands, to Antioch, and thence through Syria, by Acre and Nablous, to Jerusalem. From Jerusalem he went to Damascus, and from thence to Bagdad, but his route here and elsewhere appears to have been far from direct, as we often trace him moving backwards and forwards, to obtain information, or visit districts that lay out of the ordinary road. The actual extent of his wanderings towards the East appears doubtful; but it is certain he remained at Bagdad and in Persia two or three years, and he returned by way of Arabia and

* For these dates see the notes on pp. 67, 75, and 119 of the present volume. See the notes on pp. 78, 124.

Nubia to Egypt. From Egypt he returned to Sicily, and he then made a tour in Germany before his final return home. Mr. Asher observes that there is "one very peculiar feature" in this work, by which its contents are divided into *what he saw*, and *what he heard*. "In many towns, on the route from Saragossa to Bagdad, rabbi Benjamin mentions the names of the principal Jews, elders, and wardens of the congregations he met with. That a great number of the persons enumerated by rabbi Benjamin really were his contemporaries; and that the particulars he incidentally mentions of them are corroborated by other authorities, has been proved in the biographical notes furnished by Dr. Zunz. We therefore do not hesitate to assert that rabbi Benjamin visited all those towns of which he names the elders and principals, and that the first portion of his narrative comprises an account of *what he saw*. But with Ghiagin, the very first stage beyond Bagdad, all such notices cease, and except those of two princes and of two rabbis, we look in vain for any other names. So very remarkable a difference between this and the preceding part of the work leads us to assert that rabbi Benjamin's travels did not extend beyond Bagdad, and that he there wrote down the second portion of our work, consisting of *what he heard*. Bagdad, at his time the seat of the prince of the Captivity, must have attracted numerous Jewish pilgrims from all regions, and, beyond doubt, was the fittest place for gathering those notices of the Jews and of trade in different parts of the world, the collecting of which was the aim of rabbi Benjamin's labours." It may be observed, further, that the information he thus collected agrees in general with that furnished by the contemporary Arabian geographers.

The travels of rabbi Benjamin had little, if any, influence on the state of geographical science amongst the Christians of the west; but a variety of causes—the thirst for novelty in science excited by the educational movement of the twelfth century, scattered information, gleaned from an increased intercourse with the Arabs, and the adventurous spirit raised by a hundred years of crusades—were now combining to render them every day more eager for information relating to distant lands, and this spirit received a new impulse from the astonishment and terror excited by the incursions of the Tartars in the earlier half of the thirteenth century. Shrewd and intelligent men were sent out by the monarchs of the west,

nominally as ambassadors, but really as spies, to ascertain who these dreaded invaders were, and whence they came, and to report on their strength and character. These envoys met at the court of the khan men of distant, and, to them, unknown countries, from whom they collected information relating to the central and eastern parts of Asia. Among the first of these envoys was John du Plan de Carpin, an Italian friar of the order of St. Francis, sent out by Pope Innocent IV., in the spring of 1245. He was followed immediately by Simon de St. Quentin, a Dominican monk, also sent by the pope; and a year or two later, in 1253, by William de Rubruk, another Franciscan, sent on an embassy to the Tartars by St. Louis. These, as well as other missionaries of the same century, have left behind them interesting narratives, several of which are preserved, and some of them are well known. Merchants, led by the hope of gain, followed in the steps of, and even preceded, the political or religious missionaries, and their objects being less restricted, they often penetrated into the remotest regions of Asia, where they sometimes settled, and rose to rank and wealth. One of these, an Italian named Marco Polo, on his return, after a long residence in Asia, in the middle of the thirteenth century, published the well known narrative, which conducted, more than any other work, to the development of geographical science, and which first gave the grand impulse to geographical research, that led to the more extensive and substantial knowledge which began to dawn in the following century.

From this time, although short descriptions of the Holy Land became more numerous than ever, travellers who published their personal narratives were seldom contented with the old limits of the subject, but they either visited themselves, or described from the information of others, some at least of the surrounding countries. This was carried at times almost to the extreme of affectation. A remarkable example is furnished to us in the book of SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILLE. This singular writer, more credulous than the most bigotted monk, appears to have visited the east with the double object of performing the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and of seeking military service in foreign lands. Professedly a guide to pilgrims to Jerusalem, to which a large portion of the book is devoted, it contains, nevertheless, the description of nearly the whole of Asia, and of some parts of Africa and Europe,

and extends to countries which its author visited and to many others which he certainly did not visit. From the rather equivocal light in which he exhibits himself, and the peculiar form of his work, it is impossible to trace the course of his travels, but he assures us that he set out from England in 1322, and that he returned home and compiled his book in 1356. It appears clear, from evidence furnished by the book itself, that Maundeville was in Egypt for some time previous to the year 1342*, and a closer examination would probably fix the date of his presence in some other countries. But there can be no doubt that his book is partly a compilation, for we find him not only borrowing from ancient writers, like Solinus and Pliny, but it is quite evident that he made large use of the previous narratives of Marco Polo and of the Franciscan Oderic, who had travelled over a great part of Asia in the earlier years of the fourteenth century, and had published his account during Maundeville's absence in the east. It would not be difficult to analyze a great portion of Maundeville's book, and show from whence it was compiled.

It is now generally agreed that Marco Polo originally wrote the account of his travels in the French language, from which it was subsequently translated into Latin and Italian. French had now, indeed, become the general language of popular treatises, and it seems to be equally well established that in it was written the original text of Maundeville, who states expressly in the French copies preserved in manuscript, that he chose French in preference to Latin, as a language more generally understood, "especially by lords and knights, and others who understand not Latin."† We learn, from the colophon to some of the Latin copies, that he was at this time residing at Liège, where he is said to have ended his days, and that he soon afterwards translated his own book into Latin. An English version, said to be also from the pen of Maundeville himself, appeared soon afterwards, and the three versions must have become extremely popular within

* See the note, p. 146 of the present volume.

† "Et sachiez que je eusse mis ce livre en Latin pour plus briefment deviser; mais pour ce que plusieurs entendent mieux Français que Latin, l'ai-je mis en Rommant à celle fin que chascun l'entende, et les seigneurs et chevaliers et autres qui n'entendent pas le Latin." See on this subject, and on Maundeville's narrative, M. D'Arvezac's preface to his edition of "Plan de Carpin," pp. 29—33.

a few years after their publication, from the number of early copies that are still found among our various collections of manuscripts. The travels of Sir John Maundeville form, perhaps, the most popular work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it continued long afterwards to be read eagerly in a variety of forms. Yet all we know of him with any certainty is his own statement that he was a native of St. Albans,—the rest of his biography, as commonly given, is a mere tissue of errors. Bale tells us that he died at Liège, on the 17th of November, 1371, and that he was buried there in the abbey of the Guillemites. Abraham Orbelius, in his "Itinerarium Belgicæ," gives an epitaph from that abbey, which appears to be a comparatively recent fabrication. One of the manuscripts, written in the fifteenth century, (MS. Harl. 3989,) says that Maundeville died at Liège in 1382.

Contemporary with Maundeville lived a German named variously Boldensel, Boldensle, and Boldenslave, who visited the east in 1336, and, on his return, published a description of the Holy Land, of which there is an early printed edition. It had been preceded by the description of the Holy Land by Brochard, published in 1332. From this time the narratives of travels in Palestine became much more numerous and more detailed, and I shall not attempt even a bare enumeration. The majority of them consist of little more than a repetition of the same facts and the same legends. Some, however, are far superior to the rest, by the interest of the narrative, and the novelty of the information gathered by the traveller. Two, belonging to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, stand pre-eminent in this respect, the narratives of Breydenbach and Rauwulf, which merit separate publication. I have selected to follow Sir John Maundeville, the travels of BERTRANDON DE LA BROUQUÈRE, on account of their peculiar character.

The Turks, who were gradually overthrowing the empire of the Arabs in the east, were becoming formidable to the Christians also towards the end of the fourteenth century. Since the time of Brochard, who had written expressly to show how the east lay open to an attack from the Christians, several attempts had been made to raise a new crusade. La Brouquière, like Maundeville, was a knight, and he held the high position of counsellor and first esquire carver to the duke of

Burgundy. As was the case with so many others of his own class, his pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the result of a vow, but the curiosity and ardour of the man-at-arms were perhaps more powerful in him than the mere calls of religion. He left Burgundy in the February of 1432, in company with other great lords of that country, passed through Italy by way of Rome to Venice, and there embarked and proceeded by sea to Jaffa. But when this holy pilgrimage was completed, as far as lay in his power to perform it, he undertook a pilgrimage of another kind, and in order to observe the manners and condition of the Turks, who were already threatening Constantinople, he formed the bold scheme of returning to France overland, which would lead him to traverse the western part of Asia and eastern Europe. The notices he has given us of the countries through which he passed, some of them but imperfectly known even at present, combined with the interesting period at which the journey was made, give an especial importance to this narrative, which is marked by the accuracy and good sense of its writer, and exhibits none of the credulity of previous travellers. On his return to the court of Burgundy, La Brocquière's appearance excited great interest, and duke Philip began to talk loudly of his intention to lead a crusade against the Infidels. It was probably to further his object that La Brocquière compiled his narrative, which was published in French, soon after the year 1438, to which date he alludes in his text. The state of Europe, however, was not now favourable to a crusade, and the duke's designs never went further than a few empty proclamations, and some equally fruitless feasting and pageantry. The Turks were allowed to pursue their conquests, and the victorious Mohammed II. became master of Constantinople in the May of 1453.

Our notices of the medieval travellers would properly conclude here. A new era was opening upon the west as well as upon the east, and the last breath of the spirit of the crusades died, as the system which had nourished it sunk before the great religious Reformation of the sixteenth century. Instead of monks and soldiers, Europe, more enlightened, began soon afterwards to send merchants, and consuls, and ambassadors. A clearer and more satisfactory light was now thrown on the geography of the Holy Land. The English traveller in

Palestine of most authority in the seventeenth century was Sandys, who, however, often erred on the side of credulity. Before the end of the century came the well known HENRY MAUNDRELL, who, on account of the brevity of his narrative and the extreme accuracy of his descriptions, has been selected to conclude the present volume. We know little more of Maundrell than that he was a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, which he left to take the appointment of chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo. It is not within our province to notice the works of subsequent travellers.

It will be necessary to make some statement to our readers of the manner in which the present volume has been edited, and of the sources from which the different works it contains have been derived.

The travels of bishop Arculf, (as compiled by Adamnan,) as well as those of Bernard the Wise, and the life of Willibald, were printed in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Sæc. III., Part II., in 1672. A previous edition of Arculf had been published in a small quarto volume, Ingoldstadt, 1619, which also contained the abridgment by Bede. The latter, under the title of *Libellus de Locis Sanctis*, is included in the different editions of Bede's works, and will be found in the recent edition by Dr. Giles, accompanied with an English translation. Another edition of the narrative of Bernard was published from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum by M. Francisque Michel, in the *Memoirs of the Society of Geography at Paris*. M. Michel's text is in many respects inferior to that of Mabillon, but it contains the concluding paragraphs relating to the state of society in Egypt, Italy, and France, which were wanting in the manuscript from which Mabillon printed. But the new editor, M. Michel, has fallen into a very grave error; for the treatise of Bede, *De Locis Sanctis*, following in the Cottonian manuscript the tract of Bernard, he has mistaken them for one continued treatise, and printed them as such, accusing Mabillon of having printed only one half of his author. The narrative of Sæwulf, the only manuscript of which is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was published in the collection of the French Geographical Society by M. D'Avezac, from a transcript furnished by the editor of the present volume. M. D'Avezac has executed his

task of editing with remarkable care and discrimination, but I fear that the transcript was in two or three instances inaccurate, and at the time of publication it was unfortunately not in the power of M. D'Avezac to have it collated with the original. One omission of some importance for the architectural history of the church of the Holy Sepulchre was very kindly pointed out to me by Professor Willis, and has been corrected in the translation. In describing this church, the text as printed by M. D'Avezac contains the words, "Ista oratoria sanctissima continentur in atrio Dominici sepulchri ad orientalem plagam. In lateribus autem ipsius ecclesie suae capellae sibi adherent praeclearissimae hinc inde, sicut ipsi participes Dominicæ passionis sibi in lateribus constituerunt hinc inde." In the original manuscript the passage stands thus, and is rendered intelligible—"Ista oratoria sanctissima continentur in atrio Dominici sepulchri ad orientalem plagam. In lateribus vero ipsius ecclesie duæ capellae sibi adherent praeclearissimae hinc inde, Sanctæ Mariæ scilicet Sanctique Johannis in honore, sicut ipsi participes Dominicæ passionis sibi in lateribus constituerunt hinc inde."

These four narratives are here translated for the first time. In translating Bernard, the text of Mabillon has been compared with that of Michel. The narrative of Arculf has been somewhat abridged, and relieved of some miracles and theological observations that are totally without interest. It may be right to observe, also, that in the original manuscript this narrative is accompanied with plans of churches, copies of which are given in the edition of Mabillon, and in the editions of Bede's abridgement.

The translation of the Saga of Sigurd the Crusader, is taken, by the obliging permission of Mr. Laing, from his recently published "Hemskringla," or "Chronicle of the Kings of Norway."

A number of editions, and several translations, of the travels of Benjamin of Tudela, have appeared, but the only strictly correct one is that published by Mr. A. Asher, Berlin, 1840. The translation published in the present volume is a mere revision of the English version by Mr. Asher, altered a little in the language, to make it more suitable for the popular English reader. My notes are chiefly abridged from the valuable volume of notes published by Mr. Asher in 184.

The only edition of the English text of the book of Sir John Maundeville which correctly represents an original manuscript, is that published from the Cottonian Library in 1725, of which a reprint appeared in 1839, with an introduction, and some additional notes by Mr. Halliwell. The language of this edition has been modernized for the present volume. The travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquière are preserved in a manuscript preserved in the Royal Library in Paris, from which they were published, with some abridgment and in modernized French, in the fifth volume of the Mémoires of the Institute of France, by Legrand d'Aussy. They were thence translated into English by Mr. Johns, and printed at his private press at Hafod, in 1807. This translation, which has become a rare book, has been here slightly revised, and a few illustrative notes have been added. Maundrell's journey is reprinted from the original edition.

Brompton, Aug. 28, 1848.

beliefs, as I have been. And, amongst all, I showed him this treatise, that I had made after information of men that knew of things that I had not seen myself; and also of marvels and customs that I had seen myself, as far as God would give me grace; and besought his holy fatherhood that my book might be examined and corrected by advice of his wise and discreet council. And our holy father, of his special grace, gave my book to be examined and proved by the advice of his said council, by the which my book was proved for true, insomuch that they showed me a book, which my book was examined by, that comprehended full much more, by an hundredth part, by the which the *Mappa Mundi* was made. And so my book (albeit that many men list not to give credence to any thing but to what they see with their eye, be the author or the person ever so true) is affirmed and proved by our holy father in manner and form as I have said.

And I, John Maundeville, knight, abovesaid, (although I be unworthy,) that went from our countries, and passed the sea, in the year of Grace 1322, have passed many lands, and many isles and countries, and searched many full strange places, and have been in many a full good and honourable company, and at many a fair deed of arms, (albeit that I did none myself, for my insufficiency,) now I am come home (in spite of myself) to rest; for rheumatic gouts, that distress me, fix the end of my labour, against my will (God knoweth). And thus, taking comfort in my wretched rest, recording the time passed, I have fulfilled these things, and written them in this book, as it would come into my mind, the year of Grace 1356, in the thirty-fourth year that I departed from our country. Wherefore I pray to all the readers and hearers of this book, if it please them, that they would pray to God for me, and I shall pray for them.

THE TRAVELS OF
BERTRANDON DE LA BROCQUIERE.

A.D. 1432, 1433.

To animate and inflame the hearts of such noble men as may be desirous of seeing the world, and by the order and command of the most high, most powerful, and my most redoubted lord, Philip, by the grace of God duke of Burgundy, Lorraine, Brabant, and Limbourg, count of Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy*, palatine of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Namur, marquis of the Holy Empire, lord of Friesland, Salines, and Mechlin, I, Bertrandon de la Brocquière, a native of the duchy of Guienne, lord of Vieux-Chateau, counsellor and first esquire-carver to my aforesaid most redoubted lord, after bringing to my recollection every event, in addition to what I had made an abridgment of in a small book by way of memorandums, have fairly written out this account of my short travels, in order that if any king or Christian prince should wish to make the conquest of Jerusalem, and lead thither an army overland, or if any gentleman should be desirous of travelling thither, they may be made acquainted with all the towns, cities, regions, countries, rivers, mountains, and passes in the different districts, as well as the lords to whom they belong, from the duchy of Burgundy to Jerusalem. The route hence to the holy city of Rome is too well known for me to stop and describe it. I shall pass lightly over this article, and not say much until I come to Syria. I have travelled through the whole country from Gaza, which is the entrance to Egypt, to within a day's journey of Aleppo, a town situated on the north of the frontier, and which we pass in going to Persia.

Having formed a resolution to make a devout pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and being determined to discharge my vow, I

* Burgundy was divided into two parts, the duchy and county. The last, since known under the name of Franche Comté, began, at this period, to take that appellation; and this is the reason why our author styles Philip duke and count of Burgundy.

quitted, in the month of February, 1432, the court of my most redoubted lord, which was then at Ghent. After traversing Picardy, Champagne, and Burgundy, I entered Savoy, crossed the Rhone, and arrived at Chambéry by the Mont-du-Chat. Here commences a long chain of mountains, the highest of which is called Mount Cenis, which forms a dangerous pass for travellers in times of snow. The road is so difficult to find, that a traveller, unless he wish to lose it, must take one of the guides of the country, called Marrons. These people advise you not to make any sort of noise that may shake the atmosphere round the mountain, for in that case the snow is detached, and rolls with impetuosity to the ground. Mount Cenis separates Italy from France.

Having thence descended into Piedmont, a handsome and pleasant country, surrounded on three sides by mountains, I passed through Turin, where I crossed the Po, and proceeded to Asti, which belongs to the duke of Orleans; then to Alexandria, the greater part of the inhabitants of which are said to be usurers—to Piacenza, belonging to the duke of Milan—and at last to Bologna la Grassa, which is part of the pope's dominions. The emperor Sigismund was at Piacenza; he had come thither from Milan, where he had received his second crown, and was on his road to Rome in search of the third*. From Bologna I had to pass another chain of mountains (the Appennines) to enter the states of the Florentines. Florence is a large town, where the commonalty govern. Every three months they elect for the government magistrates, called priori, who are taken from different professions; and as long as they remain in office they are honoured, but on the expiration of the three months they return to their former situations. From Florence I went to Monte Pulciano, a castle built on an eminence, and surrounded on three sides by a large lake (Lago di Perugia), thence to Spoleto, Monte Fiascone, and at length to Rome.

Rome is well known. Authors of veracity assure us that for seven hundred years she was mistress of the world. But although their writings should not affirm this, would there not be sufficiency of proof in all the grand edifices now exist-

* In 1414, Sigismund, elected emperor, had received the silver crown at Aix-la-Chapelle. In the month of November, 1431, a little before the passage of our traveller, he had received the iron crown at Milan; but it was not until 1443 he received at Rome, from the hands of the pope, that of gold.

ing, in those columns of marble, those statues, and those monuments as marvellous to see as to describe? Add to the above the immense quantities of relics that are there; so many things that our Lord has touched, such numbers of holy bodies of apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins; in short, so many churches where the holy pontiffs have granted full indulgences for sin. I saw there Eugenius IV., a Venetian, who had just been elected pope*. The prince of Salernum had declared war against him; he was of the Colonna family, and nephew to pope Martin†.

I quitted Rome the 25th of March, and, passing through a town belonging to count de Thalamoné, a relation to the cardinal des Ursins, arrived at Urbino; thence I proceeded through the lordships of the Malatestas to Rimini, a part of the Venetian dominions. I crossed three branches of the Po, and came to Chiosa, a town of the Venetians, which had formerly a good harbour; but this was destroyed by themselves when the Genoese came to lay siege to Venice. From Chiosa, I landed at Venice, distant twenty-five miles.

Venice is a large and handsome town, ancient and commercial, and built in the middle of the sea. Its different quarters being separated by water from so many islands, so that a boat is necessary to go from one to the other. This town possesses the body of St. Helena, mother of the emperor Constantine, as well as many others that I have seen, especially several bodies of the Holy Innocents, which are entire. These last are in an island called Murano, renowned for its manufactories of glass. The government of Venice is full of wisdom. No one can be a member of the council, nor hold any employment, unless he be noble and born in the town. It has a duke, who is bound to have ever with him, during the day, six of the most ancient and celebrated members of the council. When the duke dies, his successor is chosen from

* We shall see hereafter, that la Brocquière left Rome on the 25th March, and Eugenius had been elected on the first days of the month. There is some doubt whether his election took place on the 3rd, 4th, or 6th of March; he occupied the papal see till Feb. 23, 1447.

† Martin V., predecessor to Eugenius, was a Colonna; and there was a declared enmity between his family and that of the Orsini. Eugenius, when established in the holy chair, took part in this quarrel, and sided with the Orsini against the Colonnas, who were nephews to Martin. The last took up arms, and made war on him.

among those who have shown the greatest knowledge and zeal for the public good.

On the 8th of May I embarked to accomplish my vow, on board a galley, with some other pilgrims. We sailed along the coast of Slavonia, and successively touched at Pola, Zara, Sebenico, and Corfu. Pola seemed to me to have been formerly a handsome and strong town, with an excellent harbour. We were shown at Zara the body of St. Simeon, to whom our Lord was presented in the Temple. The town is surrounded on three sides by the sea, and its fine port is shut in by an iron chain. Sebenico belongs to the Venetians, as does Corfu, which, with a very handsome harbour, has also two castles.

From Corfu we sailed to Modon, a good and fair town in the Morea, also belonging to the Venetians; thence to Candia, a most fertile island, the inhabitants of which are excellent sailors. The government of Venice nominates a governor, who takes the title of duke, but who holds his place only three years. Thence to Rhodes, where I had but time to see the town; to Baffa, a ruined town in the island of Cyprus; and at length to Jaffa, in the Holy Land of Promise.

At Jaffa, the pardons commence for pilgrims to the Holy Land. It formerly belonged to the Christians, and was then strong; at present it is entirely destroyed, having only a few tents covered with reeds, whither pilgrims retire to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun. The sea enters the town, and forms a bad and shallow harbour; it is dangerous to remain there long for fear of being driven on shore by a gust of wind. There are two springs of fresh water; but one is overflowed by the sea when the westerly wind blows a little strong. When any pilgrims disembark here, interpreters and other officers of the sultan* instantly hasten to ascertain their numbers, to serve them as guides, and to receive, in the name of their master, the customary tribute.

Ramlé, the first town we came to from Jaffa, is without walls, but a good and commercial town, seated in an agreeable and fertile district. We went to visit, in the neighbourhood, a village where St. George was martyred; and, on our return to Ramlé, we continued our route, and arrived, after

* The sultans of Egypt are here meant. Palestine and Syria were at that time under their power. The sultan will be often mentioned in the course of the work.

two days, at the holy city of Jerusalem, where our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death for us. After making the customary pilgrimages, we performed those to the mountain where Jesus fasted forty days; to the Jordan, where he was baptized; to the church of St. John, near to that river; to that of St. Martha and St. Mary Magdalene, where our Lord raised Lazarus from the dead; to Bethlehem, where he was born; to the birth-place of St. John the Baptist; to the house of Zachariah; and, lastly, to the holy cross, where the tree grew that formed the real cross, after which we returned to Jerusalem.

The Cordeliers have a church at Bethlehem, in which they perform divine service, but they are under great subjection to the Saracens. The town is only inhabited by Saracens, and some Christians of the girdle*.

At the birth-place of St. John the Baptist, a rock is shown, which, during the time of Herod's persecution of the innocents, opened itself miraculously in two, when St. Elizabeth having therein hid her son, it closed again of itself, and the child remained shut up, as it is said, two whole days.

Jerusalem is situated in a mountainous and strong country, and is at this day a considerable town, although it appears to have been much more so in former times. It is under the dominion of the sultan, to the shame and grief of Christendom. Among the free Christians, there are but two Cordeliers who inhabit the holy sepulchre, and even they are oppressed by the Saracens; I can speak of it from my own knowledge, having been witness of it for two months. In the church of the Holy Sepulchre reside also many other sorts of Christians, Jacobites, Armenians, Abyssinians from the country of Prester John, and Christians of the girdle; but of these the Franks suffer the greatest hardships.

When all these pilgrimages were accomplished, we undertook another, equally customary, that to St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. For this purpose we formed a party of ten pilgrims, Sir André de Thoulougeon, Sir Michel de Ligne, Guillaume de Ligne, his brother, Sanson de Lalaing, Pierre de Vaudrey, Godefroi de Thoisi, Humbert Buffart, Jean de la Roe, Simonet†, and myself.

* See before, p. 189.

† The family name of this person is left blank in the original. These names, of which the first five are those of great lords in the states of the duke of Burgundy, show that several persons of the duke's court had formed

For the information of others, who, like myself, may wish to visit this country, I shall say, that the custom is to treat with the chief interpreter at Jerusalem, who receives a tax for the sultan, and one for himself, and then sends to inform the interpreter at Gaza, who, in his turn, negotiates a passage with the Arabians of the desert. These Arabs enjoy the right of conducting pilgrims; and, as they are not always under due subjection to the sultan, their camels must be used, which they let to hire at ten ducats a head. The Saracen who at this time held the office of chief interpreter was called Nanchardin. Having received the answer from the Arabs, he called us together before the chapel, which is at the entrance and on the left of the holy sepulchre; he there took down in writing our ages, names, surnames, and very particular descriptions of our persons, and sent a duplicate of this to the chief interpreter at Cairo. These precautions are taken for the security of travellers, and to prevent the Arabs from detaining any of them; but I am persuaded that it is done likewise through mistrust, and through fear of some exchange or substitution that may make them lose the tribute-money. On the eve of our departure we bought wine for the journey, and laid in a stock of provision, excepting biscuit, which we were to find at Gaza. Nanchardin having provided asses and mules to carry us and our provision, with a particular interpreter, we set off.

The first place we came to was a village formerly more considerable, at present inhabited by Christians of the girdle, who cultivate vines. The second was a town called St. Abraham, and situated in the valley of Hebron, where our Lord created our first father Adam. In that place are buried together Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives; but this sepulchre is now inclosed within a mosque of the Saracens. We were anxious to see it, and even advanced to the gate; but our guides and interpreter assured us they dared not suffer us to enter in the day-time, on account of the dangers they should run, and that any Christian found within a mosque is instantly put to death, unless he renounces his

a company for this pilgrimage to Palestine, and are, probably, those who embarked with our author at Venice, although he has not before named them. Toulangeon was created this same year, 1432, a knight of the golden fleece, but was not invested with the order; for he was then a pilgrim, and died on the road.

religion. After the valley of Hebron, we traversed another of greater extent, near to which the mountain on which St. John performed his penitence was pointed out to us. Thence we crossed a desert country, and lodged in one of those houses built through charity, and called khan; from this khan we came to Gaza.

Gaza, situated in a fine country near the sea, and at the entrance of the desert, is a strong town, although uninclosed. It is pretended that it formerly belonged to the famous Samson. His palace is still shown, and also the columns of that which he pulled down; but I dare not affirm that these are the same. Pilgrims are harshly treated there; and we also should have suffered, had it not been for the governor, a man about sixty years of age, and a Circassian, who heard our complaints and did us justice. Thrice were we obliged to appear before him; once, on account of the swords we wore, and the two other times for quarrels which the Saracen moucres sought to have with us. Many of us wished to purchase asses; for the camel has a very rough movement, which is extremely fatiguing to those unaccustomed to it. An ass is sold at Gaza for two ducats; but the moucres not only wanted to prevent our buying any, but to force us to hire asses from them, at the price of five ducats, to St. Catherine's. This conduct was represented to the governor. For myself, who had hitherto ridden on a camel, and had no intention of changing, I desired they would tell me how I could ride a camel and an ass at the same time. The governor decided in our favour, and ordered that we should not be forced to hire any asses from the moucres against our inclinations. We here laid in fresh provisions necessary for the continuance of our journey; but, on the eve of our departure, four of my companions fell sick, and returned to Jerusalem. I set off with the five others, and we came to a village situated at the entrance of the desert, and the only one to be met with between Gaza and St. Catherine's. Sir Sanson de Lalaing also there quitted us, and returned; so that our company consisted of Sir Andrew de Toulangeon, Pierre de Vaudrei, Godefroi de Toisi, Jean de la Roe, and myself.

We thus travelled two days in the desert, absolutely without seeing any thing deserving to be related. Only one morning I saw, before sunrise, an animal running on four legs, about three feet long, but scarcely a palm in height. The Ara-

bians fled at the sight of it, and the animal hastened to hide itself in a bush hard by. Sir Andrew and Pierre de Vaudrei dismounted, and pursued it sword in hand, when it began to cry like a cat on the approach of a dog. Pierre de Vaudrei struck it on the back with the point of his sword, but did it no harm, from its being covered with scales like a sturgeon. It sprang at Sir Andrew, who, with a blow from his sword, cut the neck partly through, and flung it on its back, with its feet in the air, and killed it. The head resembled that of a large hare; the feet were like the hands of a young child, with a pretty long tail, like that of the large green lizard. Our Arabs and interpreter told us it was very dangerous*.

At the end of the second day's journey I was seized with such a burning fever that it was impossible for me to proceed. My four companions, distressed at this accident, made me mount an ass, and recommended me to one of our Arabs, whom they charged to reconduct me, if possible, to Gaza. This man took a great deal of care of me, which is unusual in respect to Christians. He faithfully kept me company, and led me in the evening to pass the night in one of their camps, which might consist of fourscore and some tents, pitched in the form of a street. These tents consist of two poles stuck in the ground by the bigger end, at a certain distance from each other, and on them is placed another pole cross-way, and over this last is laid a thick coverlid of woollen, or coarse hair. On my arrival, four or five Arabs, who were acquainted with my companion, came to meet us. They dismounted me from my ass, and laid me on a mattress which I had with me, and then, treating me according to their method, kneaded and pinched me so much with their hands†, that from fatigue and lassitude I slept and reposed for six hours. During this time no one did me the least harm, nor took any thing from me. It would, however, have been very easy for them to do so; and I must have been a tempting prey, for I had with me two hundred ducats, and two camels laden with provision and wine.

* From this vague description, it should seem that the animal spoken of was the great lizard, called *monitor*, because it is pretended that it gives information of the approach of a crocodile. The monitor is common in the Euphrates, where it is sometimes seen four or five feet in length. The terror of the Arabs was groundless.

† This is what is called in French, *masser*, a method used in several parts of the east for certain disorders.

I set out, on my return to Gaza, before day; but when I came thither, I found neither my four companions who had remained behind nor Sir Sanson de Lalaing: the whole five had returned to Jerusalem, carrying with them the interpreter. Fortunately I met with a Sicilian Jew to whom I could make myself understood; and he sent me an old Samaritan, who, by some medicines which he gave me, appeased the great heat I endured. Two days after, finding myself a little better, I set off in company with a Moor, who conducted me by a road on the sea-side. We passed near Ascalon, and thence traversed an agreeable and fertile country to Ramlé, where I regained the road to Jerusalem.

On the first day's journey I met on my road the governor of that town returning from a pilgrimage, with a company of fifty horsemen, and one hundred camels, mounted principally by women and children, who had attended him to his place of devotion. I passed the night with them, and the morrow, on my return to Jerusalem, took up my lodgings with the Cordeliers at the church of Mount Sion, where I again met my five comrades.

On my arrival I went to bed, that my disorder might be properly treated; but I was not cured, or in a state to depart, until the 19th of August. During my convalescence I recollected that I had frequently heard it said that it was impossible for a Christian to return overland from Jerusalem to France. I dare not, even now, when I have performed this journey, assert that it is safe. I thought, nevertheless, that nothing was impossible for a man to undertake, who has a constitution strong enough to support fatigue, and has money and health. It is not, however, through vain boasting that I say this; but, with the aid of God and his glorious mother, who never fail to assist those who pray to them heartily, I resolved to attempt the journey. I kept my project secret for some time, without even hinting it to my companions: I was also desirous, before I undertook it, to perform other pilgrimages, especially those to Nazareth and Mount Tabor. I went, in consequence, to make Nanchardin, principal interpreter to the sultan, acquainted with my intentions, who supplied me with a sufficient interpreter for my journey. I thought of making my first pilgrimage to Mount Tabor, and every thing was prepared for it; but when I was on the point of setting out, the head of the convent where I lodged dis-

sued me, and opposed my intentions most strongly. The interpreter, on his side, refused to go, saying, that in the present circumstances I should not find any person to attend me; for that the road lay through the territories of towns which were at war with each other, and that very lately a Venetian and his interpreter had been assassinated there. I confined myself, therefore, to the second pilgrimage, in which Sir Sanson de Lalaing and Humbert wished to accompany me. We left Sir Michel de Ligne sick at Mount Sion, and his brother William remained with his servant to attend on him. The rest of us set off on the day of mid-August, with the intention of going to Jaffa by way of Ramlé, and from Jaffa to Nazareth; but, before I departed, I went to the tomb of our Lady, to implore her protection for my grand journey home. I heard divine service at the Cordeliers, and saw there people who call themselves Christians, but some of them are very strange ones, according to our notions.

The principal monk at Jerusalem was so friendly as to accompany us as far as Jaffa, with a Cordelier friar of the convent of Beaune. They there quitted us, and we engaged a bark from the Moors, which carried us to the port of Acre. This is a handsome port, deep and well inclosed. The town itself appears to have been large and strong; but at present there do not exist more than three hundred houses, situated at one of its extremities, and at some distance from the sea. With regard to our pilgrimage, we could not accomplish it. Some Venetian merchants, whom we consulted, dissuaded us, and from what they said we gave it up. They told us, at the same time, that a galley from Narbonne was expected at Baruth; and my comrades being desirous to take that opportunity of returning to France, we consequently followed the road to that town. We saw, on our way thither, Sur, an inclosed town, with a good port, then Seyde, another sea-port tolerably good. Baruth has been more considerable than it is now, but its port is still handsome, deep, and safe for vessels. On one of its points we see the remains of a strong castle which it formerly had, but which is now in ruins*.

* Sur is the ancient Tyre—Seyde, Sidon—Baruth, Berytus. What la Brouquièr here says is interesting for geography: it proves that all these sea-ports of Syria, formerly so commercial and famous, but at this day so degraded and completely useless, were, in his time, for the greater part, fit for commerce.

As for myself, solely occupied with my grand journey, I employed the time we staid in this town in seeking information concerning it; and to this end addressed myself to a Genoese merchant, called Jacques Pervezin. He advised me to go to Damascus, assuring me that I should find there merchants from Venice, Catalonia, Florence, Genoa, and other places, whose counsels might guide me. He even gave me a letter of recommendation to a countryman of his, named Otton Escot. Being resolved to consult Escot before I proceeded farther, I proposed to Sir Sanson to go and see Damascus, without, however, telling him any thing of my project. He accepted my proposal with pleasure, and we set out under the conduct of a moucre. I have before said that the moucres in Syria are the people whose trade is conducting travellers, and hiring out to them asses and mules.

On quitting Baruth, we had to traverse some high mountains to a long plain, called the valley of Noah, because it is said that Noah there built the ark. This valley is not, at the utmost, more than a league wide; but it is pleasant and fertile, watered by two rivers, and peopled by Arabs. As far as Damascus, we continued to travel between mountains, at whose feet are many villages and vineyards. But I warn those who, like me, shall have occasion to make this journey, to take good care of themselves during the night, for in my life I never felt such cold. This excess of cold is caused by the fall of the dew*, and it is thus throughout Syria. The greater the heat during the day, the more abundant the dew and the cold of the night.

It is two days' journey from Baruth to Damascus. The Mohammedans have established a particular custom for Christians all through Syria, in not permitting them to enter the towns on horseback. None that are known to be such dare do it, and, in consequence, our moucre made Sir Sanson and myself dismount before we entered any town. Scarcely had we arrived in Damascus than about a dozen Saracens came round to look at us. I wore a broad beaver hat, which is unusual in that country; and one of them gave me a blow with a staff, which knocked it off my head on the ground†. I own that my first movement was to lift my fist at him; but the

* More probably the cold was caused by the ascent of Mount Libanus.

† It is only lately that the people of Damascus have been cured of their bigoted conduct towards black hats.

moucre, throwing himself between us, pushed me aside, and very fortunately for me he did so, for in an instant we were surrounded by thirty or forty persons; and if I had given a blow, I know not what would have become of us. I mention this circumstance to show that the inhabitants of Damascus are a wicked race, and, consequently, care should be taken to avoid any quarrels with them. It is the same in other Mohammedan countries. I know by experience that you must not joke with them, nor at the same time seem afraid, nor appear poor, for then they will despise you; nor rich, for they are very avaricious, as all who have disembarked at Jaffa know to their cost.

Damascus may contain, as I have heard, one hundred thousand souls. The town is rich, commercial, and, after Cairo, the most considerable of all in the possession of the sultan. To the north, south, and east is an extensive plain: to the west rises a mountain, at the foot of which the suburbs are built. A river runs through it, which is divided into several canals. The town only is inclosed by a handsome wall, for the suburbs are larger than the town. I have nowhere seen such extensive gardens, better fruits, nor greater plenty of water. This is said to be so abundant, that there is scarcely a house without a fountain. The governor is only inferior to the sultan in all Syria and Egypt; but, as at different times some governors have revolted, the sultans have taken precautions to restrain them within proper bounds. Damascus has a strong castle on the side toward the mountain, with wide and deep ditches, over which the sultan appoints a captain of his own friends, who never suffers the governor to enter it. It was, in 1400, destroyed and reduced to ashes by Tamerlane. Vestiges of this disaster now remain; and toward the gate of St. Paul there is a whole quarter that has never been rebuilt. There is a khan in the town, appropriated as a deposit and place of safety to merchants and their goods. It is called Khan Berkot, from its having originally been the residence of a person of that name. For my part, I believe that Berkot was a Frenchman*; and what inclines me to this opinion is, that on a stone of the house are carved fleur-de-lis, which appear as ancient as the walls. Whatever may have been

* This explanation may possibly admit of a doubt; *bir*, in Arabic, signifies a well; *kut* is also an Arabic word frequently found in names of places, as Kut-el-Amara, &c.

his origin, he was a very gallant man, and to this day enjoys a high reputation in that country. Never during his lifetime, and while he was in power, could the Persians or Tartars gain the smallest portion of land in Syria. The moment he learned that one of their armies was advancing, he instantly marched to meet it, as far as the river, beyond Aleppo, that separates Syria from Persia, and which, from a guess of the situation, I believe to be the river Jchon, which falls into the Misses in Turcomania*. The people of Damascus are persuaded that, had he lived, Tamerlane would never have carried his arms thither. Tamerlane, however, did honour to his memory; for when he took the town, and ordered it to be set on fire, he commanded the house of Berkot to be spared, and appointed a guard to prevent its being hurt by the fire, so that it subsists to this day.

The Christians are hated at Damascus. Every evening the merchants are shut up in their houses by persons appointed for this purpose, who, on the morrow, come to open their gates when it may please them. I found there many Genoese, Venetian, Calabrian, Florentine, and French merchants. The last were come thither to purchase several articles, and particularly spiceries, with the intention of taking them to Baruth, and embarking them on board the galley expected from Narbonne. Among them was Jacques Cœur†, who has since acted a great part in France, and was master of the wardrobe to the king. He told us the galley was then at Alexandria, and that probably Sir Andrew and his three companions would embark on board at Baruth.

I was shown the place, without the walls of Damascus, where St. Paul had a vision, was struck blind, and thrown from his horse. He caused himself to be conducted to Damascus, where he was baptized; but the place of his baptism is now a mosque. I saw also the stone from which St. George mounted his horse when he went to combat the dragon. It is two feet square; and they say, that when formerly the Sa-

* De la Brocquière doubtless means the Euphrates.

† Jacques Cœur was an extraordinary character, and a striking instance of the ingratitude of monarchs. Although of low origin, he raised himself by his abilities to high honours, and acquired by his activity immense riches. He was one of the most celebrated merchants that ever existed; and had it not been for his superior management of the finances, the generals, able as they were, of Charles VII. would never have expelled the English from France.

racens attempted to carry it away, in spite of all the strength they employed they could not succeed.

Having seen Damascus, Sir Sanson and myself returned to Baruth, where we found Sir Andrew, Pierre de Vaudrei, Geoffroi de Toisi, and Jean de la Roe, who had come thither, as Jacques Cœur had told us. The galley arrived from Alexandria two or three days afterward; and, during this short interval, we witnessed a feast celebrated by the Moors in their ancient manner. It began in the evening at sunset. Numerous companies, scattered here and there, were singing and uttering loud cries. While this was passing, the cannons of the castle were fired, and the people of the town launched into the air, very high and to a great distance, a kind of fire, larger than the greatest lantern that I ever saw lighted. They told me they sometimes made use of such at sea, to set fire to the sails of an enemy's vessel. It seems to me, that as it is a thing easy to be made, and of little expense, it may be equally well employed to burn a camp or a thatched village, or in an engagement with cavalry to frighten the horses. Curious to know its composition, I sent the servant of my host to the person who made this fire, and requested him to teach me the method. He returned for answer that he dared not, for that he should run great danger were it known; but as there is nothing a Moor will not do for money, I offered him a ducat, which quieted his fears, and he taught me all he knew, and even gave me the moulds in wood, with the other ingredients, which I have brought to France.

The evening before the embarkation, I took Sir Andrew de Toulangeon aside, and, having made him promise that he would not make any opposition to what I was about to reveal to him, I informed him of my design to return home overland. In consequence of his promise, he did not attempt to hinder me, but represented all the dangers I should have to encounter, and the risk I should run of being forced to deny my faith to Jesus Christ. I must own that his representations were well founded; and of all the perils he had menaced me with, there was not one I did not experience, except denying my religion. He engaged his companions to talk with me also on this subject; but what they urged was vain: I suffered them to set sail, and remained at Baruth.

On their departure, I visited a mosque that had originally been a handsome church, built, as it is said, by St. Barbara.

It is added that, when the Saracens had gained possession, and their criers had, as usual, ascended the tower to announce the time of prayer, they were so beaten that from that day no one has ventured to return thither. There is also another miraculous building that has been changed into a church, which formerly was a house belonging to the Jews. One day these people finding an image of our Lord began to stone it, as their fathers had in times past stoned the Original; but the image having shed blood, they were so frightened with the miracle, that they fled and accused themselves to the bishop, and gave up even their house in reparation for their crime. It was made into a church, which at present is served by the Cordeliers.

I was lodged at the house of a Venetian merchant, named Paul Barberico; and as I had not entirely renounced my two pilgrimages to Nazareth and Mount Tabor, in spite of the obstacles which it had been said I should meet with, I consulted him on this double journey. He procured for me a moucre, who undertook to conduct me, and bound himself before him to carry me safe and sound as far as Damascus, and to bring him back from thence a certificate of having performed his engagement, signed by me. This man made me dress myself like a Saracen. The Franks, for their security in travelling, have obtained permission from the sultan to wear this dress when on a journey.

I departed with my moucre from Baruth on the morrow after the galley had sailed, and we followed the road to Seyde that lies between the sea and the mountains. These frequently run so far into the sea that travellers are forced to go on the sands, and at other times they are three-quarters of a league distant. After an hour's ride, I came to a small wood of lofty pines, which the people of the country preserve with care. It is even forbidden to cut down any of them; but I am ignorant of the reason for such a regulation. Further on was a tolerably deep river, which my moucre said came from the valley of Noah, but the water was not good to drink. It had a stone bridge over it, and hard by was a khan, where we passed the night. On the morrow we arrived at Seyde, a town situated near the sea, and inclosed on the land side by ditches, which are not deep. Sur, called by the Moors Sour, has a similar situation. It is supplied with excellent water from a spring a quarter of a league to the southward of the

town, conducted to it by an aqueduct. I only passed through; and it seemed to be handsome, though not strong, any more than Seyde, both having been formerly destroyed, as appears from their walls, which are not to be compared to those of our towns. The mountain near Sur forms a crescent, the two horns advancing as far as the sea: the void between them is not filled with villages, though there are many on the sides of the mountain. A league farther we came to a pass which forced us to travel over a bank, on the summit of which is a tower. Travellers going to Acre have no other road than this, and the tower has been erected for their security. From this defile to Acre the mountains are low, and many habitations are visible, inhabited, for the greater part, by Arabs. Near the town I met a great lord of the country, called Fanardin: he was encamped on the open plain, carrying his tents with him.

Acre, though in a plain of about four leagues in extent, is surrounded on three sides by mountains, and on the fourth by the sea. I made acquaintance there with a Venetian merchant, called Aubert Franc, who received me well, and procured me much useful information respecting my two pilgrimages, by which I profited. With the aid of his advice, I took the road to Nazareth, and, having crossed an extensive plain, came to the fountain, the water of which our Lord changed into wine at the marriage of Archetriclin*: it is near a village where St. Peter is said to have been born.

Nazareth is another large village, built between two mountains; but the place where the angel Gabriel came to announce to the Virgin Mary that she would be a mother is in a pitiful state. The church which had been built there is entirely destroyed; and of the house wherein our lady was when the angel appeared to her, not the smallest remnant exists.

From Nazareth I went to Mount Tabor, the place where the transfiguration of our Lord, and many other miracles, took place. These pasturages attract the Arabs, who come thither with their beasts; and I was forced to engage four additional men as an escort, two of whom were Arabs. The ascent of the mountain is rugged, because there is no road: I performed it on the back of a mule, but it took me two hours. The summit is terminated by an almost circular

* See before, p. 47.

plain of about two bow-shots in length, and one in width. It was formerly inclosed within walls, the ruins of which, and the ditches, are still visible: within the wall, and around it, were several churches, and one especially, where, although in ruins, full pardon for vice and sin is gained.

To the east of Mount Tabor, and at the foot of it, we saw the Tiberiade, beyond which the Jordan flows. To the westward is an extensive plain, very agreeable from its gardens, filled with date palm trees, and small tufts of trees planted like vines, on which grows the cotton. At sun-rise these last have a singular effect, and, seeing their green leaves covered with cotton, the traveller would suppose it had snowed on them*. I descended into this plain to dinner, for I had brought with me chickens and wine. My guides conducted me to the house of a man, who, when he saw my wine, took me for a person of consequence, and received me well. He brought me a porringer of milk, another of honey, and a branch loaded with dates. They were the first I had ever seen. I noticed also the manner of manufacturing cotton, in which men and women were employed. Here my guides wanted to extort more money from me, and insisted on making a fresh bargain to reconduct me to Nazareth. It was well I had not my sword with me, for I confess I should have drawn it; and it would have been madness in me, and in all who shall imitate me. The result of the quarrel was, that I was obliged to give them twelve drachms of their money, equivalent to half a ducat. The moment they had received them, the whole four left me, so that I was obliged to return alone with my moucre.

We had not proceeded far on our road when we saw two Arabs, armed in their manner, and mounted on beautiful horses, coming towards us. The moucre was much frightened; but, fortunately, they passed us without saying a word. He owned that, had they suspected I was a Christian, they would have killed us both without mercy, or, at the least, have stripped us naked. Each of them bore a long and thin pole, shod at the ends with iron; one of which was pointed, the other round, but having many sharp blades a span long. Their

* M. de la Brocquière is here probably mistaken. The cotton tree resembles in its leaves the vine: but the cotton is formed in capsules, and not on the leaves. There are many trees whose leaves are covered externally with a white down, but none that in this manner produce cotton.

buckler was round, according to their custom, convex at the centre, whence came a thick point of iron; and from that point to the bottom it was ornamented with a long silken fringe. They were dressed in robes, the sleeves of which, a foot and a half wide, hung down their arms; and instead of a cap they had a round hat, terminated in a point of rough crimson wool, which, instead of having the linen cloth twisted about it like other Moors, fell down on each side of it, the whole of its breadth.

We went to lodge at Samaria, because I wished to see the lake of Tiberias, where, it is said, St. Peter was accustomed to fish; and, by so doing, some pardons may be gained, for it was the ember week of September. The moucre left me to myself the whole day. Samaria is situated on the extremity of a mountain. We entered it at the close of the day, and left it at midnight to visit the lake. The moucre had proposed this hour to evade the tribute extracted from all who go thither; but the night hindered me from seeing the surrounding country. I went first to Joseph's well, so called from his being cast into it by his brethren. There is a handsome mosque near it, which I entered, with my moucre, pretending to be a Saracen. Further on is a stone bridge over the Jordan, called Jacob's Bridge, on account of a house hard by, said to have been the residence of that patriarch. The river flows from a great lake situated at the foot of a mountain to the north-west, on which Namcardin has a very handsome castle.

From the lake I took the road to Damascus. The country is tolerably pleasant; and, although the road leads between mountains, they are generally from one to two leagues asunder. There is, however, one narrow place, where the road is only wide enough for a horse to pass. The tract all around it, to the right and left for the space of about a league in length and breadth, is covered with immense flint stones, like pebbles in a river, the greater part as big as a wine-tun. Beyond this pass is a handsome khan, surrounded by fountains and rivulets. Four or five miles from Damascus is another, the most magnificent I ever saw, seated near a small river, formed by a junction of springs rising on the spot. The nearer you approach the town, the finer is the country.

I met, near Damascus, a very black Moor, who had ridden a camel from Cairo in eight days, though it is usually sixteen

days' journey. His camel had run away from him; but, with the assistance of my moucre, we recovered it. These couriers have a singular saddle, on which they sit cross-legged; but the rapidity of the camel is so great that, to prevent any bad effects from the air, they have their heads and bodies tightly bandaged. This courier was the bearer of an order from the sultan. A galley and two galliots of the prince of Tarentum had captured, before Tripoli in Syria, a vessel from the Moors; and the sultan, by way of reprisal, had sent to arrest all the Catalonians and Genoese who might be found in Damascus and throughout Syria. This news, which my moucre told me, did not alarm me: I entered the town boldly with other Saracens, because, dressed like them, I thought I had nothing to fear. This expedition had taken up seven days.

On the morrow of my arrival I saw the caravan return from Mecca. It was said to be composed of three thousand camels; and, in fact, it was two days and as many nights before they had all entered the town. This event was, according to custom, a great festival. The governor of Damascus, attended by the principal persons of the town, went to meet the caravan out of respect to the Alcoran, which it bore. This is the book of law which Mohammed left to his followers. It was enveloped in a silken covering, painted over with Moorish inscriptions; and the camel that bore it was, in like manner, decorated all over with silk. Four musicians, and a great number of drums and trumpets, preceded the camel, and made a loud noise. In front, and around, were about thirty men—some bearing cross-bows, others drawn swords, others small harquebuses, which they fired off every now and then*. Behind this camel followed eight old men, mounted on the swiftest camels, and near them were led their horses, magnificently caparisoned and ornamented with rich saddles, according to the custom of the country. After them came a Turkish lady, a relation of the grand seignior, in a litter borne by two camels with rich housings. There were many of these animals covered with cloth of gold. The caravan was composed of Moors, Turks, Barbareques, Tartars, Persians, and other sectaries of the false prophet Mohammed. These people pretend that, having once made a pilgrimage to Mecca, they cannot be damned. Of this I was assured by a renegado slave,

* This is an early mention of portable fire-arms in the East: they were at this time novelties in Europe.

a Bulgarian by birth, who belonged to the lady I have mentioned. He was called Hayauldoula, which signifies, in the Turkish language, "servant of God," and pretended to have been three times at Mecca. I formed an acquaintance with him, because he spoke a little Italian, and often kept me company in the night as well as in the day. In our conversations I frequently questioned him about Mohammed, and where his body was interred. He told me he was at Mecca; that the shrine containing the body was in a circular chapel, open at the top, and that it was through this opening the pilgrims saw the shrine; that among them were some who, having seen it, had their eyes thrust out, because they said, after what they had just seen, the world could no longer offer them any thing worth looking at. There were, in fact, in this caravan two persons, the one of sixteen and the other of twenty-two or twenty-three years old, who had thus made themselves blind. Hayauldoula told me also, that it was not at Mecca where pardons for sin were granted, but at Medina, where St. Abraham built a house that still remains*. The building is in the form of a cloister, of which pilgrims make the circuit.

With regard to the town, it is seated on the sea-shore. Indians, the inhabitants of Prester John's country, bring thither, in large ships, spices and other productions of their country; and thither the Mohammedans go to purchase them. They load them on camels, and other beasts of burden, for the markets of Cairo, Damascus, and other places, as is well known. The distance from Mecca to Damascus is forty days' journey across the desert. The heat is excessive; and many of the caravan were suffocated. According to the renegade slave, the annual caravan to Medina should be composed of seven hundred thousand persons; and when this number is incomplete, God sends his angels to make it up. At the great day of judgment Mohammed will admit into Paradise as many persons as he shall please, where they will enjoy honey, milk, and women at pleasure. As I was incessantly hearing Mohammed spoken of, I wished to know something about him; and, for this purpose, I addressed myself to a priest in Damascus, attached to the Venetian consul, who often said mass in

* Our traveller is mistaken. The tomb of Mohammed is at Medina, and not at Mecca: and the house of Abraham is at Mecca, and not Medina, where pilgrims gain pardons, and where that great commerce is carried on.

his house, confessed the merchants of that nation, and, when necessary, regulated their affairs. Having confessed myself to him, and settled my worldly concerns, I asked him if he were acquainted with the doctrines of Mohammed. He said he was, and knew all the Alcoran. I then besought him, in the best manner I could, that he would put down in writing all he knew of him, that I might present it to my lord the duke of Burgundy. He did so with pleasure; and I have brought with me his work.

My intention was to go to Bursa*; and, in consequence, I was introduced to a Moor, who engaged to conduct me thither in the track of the caravan on paying him thirty ducats and his expenses; but as I was advised to distrust the Moors, as people of bad faith and accustomed to break their promises, I did not conclude the bargain. I say this for the instruction of those who may have any concerns with them; for I believe them to be such as they were described to me. Hayauldoula, on his part, procured me the acquaintance of some Caramanian merchants; but I took another resolution.

In regard to the pilgrims that go to Mecca, the grand Turk has a custom peculiar to himself—at least, I am ignorant if the other Mohammedan powers do the same—which is, that when the caravan leaves his states he chooses for it a chief, whom they are bound to obey as implicitly as himself. The chief of this caravan was called Hoyarbarach; he was a native of Bursa, and one of its principal inhabitants. I caused myself to be presented to him, by mine host and another person, as a man that wanted to go to that town to see a brother. They entreated him to receive me in his company, and to afford me his security. He asked if I understood Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, the vulgar tongue, or Greek? When they replied that I did not, he answered, "Well, what can he pretend to do?" However, representations were made to him that, on account of the war, I dared not go thither by sea; and that, if he would condescend to admit me, I would do as well as I could. He then consented; and, having placed his two hands on his head and touched his beard, he told me, in the Turkish language, that I might join his slaves; but he insisted that I should be dressed just like them.

I went, immediately after this interview, with one of my

* Bursa.

friends, to the market, called the Bazaar, and bought two long white robes that reached to my ancles, a complete turban, a linen girdle, a fustian pair of drawers to tuck the ends of my robe in; two small bags, the one for my own use, the other to hang on my horse's head while feeding him with barley and straw; a leathern spoon and salt; a carpet to sleep on; and, lastly, a paletot of a white skin, which I lined with linen cloth, and which was of service to me in the nights. I purchased also a white tarquais (a sort of quiver) complete, to which hung a sword and knives; but as to the tarquais and sword, I could only buy them privately; for if those who have the administration of justice had known of it, the seller and myself would have run great risks.

The Damascus blades are the handsomest and best of all Syria; and it is curious to observe their manner of burnishing them. This operation is performed before tempering; and they have, for this purpose, a small piece of wood, in which is fixed an iron, which they rub up and down the blade, and thus clear off all inequalities, as a plane does to wood. They then temper and polish it. This polish is so highly finished, that, when any one wants to arrange his turban, he uses his sword for a looking-glass. As to its temper, it is perfect; and I have nowhere seen swords that cut so excellently. There are made at Damascus, and in the adjoining country, mirrors of steel, that magnify objects like burning glasses. I have seen some that, when exposed to the sun, have reflected the heat so strongly as to set fire to a plank fifteen or sixteen feet distant.

I bought a small horse that turned out very well. Before my departure I had him shod at Damascus; and thence, as far as Bursa, which is near fifty days' journey, so well do they shoe their horses that I had nothing to do with his feet, excepting one of the fore ones, which was pricked by a nail, and made him lame for three weeks. The shoes are light, thin, lengthened towards the heel, and thinner there than at the toe. They are not turned up, and have but four nail holes, two on each side. The nails are square, with a thick and heavy head. When a shoe is wanted, and it is necessary to work it to make it fit the hoof, it is done cold, without ever putting it in the fire, which can readily be done because it is so thin. To pare the hoof they use a pruning knife, similar to what vine-dressers trim their vines with, both on this as well as on the

other side of the sea. The horses of this country only walk and gallop; and, when purchased, those which have the best walk are preferred, as, in Europe, those which trot the best. They have wide nostrils, gallop well, and are excellent, costing little on the road; for they eat only at night, and then but a small quantity of barley with chopped straw. They never drink but in the afternoon; and their bridles are always left in their mouths, even when in the stable, like mules. When there they have the two hinder legs tied; and they are all intermixed together, horses and mares. All are geldings, excepting a few kept for stallions. Should you have any business with a rich man, and call on him, he will carry you, to speak with you, to his stables, which are, consequently, kept always very cool and very clean. We Europeans prefer a stone-horse of a good breed; but the Moors esteem only mares. In that country a great man is not ashamed to ride a mare with its foal running after the dam. I have seen some, exceedingly beautiful, sold as high as two or three hundred ducats. They are accustomed to keep their horses very low, and never to allow them to get fat. The men of fortune carry with them, when they ride, a small drum, which they use in battle, or in skirmishes, to rally their men. It is fastened to the pommel of their saddles, and they beat on it with a piece of flat leather. I also purchased one, with spurs, and vermilion coloured boots, which came up to my knees, according to the custom of the country.

As a mark of my gratitude to Hoyarbarach, I went to offer him a pot of green ginger; but he refused it, and it was by dint of prayers and entreaties that I prevailed on him to accept of it. I had no other pledge for my security than what I have mentioned; but I found him full of frankness and good will—more, perhaps, than I should have found in many Christians.

God, who had protected me in the accomplishment of this journey, brought me acquainted with a Jew of Caiffa, who spoke the Tartar and Italian languages; and I requested him to assist me in putting down in writing the names of every thing I might have occasion to want for myself and my horse while on the road. On our arrival, the first day's journey, at Ballec, I drew out my paper to know how to ask for barley and chopped straw, which I wanted to give my horse. Ten or twelve Turks near me, observing my action, burst into

laughter; and, coming nearer to examine my paper, seemed as much surprised at our writing as we are with theirs. They took a liking to me, and made every effort to teach me to speak Turkish. They were never weary of making me often repeat the same thing, and pronounced it so many different ways that I could not fail to retain it; so, when we separated, I knew how to call for every thing necessary for myself and horse.

During the stay of the caravan at Damascus, I made a pilgrimage, about sixteen miles distant, to our Lady of Serdenay. To arrive there we traversed a mountain a full quarter of a mile in length, to which the gardens of Damascus extend. We then descended into a delightful valley, full of vineyards and gardens, with a handsome fountain of excellent water. Here, on a rock, has been erected a small castle, with a church of green monks, having a portrait of the Virgin painted on wood, whose head has been carried thither miraculously, but in what manner I am ignorant. It is added that it always sweats, and that this sweat is an oil*. All I can say is, that when I went thither, I was shown, at the end of the church, behind the great altar, a niche formed in the wall, where I saw the image, *which was a flat thing*, and might be about one foot and a half high by one foot wide. I cannot say whether it is of wood or stone, for it was entirely covered with clothes. The front was closed with an iron trellis, and underneath was the vase containing the oil. A woman accosted me, and with a silver spoon moved aside the clothes, and wanted to anoint me with the sign of the cross on the forehead, the temples, and breast. I believe this was a mere trick to get money; nevertheless I do not mean to say that our Lady may not have more power than this image.

I returned to Damascus, and, on the evening of the departure of the caravan, settled my affairs and my conscience as if I had been at the point of death; for suddenly I found

* Many authors of the thirteenth century mention this Virgin of Serdenay, which was famous during the crusades; and they speak of this oily sweat, that had the reputation of performing miracles. (See before, p. 190.) These fabulous accounts of miraculous sweatings were common in Asia. Among others, that which exuded from the tomb of the bishop Nicholas, one of those saints whose existence is more than doubtful, was much vaunted. This pretended liquor of Nicholas was even an object of adoration; and we read that, in 1651, a clergyman at Paris, having received a phial of it, demanded permission from the archbishop to expose it to the veneration of the faithful.—*Le Bauif*, "Hist. de Paris," t. i. part 2, p. 557.

myself in great trouble. I have before mentioned the messenger whom the sultan had sent with orders to arrest all the Genoese and Catalanian merchants found within his dominions. By virtue of this order my host, who was a Genoese, was arrested, his effects seized, and a Moor placed in his house to take care of them. I endeavoured to save all I could for him; and, that the Moor might not notice it, I made him drunk. I was arrested in my turn, and carried before one of their cadies, who are considered as somewhat like our bishops, and have the office of administering justice. This cadi turned me over to another cadi, who sent me to prison with the merchants, although he knew I was not one; but this disagreeable affair had been brought on me by an interpreter, who wanted to extort money from me, as he had before attempted on my first journey hither. Had it not been for Antoine Mourrouzin, the Venetian consul, I must have paid a sum of money; but I remained in prison; and, in the mean time, the caravan set off. The consul, to obtain my liberty, was forced to make intercession, conjointly with others, to the governor of Damascus, alleging that I had been arrested without cause, which the interpreter well knew. The governor sent for a Genoese, named Gentil Imperial, a merchant employed by the sultan to purchase slaves for him at Caiffa. He asked me who I was, and my business at Damascus. On my replying that I was a Frenchman returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he said they had done wrong to detain me, and that I might depart when I pleased.

I set off on the morrow of the sixth of October, accompanied by a moucre, whom I had first charged to carry my Turkish dress out of the town, because a Christian is not permitted to wear a white turban there. At a short distance a mountain rises, on which I was shown a house said to have been that of Cain. During the first day we travelled over mountains, but the road was good. On the second day we entered a fine country, which continued cheerful until we came to Balbeck. My moucre there quitted me, as I had overtaken the caravan. It was encamped near a river, on account of the great heat in these parts; the nights are nevertheless very cold, which will scarcely be believed, and the dews exceedingly heavy. I waited on Hoyarbarach, who confirmed the permission he had granted me to accompany

him, and recommended me not to quit the caravan. On the morrow morning, at eleven o'clock, I gave my horse water, with oats and straw, according to the custom of our countries. This time the Turks said nothing to me; but at six o'clock in the evening, when, having given him water, I was about fastening the bag, that he might eat, they opposed it and took off the bag; for they never suffer their horses to eat but during the night, and will not allow one to begin eating before the rest, unless when they are at grass.

The captain of the caravan had with him a mameluke of the sultan, who was a Circassian, and going to Caramania in search of a brother. This man, seeing me alone and ignorant of the language of the country, charitably wished to serve me as a companion, and took me with him; but, as he had no tent, we were often obliged to pass the nights under trees in gardens. It was then that I was obliged to learn to sleep on the ground, to drink nothing but water, and to sit cross-legged. This posture was at first painful, but it was still more so to accustom myself to sit on my horse with such very short stirrups,—and I suffered so much that, when I had dismounted, I could not remount without assistance, so sore were my hams; but after a little time this manner seemed even more convenient than ours. That same evening I supped with the mameluke; but we had only bread, cheese, and milk. I had, when eating, a table-cloth, like the rich men of the country. These cloths are four feet in diameter, and round, having strings attached to them, so that they may be drawn up like a purse. When they are used they are spread out; and, when the meal is over, they are drawn up with all that remains within them, without their losing a crumb of bread or a raisin. But I observed that, whether their repast had been good or bad, they never failed to return thanks aloud to God.

Balbeck is a good town, well inclosed with walls, and tolerably commercial. In the centre is a castle, built with very large stones. At present it contains a mosque, in which, it is said, there is a human skull, with eyes so enormous that a man may pass his head through their openings. I cannot affirm this for fact, as none but Saracens may enter the mosque.

From Balbeck we went to Hamos*, and encamped on the

* Hom., or Hems, the ancient Emessa.

banks of a river. It was there I observed their manner of encamping and pitching their tents. The tents are neither very high nor very large, so that one man can pitch them, and six persons may with ease repose in them during the heat. In the course of the day they lay open the lower parts, to give passage to the air, and close them in the night time. One camel can carry seven or eight with thin poles; some of them are very handsome. As my companion, the mameluke, and myself, had no tent, we fixed our quarters in a garden. There we were joined by two Turcomans of Satalia, returning from Mecca, who supped with us. These men, seeing me well clothed and well mounted, having a handsome sword, and well furnished tarquais, proposed to the mameluke, as he afterwards owned when we separated, to make away with me, considering that I was but a Christian, and unworthy of being in their company. He answered that, since I had eaten bread and salt with them, it would be a great crime; that it was forbidden by their law; and that, after all, God had created the Christians as well as the Saracens. They, however, persisted in their design; and as I testified a desire of seeing Aleppo, the most considerable town in Syria after Damascus, they pressed me to join them. I was ignorant of their intention, and accepted their offer; but I am now convinced they only wanted to cut my throat. The mameluke forbade them to come any more near us, and by this means saved my life.

We set out from Balbeck two hours before day; and our caravan consisted of from four to five hundred persons, with six or seven hundred camels and mules; for it had great quantities of spicery. I will describe the order of its march. The caravan has a very large drum; and the moment the chief orders the departure, three loud strokes are beaten. Every one then makes himself ready, and, when prepared, joins the file without uttering a word. Ten of our people would, in such cases, make more noise than a thousand of theirs. Thus they march in silence, unless it be at night, or that any one should sing a song celebrating the heroic deeds of their ancestors. At the break of day, two or three placed at a great distance from each other cry out, and answer one another, as is done from the towers of the mosques at the usual hours. In short, a little before and after sun-rise, devout people make their customary prayers and oblations. To perform these oblations, if they be near a rivulet they dis-

mount, and, with feet naked, they wash their whole bodies. Should there be no rivulet near, at the usual time for these ceremonies they pass their hands over their bodies. The last among them washes his mouth and the opposite part, and then turns to the south, when all raise two fingers in the air, prostrate themselves, and kiss the ground thrice; they then rise up and say their prayers. They have been ordered to practise these ablutions instead of confessions. Persons of rank, to avoid failing in their performance, always carry, when they travel, leathern bottles full of water, which are suspended under the bellies of camels or horses, and are generally very handsome.

Hamos (Hems) is a good town, well inclosed with walls and ditches "en glacis," situated in a plain on the banks of a small river. Here terminates one end of the plain of Noah*, which is said to extend as far as Persia. Tamerlane made his irruption through this plain when he took and destroyed so many cities. At the extremity of the town is a handsome castle, constructed on a height, with glaces as far as the walls.

From Hems, we went to Hama†. The country is fine, but I saw few inhabitants excepting Arabs, who were rebuilding some of the ruined villages. In Hama I met with a merchant from Venice, named Laurent Souranze. He received me well, lodged me in his house, and showed me the town and castle. It has good towers, with strong and thick walls, built, like the castle of Provins, on a rock, in which deep ditches have been cut. At one end of the town is the castle, strongly and well built on an elevation, which is fortified by ditches, and surmounted by a citadel which commands the whole; and the sides are washed by a river, said to be one of the four that flowed out of Paradise‡. I know not if this be the fact or not; all that I know is, that it runs east-south-east, and loses itself near Antioch. Here is the greatest wheel§ I ever saw. It is put in motion by the river, and supplies the inhabitants, although numerous, with the necessary quantity of water. The water falls into a trough cut in the castle-rock, and thence is conducted to the town, where it flows

* This plain is the ancient Coelo-Syria.

† Hamath of Scripture, the Epiphania of the Greeks.

‡ The El Asi, or Orontes.

§ These wheels are still common on the Orontes.

through the streets in an aqueduct formed on great square pillars twelve feet high and two wide. I was in want of several things to be like my fellow-travellers, of which the mameluke having informed me, my host Laurent carried me himself to the bazaar to purchase. The things wanted were small silken bonnets, in the fashion of the Turcomans, a cap to wear under them, Turkish spoons, knives with their steel, a comb and case, and a leathern cup, all of which are suspended to the sword. I likewise bought some finger-stalls to draw the bow, another complete tarquais, to save the one I had, which was very handsome, and lastly, a capinat, which is a robe of fine white felt, impenetrable to the rain.

On the road I made acquaintance with some of my fellow-travellers, who, when they found out that I lodged with a Frank, came to ask me to procure them some wine. This liquor is forbidden them by their religion, and they dare not drink it before their own countrymen; but they hoped to do it without risk at the house of a Frank, and yet they were returning from Mecca! I spoke of it to my host Laurent, but he said he was afraid to comply, from the great dangers he should run were it known. I went to carry them this answer, but they had been more fortunate elsewhere, in procuring some at the house of a Greek. They proposed that I should accompany them to partake, either from pure friendship, or to authorize them to drink wine in the presence of the Greek. This man conducted us to a small gallery, where we all six seated ourselves in a circle on the floor. He first placed in the midst of us a large and handsome earthen jug, that might contain four gallons at least; he then brought for each of us a pot full of wine, which he poured into the jug, and placed beside it two earthen porringers to serve for glasses. The first who began drank to his companion, according to their custom; this did the same to the next, and so on the others. We drank in this manner for a long time without eating; at length, I perceived that I could no longer continue it without suffering, and begged of them, with uplifted hands, to permit me to leave off; but they grew very angry, and complained as if I had been resolved to interrupt their pleasure and do them an injury. Fortunately there was one among them more acquainted with me than the rest, and who loved me so that he called me *karaays*, that is to say, brother. He offered to take my place, and to drink for me

when it should be my turn. This appeased them, and, having accepted the offer, the party continued until evening, when it was necessary for us to return to the khan.

The captain of the caravan was at the moment seated on a bench of stone, and had before him a lighted torch. It was not difficult for him to guess whence we came, and, consequently, four of our companions slipped away, and one only remained with me. I mention all this to forewarn any persons that may travel through these countries to avoid drinking with the natives, unless they shall wish to swallow so much as will make them fall to the ground. The mameluke, who was ignorant of my debauch, had, during that time, bought a goose for us both. He had just boiled it, and for want of verjuice, had dressed it with the green leaves of the leek; I ate of it with him, and it lasted us for three days.

I should have liked to see Aleppo, but the caravan taking the strait road to Antioch, I was forced to give up all thoughts of it. As the caravan was not to set out for two days, the mameluke proposed that we should ride forward, the more easily to procure lodgings. Four Turkish merchants desired to be of our party, and we six travelled together. Half a league from Hama, we came to the river, and crossed it by a bridge. It had overflowed, although there had not been any rain. Here I wished to give my horse some water, but as the bank was steep and the river deep, had not the mameluke come to my aid I must inevitably have been drowned. On the opposite side of the river is a long and vast plain, where we met six or eight Turcomans, accompanied by a woman. She wore a tarquais like them, and, on inquiring into this, I was told that the women of this nation are brave, and in time of war fight like men. It was added, and this seemed to me very extraordinary, that there are about thirty thousand women who thus bear the tarquais, and are under the dominion of a lord, named Turcadiroly*, who resides among the mountains of Armenia, on the frontiers of Persia.

The second day's journey was through a mountainous country, tolerably fertile though ill watered, but we saw nothing but ruined houses. As we travelled, my mameluke taught me to shoot with the bow, and made me buy finger-stalls and rings for this purpose. At length we arrived at a village that

* Tur-Kadir-Oglu.

was rich in woods, vineyards, and corn-fields, but having no other water than what was in cisterns. This district seemed to have been formerly inhabited by Christians, and I own it gave me great pleasure when I was told that it had all belonged to Franks, and the ruins of churches were shown me as a proof of it. We fixed our quarters in this village, and it was then I first saw the habitations of the Turcomans, and women of that nation with uncovered faces. They commonly hide them under a piece of black tammy, to which those who are wealthy attach pieces of money and precious stones. The men are good archers. I saw several draw the bow, which they do sitting, and at a short distance; and this gives to their arrows great rapidity and strength.

On leaving Syria, we entered Turcomania, called by us Armenia. The capital is a very considerable town, named Antequaye (Antakiyah) by them, and by us Antioch. It was very flourishing in former times, and has still handsome walls in good repair, which inclose a large tract of ground, and even some mountains; but its houses are not more than three hundred in number. It is bounded on the south by a mountain, on the north by a great lake, beyond which is an open and fine country. The river that comes from Hama runs alongside the walls. Almost all the inhabitants are Turcomans or Arabs, and their profession is breeding cattle, such as camels, goats, cows, and sheep. The goats are, for the most part, white, and the handsomest I have ever seen, not having, like those of Syria, hanging ears; and their hair is soft, of some length, and curling. Their sheep have thick and broad tails. They also feed wild asses, which they tame; these much resemble stags in their hair, ears, and head, and have, like them, cloven feet. I know not if they have the same cry, for I never heard them. They are large, handsome, and go with other beasts, but I have never seen them mounted*. For the carriage of merchandise they use the buffalo and ox, as we do the horse. They also use them to ride on; and I have seen large herds, some carrying goods, and others men.

The lord of this country was Ramedan, a rich, powerful, and brave prince. For some time he was so redoubtable that the

* It is not very easy to identify this animal by La Brocquière's description; if he had not described it as "large," we might have supposed it to be a gazelle.

sultan was alarmed, and afraid to anger him; but, wishing to destroy him, he practised with the karman*, who could more easily deceive Ramedan than any other, having given him his sister in marriage. In consequence, one day, as they were eating together, the karman arrested him and delivered him to the sultan, who put him to death, and took possession of Turcomania, giving, however, a portion of it to the karman. On leaving Antioch, I continued my road with the mameluke, and we first crossed a mountain called Negre†, on which he pointed out to me three or four handsome castles in ruins, that had belonged to the Christians. The road is good, and incessantly perfumed by the number of laurels with which the country abounds; but the descent is twice as rapid as the ascent. It finishes at the gulf of Asacs‡, which we call Layaste, because, in fact, it takes its name from the town of Ayas. This gulf extends between two mountains inland for upwards of fifteen miles; its breadth may be about twelve, but I refer for this to the sea charts.

At the foot of the mountain, near the road and close to the sea-shore, are the ruins of a strong castle§, defended on the land side by a marsh, so that it could only be approached by sea, or by a narrow causeway across the marsh. It was inhabited, but the Turcomans had posted themselves hard by. They occupied one hundred and twenty tents, some of felt, others of white and blue cotton, all very handsome, and capable of containing, with ease, from fifteen to sixteen persons. These are their houses, and, as we do in ours, they perform in them all their household business, except making fires. We halted among them; they placed before us one of the table-cloths before-mentioned, in which there remained fragments of bread, cheese, and grapes. They then brought us a dozen of thin cakes of bread, with a large jug of curdled milk, called by them yogort||. The cakes are a foot broad, round, and thinner than wafers; they fold them up as grocers do their papers for spices, and eat them filled with the curdled milk. A league further is a caravansera, where we lodged. These establishments consist of houses like the khans of Syria.

* Karaman-oglu, the Seljukian prince of Karamania.

† Ananus, now the Giaour Tagh. ‡ The Gulf of Ayas, the ancient *Ægæ*.

§ Probably the one known as Godfrey de Bouillon's castle.

|| Pronounced yuyurt.

In the course of this day's journey, I overtook on the road an Armenian, who spoke a little Italian. Finding I was a Christian, he entered into conversation with me, and told me many things of the country, its inhabitants, and likewise of the sultan, and Ramedan, lord of Turcomania, whom I have already mentioned. He said that this last was of a large size, very brave, and the most expert of all the Turks in handling a battle-axe and sword. His mother was a Christian, and had caused him to be baptized according to the Greek ritual, to take from him the smell and odour of those who are not baptized*. But he was neither a good Christian nor a good Saracen; and when they spoke to him of the two prophets, Jesus and Mohammed, he said, "For my part, I am for the living prophets; they will be more useful to me than dead ones." His territories on one side joined those of the karman, whose sister he had married, and on the other reached to Syria, which belonged to the sultan. Every time the subjects of the latter passed through his country he exacted tolls from them. But at length the sultan prevailed on the karman, as I have said before, to betray his brother-in-law to him; and at this moment he possesses all Turcomania as far as Tharsis, and even one day's journey further.

That day, accompanied by the Armenians, we once more lodged with the Turcomans, who again served us with milk. It was here I saw women make those thin cakes I spoke of. This is their manner of making them; they have a small round table, very smooth, on which they throw some flour, and mix it with water to a paste, softer than that for bread. This paste they divide into round pieces, which they flatten as much as possible, with a wooden roller of a smaller diameter than an egg, until they make them as thin as I have mentioned. During this operation they have a convex plate of iron placed on a tripod, and heated by a gentle fire underneath, on which they spread the cake and instantly turn it, so that they make two of their cakes sooner than a waferman can make one wafer.

I was two days traversing the country round the gulf. It is handsome, and had formerly many castles belonging to

* The Christians of Asia believed implicitly that the infidels had a disagreeable smell which was peculiar to them, and which baptism took away. This superstition will be again noticed. The baptism was, according to the Greek ritual, by immersion.

Christians, at present destroyed. Such was the one seen to the eastward before we arrived at Ayas. The inhabitants are Turcomans, who are a handsome race, excellent archers, and living on little. Their dwellings are round, like pavilions, covered with felt. They live in the open plain, and have a chief whom they obey; but they frequently change their situation, when they carry their houses with them. In this case, they are accustomed to submit themselves to the lord on whose lands they fix, and even to assist him with their arms, should he be at war. But should they quit his domains, and pass over to those of his enemy, they serve him in his turn against the other; and they are not thought the worse of for this, as it is their custom, and they are wanderers. On my road, I met one of their chiefs hawking with falcons, with which he took tame geese. I was told that he might have under his command ten thousand Turcomans. The country is favourable to the chase, but intersected by many small rivers that fall into the gulf. Wild boars are here abundant.

About the centre of the gulf is a defile formed by a rock*, under which the road passes; it is not two bow-shots from the sea; and this passage was formerly defended by a castle, which made it very strong, but it is now in ruins.

On leaving this strait, we entered a fine extensive plain†, inhabited by Turcomans; my companion, the Armenian, pointed out to me a castle on a mountain‡ where were only people of his nation, and the walls of which were washed by a river called Jehon§. We travelled along the banks of this river to a town called Misse on the Jehon||, because it runs through it.

Misse, situated four days' journey from Antioch, belonged to the Christians, and was a considerable city. Many churches, half destroyed, still remain¶; the choir of the great church is yet entire, but converted into a mosque. The bridge is of wood, the former stone one having been carried away by the floods**. One half of the town is completely in ruins; the

* Kara-Kapu, or Temir-Kapu, "the Iron Gates," the ancient Pylæ Amææ.

† The Campus Æleius of the ancients, now Tchukur Ovah.

‡ Sis, or perhaps Anazarbe. § Now called Jèihun.

|| Missisah, on the Jèihun.

¶ The churches have now entirely disappeared.

** This bridge is at present constructed of stone.

other half has preserved its walls, and about three hundred houses, filled with Turcomans.

From Misse to Adena* the country continues level and good, inhabited by Turcomans. Adena is two days' journey from Misse, and I there proposed to wait for the caravan. It arrived; I went with the mameluke, together with some others, many of whom were great merchants, to lodge near the bridge, between the river and the walls of the town; and it was there I observed the manner of the Turks saying their prayers and offering sacrifice. They no way hid themselves from my notice, but on the contrary seemed well pleased when I said my paternoster, which seemed to them wonderful. I sometimes heard them chaunt their prayers at the beginning of the night, when they seat themselves in a circle, and shake their bodies and heads while they sing in a very uncouth manner. One day they carried me with them to the stoves and baths of the town; and as I refused to bathe, for I must have undressed myself, and was afraid of showing my money, they gave me their clothes to keep. From this moment we were much connected. The bath-house is very high, and terminated by a dome, in which a circular opening is contrived to light the whole interior. The stoves and baths are handsome, and very clean. When the bathers come out of the water, they seat themselves on small hurdles of thin osiers, dry themselves, and comb their beards. It was at Adena I first saw the two young men who had got their eyes thrust out at Mecca, after having seen the tomb of Mohammed.

The Turks bear well fatigue and a hard life; they are not incommoded, as I have witnessed, during the whole journey, by sleeping on the ground like animals. They are of a gay, cheerful humour, and willingly sing songs of the heroic deeds of their ancestors. Any one, therefore, who wishes to live with them must not be grave or melancholy, but always have a smiling countenance. They are also men of probity, and charitable toward each other. I have often observed, that should a poor person pass by when they are eating, they would invite him to partake of their meal, which is a thing we never do.

In many places I found they did not bake their bread half as much as ours. It is soft, and, unless a person be accus-

* Adanah.

tomed to it, is difficult to be chewed. In regard to meat, they eat it raw, dried in the sun. When any of their beasts, horse or camel, is so dangerously ill that no hopes remain of saving its life, they cut its throat, and eat it, not raw, but a little dressed. They are very clean in dressing their meat, but eat it dirtily. They in like manner keep their beards very neat and clean, but never wash their hands but when they bathe, when they are about to say their prayers, or when they wash their beards and hinder parts.

Adena is a tolerably good commercial town, well inclosed with walls, situated in a fine country, and sufficiently near the sea. The river of Adena*, which is wide, and rises among the high mountains of Armenia, flows beneath its walls. It has over it a long bridge, and the broadest I ever saw. Its inhabitants and prince are Turcomans; the prince is brother to the brave Ramedan, whom the sultan had murdered. I was told the sultan had his son in his power, but dared not suffer him to return into Turcomania.

From Adena I went to Thuro†, which we call Tharsis. The country continues good, though near the mountains, and is inhabited by Turcomans, who live in villages or in tents. The district around Tharsis abounds in corn, wine, wood, and water. It was a famous town, and very ancient buildings are still seen in it. I believe this was the town‡ besieged by Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon. At present it has a governor appointed by the sultan, and many Moors live within it. It is defended by a castle with ditches *à glacis*, and by a double wall, which in some parts is triple. A small river§ runs through it, and there is another at a short distance. I found there a Cypriot merchant, named Antony, who had resided in this country a long time, and knew the language well. He talked to me very pertinently about it; but he did me another favour, that of giving me some good wine, for I had not tasted any for several days. Tharsis is but sixty miles from Curco||, a castle built on the sea-shore, belonging to the king of Cyprus. In this whole country they speak the Turkish tongue, which begins even to be spoken at Antioch, the capital, as I have before said, of Turcomania. It is a very fine language, laconic, and easily learned.

* The Seihun, the ancient Surus.

† Tarsus.

‡ La Brocquière is right in his conjecture. § The ancient Cydnus.

|| Kurkuss, the ancient Corycus.

As we had to cross the high mountains of Armenia, Hoyarbarach, the chief of our caravan, would have it all assembled; and for this purpose he waited some days, for those in the rear to come up. At last we departed, on the eve of All-Souls'-Day. The mameluke advised me to lay in provision for four days. I consequently purchased a sufficiency of bread and cheese for myself, and of oats and barley for my horse. On quitting Tharsis, we travelled three French leagues over a fine champaign country, peopled with Turcomans; and then we entered on the mountains, which are the highest I have ever seen. They skirt on three sides the country I had travelled over from Antioch; the sea bounds the other on the south. We first passed through woods during a whole day, but the road is not bad. We lodged in the evening at a narrow pass, where there seemed to have been formerly a castle. The second day's journey was not at all disagreeable, and we passed the night at a caravansera. The third, we followed the banks of a small river, and saw on the mountains an innumerable quantity of speckled partridges. In the evening, we halted on a plain, about a league in length and a quarter wide, where four great valleys meet: the one by which we had come; another that runs northward, towards the country of the lord called Turcadirony, and towards Persia; the third runs eastward, and I know not whether this also does not lead to Persia; the last extends to the westward, and it is that which I followed, and which conducted me to the country of the karman. Each of these four has a river, and the four rivers run to this last country.

It snowed much during the night. To save my horse from the weather, I covered him with my capinat, the felt robe which I used for a cloak; but I myself caught cold, and got that disagreeable disorder a dysentery. Had it not been for my mameluke, I should have been in great danger; but he assisted me, and made me instantly quit the place in which I was. We both, therefore, set off very early, and ascended the high mountains where the castle of Cublech* is situated, and is the highest I am acquainted with. It is seen two days' journey off; but sometimes we turned our backs to it, by reason of the windings of the mountains, sometimes also we lost sight of it, as it was hidden by their height. No one can penetrate into the country of the karman but on foot over the moun-

* Kulek Boghaz.

tain on which this castle is built. The pass is narrow, and in some places has been perforated by the chisel, but it is every where commanded by Cublech. This castle, the last which the Armenians lost, belongs at this day to the karman, who had it in his division after the death of Ramedan. These mountains are covered with perpetual snow, having only a road for horses, although there are some plains scattered among them. They are dangerous on account of the Turcomans who inhabit them; but during the four days I was travelling among them I never perceived a single dwelling.

On leaving the mountains of Armenia, to enter the country of the karman, there are still others to be crossed. On one of them is a pass, having a castle called Léve, where a toll is paid to the karman. This toll was farmed to a Greek, who, on seeing me, judged from my features that I was a Christian, and stopped me. If I had been forced to return I should have been a dead man, for I was afterwards assured, that before I had gone half a league my throat would have been cut, for the caravan was at a great distance. Fortunately my mameluke bribed the Greek, and, in consideration of two ducats that I gave him, he opened the passage. Further on is the castle of Asers, and beyond that the castle of a town called Arachie (Eregli).

On descending the mountain, we entered a plain as level as the sea; then are seen some heights towards the north, which, scattered here and there, appear like so many islands in the midst of the waves. It is on this plain that Eregli is situated, a town formerly inclosed, but now in the greatest state of ruin. I found there, however, some provision; for my last four days' journey from Tharsis had afforded me nothing but water. The environs of the town are covered with villages, inhabited chiefly by Turcomans.

On quitting Eregli, we met two gentlemen of the country, who appeared to be men of distinction; they showed great friendship to the mameluke, and carried him to regale at an adjoining village, the dwellings of which are cut out of the rock. We passed the night there, but I was forced to stay the remainder of the time in a cavern, to take care of our horses. When the mameluke returned, he told me that these two men had asked who I was, and that in his answer he had misled them, by saying I was a Circassian, who could not speak Arabic.

From Eregli to Larande*, whither our route lay, is two days' journey. This town, though not inclosed, is large, commercial, and well situated. There was, in ancient times, a great and strong castle in the centre of the town, the gates of which are now visible; they are of iron, and very handsome, but the walls are destroyed. There is a fine plain between these two towns; and after I left Léve I did not notice a single tree in the open country. There were in Larande two Cypriot gentlemen, the one named Lyachin Castrico, the other Léon Maschero, who both spoke very tolerable French †. They inquired of me my country, and what had brought me thither: I replied that I was a servant of my lord of Burgundy, that I came from Jerusalem to Damascus, and was following the caravan. They appeared astonished that I had been suffered to pass; but when they had asked whither I was going, and I had answered that I was on my return overland through France to my aforesaid lord, they told me it was impossible to be done, and that if I had a thousand lives I should lose them all; they therefore proposed that I should return to Cyprus with them; for there were at that island two galleys that had come thither to convey back the daughter of the king, who had been betrothed in marriage to the son of my lord of Savoy ‡; and they doubted not but the king, from the love and respect he bore to the duke of Burgundy, would grant me a passage on board one of them. I replied, that, since God had graciously permitted that I should arrive at Larande, he would probably allow me to go further; but that, at all events, I was determined to finish my journey as I had begun it, or die in the attempt. I asked them, in my turn, whither they were going. They said their king was just dead; that during his life there had always been a truce with the grand karman, and that the young king and his council had sent them to renew this alliance. Being curious to make

* Karaman.

† The Lusignans, when kings of Cyprus, towards the end of the twelfth century, had introduced the French language into that island. It was at Cyprus, when St. Louis put in there on his crusade to Egypt, that the code called "the Assizes of Jerusalem" was drawn up and published, and which became the code of laws for the Cypriots. The French language continued long to be that of the court and of well educated persons.

‡ Louis, son to Amadeus VIII., duke of Savoy. He married, in 1432, Anne de Lusignan, daughter to John II., king of Cyprus, deceased in the month of June, and sister to John III., then on the throne.

acquaintance with this great prince, whom his nation reverences as we do our king, I entreated permission to accompany them, to which they consented. I met likewise with another Cypriot at Larande, called Perrin Passerot, a merchant, who had resided some time in the country. He was from Famagusta, and had been banished from that town, because he and one of his brothers had attempted to deliver it up to the king, as it was then in the hands of the Genoese.

My mameluke also met with five or six of his countrymen, young Circassian slaves, who were on their way to the residence of the sultan. He was desirous to regale them on their meeting; and, as he had heard there were Christians at Larande, he guessed they would not be without wine, and begged of me to procure him some. By dint of inquiry, and for half a ducat, I was enabled to purchase the half of a goatskin full, of which I made him a present. He showed great joy on receiving it, and instantly went to his companions, with whom he passed the whole night drinking. He himself swallowed so much, that on the morrow he was near dying on the road, but he cured himself by a method which is peculiar to them. In such cases, they have a very large bottle full of water, and as their stomach becomes empty, they drink water as long as they are able, as if they would rinse a bottle, which they throw up, and then drink of it again. He was thus employed on the road until mid-day, when he was perfectly recovered.

From Larande we went to Qulongue, called by the Greeks Quohonguopoly*. These places are two days' journey distant from each other. The country is fine, and well furnished with villages, but wants water, and has no trees but such as have been planted near houses for their fruit. nor any other river but that which runs near the town. This town is considerable and commercial, defended by ditches *en glacis*, and good walls strengthened with towers, and is the best the karman possesses. There remains a small castle: formerly there was a very strong one in the centre of the town, but it has been pulled down to furnish materials to build the prince's palace.

I staid there four days, that the ambassador from Cyprus

* "The copyist has written it further on *Quohongue* and *Qulongue*. I shall write it henceforward *Couhongue*." (The translator.) It is Koniych, the low Greek Koniopolis, the ancient Iconium.

and the caravan might have time to arrive. When the ambassador came, I asked him when he intended to wait on the karman, and repeated my request to be present, which he promised to grant. There were, however, among his slaves four Greek renegadoes, one of whom was his usher-at-arms, who united in their efforts to dissuade him from it; but he replied that he saw no inconvenience, and besides, that I had shown such eagerness to witness the ceremony, that he should take pleasure in obliging me. He was apprized of the hour when he might make his obeisance to the prince, inform him of the object of his mission, and offer his presents; for it is an established custom in the east never to appear before a superior without bringing presents. His were six pieces of camlet of Cyprus, I know not how many ells of scarlet, forty sugar loaves, a peregrine falcon, two cross-bows, and a dozen of bolts. Some genets were sent him to carry the presents; and he and his attendants were mounted on horses, which the great lords, who had come to the palace to attend the prince during this ceremony, had left at the gate. The ambassador made use of one of them, but dismounted at the entrance of the palace, when we were ushered into a large hall where there might be about three hundred persons. The prince occupied the adjoining apartment, around which were arranged thirty slaves, standing; he was himself in a corner, seated on a carpet on the ground, according to the custom of the country, clad in a crimson and gold cloth, with his elbow leaning on a cushion of another sort of cloth of gold. Near him was his sword, his chancellor standing in front, and, at a little distance, three men seated.

The presents were first laid before him, which he scarcely deigned to look at; then the ambassador entered, attended by an interpreter, because he did not understand the Turkish language. After the usual reverences, the chancellor demanded his credential letters, which he read aloud. The ambassador then addressed the king by means of his interpreter, and said that the king of Cyprus had sent him to salute him, and to request that he would accept the presents now before him, as a mark of his friendship. The prince made no answer, but caused him to be seated on the ground after their manner, below the three persons before mentioned, and at some distance from the prince. He now inquired after the health of his brother the king of Cyprus, and was

told that he had lost his father, and had commissioned him to renew the alliance that had subsisted between the two countries during the lifetime of the deceased, for which he was very anxious. The prince answered that he desired it as earnestly. He then questioned the ambassador when the late king died, the age of his successor, if he were prudent, if his country was obedient; and, as the answer to these last questions was 'Yes,' he seemed well pleased.

After these words, the ambassador was told to rise, which he did, and took leave of the prince, who did not move more at his departure than at his entrance. On leaving the palace, he found the same horses which had carried him thither; and, having mounted one of them, he was reconducted to his lodgings: but he was scarcely entered, when the ushers of arms presented themselves, for in these ceremonies it is customary to give them money, and the ambassador did not neglect it. He next went to pay his compliments to the son of the prince, to offer him presents and deliver his letters. He was seated like his father, with three persons near him; but when the ambassador made his reverence, he rose up, then reseated himself, and placed the ambassador above these three personages. As for us, who accompanied him, they placed us far behind. Having noticed a bench, I was about to seat myself on it without any ceremony; but I was pulled off, and made to bend my knees and crouch on the ground like the rest. On our return home, an usher of arms to the son visited us, as those of the father had done, who also received some money. These people, however, are satisfied with a little. The prince and his son, in their turn, sent the ambassador a present for his expenses, which is likewise one of their customs. The first sent fifty aspres, the second thirty. An aspre is the money of the country, and fifty are equal in value to a Venetian ducat.

I saw the prince go through the town in procession on a Friday, which is a holiday with them, when he was going to say his prayers. His guards were about fifty horsemen, the greater part his slaves, and about thirty infantry, who surrounded him. He bore a sword in his belt, and had a taboucan at the pommel of his saddle, according to the custom of the country. He and his son have been baptized in the Greek manner, to take off *the bad smell*; and I was told that the son's mother was a Christian. It is thus all the grandees

get themselves baptized, that they may not stink. His territories are considerable: they begin one day's journey on this side Tharsis, and extend to the country of Amurath Bey*, the other karman I spoke of, and whom we call the Grand Turk. In this line they are, as it is said, twenty leagues in breadth; but they are sixteen days' journey in length, as I know well from having travelled them. They extend, as they assured me, on the north-east, as far as the frontiers of Persia. The karman possesses also a maritime coast, called the Farsats. It extends from Tharsis to Courco, which belongs to the king of Cyprus, and to a port called Zabari. This district produces the most expert sailors known, but they have revolted against him.

The karman is a handsome prince, about thirty-two years old, and married to a sister of Amurath Bey. He is well obeyed by his subjects, although I have heard people say he was very cruel, and that few days passed without some noses, feet, or hands being cut off, or some one put to death. Should any man be rich, he condemns him to die, that he may seize his fortune; and it is said that the greater part of his nobles have thus perished. Eight days before my arrival he had caused one to be torn to pieces by dogs. Two days after this execution he had caused one of his wives to be put to death, even the mother of his eldest son, who, when I saw him, knew nothing of this murder. The inhabitants of the country are a bad race—thieves, cheats, and great assassins; they kill each other, and justice is so relaxed that they are never arrested for it.

I found at Couhongue Antoine Passerot, brother to Perrin Passerot, whom I had seen at Lalande. They had both been accused of attempting to deliver Famagusta to the king of Cyprus, and had been banished. They had retired to the states of the karman; the one to Lalande, the other to Couhongue. Antony had been unfortunate. Vice sometimes blinds people; and he had been caught with a Mohammedan woman, and the king had forced him to deny his religion to escape death; but he appeared to be still a staunch Catholic. In our conversations, he told me many particulars of the country, of the character and government of the prince, and especially as to the manner in which he had taken and delivered up Ramedan. The karman, he said, had a brother

* Amurath, or Mured, II.

whom he banished from the country, and who took refuge at the court of the sultan, where he found an asylum. The sultan did not dare to declare war against him, but gave him to understand, that, unless he delivered Ramedan into his hands, he would send his brother with troops so to do. The karman made no hesitation, and rather than fight with him committed an infamous treason in regard to his brother-in-law. Antony added, that he was weak and cowardly, although his people are the bravest in all Turkey. His real name is Imbreybas; but he is called karman, from his being the lord of the country. Although he is allied to the Grand Turk, having married his sister, he detests him for having taken from him a portion of the karman. He is, however, afraid to make war on him, as he is the stronger; but I am persuaded that if he saw him successfully attacked by the Europeans he would not leave him in peace.

In traversing his country, I passed near the frontiers of another, called Gasserie*, which is bounded on one side by the karman, and on the other by the high mountains of Turcomania that extend towards Tharsis and Persia. Its lord is a valiant warrior, called Gadiroly†, who has under his command thirty thousand Turcoman men-at-arms, and about one hundred thousand women, as brave and as fit for combat as men‡. There are four lords continually at war with each other—Gadiroly, Qubaraynich, Quarachust, and the son of Tamerlane, who is said to govern Persia.

Antony told me, that when I quitted the mountains on the other side of Eregli, I had passed within half a day's journey of a celebrated town§ where the body of St. Basil is interred, and spoke of it in such a manner that I had a wish to see it; but he so strongly represented that I should lose more by separating myself from the caravan, and expose myself to great risks when travelling alone, that I renounced all thoughts of it. He owned to me that his intentions were to accompany me to my lord the duke; for that he had no desire to become a Saracen, and that if he had entered into any engagements on this head it was solely to escape death. It had been ordered that he should be circumcised, and he was

* Kaisariyeh, or Cæsarea in Cappadocia.

† Kadir-Oglu?

‡ These warlike women probably gave rise to the story of the Amazons. See Sir John Maundeville, p. 206.

§ Tyana?

expecting the execution of it daily, which gave him many fears. He was a very handsome man, about thirty-six years old. He told me also that the natives offer up public prayers in their mosques, like as we do in our churches on Sundays, in behalf of Christian princes, and for other objects which we ask from God. Now one of the things they pray to God for is, to deliver them from the coming of such a man as Godfrey de Bouillon.

The chief of the caravan making preparations to depart, I went to take leave of the Cypriot ambassadors. They had flattered themselves that I would return with them, and renewed their entreaties, assuring me that I should never complete my journey; but I persisted. It was at Couhongue that the caravan broke up. Hoyarbarach took with him only his own people, his wife, two of his children, whom he had carried with him to Mecca, one or two foreign women, and myself. I bade adieu to my mameluke. This good man, whose name was Mohammed, had done me innumerable services. He was very charitable, and never refused alms when asked in the name of God. It was through charity he had been so kind to me, and I must confess that without his assistance I could not have performed my journey without incurring the greatest danger; and that, had it not been for his kindness, I should often have been exposed to cold and hunger, and much embarrassed with my horse. On taking leave of him, I was desirous of showing my gratitude; but he would never accept of any thing except a piece of our fine European cloth to cover his head, which seemed to please him much. He told me all the occasions that had come to his knowledge, on which, if it had not been for him, I should have run risks of being assassinated, and warned me to be very circumspect in my connections with the Saracens, for that there were among them some as wicked as the Franks. I write this to recall to my reader's memory that the person who, from his love to God, did me so many and essential kindnesses, was a man not of our faith.

The country we travelled through, on leaving Couhongue, is handsome, with tolerably good villages, but the inhabitants are wicked. Hoyarbarach forbade me to go out of my quarters when we halted, even in villages, lest I should be assassinated. There is near this place a celebrated bath, to which sick persons come for a cure of their several disorders. There

are the remains of many houses that formerly belonged to the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem, with the cross of Jerusalem on them.

After three days' march, we came to a small town, called Achsaray*, situated at the foot of a high mountain that shelters it from the south. The country is level, but not populous, and the natives have a bad character; I was consequently forbidden to leave my house in the evening. I travelled the ensuing day between two high mountains, whose tops were crowned with wood. The district is well peopled, partly by the Turcomans, and consists of pasture and marsh land. I there crossed a little brook that divides this country of karman from that of the other karman possessed by Amurath Bey, called by us the Grand Turk. This division resembles the former, in being a flat country, with mountains here and there.

On our road we passed a town with a castle, called Achamay, and further on we came to a caravansera, where we intended to pass the night, but we found there twenty-five asses. Our commander refused to enter, and preferred returning a league further back to a large village, where we lodged, and found bread, cheese, and milk.

From this place we went to Carassar†, which took two days. Carassar, in the Turkish language, signifies "black stone." It is the capital of the country that Amurath Bey took by force of arms. Although uninclosed, it is a place of considerable trade, and has one of the finest castles I have seen, but without any other water than what is collected in cisterns. It is seated on the summit of a high rock, so round that it might be thought to be worked with a chisel. Below is the town, surrounding it on three sides; but both are commanded by a mountain, from the north-east to the north-west. The other side opens to a plain, through which runs a river. Not long ago, the Greeks had gained possession of this place, but afterwards lost it by their cowardice. They dress sheep's feet here with a cleanliness I have nowhere seen. I regaled myself with them the more eagerly, as I had not eaten any dressed meat since I had left Couhongue. They cook also a nice dish with green walnuts. Their manner is to peel them,

* Ak-Serai, or Al-Shehr.

† Kara-hissar, which signifies black castle, and not black stone.

cut them into two, and put them on a string; then they are besprinkled with boiled wine, which attaches itself to them, and forms a jelly like paste all around them. It is a very agreeable food, especially when a person is hungry. We were obliged to lay in a stock of bread and cheese for two days, as I was disgusted with raw meat.

Two days were employed in journeying from Carassar to Cotthay*. The country is good, well watered, having no very high mountains. We traversed one end of a forest, which seemed to me only remarkable for consisting entirely of oak, taller and larger than any I had hitherto met with, having besides, like fir-trees, branches only at the top. We took up our quarters for the night at a caravansera, distant from any habitations. We found there barley and straw in plenty, and we could the more easily have supplied our wants, as there was but a single servant to take care of them; but the owners never have any thing to fear of this kind, for at such places there is no man so bold as to take the smallest article without paying for it. On our road was a small river renowned for its water. Hoyarbarach went to drink of it with his women, and wished me to do the same, he himself offering me some in his leathern cup. This was the first time on the journey that he had done me this favour.

Cotthay, although pretty considerable, is without walls; but it has a handsome and large castle, composed of three forts rising one above the other, on the declivity of a hill, which has a double inclosure. This place was the residence of the son of the Grand Turk. There was a caravansera in the town, whither we went to lodge. It was already occupied by a party of Turks, and we were obliged, according to custom, to turn our horses pell-mell. On the next morning, when making ready to depart, I perceived that one of my straps had been taken, which served to fasten on my horse's crupper, my carpets and other things I carried behind me. At first I began to cry out with much noise and anger; but there was a Turkish slave present, one belonging to the sultan's son, a man of weight and about fifty years old, who, hearing me speak the language very incorrectly, took me by the hand, and conducted me to the gate of the caravansera, when he asked me in Italian who I was? I was stupified to

* Kutaiyeh, the ancient Cotyreium.

hear him thus speak, and replied that I was a Frank. "Whence do you come?" "From Damascus, in company with Hoyarbarach, and I am going to Bursa to meet one of my brothers." "Indeed! but you are a spy, and come to make your remarks on this country. If you were not, would you not have embarked, and returned home by sea?" This unexpected accusation confounded me. I answered, however, that the Venetians and Genoese were carrying on so bitter a war that I was afraid to venture by sea. He asked whence I came? "From the kingdom of France," was my answer. "Are you from the neighbourhood of Paris?" I replied I was not, and, in my turn, asked if he were acquainted with Paris? He said he had formerly been there with a captain, named Bernabo. "Take my advice," continued he; "return to the caravansera, seek your horse, and bring him hither to me, for there are some Albanian slaves, who will steal from you every thing he carries. While I am taking care of him, do you go and breakfast, and procure for yourself and your horse provision for five days, for so long will you be on the road without meeting with any." I followed his advice, and went to purchase provision. I breakfasted also the more heartily as I had not tasted meat for two days, and was told that I must not expect to meet with any for five days more.

When I quitted the caravansera, I took the road to Bursa*, leaving that leading to Troy on my left, between the south and west points. There were many high mountains, several of which I had to pass over. I had also two days' journey through forests, after which I traversed a handsome plain, in which are some villages good enough for the country. Half a day's journey from Bursa, we came to one that supplied us with meat and grapes, which last were as fresh as in the time of vintage; this mode of preserving them is a secret they have. The Turks offered me some roast meat; but it was not half dressed, and as the meat was roasting on the spit we cut off slices. We had also some kaymack, or buffalo cream; and it was so good and sweet that I ate of it till I almost burst.

Before we entered this last village, we noticed the arrival of a Turk from Bursa, who had been sent to the wife of

* Brusa, the ancient Prusa.

Hoyarbarach, to announce to her the death of her father. She showed great grief on the occasion, and I had then, for the first time, an opportunity of seeing her face uncovered. She was a most beautiful woman. There was at this place a renegado slave, a native of Bulgaria, who through affectation of zeal, and to show himself a good Saracen, reproached the Turks of the caravan for having allowed me to be in their company, saying it was sinful in them to do so, who were returning from the holy pilgrimage to Mecca. In consequence, they notified to me that we must separate, and I was obliged to set off for Bursa. I departed, therefore, on the morrow, an hour before day, with the aid of God, who had hitherto conducted me. He now guided me so well, that I never asked my road more than once on the whole way.

On entering the town, I met numbers of people coming out to meet the caravan, for such is the custom. The most considerable look on it as a duty, and it constitutes the festival. Several of them, supposing I was one of the pilgrims, kissed my hands and robe. When I had entered the town, I was greatly embarrassed, for I had come to a square that had four streets opening from it, and I knew not which to take. God again pointed out to me the right one, that which leads to the bazaar, where the merchants reside with their merchandise. I addressed myself to the first Christian I saw, and fortunately he happened to be one of the Espinolis of Genoa, the very person to whom Parvesin of Baruth had given me letters. He was much surprised to see me, and conducted me to the house of a Florentine, where I was lodged, as well as my horse. I remained there ten days, and employed that time in examining the town, being conducted by the merchants, who took great pleasure in so doing.

Of all the towns in the possession of the Turks this is the most considerable. It is of great extent, carries on considerable trade, and is situated at the foot of the north side of Mount Olympus, whence flows a river which, passing through the town, divides itself into several branches, forming, as it were, a number of small towns that make it look larger than it is. It is at Bursa that the Turkish sultans are buried. There are many handsome buildings, and particularly a great number of hospitals, among which there are four, where bread, wine, and meat are frequently distributed to the

poor who will accept of them for the sake of God. At one of the extremities of the town, towards the west, is a handsome and vast castle, built on an eminence that may well contain a thousand houses. There is also the place of the sultan, which they told me was a very delightful place within side, having a garden and pretty pond. The prince had at that time fifty wives; and he often, as they said, amuses himself in a boat with some of them on this piece of water.

Bursa was also the residence of Camurat, bashaw, or, as we should say, governor or lieutenant of Turkey. He is a very brave man, the most active the Turk has, and the most able to conduct any enterprise, which qualities have been the principal cause of his elevation to this lieutenancy. I asked if he governed the country well, and if he knew how to make himself obeyed. I was told that he was obeyed and respected like Amurath himself, and had for his salary fifty thousand ducats a year; and that, when the Turk went to war, he brought him, at his own expense, twenty thousand men; but that he had likewise his pensioners, who in this case were bound to supply him at their charges, one with a thousand men, another with two, another with three thousand, and so on with the rest.

There are in Bursa two bazaars; one where all sorts of silken stuffs, and rich and brilliant diamonds, are sold, great quantities of pearls, and cheap cotton cloths, and a variety of other merchandise, the enumeration of which would be tiresome. In the other bazaar, cotton and white soap are sold, and constitute a great article of commerce. I saw also, in a market-house, a lamentable sight—a public sale of Christians for slaves, both men and women. The custom is to make them sit down on benches, and he who comes to buy sees only the face, the hands, and a little of the arm of the females. I witnessed at Damascus the sale of a young black girl, of not more than fifteen or sixteen years of age; she was led along the streets quite naked, excepting the belly, the hinder parts, and a little below them.

It was at Bursa that I ate, for the first time, caviare and olive oil. This food is only fit for Greeks, and when nothing better can be had. Some days after the return of Hoyarbarach, I went to take leave of him, and to thank him for the means he had procured me of continuing my journey to this place. I found him in the bazaar, seated on an elevated

stone bench, with many of the principal inhabitants of the town. The merchants had accompanied me in this visit: some of them, Florentines by nation, interested themselves on behalf of a Spaniard, who, having been a slave to the sultan, found means to escape from Egypt and come to Bursa. They begged I would take him with me. I carried him at my expense as far as Constantinople, where I left him; but I am persuaded he was a renegade, and I have never heard any thing of him since.

Three Genoese had bought spices from the merchants of the caravan, and intended carrying them for sale to Pera, near Constantinople, and on the other side of the straits, which we call the Straits of St. George. Wishing to take the advantage of their company, I waited for their departure, and for this reason stayed at Bursa, for no one can pass this strait unless he be known. With this view, they procured me a letter from the governor, which I carried with me; but it was useless, for I found means to cross with them. We set out together; but they made me, for greater security, buy a high red hat, with a *huvette* of iron wire*, which I wore as far as Constantinople.

On leaving Bursa, we travelled northward over a plain watered by a deep river, which, about four leagues lower down, falls into the gulf between Constantinople and Gallipoli. We had a day's journey among mountains, which wood and a clayey soil made very disagreeable. There was on the road a small tree bearing a fruit somewhat bigger than our largest cherries, and of the shape and taste of strawberries, but a little acid. It is pleasant to eat; but, if a great quantity be eaten, it mounts to the head, and intoxicates. It is ripe in November and December†.

From the summit of the mountain, the gulf of Gallipoli is visible; and when we had descended it we entered a valley terminated by a very large lake, round which many houses are built. It was there I first saw Turkish carpets made. I passed the night in this valley, which is very fertile in rice. On pursuing our road, we came sometimes to mountains, valleys, pasture-lands, and great forests, which it would be impossible to pass without a guide, and where the horses

* The *huvette* was a kind of ornament worn on the hat.

† From the description, it seems to be the *arbutus Andrachne*.

plunge so deeply in the soil that they can hardly extricate themselves. I believe, for my part, that is the forest spoken of in the history of Godfrey de Bouillon, which he had such difficulty to traverse. I passed the night on the further side of it, at a village within four leagues of Nicomedia, which is a large town, with a harbour for shipping. This harbour is called Lenguo, and commences at the gulf of Constantinople, and extends to the town, where it is a bow-shot in breadth. All this country is difficult to travel; but beyond Nicomedia, towards Constantinople, it is very fine, and tolerably good travelling. It is more peopled with Greeks than Turks; but these Greeks have a greater aversion to the Latin Christians than the Turks themselves.

I coasted the gulf of Constantinople, and leaving the road to Nicea, a town situated to the southward near the Black Sea, I successively lodged at a village in ruins, inhabited solely by Greeks; then at another near to Scutari; and, lastly, at Scutari itself, on the strait, and opposite to Pera. The Turks guard this passage*, and receive a toll from all who cross it. It has rocks that would make it easy of defence, if they were fortified. Men and horses can readily embark and disembark. My companions and I crossed in two Greek vessels. The owners of my boat took me for a Turk, and paid me great honours; but when they saw me, after landing, leave my horse at the gate of Pera to be taken care of, and inquire after a Genoese merchant named Christopher Parvesin, to whom I had letters, they suspected I was a Christian. Two of them waited for me at the gate, and when I returned for my horse they demanded more than I had agreed on for my passage, and wanted to cheat me. I believe they would even have struck me, had they dared; I had my sword and my good tarquais, but a Genoese shoemaker who lived hard by, coming to my aid, they were forced to retreat. I mention this as a warning to travellers, who, like me, may have any thing to do with the Greeks. All those with whom I have had any concerns have only made me more suspicious, for I have found more probity in the Turks. These people† love not the Christians of the Roman persuasion, and the submis-

* The Turks at this time held Scutari, but they had not obtained possession of Constantinople.

† The Greeks. It was their hatred to the Latin church which facilitated the fall of Constantinople.

sion which they have since made to this church was more through self-interest than sincerity*. Therefore I have been told that, a little before I came to Constantinople, the pope, in a general council, had declared them schismatics and accursed, and had devoted them to be the slaves of slaves†.

Pera is a large town, inhabited by Greeks, Jews, and Genoese; the last are masters of it, under the duke of Milan, who styles himself Lord of Pera. It has a podestat and other officers, who govern it after their manner. A great commerce is carried on with the Turks; but the latter have a singular privilege, namely, that should any of their slaves run away, and seek an asylum in Pera, they must be given up. The port is the handsomest of all that I have seen, and I believe I may add, of any in the possession of the Christians; for the largest Genoese vessels may lie alongside the quays; but, as all the world knows this, I shall not say more. It, however, seems to me, that on the land side and near the church, in the vicinity of the gate at the extremity of the haven, the place is weak.

I met at Pera an ambassador from the duke of Milan, named Sir Benedicto de Fourlino. The duke, wanting the support of the emperor Sigismond against the Venetians, and seeing Sigismond embarrassed with the defence of his kingdom of Hungary against the Turks, had sent an embassy to Amurath, to negotiate a peace between the two princes. Sir Benedicto, in honour of my lord of Burgundy, gave me a gracious reception. He even told me, that to do mischief to the Venetians he had contributed to make them lose Salonica, taken from them by the Turks; and certainly in this he acted

* In 1438, John Paleologus II. came to Italy to form a union between the Greek and Latin churches, which took place the ensuing year at the council of Florence. But this step, as La Brocquière remarks, was, on the part of the emperor, but a political operation, dictated by interest, and without consequence. His dominions were then in so miserable a state, and himself so harassed by the Turks, that he was anxious to procure the aid of the Latins; and it was with this hope that he had come to inveigle the pope. This epoch, of 1438, is of consequence to our travels; for it proves, since La Brocquière quotes it, that he published it posterior to that year.

† An error. The general council that took place a little before he came to Constantinople was that of Basil in 1431, when, far from anathematizing and cursing the Greeks, it was occupied about their reunion. This pretended malediction was undoubtedly a report, which those who were against this reunion spread abroad in Constantinople; and the traveller seems to have thought so by the expression "it was told me."

so much the worse, for I have since seen the inhabitants of that town deny Jesus Christ and embrace the Mohammedan religion.

There was also at Pera a Neapolitan, called Peter of Naples, with whom I was acquainted. He said he was married in the country of Prester John, and made many efforts to induce me to go thither with him. I questioned him much respecting this country, and he told me many things which I shall here insert, but I know not whether what he said be the truth, and shall not therefore warrant any part of it*.

Two days after my arrival at Pera, I crossed the haven to Constantinople, to visit that city. It is large and spacious, having the form of a triangle; one side is bounded by the Straits of St. George, another towards the south by the bay, which extends as far as Gallipoli, and on the north side is the port. There are, it is said, three large towns on the earth, each inclosing seven hills,—Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch. Rome is, I think, larger and more compact than Constantinople. As for Antioch, as I only saw it when passing by, I cannot speak of its size; its hills, however, appeared to me higher than those of the two others.

They estimate the circuit of the city of Constantinople at eighteen miles, a third of which is on the land side towards the west. It is well inclosed with walls, particularly on the land side. This extent, estimated at six miles from one angle to the other, has likewise a deep ditch, *en glacis*, excepting for about two hundred paces at one of its extremities, near the palace called Blaquerne. I was assured that the Turks had failed in their attempt to take the town at this weak part. Fifteen or twenty feet in front of this ditch is a false bray of a good and high wall. At the two extremities of this line were formerly handsome palaces, which, if we may judge from their present ruins, were also very strong. I was told they had been destroyed by an emperor, when taken prisoner by the Turks and in danger of his life. The conqueror insisted

* The manner in which our traveller here announces the relation of the Neapolitan shows how little he believed it; and in this his usual good sense does not forsake him. This recital is, in fact, but a tissue of absurd fables and revolting marvels, undeserving to be quoted, although they may generally be found in authors of those times. They are, therefore, here omitted; most of them, however, will be found in the narrative of John de Maundeville.

on his surrendering Constantinople, and, in case of refusal, threatened to put him to death. The other replied, that he preferred death to the disgrace of afflicting Christendom by so great a loss, and that his death would be nothing in comparison. When the Turk saw he could gain nothing by this means, he offered him his liberty on condition that the square in front of St. Sophia should be demolished, with the two palaces. His project was thus to weaken the town, that he might the more easily take it. The emperor accepted his offers, the proof of which exists at this day.

Constantinople is formed of many separate parts, so that it contains several open spaces to a greater extent than those built on. The largest vessels can anchor under its walls, as at Pera; it has, beside, a small harbour in the interior, capable of containing three or four galleys. This is situated to the southward, near a gate, where a hillock is pointed out composed of bones of the Christians, who, after the conquests of Jerusalem and Acre, by Godfrey de Bouillon, were returning by this strait. When the Greeks had ferried them over, they conducted them to this place, which is remote and secret, where they were murdered. The whole, although a very numerous body, would have thus perished, had not a page found means to re-cross to Asia, and inform them of the danger that awaited them. On this, they spread themselves on the shores of the Black Sea; and from them are said to be descended those rude Christians who inhabit that part of the country—Circassians, Mingrelians, Ziques, Gothlans, and Anangats. But, as this is an old story, I know of it no more than what was told me.

The city has many handsome churches, but the most remarkable and principal is that of St. Sophia, where the patriarch resides, with others of the rank of canons. It is of a circular shape, situated near the eastern point, and formed of three different parts; one subterraneous, another above the ground, and a third over that. Formerly it was surrounded by cloisters, and was three miles, as they say, in circumference. It is now of smaller extent, and only three cloisters remain, all paved, and incrusting with squares of white marble, and ornamented with large columns of various colours*.

* Two of these galleries, or porticos, called by our author cloisters, as well as the columns, still exist. These last are formed of different materials,

gates are remarkable for their breadth and height, and are of brass. This church, they say, possesses one of the robes of our Lord, the end of the lance that pierced his side, the sponge that was offered him to drink from, and the reed that was put into his hand. I can only say, that behind the choir, I was shown the gridiron on which St. Laurence was broiled, and a large stone in the shape of a wash-stand, on which they say Abraham gave the angels to eat, when they were going to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. I was curious to witness the manner of the Greeks' performing divine service, and went to St. Sophia on a day when the patriarch officiated. The emperor was present, accompanied by his wife, his mother, and his brother, the despot of the Morea*. A mystery was represented, the subject of which was the three youths whom Nebuchadnezzar had ordered to be thrown into the fiery furnace†.

The empress, daughter to the emperor of Trebisonde, seemed very handsome, but as I was at a distance I wished to have a nearer view; and I was also desirous to see how she mounted her horse, for it was thus she had come to the church, attended only by two ladies, three old men, ministers of state, and three of that species of men to whose guard the Turks intrust their wives. On coming out of St. Sophia, she went into an adjoining house to dine, which obliged me to wait until she returned to her palace, and consequently to pass the whole day without eating or drinking. At length she appeared. A bench was brought forth and placed near her horse, which was superb, and had a magnificent saddle. When she had mounted the bench, one of the old men took the long mantle she wore, passed to the opposite side of the horse, and held it in his hands extended as high as he could; during this, she put her foot in the stirrup, and bestrode the horse like a man. When she was in her seat, the old man cast the mantle over her shoulders; after which, one of those long hats with a point, so common in Greece, was given to her; it was orna-

porphyry, granite, marble, &c.; and this is the reason why the traveller, not being a naturalist, represents them as being of various colours.

* This emperor was John Paleologus II.; his brother Demetrius, despot or prince of the Peloponnesus; his mother Irene, daughter to Constantine Dragasés, sovereign of a small country in Macedonia; his wife Maria Comnènes, daughter to Alexis, emperor of Trebisonde.

† These devout plays were then as common in the Greek church as in the Latin. They were called "Mysteries" in France; and this is the name given by our traveller to the one he saw in St. Sophia.

mented at one of the extremities with three golden plumes, and was very becoming. I was so near that I was ordered to fall back, and, consequently, had a full view of her. She wore in her ears broad and flat rings, set with several precious stones, especially rubies. She looked young and fair, and handsomer than when in church. In one word, I should not have had a fault to find with her, had she not been painted, and assuredly she had not any need of it. The two ladies mounted their horses at the same time that she did; they were both handsome, and wore, like her, mantles and hats. The company returned to the palace of Blaquerne.

In the front of St. Sophia is a large and handsome square, surrounded with walls like a palace, where games were performed in ancient times*. I saw the brother of the emperor, the despot of the Morea, exercising himself there, with a score of other horsemen. Each had a bow, and they galloped along the inclosure, throwing their hats before them, which, when they had passed, they shot at; and he who with his arrow pierced his hat, or was nearest to it, was esteemed the most expert. This exercise they had adopted from the Turks, and it was one of which they were endeavouring to make themselves masters.

On this side, near the point of the angle, is the beautiful church of St. George, which has, fronting Turkey in Asia, a tower at the narrowest part of the straits. On the other side, to the westward, is a very high square column, with characters traced on it, and bearing on the summit an equestrian statue of Constantine, in bronze. He holds a sceptre in his left hand, with his right extended towards Turkey in Asia, and the road to Jerusalem, as if to denote that the whole of that country was under his government. Near this column are three others, placed in a line, and of one single piece, bearing three gilt horses, now at Venice†.

In the pretty church of the Panthéocrator, occupied by Greek monks, who are what we should call in France Grey Franciscan Friars, I was shown a stone or table of divers colours, which Nicodemus had caused to be cut for his own tomb, and which he made use of to lay out the body of our Lord, when he took him down from the cross. During this operation the virgin was weeping over the body, but

* The Greek hippodrome—the amecidan of the Turks.

† There are four.

her tears, instead of remaining on it, fell on the stone, and they are all now to be seen upon it. I at first took them for drops of wax, and touched them with my hand, and then bended down to look at them horizontally, and against the light, when they seemed to me like drops of congealed water. This is a thing that may have been seen by many persons as well as myself. In the same church are the tombs of Constantine and of St. Helena, his mother, raised each about eight feet high on a column, having its summit terminated in a point, cut into four sides, in the fashion of a diamond. It is reported that the Venetians, while in power at Constantinople, took the body of St. Helena from its tomb, and carried it to Venice, where they say it is now entire. It is added, that they attempted the same thing in regard to the body of Constantine, but could not succeed; and this is probable enough, for to this day two broken parts are to be seen, where they made the attempt. The two tombs are of red jasper.

In the church of St. Apostola is shown the broken shaft of the column to which our Saviour was fastened when he was beaten with rods, by order of Pilate. This shaft, longer than the height of a man, is of the same stone with the two others that I have seen, at Rome and at Jerusalem; but this exceeds in size the other two put together. There are likewise in the same church, in wooden coffins, many holy bodies, very entire, and any one that chooses may see them. One of them had his head cut off, and that of another saint has been given him. The Greeks, however, have not the like devotion that we have for these relics. It is the same in respect to the stone of Nicodemus and the pillar of our Lord, which last is simply inclosed by planks, and placed upright near one of the columns on the right hand of the great entrance at the front of the church.

Among the fine churches, I shall mention one more as remarkable, namely, that called Blaquerne, from being near the imperial palace, which, although small and badly roofed, has paintings, with a pavement and incrustations of marble. I doubt not but there may be others worthy of notice, but I was unable to visit them all. The Latin merchants have one situated opposite to the passage to Pera, where mass is daily said after the Roman manner.

There are merchants from all nations in this city, but none so powerful as the Venetians, who have a bailiff to

regulate all their affairs, independent of the emperor and his officers. This privilege they have enjoyed for a long time*. It is even said, that they have twice by their galleys saved the town from the Turks; but, for my part, I believe that God has spared it, more for the holy relics it contains than for any thing else. The Turks have also an officer to superintend their commerce, who, like the Venetian bailiff, is independent of the emperor; they have even the privilege, that if one of their slaves shall run away, and take refuge within the city, on their demanding him, the emperor is bound to give him up.

This prince must be under great subjection to the Turk, since he pays him, as I am told, a tribute of ten thousand ducats annually; and this sum is only for Constantinople, for beyond that town he possesses nothing but a castle situated three leagues to the north, and in Greece a small city called Salubria.

I was lodged with a Catalonian merchant, who having told one of the officers of the palace that I was attached to my lord of Burgundy, the emperor caused me to be asked if it were true that the duke had taken the Maid of Orleans, which the Greeks would scarcely believe. I told them truly how the matter had passed, at which they were greatly astonished †.

The merchants informed me, that on Candlemas-day there would be a solemn service performed in the afternoon, similar to what we perform on that day, and they conducted me thither. The emperor was at one end of the hall, seated on a cushion. The empress saw the ceremony from a window in an upper apartment. The chaplains who chant the service are strangely ornamented and dressed; they sing the service by heart, "selon leurs dois."

Some days after, they carried me to see a feast given on account of the marriage of one of the emperor's relations. There was a tournament after the manner of the country, but which appeared very strange to me. I will describe it. In the middle of a square they had planted, like a quintain,

* Since the conquest of the East by the Latins, in 1204, to which conquest the Venetians greatly contributed.

† The *pucelle* had been made prisoner in 1430, by an officer of Jean de Luxembourg, the duke's general, and, being afterwards sold by Jean to the English, was burnt the following year.

a large pole, to which was fastened a plank three feet wide and five feet long. Forty cavaliers advanced to the spot, without any arms or armour whatever but a short stick. They at first amused themselves by running after each other, which lasted for about half an hour; then from sixty to fourscore rods of elder were brought, of the thickness and length of those we use for thatching. The bridegroom first took one, and set off full gallop towards the plank, to break it; as it shook in his hand, he broke it with ease, when shouts of joy resounded, and the instruments of music, namely, nacaires, like those of the Turks, began to play. Each of the other cavaliers broke their wands in the same manner. Then the bridegroom tied two of them together, which in truth were not too strong, and broke them without being wounded*. Thus ended the feast, and every one returned to his home safe and sound. The emperor and empress had been spectators of it from a window.

My intentions were to leave Constantinople with this Sir Benedict de Furlino, who, as I have said, had been sent ambassador to the Turk by the duke of Milan. There was a gentleman named Jean Visconti, and seven other persons in his company, with ten led horses; for when a traveller passes through Greece, he must absolutely carry every necessary with him.

I departed from Constantinople the 23rd of January, 1433, and first came to the pass of Rigory, which was formerly tolerably strong; it is formed in a valley through which runs an arm of the sea, twenty miles long. There was a tower, but the Turks have destroyed it. In this place there remains a bridge, a causeway, and a Greek village. In the way to Constantinople by land, there is but this pass, and another lower down, still more dangerous, on a river which there discharges itself into the sea. From Rigory I went to Thiras, inhabited also by Greeks; it has been a good town, and a pass as strong as the preceding one, being formed in like manner by the sea. At each end of the bridge there was a large tower; but tower and town have been entirely destroyed by the Turks.

* La Brocquière must have thought these joustings ridiculous, from being accustomed to our tournaments, where the knights, cased in iron, fought with swords, lances, and battle-axes, and where, very frequently, men were killed, wounded, or trodden under foot by the horses. This has made him twice say, that in this jousting with sticks no one was wounded.

I went from Thiras to Salubria. This town, two days' journey from Constantinople, is situated on the gulf that extends from this place as far as Gallipoli, and has a small harbour. The Turks could never take it, although it is not strong toward the sea. It belongs to the emperor, as well as the whole country hitherto; but this country is completely ruined, and has but poor villages. Thence I came to Chorleu, formerly considerable, destroyed by the Turks, and now inhabited by them and Greeks. Next to Chorleu is Misterio, a small inclosed place, inhabited only by Greeks, with one single Turk, to whom his prince has given it. From Misterio we came to Pirygasy, where there are none but Turks. The walls have been thrown down. Zambry is the next place to Pirygasy, and is equally destroyed.

We next came to Adrianople, a large commercial town, very populous, and situated on a great river called the Mariza, six days' journey from Constantinople. This is the strongest town possessed by the Turk in Greece, and here he chiefly resides. The lieutenant or governor of Greece lives here also; and many merchants from Venice, Catalonia, Genoa, and Florence are likewise residents. The country from Constantinople hither is good and well watered, but thinly peopled, having fertile valleys that produce every thing but wood. The Turk was at Lessère*, a large town in Pyrré, near to Pharsalia, where the decisive battle was fought between Cæsar and Pompey, and Sir Benedict took the road thither to wait on him. We crossed the Mariza in a boat, and shortly after met fifty women of the Turk's seraglio, attended by about sixteen eunuchs, who told us they were escorting them to Adrianople, whither their master proposed soon following them.

We came to Dymodique†, a good town, inclosed with a double wall. It is defended on one side by a river, and on the other by a large and strong castle, constructed on an elevation which is almost round, and which may contain within its extent three hundred houses. In the castle is a dungeon, wherein I was told the Turk keeps his treasure. From Demetica we came to Ypsala‡; it has been a tolerable town, but is totally destroyed. I crossed the Mariza a second time.

* Perhaps Larissa (Seres), in Phrygia. † Demetica? ‡ Cypsela?

It is two days' journey from Adrianople, and the country throughout was marshy, and difficult for the horses.

Ayne*, beyond Ypsala, is on the sea-shore, and at the mouth of the Mariza, which at this place is full two miles wide. When Troy flourished this was a powerful city, and had a king; at present its lord is brother to the lord of Matelin, and tributary to the Turk. On the circular hillock is the tomb of Polydore, the youngest of the sons of Priam. The father had sent this son during the siege of Troy, to the king of Eno, with much treasure; but, after the destruction of Troy, the king, as much through fear of the Greeks as the wish to possess this treasure, put the young prince to death.

At Eno, I crossed the Mariza in a large vessel and came to Macri, another maritime town to the westward of the first, and inhabited by Turks and Greeks. It is near to the island of Samandra†, which belongs to the lord of Eno, and seems to have been formerly considerable; at present the whole of it is in ruins excepting a part of the castle. Caumissin, whither we came next, after having traversed a mountain, has good walls, which make it sufficiently strong although it is small. It is situated on a brook, in a fine flat country, inclosed by mountains to the westward; and this plain extends for five or six days' journey, to Lessère. Missy was equally strong, and well fortified, but part of its walls are thrown down and every thing within is destroyed; it is uninhabited.

Peritoq, an ancient town, and formerly considerable, is seated on a gulf which runs inland about forty miles, beginning at Monte Santo, where are such numbers of monks. The inhabitants are Greeks, and it is defended by good walls, which have, however, many breaches in them. Thence to Lessère, the road leads over an extensive plain. It was near Lessère, they say, that the grand battle of Pharsalia was fought.

We did not proceed to this last town; for hearing the Turk was on the road we waited for him at Yamgbatsar, a village constructed by his subjects. When he travels, his escort consists of four or five hundred horse; but, as he is passionately fond of hawking, the greater part of his troop was com-

* Eno.

† Samothraki?

posed of falconers and goshawk-trainers, a people that are great favourites with him; and it is said that he keeps more than two thousand of them. Having this passion, he travels very short days' journeys, which are to him more an object of amusement and pleasure. He entered Yamgbatsar in a shower of rain, having only fifty horsemen attending him and a dozen archers, his slaves, walking on foot before him. His dress was a robe of crimson velvet, lined with sable, and on his head he wore, like the Turks, a red hat; to save himself from the rain, he had thrown over this robe another, in the manner of a mantle, after the fashion of the country.

He was encamped in a pavilion which had been brought with him; for lodgings are nowhere to be met with, nor any provision, except in the large towns, so that travellers are obliged to carry all things with them. He had numbers of camels and other beasts of burden. In the afternoon he came out of his pavilion to go to the bath, and I saw him at my ease. He was on horseback, with the same hat and crimson robe, attended by six persons on foot. I heard him speak to his attendants, and he seemed to have a deep-toned voice. He is about twenty-eight or thirty years old, and is already very fat.

The ambassador sent one of his attendants to ask him if he could have an audience, and present him the gifts he had brought. He made answer, that, being now occupied with his pleasures, he would not listen to any matters of business; that, besides, his bashaws were absent; that the ambassador must wait for them, or return to Adrianople. Sir Benedict accepted the latter proposal, and consequently we returned to Caumissin, whence, having repassed the mountain I have spoken of, we entered a road formed between two high rocks, and through them flows a river. A strong castle, called Coloung, had been built on one of these rocks for its defence, but it is now in ruins. The mountain is partly covered with wood, and is inhabited by a wicked race of assassins.

At length we arrived at Trajanopoly, a town built by the emperor Trajan, who did many things worthy of record. He was the son of the founder of Adrianople; and the Saracens say that he had an ear like to that of a sheep*. This town

* Trajanopoly was not so called from having been built by Trajan, but because he died there. It existed before his time, and was named Selinunte. Hadrian was not the father of Trajan, but his adopted son, and, in

was very large, near to the sea and the Mariza; but now nothing is seen but ruins, with a few inhabitants. A mountain rises to the east of it, and the sea lies on the south. One of its baths bears the name of Holy Water. Further on is Vyra, an ancient castle, demolished in many places. A Greek told me the church had three hundred canons attached to it. The choir is still remaining, but the Turks have converted it into a mosque. They have also surrounded the castle with a considerable town, inhabited by them and Greeks. It is seated on a mountain, near the Mariza.

On leaving Vyra, we met the lieutenant of Greece, whom the Turk had sent for, and he was on his road to him with a troop of one hundred and twenty horse. He is a handsome man, a native of Bulgaria, and had been the slave of his master; but as he has the talent of drinking hard, the prince gave him the government of Greece, with a revenue of fifty thousand ducats. Demetia, on my return, appeared much larger and handsomer than I thought it the first time; and, if it be true that the Turk has there deposited his treasure, he is certainly in the right to do so.

We were forced to wait eleven days in Adrianople. At length he arrived, on the first day of Lent. The mufti, who is with them what the pope is to us, went out to meet him, accompanied by the principal persons of the town, who formed a long procession. He was already near the town when they met him, but had halted to take some refreshment, and had sent forward part of his attendants. He did not make his entry until night-fall.

During my stay at Adrianople I had the opportunity of making acquaintance with several persons who had resided at his court, and consequently knew him well, and who told me many particulars about him. In the first place, as I have seen him frequently. I shall say that he is a little, short, thick man, with the physiognomy of a Tartar. He has a broad and brown face, high cheek bones, a round beard, a great and crooked nose, with little eyes; but they say he is kind, good, generous, and willingly gives away lands and money. His

this right, became his successor. Adrianople was not founded by Hadrian. An earthquake had ruined it, and he ordered it to be rebuilt, and gave it his name. Such errors are excusable in an author of the fifteenth century. As for the sheep's ear, it is spoken of as a Saracenic fable.

revenues are two millions and a half of ducats, including twenty-five thousand received as tribute-money*. Besides, when he raises an army, it not only costs him nothing, but he gains by it; for the troops that are brought him from Turkey in Europe, pay at Gallipoli, the comarch, which is three aspers for each man, and five for each horse. It is the same at the passage of the Danube. Whenever his soldiers go on an expedition, and make a capture of slaves, he has the right of choosing one out of every five. He is, nevertheless, thought not to love war, and this seems to me well founded. He has, in fact, hitherto met with such trifling resistance from Christendom that, were he to employ all his power and wealth on this object, it would be easy for him to conquer great part of it†. His favourite pleasures are hunting and hawking; and he has, as they say, upwards of a thousand hounds, and two thousand trained hawks of different sorts, of which I have seen very many. He loves liquor and those who drink hard; as for himself, he can easily quaff off from ten to twelve gondils of wine, which amount to six or seven quarts‡. When he has drunk much, he becomes generous, and distributes his great gifts; his attendants, therefore, are very happy when they hear him call for wine. Last year, a Moor took it into his head to preach to him on this subject, admonishing him that wine was forbidden by the prophet, and that those who drank it were not good Saracens. The only answer the prince gave was to order him to prison: he then banished him his territories, with orders never again to set his foot on them. He unites to his love for women a taste

* There must be here an error of the copyist, for 25,000 ducats as tribute is too small a sum. We shall see, further on, that the despot of Servia paid annually 50,000 for himself alone.

† The sultan mentioned here under the name of Amourat Bey is Amourath II., one of the most celebrated of the Ottoman princes. History records many of his victories, which are indeed for the most part posterior to the account of our traveller. If he did not conquer more, it was owing to having Huniades, or Scanderberg, opposed to him. But his glory was eclipsed by that of his son, the famous Mohammed II., the terror of Christians, and surnamed by his countrymen "the Great," who twenty years after this period, in 1453, took Constantinople, and destroyed what little remained of the Greek empire.

‡ The *quarte*, so called from being the fourth part of the chenet, which contained four pots and one French pint. The pot held two pints, consequently the *quarte* made two bottles more than half a septier; and twelve gondils made twenty-three bottles.

for boys, and has three hundred of the former and about thirty of the latter, which he prefers, and when they are grown up he recompenses them with rich presents and lordships. One of them he married to a sister of his, with an annual income of 25,000 ducats. Some persons estimate his treasure at half a million of ducats, others at a million. This is exclusive of his plate, his slaves, the jewels for his women, which last article is estimated alone at a million of gold. I am convinced that if he would for one year abstain from thus giving away blindly, and hold his hand, he would lay by a million of ducats without wronging any one.

Every now and then he makes great and remarkable examples of justice, which procures him perfect obedience at home and abroad. He likewise knows how to keep his country in an excellent state of defence, without oppressing his Turkish subjects by taxes or other modes of extortion. His household is composed of five thousand persons, as well horse as foot; but in war-time he does not augment their pay, so that he does not expend more than in time of peace, contrary to what happens in other nations. His principal officers are three bashaws, or visir bashaws. The visir is a counsellor; the bashaw a sort of chief, or lieutenant. These three have the charge of all that concerns himself or his household, and no one can speak with him but through them. When he is in Greece, the lieutenant of Greece has the superintendance of the army; and when in Turkey, the lieutenant of Turkey. He has given away great possessions, but he may resume them at pleasure. Besides, those to whom they have been given are bound to serve him in war, with a certain number of troops, at their own expense.

It is thus that Greece annually supplies him with thirty thousand men, whom he may lead whither he pleases; and Turkey ten thousand, for whom he only finds provisions. Should he want a more considerable army, Greece alone, as they tell me, can then furnish him with one hundred and twenty thousand more; but he is obliged to pay for these. The pay is five aspers for the infantry, and eight for the cavalry. I have, however, heard, that of these hundred and twenty thousand there was but half, that is to say, the cavalry, that were properly equipped, and well armed with tarquais and sword; the rest were composed of men on foot miserably accoutered; some having swords without bows, others without

swords, bows, or any arms whatever, many having only staves. It is the same with the infantry supplied by Turkey, one-half armed with staves. This Turkish infantry is nevertheless more esteemed than the Greek, and considered as better soldiers.

Other persons, whose testimony I regard as authentic, have since told me, that the troops Turkey is obliged to furnish, when the prince wants to form an army, amount to thirty thousand men, and those from Greece to twenty, without including two or three thousand slaves of his own, whom he arms well. Among these slaves are many Christians; and there are likewise numbers of them among the troops from Greece, Albanians, Bulgarians, and from other countries. In the last army from Greece, there were three thousand Servian horse, which the despot of the province had sent under the command of one of his sons. It was with great regret that these people came to serve him, but they dared not refuse.

The bashaws arrived at Adrianople three days after their lord, bringing with them part of his people and his baggage. This baggage consists of about a hundred camels, and two hundred and fifty mules and sumpter horses, as the nation does not use wagons.

Sir Benedict was impatient to have an audience, and made inquiries of the bashaws if he could see the prince: their answer was a negative. The reason of this refusal was, that they had been drinking with him, and were all intoxicated. They, however, sent on the morrow to the ambassador to let him know they were visible, when he instantly waited on each with his presents; for such is the custom of the country, that no one can speak to them without bringing something; even the slaves who guard their gates are not exempted from it. I accompanied him on this visit. On the following day, in the afternoon, he was informed that he might come to the palace. He instantly mounted his horse to go thither with his attendants, and I joined the company; but we were all on foot, he alone being on horseback.

In front of the court we found a great number of men and horses. The gate was guarded by about thirty slaves, under the command of a chief, armed with staves. Should any person offer to enter without permission, they bid him retire: if he persist, they drive him away with their staves. What we call the court of the king, the Turks call "Porte du Seig-

neur.* Every time the prince receives a message or an embassy, which happens almost daily, "il fait porte." "Faire porte," is for him the same as when our kings of France hold royal state and open court, although there is much difference between the two ceremonies, as I shall presently show.

When the ambassador had entered, they made him sit down near the gate, with many other persons who were waiting for the prince to quit his apartment and hold his court. The three bashaws first entered, with the governor of Greece and others of the great lords. His chamber looked into a very large court; the governor went thither to wait for him. At length he appeared. His dress was, as usual, a crimson satin robe, over which he had, by way of mantle, another of green figured satin, lined with sable. His young boys accompanied him, but no further than to the entrance of the apartment, when they returned. There was nobody with him but a small dwarf, and two young persons who acted the part of fools †. He walked across an angle of the court to a gallery, where a seat had been prepared for him. It was a kind of couch covered with velvet, and four or five steps to mount to it. He seated himself on it, like to our tailors when they are going to work, and the three bashaws took their places a little way from him. The other officers, who on these days make part of the attendants, likewise entered the gallery, and posted themselves along the walls as far from him as they could. Without, but fronting him, were twenty Wallachian gentlemen seated, who had been detained by him as hostages for the good conduct of their countrymen. Within this apartment were placed about a hundred dishes of tin, each containing a piece of mutton and rice. When all were placed, a lord from Bosnia was introduced, who pretended that the crown of that country belonged to him, and came in consequence to do homage for it to the Turk, and ask succour from him against the present king. He was conducted to a seat near the bashaws; and, when his attendants had made their appearance, the ambassador from Milan was sent for. He advanced, followed by his presents, which were set down near the tin dishes. Persons appointed to receive them raised

* The origin of the title of "The Sublime Porte."

† Having court fools was a very ancient custom at the eastern courts. It had been introduced by the Crusaders at the courts of Christian princes, and was continued at that of France until the reign of Louis XIV.

them above their heads, as high as they could, that the prince and his court might see them. While this was passing, sir Benedict walked slowly toward the gallery. A person of distinction came to introduce him.

On entering, he made a reverence without taking off the bonnet from his head, and when near the steps of the couch he made another very low one. The prince then rose, descended two steps to come nearer to the ambassador, and took him by the hand. The ambassador wished to kiss his hand, but he refused it; and by means of a Jew interpreter, who understood the Turkish and Italian languages, asked how his good brother and neighbour the duke of Milan was in health. The ambassador having replied to this question, he was conducted to a seat near the Bosnian, but walking backwards, with his face towards the prince, according to the custom of the country. The prince waited to reseate himself, until the ambassador had sat down; then the different officers on duty who were in the apartment sat down on the floor; and the person who had introduced the ambassador went to seek for us his attendants, and placed us near the Bosnians.

In the meantime a silken napkin was attached to the prince, and a round piece of thin red leather was placed before him, for their usage is to eat only from table-coverings of leather; then some dressed meat was brought to him in two gilded dishes. When he was served, his officers went and took the tin dishes I have spoken of, and distributed them to the persons in the hall, one dish among four. There was in each a piece of mutton, and some clear rice, but neither bread nor any thing to drink. I saw, however, in a corner of the court a high buffet with shelves, which had some little plate on them, and at the foot was a large silver vase, in the shape of a drinking cup, which I perceived many to drink out of, but whether water or wine I know not. With regard to the meat on the dishes, some tasted of it, others not; but, before all were served, it was necessary to take away, for the prince had not been inclined to eat. He never takes any thing in public, and there are very few persons who can boast of having heard him speak, or of having seen him eat or drink. On his going away, the musicians, who were placed in the court near the buffet, began to play. They played on instruments, and sung songs that celebrated the heroic actions of Turkish warriors. When those in the gallery heard any

thing that pleased them, they shouted, after their manner, most horrid cries. Being ignorant on what they were playing, I went into the court, and saw they were stringed instruments, and of a large size. The musicians entered the apartment, and ate whatever they could find. At length the meat was taken away, when every one rose up, and the ambassador retired without having said a word respecting his embassy, which is never customary at a first audience. There is also another custom, that when an ambassador has been presented to the prince, this latter, until he shall have given him his answer, sends him wherewith to pay his daily expenses, and the sum is two hundred aspers. On the morrow, therefore, one of the officers of the treasury, the same who had conducted sir Benedict to the court, came to him with the above sum. Shortly after, the slaves who guarded the gate came for what is usually given them; they are, however, satisfied with a little.

On the third day, the bashaws let the ambassador know, they were ready to learn from him the subject of his embassy. He immediately went to the court, and I accompanied him; but the prince had closed his audience, and was just retired, and only the three bashaws, with the beguelar or governor of Greece, were now remaining. When we had passed the gate, we found these four seated on a piece of wood that happened to be outside of the gallery. They sent to desire the ambassador would come forward, and had a carpet placed on the ground before them, on which they made him seat himself, like to a criminal before his judge, notwithstanding there were present great numbers of people. He explained to them the object of his mission, which was, as I heard, to entreat their lord, on the part of the duke of Milan, to consent to yield up, to the Roman emperor Sigismond, Hungary, Wallachia, Bulgaria, as far as Sophia, Bosnia, and the part of Albania he now possessed, which was dependant on Slavonia. They replied they could not at that moment inform the prince of his request, as he was occupied; but that within ten days he should have his answer, if they should then have received it from him. There is likewise another custom; that from the time when an ambassador is announced as such, he can never speak with the prince personally. This regulation was made since the grandfather of the present prince was murdered by an ambassador from Servia. That envoy

had come to solicit from him some alleviation in favour of his countrymen, whom the prince wanted to reduce to slavery. In despair at not obtaining his object, he stabbed him, and was himself massacred the instant after*.

On the tenth day we went to the court to receive the answer. The prince was there, as at the first time, seated on his couch; but he had with him in the gallery only those that served his table. I saw neither buffet, minstrels, nor the lord of Bosnia, nor the Wallachians, but only Magnoly, brother to the duke of Cephalonia, whose manners to the prince were those of a respectful servant. Even the bashaws were without, and standing at a distance, as well as the greater part of the persons whom I had before seen in the interior, but their number was much lessened. During the time we were made to wait without, the chief cadi, with his assessors, administered justice at the outward gate of the palace, when I saw some foreign Christians come to plead their cause before him: but, when the prince rose up, the judges ended their sittings and retired to their homes. I saw the prince pass with his attendants to the great court, which I was unable to do the first time. He wore a robe of cloth of gold and green, somewhat rich, and he seemed to me to have a hasty step. When he had re-entered his apartments, the bashaws, seated as on the preceding day on the piece of wood,

* The grandfather of Amurath II. was Bajazet I., who died prisoner to Tamerlane, either treated with kindness by the conqueror, as some authors pretend, or confined in an iron cage, according to others. This story of the Servian cannot, therefore, regard him. But we find in the life of Amurath I., father to Bajazet, and, consequently, great-grandfather to Amurath II., a circumstance that may have been the foundation for this story of the assassination. This prince had just gained a complete victory over the despot of Servia, in which he was made prisoner, and was passing over the field of battle near to a Servian soldier, mortally wounded, who, knowing him, exerted his remaining strength and poniarded him. According to others, the despot, named Lazarus, or Eleazer Bulcowitz, finding himself attacked by Amurath, with an irresistible army, and seeing no other chance of opposing him but by treason, gains over one of the great lords of his court, who, feigning discontent, passes over to the party of the sultan, and assassinates him. (Ducange, 'Familie Bisant,' p. 334.) According to another account, Amurath was slain in the combat; and Lazarus, being made prisoner by the Turks, was hewed to pieces on the bleeding corpse of their master. It seems, from the recital of La Brocquière, that the account of the assassination by the Servian is the true one. This, at least, appears probable, from the precautions taken in subsequent times, at the Ottoman Porte, against foreign ambassadors; for, when they were introduced to the sultan, they were held by the sleeves of their coats.

sent for the ambassador. Their answer was that their master charged him to salute, in his name, his brother the duke of Milan; that he was very desirous of doing much for him, but that his present request was unreasonable; that from regard to him their prince had frequently abstained from pushing his conquests further in Hungary, which he might easily have done, and such a sacrifice ought to satisfy him; that it would be too hard for him to surrender all he had won by the sword; and that, in the present circumstances, he and his soldiers had no other theatre to occupy their courage besides the territories of the emperor, and that he should be the more unwilling to renounce them, because hitherto he had never met the emperor's forces without beating them, or putting them to flight, as was well known to all the world.

The ambassador, in fact, knew this personally, for, in the last defeat of Sigismond before Couloubath, he had witnessed his disaster: he had even, the night preceding the battle, quitted his camp, to wait on the Turk. In our conversations, he told me many particulars on this subject. I saw also two Genoese cross-bowmen, who related to me how the emperor and his army had repassed the Danube in his galleys.

The ambassador, having received his answer from the bashaws, returned to his lodgings; but he was scarcely arrived, when he received, on the part of the sultan, five thousand aspers, with a robe of crimson camocas lined with yellow calimanco. Thirty-six aspers are worth a Venetian ducat; but, of the five thousand aspers, the treasurer deducted ten per cent. as fees of office. I saw also, during my stay at Adrianople, a present of another sort, made likewise by the sultan to a bride on her wedding day. This bride was daughter to the Begler Bey, governor of Greece; and the daughter of one of the bashaws, attended by upwards of thirty other women, had been charged to offer it. Her dress was of crimson tissue and gold: her face was covered, according to custom, with a very rich veil ornamented with diamonds. The attendant ladies had magnificent veils, and their dresses were robes of crimson velvet, and robes of cloth of gold without fur. They were all on horseback, riding astride like men, and some of them had superb saddles. In front of the procession marched thirteen or fourteen horsemen, and two minstrels also on horseback, as well as other musicians carrying a trumpet, a very large drum, and about eight pairs of cymbals,

which altogether made a most abominable noise. After the musicians came the present, and then the ladies. This present consisted of seventy broad platters of tin loaded with different sorts of sweetmeats, wet and dry, and of twenty other platters having on them sheep skinned, painted red and white, and all had a silver ring suspended from the nose, and two others in the ears. I had an opportunity of seeing, while at Adrianople, numbers of Christians chained, who were brought thither for sale. They begged for alms in the street; but my heart bleeds when I think of the shocking hardships they suffer.

We left that town on the 12th of March, under the escort of a slave whom the sultan had ordered to accompany the ambassador. This man was of great utility to us on the road, more especially in regard to lodgings—for, wherever he demanded any thing for us, it was eagerly and instantly granted. Our first day's journey was through a beautiful country ascending the Mariza, which we crossed at a ferry; the second, though the roads were good, was employed in passing through woods. At length we entered Macedonia, between two mountains opening to an extensive plain, which may be forty miles wide, and is watered by the Mariza. I there met fifteen men and ten women chained by the neck, inhabitants of Bosnia, whom the Turks had just carried off in an excursion which they had made thither. Two Turks were leading them for sale to Adrianople.

Shortly after, we arrived at Philipopoli, the capital of Macedonia, and built by king Philip. It is situated in a plain on the Mariza, in an excellent country, where all sorts of provision are sold very cheap. It was formerly a considerable town, and indeed is so now. Within it are three mountains, two of which are at one of its extremities toward the southward, and the other in the centre. On this last had been constructed a large castle, in the form of a crescent, now destroyed. I was shown the situation of king Philip's palace, which has been demolished, but the walls still remain. Philipopoli is inhabited chiefly by Bulgarians, who follow the Greek ritual.

I crossed the Mariza by a bridge, on leaving Philipopoli, and rode a whole day over the plain I mentioned: it terminates at a mountain sixteen or twenty miles in length, covered with wood. This place was in former times infested by

robbers, and very dangerous to pass. The Turk has ordered that whoever inhabits these parts shall be free: in consequence, two villages have been erected and inhabited by Bulgarians, in one of which, situated on the confines of Bulgaria and Macedonia, I passed the night. Having crossed the mountain, we came to a plain six miles long by two broad—then to a forest sixteen miles in length—then to another great plain wholly shut in by mountains, well peopled with Bulgarians, and having a river running through it.

After three days' journey, I came at last to a town named Sophia, which had been very considerable, as may be judged from the ruins of its walls, now thrown down; but it is at present the best in Bulgaria. It has a small castle, and is situated near a mountain on the southward, and at the beginning of a great plain sixty miles long by ten wide. The inhabitants are chiefly Bulgarians, as in the adjacent villages. The Turks are few in number, which causes the others to feel the greatest desire to throw off their yoke, if they could find any to assist them. I saw some Turks return from an excursion to Hungary; and a Genoese, named Nicolas Ciba, told me he had also seen those who had crossed the Danube return, and that there was not one in ten that had both bow and sword: for my part, of those I saw there were many more that had neither bow nor sword than those who were armed with both. The best equipped had a small wooden target. In truth, we must confess that it is a great shame for Christendom to suffer itself to be subjugated by such a race, for they are much below what is thought of them.

On quitting Sophia I traversed fifty miles of the plain I spoke of. The country is well inhabited by Bulgarians of the Greek religion. I then passed through a mountainous country, tolerably good for travelling on horseback, and came to a little town in a plain on the Nissave, called Pirotte. It is uninclosed, but has a small castle, defended on one side by the river, on the other by a marsh: to the north is a mountain. It is inhabited by Turks only. Beyond Pirotte the country is again mountainous, when, after a circuit, we came again to the Nissave, which runs through a beautiful valley between two tolerably high hills. At the foot of one of them was the town of Ysvouriere, now totally destroyed, even to the walls. We followed the banks of the river through the valley, and came to another mountain, difficult to pass, al-

though cars and carts do go over it. We then arrived at an agreeable valley, still watered by the Nissave, which having crossed by a bridge, we entered Nissa. This town had a handsome castle that belonged to the despot of Servia. The Turk took it, five years ago, by storm, and entirely destroyed it. The situation is in a delightful country, abounding in rice. I continued to follow the river from Nissa, through a country equally pleasant, and well filled with villages. I at last crossed it at a ferry, and saw it no more. The mountains now commenced, and I had a long miry forest to pass, and, after ten days' journey from Adrianople, arrived at Corsebech*, a small town situated a mile distant from the Morava.

The Morava is a large river that runs from Bosnia, and divides Bulgaria from La Rascia, or Servia, a province which indifferently bears these two names, and which the Turk conquered six years ago. Corsebech had a small castle, now demolished: it has still a double wall, but the other parts, as far as the battlements, have been thrown down. I found there Cénasin Bey, captain or commandant of this vast frontier country, that extends from Wallachia as far as Slavonia. He resides part of the year in this town; and they told me he was originally a Greek, who did not drink wine like other Turks; that he was prudent and brave, and knew how to make himself feared and obeyed. The Turk has intrusted him with the government of this country, of which he possesses the greater part as his own property. He suffers no one to cross the river, unless they be known to him, or unless they be bearers of letters from his master, or, in his absence, from the governor of Greece. We saw there a beautiful woman, one of the Hungarian nobility, whose situation inspired us with pity. An Hungarian renegado, one of the lowest rank, had carried her off in an excursion, and treated her as his wife. On seeing us, she melted into tears, for she had not as yet renounced her religion.

On leaving Corsebech, we crossed the Morava by a ferry, and entered the territory of the despot of Servia, a fine and well-peopled country. All on this side the river belongs to him—the district on the other to the Turk; but the despot pays him an annual tribute of fifty thousand ducats. He possesses also, on this river, toward the common boundaries of

* Perhaps Kruzcevez, or Alagia Hisar.

Bulgaria, Sclavonia, Albania, and Bosnia, a town called Nyeu-berge, which has a mine producing gold and silver at the same time. Each year it pays him more than two hundred thousand ducats, as well-informed people assured me: without this, he would be soon driven out of his dominions.

I passed on my road near to the castle of Escalache, that belongs to him. It has been a strong place, on the point of a hill, at the foot of which the Nissave forms a junction with the Morava. Part of the walls, with a tower in the form of a dungeon, are all that remain.

At the mouth of these two rivers, the Turk usually keeps from eighty to a hundred galleys, galliots, and rafts, to convey over his cavalry and army in time of war. I could not see them, as no Christian is allowed to approach them; but a man, worthy of belief, informed me there was a body of three hundred men always posted there to guard them, and that they are relieved every two months. The distance from Escalache to the Danube is one hundred miles: nevertheless, in all this distance, there does not subsist any fort, or place of defence, but a village, and a house erected by Cénasnin-Bey on the declivity of a mountain, with a mosque. I followed the course of the Morava, and with the exception of a very miry pass, that continues about a mile, caused by a mountain pressing too close on the river, I had a good road through a pleasant well-peopled country. It was not the same the second day, for I had mountains, wood, and much mud to travel through. The country, notwithstanding, was as fine as a mountainous country can be. It is full of villages, and all your wants may be there supplied.

From the time we had entered Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Servia, I found on our passage that the Turk every where caused proclamation to be made that whoever was bound to join the army should hold himself in readiness to march. They told us that those who, in obedience to this duty, fed a horse, were exempted from the tax of the comarch; that such Christians as were desirous of being excused from serving pay fifty aspers a head; and that some are forced to join the army, but only when it requires reinforcements. I learnt also, at the court of the despot, that the Turk has divided the guard and defence of these frontier provinces among three captains; one, called Dysem Bey, has the district from the confines of Wallachia to the Black Sea; Cénasnin Bey

commands from Wallachia to the borders of Bosnia; and Isaac Bey from these frontiers as far as Sclavonia, that is to say, all beyond the Morava.

To continue the account of my journey, I shall say that I came to a town, or rather a country house, called Nicodem. It is here the despot has fixed his residence because the soil is good, and there are woods and rivers aboundinh with every thing needful for the pleasures of the chase and gawking, of which he is very fond. He was out hawking by the river side, attended by fifty horse, three of his children, and a Turk, who had been sent by the sultan to summon him to send his contingent to the army, under the escort of one of his sons. Independently of his tribute, this is one of the conditions imposed upon him. Every time the sultan sends him his orders, he is obliged to furnish him with eight hundred or a thousand horse, under the command of his second son. He gave the sultan one of his daughters in marriage; nevertheless, there passes not a day that he does not fear being deprived of his dominions. I have even heard say, that some wished to inspire the sultan with this idea, but that he answered, "I draw more from them now than if they were my own, for in this case I should be obliged to give them to one of my slaves, and should not receive any thing." The troops he is now raising are said to be intended against Albania. Ten thousand have already marched thither, which was the reason he had so few with him when I saw him at Lessère; but this first army had been destroyed*.

The prince of Servia is a tall, handsome man, from fifty-eight to sixty years old; he has five children, three boys and two girls†. Of the boys, one is twenty years, another sixteen, and the third fourteen; and all three, like their father, have very agreeable countenances. In respect to the girls, one is married to the sultan, another to the count de Seil; but as I have not seen them I cannot describe them. When we met him hawking, the ambassador and myself took him by

* It was in fact this same year, 1493, that the renowned Scanderbeg having, by a stratagem, regained possession of Albania, of which his ancestors were the sovereigns, commenced that sagacious war against Amurath, which covered him with glory, and tarnished the last years of the sultan.

† This prince was named George Brancovitz or Wkovitz. Some account of him and his family is to be found in Ducange. ('Familie Bisant,' page 336.)

the hand, which I kissed, for such is the custom. On the morrow, we went to pay him our respects. He had a tolerably numerous court, composed of very handsome men, who wore the beard and hair long, as they are of the Greek church. There were in the town a bishop, and a doctor in theology, on their road to Constantinople, sent as ambassadors to the emperor, by the holy council of Basil*.

I had employed two days in going from Corsebech to Nicodem, and from Nicodem to Belgrade half a day. There is nothing but forests, mountains, and valleys to this town, but the valleys are crowded with villages, in which provision and good wines are met with.

Belgrade is in Servia, and did belong to the despot; but four years ago he ceded it to the king of Hungary, for fear lest he should suffer it to be taken by the Turk, as he had done Coulumbach. This was a heavy loss to Christendom. The other would be still greater, because the place is stronger, and can contain from five to six thousand horse†. Its walls are washed on one side by a large river that comes from Bosnia, called the Save; and on the other it has a castle, near to which runs the Danube, and into this the Save flows. The town is built on the point formed by these two rivers. Within its walls the ground rises; but on the land side it is so flat that any one may march into the ditch. There is, however, a village on this side that extends from the Save to the Danube, and surrounds the town to the distance of a bow-shot. This village is inhabited by Servians, and on Easter-day I heard mass there in the Slavonic tongue. It is under obedience to the church of Rome, and its ceremonies are nothing different from ours.

The place is strong from its situation, and by art, having

* This *holy* council concluded its sittings by citing to its tribunal, and deposing the pope, whilst the pope commanded it to dissolve itself, and convoked another at Ferrara. At Florence he had undertaken to form a union of the Greek and Latin churches, and with this design had sent the ambassadors to the emperor. He came actually to Italy, and signed at Florence that political and simulated union before mentioned.

† The reader may perhaps be surprised that our author, when he speaks of the garrison of any strong place, particularizes only cavalry; and that, when he mentions the contingent sent by the despot to the Turkish army, he specifies but horse. The reason is, that, when he wrote, Europe paid no attention but to cavalry; and the infantry, badly armed, formed, and equipped, was not considered of any consequence.

ditches *en glacis*, a double wall, well kept in repair, that follows exactly the rise and fall of the ground. It has also five forts, three on the elevated ground I spoke of, and two on the river, but these last are commanded by the preceding ones. It has likewise a small harbour, that may hold from fifteen to twenty galleys, defended by towers constructed at each extremity. It is shut up by a chain from one tower to the other, at least so it was told me, for the two shores are so distant I could not see it. I saw on the Save six galleys and five galliots, near to the weakest of the five forts. In this are many Servians, but they are not permitted to enter the other forts. The whole five are well furnished with artillery. I particularly noticed three cannons of brass*; two of them were formed of two pieces, and one of such a size, I never before saw the like. Its mouth was forty-two inches in diameter, but it seemed short for its thickness†. The commandant of the place was Sir Mathico, a knight of Arragon, and he had for his lieutenant his own brother, styled my lord brother.

The Turk is in possession of the castle of Coulumbach, on the Danube, two days' journey below Belgrade. He seized it from the despot, and it is, as they say, a strong place, but easily attacked with artillery, and all succour may be cut off from it, which is a great disadvantage. He there keeps a hundred light galleys having sixteen or eighteen oars on a side, to pass over to Hungary at his pleasure. The governor of this place is Cénasnin Bey, before spoken of.

On the Danube, but in Hungary, and opposite to Belgrade, the despot has a town and castle that were given him by the emperor‡; with several others, that afford him an income of

* From our author thus noticing the brass cannon, it should seem they were still rare in his time, and looked on as wonders. Louis XI. had a dozen cast, and gave them the names of the twelve peers of France.

† It was then the fashion to make pieces of artillery of an enormous size. Mohammed II., at the siege of Constantinople, employed cannon cast on the spot that threw, as they say, balls of two hundredweight. Monstrelet speaks of a gun that Louis XI. had cast at Tours, and carried afterwards to Paris, that flung balls of five hundred pounds. In 1717, prince Eugene, after his victory over the Turks, found in Belgrade a cannon twenty-five feet long, that shot balls of one hundred and ten pounds, whose charge was fifty-two pounds of powder. It was also then customary to make the balls of marble or stone, worked to fit the mouths of different cannons.

‡ Sigismund, king of Bohemia and Hungary. It is pretended that Sigismund gave them in exchange for Belgrade.

fifty thousand ducats, on condition of his becoming his liege man, but he obeys the Turk more than the emperor.

Two days after my arrival at Belgrade I saw twenty-five men, armed after the manner of the country, enter the town, whom count Mathico the governor had sent for to remain in garrison. They told me they were Germans, although they had Servians and Hungarians so near at hand; but they said the Servians were subjects and tributaries to the Turk: of course they could not trust them; and, as for the Hungarians, they were so much afraid of him, that should he appear they would not dare to defend it, however great its strength. They were obliged therefore to call in strangers, and this measure became the more necessary from its being the only place in the possession of the emperor to enable him to pass and repass the Danube, in case of need. This conversation greatly astonished me, and caused me to make some reflections on the strange subjection in which the Turk keeps Macedonia, Bulgaria, the emperor of Constantinople, the Greeks, the despot of Servia, and his subjects. Such a dependence appeared to me a lamentable thing for Christendom; and, as I lived with the Turks, and became acquainted with their manner of living and fighting, and have frequented the company of sensible persons who have observed them narrowly in their great enterprises, I am emboldened to write something concerning them, according to the best of my abilities, under correction, however, from those better informed, and to show how it may be possible to reconquer the territories they have gained possession of, and to beat them in the field of battle. I shall begin with what regards their persons, and say they are a tolerably handsome race, with long beards, but of moderate size and strength. I know well that it is a common expression to say as strong as a Turk; nevertheless, I have seen an infinity of Christians, when strength was necessary, excel them, and I myself, who am not of the strongest make, have, when circumstances required labour, found very many weaker than me.

They are diligent, willingly rise early, and live on little, being satisfied with bread badly baked, raw flesh dried in the sun, milk curdled or not, honey, cheese, grapes, fruit, herbs, and even a handful of flour, with which they make a potage sufficient to feed six or eight for a day. Should they have a horse or camel sick without hopes of recovery, they cut its

throat and eat it. I have witnessed this many and many a time. They are indifferent where they sleep, and lie on the ground. Their dress consists of two or three robes of cotton, thrown one over the other, which fall to their feet. Over these again they wear another of felt, in the manner of a mantle, called a capinat. This, though light, resists rain, and there are some very fine and handsome. Their boots come up to the knees, and they have large drawers, some of crimson velvet, others of silk or fustian and common stuffs. In war, or when travelling, to avoid being embarrassed by their robes, they tuck the ends into their drawers, by which they can move with greater freedom.

Their horses are good, cost little in food, gallop well and for a long time. They keep them very poor, never feeding them but at night, and then only giving them five or six handfuls of barley and double the quantity of chopped straw, the whole put into a bag which hangs from their ears. At break of day, they bridle, clean and curry them, but never allow them to drink before mid-day, then in the afternoon every time that they find water, and in the evening when they lodge or encamp; for they always halt early, and near a river if possible. This last time they leave them bridled for an hour like mules, and then, at a fixed moment, each gives his horse provender. During the night-time, they cover them with felt or other stuffs, and I have seen such coverings very handsome; they have the like also for their hounds, in which they are curious and have a good breed, although with long hanging ears and tufted tails, which, however they carry well. All their horses are geldings; they keep some others for stallions, but so few, that I have never seen a single one. They saddle and bridle them *à la genette*. Their saddles are commonly very rich, but hollow, having pummels before and behind, with short stirrup leathers and wide stirrups.

With regard to their accoutrements and dresses for war, I had twice an opportunity of seeing them, on the occasions of Greek renegadoes, who, renouncing their own, had embraced the Mohammedan religion. The Turks celebrate these events with much festivity. They dress themselves in their best arms, and traverse the town with as numerous a procession as possible. On these occasions I have seen them wear very handsome coats of armour like to ours, except that the links

of the mail were smaller; the vambraces were the same. In one word, they resemble those pictures that represent figures of the time of Julius Cæsar. Their armour descends almost half way down the thigh, but a piece of silken stuff is attached circularly to the bottom of it, that falls down to the calf of the leg. On their head they wear a round white cap, half a foot high, terminated in a point. It is ornamented with plates of iron on all sides, to ward off from the face, neck, and cheeks, blows of the sword, and is like the helmets in France, called *salades**. Beside this head-piece, they usually wear another over it, namely, a bonnet of iron wire. There are some of these so rich and handsome, that they cost from forty to fifty ducats, whereas the first are bought for one or two; although not so strong as the others, they resist the cut of a sword. I have spoken of their saddles, in which they sit as in an arm-chair, deep sunk in them, their knees very high, and with short stirrups, a position in which they cannot support the smallest blow from a lance without being unhorsed. The arms of those who have any fortune are a bow, a *tarquais*, a sword, a heavy mace with a short handle, the thick end of which is cut into many angles. This is a dangerous weapon when struck on the shoulders, or on an unguarded arm. I am convinced that a blow given with it on a head armed with a *salade* would stun a man. Several have small wooden bucklers, with which they cover themselves well on horseback when they draw the bow. I have been assured of this by those who have long used them, as well as from having seen it myself.

Their obedience to superiors is boundless. None dare disobey, even when their lives are at hazard; and it is chiefly owing to this steady submission that such great exploits have been performed, and such vast conquests gained, as render them masters of a more extensive and considerable country than all France. I have been assured that, whenever the Christian powers have taken up arms against them, they have always had timely information of it. In this case the sultan has their march watched by men assigned to this purpose, and he lays wait for them with his army two or three days' march from the spot where he proposes to fight them. Should he think the opportunity favourable, he falls suddenly on them;

* A sort of light casque then in use, which, not having vizor nor throat piece, had need of projecting plates of iron to guard the face.

and for these occasions they have a particular kind of march, beaten on a large drum. When this signal is given, those who are to lead march quietly off, followed by the others with the same silence, without the file ever being interrupted, from the horses and men being trained to this purpose. Ten thousand Turks, on such an occasion, will make less noise than one hundred men in the Christian armies. In their ordinary marches they only walk, but in these they always gallop; and as they are beside lightly armed, they will thus advance further, from evening to day-break, than in three other days; and this is the reason why they cannot wear such complete armour as the French and Italians. They choose, also, no horses but such as walk fast, and gallop for a long time, while we select only those that gallop well and with ease. It is by these forced marches that they have succeeded in surprising and completely defeating the Christians in their different wars. It is thus they conquered Duke John, whose soul may God pardon*! and, again, the emperor Sigismond, so recently before Coulumbach, where Sir Advis, a Polish knight, perished. Their manner of fighting varies according to circumstances. When they find a favourable opportunity for it, they divide themselves into different troops, and thus attack many parts of an army at once. This mode is particularly used when they are among woods or mountains, from the great facility they have of uniting together again. At other times they form ambuscades, and send out scouts well mounted to observe the enemy. If their report be that he is not on his guard, they instantly form their plan and take advantage of the circumstance. Should they find the army well drawn up, they curvet round it within bow-shot, and, while thus prancing, shoot at the men and horses, and continue this manœuvre so long, that they at last throw it into disorder. If the army

* John, count of Nevers, surnamed *sans peur*, and son to Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy. Sigismond having formed a league to check the conquests of Bajazet, Charles VI. sent him a body of troops, in which were two thousand gentlemen, under the command of the count of Nevers. The Christian army was defeated at Nicopolis in 1396, and the French slain or made prisoners. See further particulars in Froissart. When Jean succeeded his father, as duke of Burgundy, he caused the duke of Orleans, brother to the king of France, to be assassinated. He was murdered in his turn by Tannegui du Châtel, an ancient servant of the duke of Orleans. These facts prove that La Brocquière was in the right, when speaking of John, to pray that God would pardon him.

attempt to pursue them, they fly, and disperse each separately, even should only a fourth part of their own number be ordered against them; but it is in their flight that they are formidable, and it has been almost always then that they have defeated the Christians. In flying they have the adroitness to shoot their arrows so very true that they scarcely ever fail to hit man or horse. Each cavalier has also on the pommel of his saddle a tabolcan. When the chief, or any of his officers, perceives the enemy who pursues to be in disorder, he gives three strokes on this instrument; the others, on hearing it, do the same, and they are instantly formed round their chief like so many hogs round the old one; and then, according to circumstances, they either receive the charge of the assailants, or fall on them by troops, and attack them in different places at the same time. In pitched battles they employ another stratagem, which consists in throwing fire-works among the cavalry to frighten the horses. They often post in their front a great body of dromedaries and camels, which are bold and vicious; these they drive before them on the enemy's line of horse, and throw it into confusion.

Such are the modes of fighting the Turks have hitherto adopted against the Christians. I would not, most assuredly, wrong or depreciate them; for I must own that I have always found them, in my different connections, frank and loyal, and when it was necessary to show courage they have never failed to do so; but I am not the less convinced that it would be no difficult matter for troops, well mounted and well commanded, to defeat them: and, in regard to myself, I declare that, with one-half of their numbers, I should never hesitate to attack them. Their armies, I know, commonly consist of two hundred thousand men; but the greater part are on foot, and destitute, as I before said, of tarquais, helmets, mallets, or sword; few, indeed, being completely armed. They have, besides, among them a great number of Christians, who serve through force, Greeks, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Albanians, Sclavonians, Wallachians, Servians, and other subjects of the despots of that country. All these people detest the Turk, because he holds them in a severe captivity; and should they see the Christians march in force against him, and above all the French, I have not the smallest doubt but they would turn against him and do him great mischief.

The Turks are not, therefore, so terribly formidable as I

have heard say. I own, however, that it will be necessary, if any attempt be made against them, to have a general well obeyed by his troops, and who would particularly listen to the advice of those acquainted with their mode of warfare. This was the fault, as I am informed, of the emperor Sigismond, when he was defeated by them at Coulumbach. Had he attended to the advice given him, he would not have been forced to raise the siege, since he had from twenty-five to thirty thousand Hungarians. Did not two hundred Genoese and Lombardy cross-bows alone check the enemy, overawe them, and cover his retreat, while he embarked on board the galleys that he had on the Danube; while six thousand Wallachians, under the Polish knight before mentioned, having separated and posted themselves on a small eminence, were all cut to pieces?

I speak nothing here but what I have seen myself, or heard from undoubted authority; therefore, in case any Christian prince or general may wish to attempt the conquest of Turkey in Europe, or even to penetrate further, I think I am able to give much information on this subject. I shall, however, speak according to my abilities; and, should any thing escape me that may be displeasing to some of my readers, I beg they will excuse it, and pass it by, as if I had said nothing.

The monarch who should form such a project ought at first to propose to himself for his object, not glory and renown, but God, religion, and the salvation of so many souls that are in the road to perdition. He must be well assured, beforehand, that the regular payment of his troops is provided for, and that he carries with him none but such as have a fair reputation, with a good will for the purpose, and, above all, that they be not pillagers. With regard to the payment of them, I think it should depend on the holy father to see that it be regularly made; but, until the moment when the army enters the Turkish territory, there should be made a strict law that no one take any thing without paying for it. No person likes to see his property stolen; and I have heard that those who have been guilty of such things have not found themselves the better for it. I, however, refer these things to the prince and the lords of his council; I shall confine myself to speak of the sort of troops I think proper for such an attempt, and whom, if I had the choice, I should like to accompany.

I would, in the first place, select from France men at arms,

archers, and cross-bows, in as great numbers as possible and of the sort mentioned above. Secondly, from England, a thousand men at arms and ten thousand archers. Thirdly, from Germany, the greatest number possible of gentlemen, with their cross-bowmen on horse and foot. Collect together from fifteen to twenty thousand archers and cross-bows of these three nations, adding thereto from two to three hundred light troops; and I will ask from God the grace to march with them, and engage they shall advance without difficulty from Belgrade to Constantinople. They will require but light armour, as I have before observed that the Turkish bow has no great strength. When near, their archers shoot true and quick; but they do not shoot nearly so far as we do. Their bows are thick and short, and their arrows thin and of no length; their iron heads are stuck into the wood, which cannot bear a great blow nor make a deep wound, even on an unarmed place. From this it will be seen slight armour only is wanted for the troops, that is to say, light greaves for the legs and thighs, thin plate armour for the body, with helmets having light vizor-pieces. A Turkish arrow would perhaps pierce a light coat of mail, but would be turned aside by plate-armour, however thin. I shall add that, in case of necessity, our archers can make use of the arrows of the Turks; but that they cannot do the same with ours, because the notch is not sufficiently wide, and the strings of their bows, being made of sinews, are too thick.

According to my opinion, our cavalry should be armed with light, sharp-headed lances, and with strong, well-tempered swords. It may be also advantageous to have small battle-axes on the wrist. The infantry should have double-headed battle-axes, and a long and sharp spear, both having their hands defended with gauntlets. With regard to this last article, I own I have seen some in Germany, made of boiled leather, that I consider as effectual as those of iron.

When the army shall come to an open plain, where a combat may be fought with advantage, it should be done; but then the whole should be formed into one body; the van and rear guards should be employed on the wings. The pikemen to be intermixed in the line, unless it should be preferred to post them otherwise to skirmish; but the general will be careful not thus to post the men at arms. In front of the line, and on the wings, the light troops will be scattered; and

every one must be strictly forbidden, under pain of death, to pursue the runaways.

It is the policy of the Turks to have their armies twice as numerous as those of the Christians. This superiority of numbers augments their courage, and allows them to form different corps, and to make their attack on various parts at the same time. Should they once force an opening, they rush through in incredible crowds, and it is then a miracle if all be not lost. To prevent this misfortune, the light troops should be numerous posted on the angles of the line of battle, and, by this means, keep it compact, so as not to suffer it to be broken. This manœuvre seems to me to be the more easily executed from these light troops not being sufficiently armed to form a column capable, by its weight, of any great impulsion. The Turkish lances are worth nothing; their archers are the best troops they have, and these do not shoot so strong nor so far as ours do. They have a more numerous cavalry; and their horses, though inferior in strength to ours, and incapable of bearing such heavy weights, gallop better, and skirmish for a longer time without losing their wind. This is an additional reason for the army always keeping in a close and good order. When this method is constantly followed, they will be forced to combat disadvantageously, and, consequently, to risk every thing or retreat before the army. Should this last be the case, the cavalry must be sent in pursuit; but it must always march in good order, and be ever ready to fight and receive them well should they turn about. With such conduct it is no way doubtful but they must always be defeated; and if a contrary one be followed they will beat us, as has ever happened.

I may, perhaps, be told that it would be disgraceful thus to remain on the defensive when in presence of the enemy; and that, living as they do on little, they would starve us, unless we quitted our intrenchment to fight with them. I shall answer that it is not customary for them to remain long in one place; that to-day they are at this place, to-morrow a day and a half's march off; they reappear again as suddenly as they disappeared; and that, if an army be not continually on its guard, it will run great risks. The important point is, to be ever on the watch from the moment they appear in sight, and ready to mount for the combat. Should there be any difficult passage on the line of march, as many men at arms

and archers must be sent thither as the situation will allow for a combat, and they must be continually in order of battle until the whole be passed. No foragers must ever be sent out, for they would be as so many lost men; and besides they would find nothing abroad, for in war-time the Turks transport every thing into towns.

With all these precautions the conquest of Turkey in Europe would not be a difficult enterprise, provided—I repeat it—that the army be kept in one body, never divided, and no detachments ever sent after the enemy. Should I be asked how I would secure provision, I answer that Turkey and Servia have navigable rivers, and Bulgaria, Macedonia, and the Greek provinces are fertile. The army advancing always thus in a mass, the Turks would be forced to retreat; and they must of necessity choose one of two extremities, as I have before said; either to re-cross into Asia, and abandon their properties, their wives, and their children, since the country is, as may be seen from my description of it, defenceless, or risk a battle, as they have always done, when they have passed the Danube. I conclude, therefore, that with good troops, composed from the three nations I have named, French, English, and Germans, success would be certain; and that, if they were sufficiently numerous, well united, and commanded, they might march to Jerusalem. But I shall now return to my travels.

I crossed the Danube at Belgrade. It was at this moment exceedingly swollen, and may have been twelve miles broad. Never in the memory of man had such a flood been seen. Being unable to travel to Buda by the direct road, I went to a village called Pensey. On leaving Pensey, I came to the most level plain I ever saw, and, after being ferried over a river, arrived at the town of Beurquerel, which belongs to the despot of Servia, and where I crossed two other rivers by a bridge. From Beurquerel I came to Verchet, belonging also to the despot; there I crossed the Theis, a wide and deep river, and at length I arrived at Zegedin, situated upon it. In the whole length of this road, with the exception of two small woods inclosed by a rivulet, I did not see a single tree. The natives use, for firing, straw or reeds, collected from the banks of rivers, or from their numerous marshes. They eat, instead of bread, soft cakes; but they have not much food.

Zegedin is a large country town, of a single street, that seems

about a league in length. It is in a fertile country, abounding with all sorts of provision. Many cranes and bustards are taken here, and I saw the market-place full of them; but they dress and eat them in a filthy manner. The Theis abounds in fish, and I have nowhere seen a river that produces such large ones. Many wild horses are brought thither for sale, and their manner of conquering and taming them is curious. I have been told that, should any one want three or four thousand, they could be procured within the town; and they are so cheap that a very good road horse may be bought for ten Hungarian florins. The emperor, as I heard, had given Zegedin to a bishop. I saw this bishop, and he seemed a man of a broad conscience. The Cordelier friars have a handsome church in this town, where I heard service; but it was performed a little after the Hungarian mode.

From Zegedin I came to Pest, a tolerably good country town on the Danube, opposite to Buda. The country, from one town to the other, was good and level, and full of immense herds of horses, that live wild on these plains like savage animals; and hence the numbers seen at the markets of Zegedin. I crossed the Danube at Pest, and entered Buda seven days after my departure from Belgrade. Buda is the capital of Hungary, situated on an eminence, and longer than it is broad. To the east is the Danube, to the west a valley, to the south a palace, which commands the gate of the town. It was begun by the present emperor, and, when he shall have finished it, will be extensive and strong. On this side, but without the walls, are very handsome hot baths. There are also others along the banks of the Danube to the eastward; but these are not so good as the preceding ones. The town is governed by Germans, as well in respect to police as commerce, and what regards the different professions. Many Jews live there who speak French well, several of them being descendants of those driven formerly from France. I found, also, there a merchant from Arras, called Clays Davion. He was one of those whom the emperor Sigismond had brought from France, to establish manufactories in his country. Clays was a tapestry weaver*.

* Sigismond, in his travels to France, had visited the manufactories, and particularly those of Flanders, at that time famous for its tapestries. He wished to establish similar ones in his capital of Hungary, and for this effect had engaged different workmen to follow him.

The environs of Buda are agreeable, and its territory fertile in all sorts of provision, especially in white wines; but they are somewhat fiery, which is attributed to the adjacent hot springs, and to the sulphur they emit. One league from the town is the body of St. Paul the hermit, which is in a perfect state of preservation.

I returned to Pest, where I also found six or eight French families, whom the emperor had sent thither to construct on the Danube, and opposite to his palace, a large tower. His intentions were to shut up the river with a chain, extending from it; and I should suppose he wanted to imitate what had been done from the town of Burgundy, that fronts the fort of L'Ecluse; but I do not believe it is practicable here, for the river is too broad. I had the curiosity to visit the tower, which is about the length of three lances high, and round about were quantities of hewn stone; but it had remained some time in this state, because the masons who had begun the work were dead, and those that had survived them were said not to have knowledge enough to continue it. Pest is inhabited by many horse-dealers; and, whoever may want two thousand good horses, they can furnish the quantity. They sell them by stables full, containing ten horses; and their price for each stable is two hundred florins. I looked into several, where two or three horses alone were worth that price. They come for the most part from the mountains of Transylvania, which bound Hungary to the eastward. I purchased one that galloped well, as indeed they almost all do. The country is excellent for breeding them, from the quantity of grass it produces; but they have the fault of being a little headstrong, and particularly difficult to shoe; so that I have sometimes seen them obliged to be cast on the ground to be shod.

The mountains just spoken of contain mines of gold and salt, each of which pay annually to the king one hundred Hungarian florins. He had given up that of gold to the lord of Prussia and to count Mathico, on condition that the first would guard the frontier against the Turk, and the second Belgrade. The queen had reserved to her own use the revenue from salt. The salt is beautiful. It is cut out of a rock like freestone, into pieces of about a foot long, squared, but a little convex on the upper side. Whoever should see them in a cart would take them for stone. It is afterwards

pounded in a mortar, and turns out tolerably white, but finer and better than any I have elsewhere tasted.

In my road through Hungary I have frequently met wagons with six, seven, or eight persons in them, and drawn by only a single horse; for it is customary with them, when they make long journeys, to use only one. They universally have the hind wheels higher than the fore wheels. There are some covered in their country manner, which are very handsome, and so light that, including wheels, it seemed that a man could carry one of them suspended to his neck. As the country is perfectly smooth and level, there is nothing to prevent the horse from being always on the trot. It is from this great evenness of the ground that, when they plough, they draw furrows of an extraordinary length. Until I came to Pest I had no servant; but there I treated myself with one, and took one of those French masons into my service whom I found at Pest. He was from Brai-sur-Somme.

On my return to Buda I accompanied the Milanese ambassador to pay our compliments to the grand count of Hungary, a title which answers to that of lieutenant of the emperor. The grand count received me with much distinction, because, from my dress, he took me for a Turk; but, when he learnt I was a Christian, he was somewhat colder. I was told that he was a man whose conversation was little to be depended on, and that no great trust must be placed in his promises. This is somewhat generally the reproach made of the Hungarians; and, for my own part, I own that, after the idea given me of them by my acquaintance, I should have less confidence in an Hungarian than in a Turk. The grand count is an old man. It was he, as I heard, who formerly arrested Sigismond, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and afterwards emperor, and threw him into prison, whence he afterwards released him by an amicable agreement. His son was just married to a beautiful Hungarian lady. I saw him at a tournament after their manner, when the combatants were mounted on small horses and low saddles. They were gallantly dressed, and had strong and short lances. It was a pleasing spectacle. Whenever the two champions hit, both perhaps, but certainly one of them, must be unhorsed; and it is then seen who has the firmest seat*.

* The knights in France were mounted for tournaments or battle on large strong horses, called "palefrois." Their saddles were high-piqued before

When they tilt for golden wands, all the horses are of the same size, all the saddles of the same form; and they are drawn for by lot, and the jousts are taken by pairs. Should one of two adversaries fall, the victor is obliged to retire, and is not permitted to tilt again.

I had never quitted the company of the Milanese ambassador until we came to Buda; but he had told me on the road that we must there separate, that he might continue his route to Milan. Soon after my return to Buda I called, in consequence, on Clays Davion, who gave me a letter of recommendation to a merchant of his acquaintance at Vienna. As I had fully opened myself to him, not thinking it right to make a secret of my rank, my name, or the country I had come from, or the honour I had of belonging to my lord duke of Burgundy, he had inserted all this in his letter, and I profited from it.

From Buda I came to Thiat, a country town, where the king is said to be fond of residing; then to Janiz, in German, "Jane,"* a town on the Danube. I afterwards passed by another town, built on an island in that river, which had been given by the emperor to one of the dependants of the duke of Burgundy, whom I believe to be Sir Renier Pot. I also passed through Brut†, situated on a river that divides the kingdom of Hungary from the duchy of Austria. The river runs through a marsh, where a long and narrow causeway has been constructed. This is an important place; and I am convinced that a small body of men could effectually defend it on the Austrian side.

Two leagues further the ambassador took leave of me, and followed another road to return to the duke of Milan, his lord. I took that leading to Vienna, where I arrived after five days' journey. On my entering the town no one would lodge me, supposing I was a Turk. At last, by accident, some one pointed out to me an inn, where I was received. Fortunately my servant, whom I had hired at Pest, knew the Hungarian and high German languages. He desired that the merchant to whom I had a letter might be sent for. On seeking him

and behind, which afforded them the greater means of resisting the shock of the lance than the small horses and low saddles of the Hungarians; and this is the reason our author says that, in the tilts of the Hungarians, it may be easily seen which knight has the best seat on his horse.

* Jane, perhaps Gen.

† Bruck?

he came, and not only offered me every service in his power, but went to inform my lord duke Albert*, cousin-german to my lord, of my arrival, who instantly despatched to me a pour-suivant-at-arms, and shortly after Sir Albrech de Potadorf. Not two hours after my arrival I saw Sir Albrech dismount at the gate of my inn, and, hearing him ask for me, I thought myself undone. A little before my departure for the Holy Land, I, with some others, had arrested him between Flanders and Brabant, because we thought him a subject of Frederic of Austria†, who had challenged my lord; and I now doubted not but that he was come, in his turn, to arrest me, and perhaps do worse. He told me, however, that his lord, duke Albert, having learned that I was attached to the duke of Burgundy, had sent him to me to offer, on his part, every service that was in his power; that he desired me to ask whatever I might want as boldly from him as from my own lord; for that he wished to treat his servants in the same manner as he would his own. Sir Albrech then spoke for himself. He presented me with money, and offered me horses or any thing else. In short, he rendered me good for evil; although, after all, I had not done any thing to him but what honour permitted and even obliged me to do.

Two days after duke Albert sent to say he wished to speak with me; and Sir Albrech again came to conduct me to him. I presented myself to him the moment he came from mass, attended by eight or ten old knights of a respectable appearance. Scarcely had I made my reverence when he took me by the hand, and would not suffer me to speak to him on my knees. He asked many questions, particularly about my lord, which induced me to think he had a great affection for him.

He was of a tolerably good size, brown complexion, good-humoured, affable, valiant, and generous, and was said to possess every good quality. Among the persons who accompanied him were some lords from Bohemia, whom the Hussites had expelled from that country because they would not be of their religion. At the same time a great lord of that country, called Paanepot, was presented to him, who had come with several others, on the part of the Hussites, to treat with him and establish peace. These last proposed to march to the

* Albert II., duke of Austria, emperor after the death of Sigismond.

† Frederic, duke of Austria, succeeded Albert II. as emperor.

assistance of the king of Poland, against the lords of Prussia, and made, as I heard, great offers to duke Albert, if he would second them; but he replied, according to my information, that, until they submitted themselves to the religion of Jesus Christ, he would never make truce nor peace with them as long as he should live. In fact, at this very time, he had twice beaten them in battle; had conquered from them all Moravia; and, by his conduct and valour, had aggrandized himself at their expense.

On quitting his presence, I was conducted to that of the duchess, a tall, handsome woman, daughter to the emperor, and heiress, after him, to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia and their dependencies. She had just been brought to bed of a daughter, which had occasioned festivals and tournaments, that were the more numerous attended because, hitherto, she had not had any children.

On the morrow the duke sent Sir Albrecht to invite me to dinner, and made me sit at his table with an Hungarian lord and another, an Austrian. All his attendants are on board wages, and no one dines with him unless invited by the master of his household. The table was square; and the custom is, for one dish to be brought at a time, and for him who is nearest to eat of it, which supplies the place of a taster*. Fish and flesh were served; and, above all, a quantity of meat, strongly seasoned, but always dish by dish. After the dinner I was carried to see the dancing in the apartments of the duchess. She gave me a bonnet of gold thread and silk, a ring, and a diamond to wear on my head, according to the fashion of the country. There were present many nobles of each sex; and I saw there some very handsome women, with the finest heads of hair that can be conceived. When I had remained in these apartments some time, a gentleman named Payer, who, though but a squire, was a chamberlain and keeper of the jewels of the duke of Austria, came, by his orders, to show them to me. I saw the crown of Bohemia, which has some very fine diamonds, and the largest ruby I ever saw. It seemed bigger than a full-sized date; but it is not clear, and there are some cavities toward the bottom that show a few black spots. The keeper

* Formerly there was, at the tables of sovereigns, an officer to taste every dish before it was put on the table. This precaution had originally been taken against poison.

then carried me to see the *wague-bonnes**, which the duke of Austria had constructed to combat the Bohemians. I perceived none that could hold more than twenty men; but he assured me there was one that would contain three hundred, and did not require more than eighteen horses to draw it.

I met at this court the lord de Valse, a gallant knight, and the greatest baron in Austria after the duke. I saw there, also, Sir Jacques Troussel, a handsome Swabian knight; but there was another, named Le Chant, hereditary cup-bearer to the emperor, who having lost his brother and many friends at the battle of Bar, and hearing that I belonged to my lord of Burgundy, caused me to be watched, to know the day of my departure, that he might seize me as I was travelling through Bavaria. Luckily for me, the duke of Austria was informed of his intentions, and sent him away, making me stay longer at Vienna than I intended, to wait for the departure of the lord de Valse and Sir Jacques Troussel, that I might accompany them.

During my stay I witnessed three of the tournaments I mentioned, with small horses and low saddles. One took place at court, the others in the streets; but at the last several were unhorsed so heavily that they were dangerously wounded.

The duke of Austria made me, in private, offers of money. I received similar offers from Sir Albert and Sir Robert Daurestoff, a great lord in Austria, who, the preceding year, had travelled in disguise through Flanders, and had there seen my lord duke, and spoke very handsomely of him. In short, I received very pressing ones from a *poursuivant* of lower Brittany, named Toutseul, who, after having served under the admiral of Spain, was now in the service of the duke of Austria. This Breton called on me every day to go to mass, and attended me wherever I wished to go. Persuaded that I must have expended on my journey all the money I had, a little before my departure he presented me with the value of fifty marcs in enamels, and insisted that I should sell them for my profit; but, as I equally refused to accept them or to borrow, he protested that no one should ever know any thing of it.

* A *wague-bonne* was a sort of wagon, or moveable tower, used in war.

Vienna is a tolerably large town, well inclosed with deep ditches and high walls, inhabited by rich merchants and all sorts of tradesmen. The Danube washes its wall on the north side. The surrounding country is pleasant and good; and it is a place of amusement and pleasure. The natives are better dressed than those of Hungary, although they all wear coarse doublets, very thick and wide. In war they cover the doublet with an haubergeon, a glaçon*, a large hat of iron, and other armour usual in that country. They have many crennequiniers, for such is the name given in Austria and Bohemia to those called archers in Hungary. Their bows are like those of the Turks, but not so good nor so strong; and they do not use them so well as they do. The Hungarians pull the string with three fingers, and the Turks with the thumb and ring.

When I went to take leave of the duke and duchess of Austria, he recommended me himself to my two travelling companions, sir Jacques Troussel and the lord de Valse, who was setting off for his command on the frontiers of Bohemia. He repeated his question, as to my wanting money; but I answered, as I had before done to all who had offered me some, that my lord of Burgundy had so amply supplied me on my departure, that I had a sufficiency for my return to him, but that I requested he would grant me a safe conduct, which he did.

The Danube, for three days' journey on leaving Vienna, runs eastward; from above Buda to the point of Belgrade, it takes a southerly direction, and then, between Hungary and Bulgaria, it resumes its easterly course, and falls, as they say, into the Black Sea at Mont Căstre. I left Vienna in company with the before-mentioned lord of Valse and sir Jacques Troussel. The first was going to his lady at Lintz, and the second to his country-seat. After two days' travelling, we came to St. Polten, where the best knives of the country are made. Thence to Molke on the Danube, where is the best manufacture of cross-bows, having besides a very handsome Carthusian monastery. Thence to Valse, which belongs to the aforesaid lord. The castle is constructed on an elevated rock,

* Glaçon, or glachon, a kind of defensive armour. The French called "glaçon," a sort of fine cloth that was doubtless glazed. Glaçon, in German, was perhaps a kind of coat-armour made of many folds of quilted cloth, such as our gambions. Perhaps it may be only a cuirass.

that commands the Danube. He himself showed me the ornaments of the altar of the chapel; I never before saw any so rich in embroidery and in pearls. I there also noticed boats drawn up the Danube by horses.

The morrow of our arrival, a Bavarian gentleman came to pay his respects to the lord of Valse. Sir Jacques Troussel, informed of his arrival, declared he would hang him on a thorn in the garden. The lord de Valse hastened to him, and entreated he would not put such an affront on him in his own house. "Well," replied sir Jacques, "should he come elsewhere within my reach, he shall not escape hanging." The lord de Valse went to the gentleman, and made him a sign to go away, which he complied with. The cause of this anger of sir Jacques was, that he himself and the greater part of his attendants were of the secret company, and that the gentleman, having been also a member, had misbehaved*.

From Valse we came to Ens, situated on the river Ems; thence to Evresperch, on the same river, and within the domain of the bishop of Passau; and then to Lintz, a very good town, with a castle on the Danube, and not far from the frontiers of Bohemia. It belongs to the duke of Austria, and the lord of Valse is governor of it. I saw there madame de Valse, a very handsome lady from Bohemia, who gave me a flattering reception. She presented me with an excellent trotter for the road, a diamond to put in my hair, after the Austrian fashion, and a bonnet of pearls ornamented with a ring and a ruby†. The lord of Valse remaining at Lintz with his lady, I continued my journey in company with sir Jacques Troussel, to Erfurt, which belongs to the count de Cham-bourg. Here Austria ends, and it had taken us six days to come from Vienna hither. From Erfurt we came to Riet, a Bavarian town belonging to duke Henry; then to Prenne on the river Scaine; to Bouchaze, a town with a castle on the same river, where we met the duke; thence to Mouldrof, where we crossed the Taing. In short, having traversed the country of duke Louis of Bavaria, without entering any of its

* This relates, probably, to the famous secret tribunal; and the Bavarian, whom Troussel wanted to hang, may have been a false brother, who had revealed the secrets of it.

† These bonnets must not be mistaken for such as ours. They were only wreaths, or circular crowns.

towns, we arrived at Munich, the prettiest little town I ever saw, and which belongs to duke William of Bavaria.

I quitted Bavaria at Lansperch to enter Swabia, and passed through Mindelheim, that belongs to the duke, through Memingen, an imperial town, and thence to Walporch, one of Sir Jacques's castles. He did not arrive until three days after me, because he had some friends to visit in the neighbourhood; but he had given orders to his people to treat me as they would do himself. On his return, we set out for Ravensburg, an imperial town, and thence to Martof, and Mersbourg, a town of the bishop of Constance seated on the lake of this name. The lake, in this part, may be about three Italian miles broad. I crossed it and came to Constance, where I passed the Rhine, which there first assumes this name on issuing from the lake.

It was at this town that sir Jacques Troussel left me. This knight, one of the most amiable and valiant in Germany, had done me the honour and pleasure of accompanying me so far from respect to the duke of Austria, and would have escorted me further had he not been engaged at a tournament; but he gave me, in his stead, a *poursuivant*, whom he charged to escort me as far as I should wish. This tournament had been undertaken by the lord de Valse. They loved each other like brothers, and were to tilt with war lances, bucklers, and helmets of iron, according to the custom of the country, thirteen against thirteen, all friends and relations. Sir Jacques was well furnished with every sort of arms, which he had shown me himself in his castle of Walporch. I took my leave of him, and quitted him with much regret.

From Constance I went to Stein, where I crossed the Rhine; thence to Shaffhousen, a town belonging to the emperor; to Waldshutts, to Lauffembourg, to Rhinfeld, all the property of duke Frederick of Austria; and to Basil, another imperial town, whither, on account of the council then assembled there, the emperor had sent duke William of Bavaria, as his lieutenant.

The duke and duchess were desirous to see me. I assisted at a session of the council, where he represented the emperor; and among the numbers were the lord cardinal of St. Angelo, legate from the holy father pope Eugenius, seven other cardinals, many patriarchs, archbishops and bishops. I met

there several on the part of my lord of Burgundy, among whom were sir Guillebert de Lannoy, lord of Villerval, his ambassador, master Jean Germain, and the bishop of Châlons. I had a conversation with the legate, who inquired much about the countries I had seen, especially Turkey. He seemed to have the conquest of this last country much at heart, and recommended me to repeat to my lord of Burgundy certain particulars that I had told to him relative to such conquest.

At Basil I parted with my *poursuivant*, who returned to Austria; and having travelled through the country of Ferette, belonging to duke Frederick of Austria, and passed by Montbeliard, which is the property of the countess of that name, I entered Franche Compté, which belongs to my lord duke, and arrived at Besançon. I supposed that he was in Flanders, and consequently travelled on the frontiers of Bar and Lorraine to Veson; but at Villeneuve I learnt that he was on the frontier of Burgundy, and had caused Mussi l'Evêque to be besieged. I went then by Auxonne to Dijon, where I found the lord chancellor of Burgundy, in whose company I went to pay my respects to the duke. His people were at the siege, and he himself at the abbey of Poitiers. I appeared in his presence dressed in the same manner as when I left Damascus, and had the horse led before him which I had purchased in that town, and which had brought me to France. My lord received me with much kindness. I presented to him my horse, my dress, with the Koran, and Life of Mohammed, written in Latin, which the chaplain to the Venetian consul at Damascus had given me. He had these books delivered to master John Germain to examine; but I have never heard one word concerning them since that time. This master John was a doctor of divinity; he was bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône, and knight of the Golden Fleece*.

* Jean Germain, born at Cluni, and consequently a subject to the duke of Burgundy, had, when a child, pleased the duchess, who sent him to study at the university of Paris, where he distinguished himself. The duke, whose favour he afterwards gained, made him, in 1431, *chancellor* of his order of the Golden Fleece, and not *knight*, as La Brocquière says. The year following he was nominated bishop of Nevers; sent in 1432 ambassador, first to Rome, and then to the council at Basil, as one of his representatives. In 1436, he was translated from the see of Nevers to that of Châlons-sur-Saône. What La Brocquière says of this bishop seems peevish; but if the reader will consider, not hearing any thing of the two interesting manuscripts he had brought from Asia, he had cause for being out of humour. Germain, how-

If I have said little respecting the country between this place and Vienna, it has been because it is well known. With regard to the others I have travelled through, I inform my readers, that the journey was not undertaken through ostentation or vanity, but for the guidance and information of such persons as may have similar desires as I have had to see and be acquainted with these countries, and in obedience to my highly redoubted lord the duke of Burgundy, who commanded me to write these travels. I always carried with me a small book, in which I wrote down my adventures whenever time permitted; and it is from these memorandums that I have composed the history of my journey. If it be not so well composed as others could have done it, I must beg my readers to excuse me.

ever, was employed on them, but he was labouring to refute them. At his death, in 1461, he left two works in manuscript, copies of which are to be found in some libraries; one entitled, "De Conceptione beatæ Mariæ Virginis, adversus Mahometanos et Infideles, Libri duo:" the other, "Adversus Alcoranum, Libri quinque."

A JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO TO JERUSALEM,

AT EASTER, A.D. 1697.

BY HENRY MAUNDRELL

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
THOMAS, LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

MY LORD,

FROM a large and constant experience of your lordship's favour, I have all reason to believe that you will not think it tedious to hear something of my affairs, though in themselves below your lordship's notice and regard.

It is now more than twelve months since I arrived in this place, during all which time I have had opportunity enough perfectly to observe and discover the genius of the factory among whom my lot is fallen; and upon the result of all my experience of them I am obliged to give them this just commendation, that they are a society highly meriting that excellent character which is given of them in England, and which (besides the general vogue) your lordship has some time received from a most faithful and judicious hand, the excellent bishop Frampton. As he undoubtedly was the great improver of the rare temper of this society, so he may well be esteemed best able to give them their true and deserved character. I need only add, that such they still continue as that incomparable instructor left them; that is, pious, sober, benevolent, devout in the offices of religion, in conversation innocently cheerful, given to no pleasures but such as are honest and manly, to no communications but such as the nicest ears need not be offended at, exhibiting in all their actions those best and truest signs of a Christian spirit, a sincere and cheerful friendship among themselves, a generous charity toward others, and a profound reverence for the liturgy and constitution of the Church of England. It is our first employment, every morning, to solemnize the daily service of the church, at which I am sure to have always a devout, a regular, and full congregation. In a word, I can say no more (and less I am sure I ought not) than this, that in all my experience in the world I have never known a society of young gentlemen, whether in the city or country, (I had almost said the University, too), so well disposed, in all points, as this.

Your lordship will conclude that, in consequence of all this, my present station cannot but be very agreeable; and though, in leaving England, I was separated from the greatest blessings to me in the world, your lordship's kindness and that of my friends at Richmond, yet I must own I have found here as much recompense as could be made for such a separation.

Among other satisfactions, one great one, which I have had since my