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A COMPLETE  
HISTORY  
*Charles OF Mackay 1765*  
ALGIERS.

To which is prefixed,

An EPITOME of the *General History* of  
BARBARY, from the earliest Times:

Interpersed

With many curious *Remarks* and *Passages*, not touched  
on by any Writer whatever.

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VOLUME I.

---

By, J. MORGAN.

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LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR, by J. BETTENHAM, 1728.  
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AN EPITOME of the General History of  
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With many curious Observations and Particulars not found  
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VOLUME I

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BY J. MONTAGU

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LONDON

Printed and Sold by A. MILLAR, in Pall-mall; and by  
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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE, the  
**LORDS COMMISSIONERS**

For executing the Office of

Lord High Admiral, &c.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,



It was a usual Saying of that great MECÆNAS of his Time, the late *Earl HALLIFAX*, "That  
" if any Fellow, of no Character, presumed to Address Him  
" with a *Libel*, or a *Piece* of worthless *Trash*,  
" He would fling it at his Head, and order His

“ Servants to kick him out of Doors : But, if  
 “ a Gentleman Dedicated to Him a *Work*  
 “ of any *Merit*, he Honoured him in so  
 “ doing; and he deserved to be countenan-  
 “ ced : And (added He) to ask Permission  
 “ to do it, is the very same, as if he should  
 “ expressly say, MY LORD! *Will You please*  
 “ *to give me Leave to Flatter You?*”

Pursuant to that Munificent PATRON'S general Maxim, and from which I have not yet receded, without once failing of Success, I take the Liberty of laying at YOUR HONOUR'S Feet, the *History* of a turbulent and no despicable People; concerning whose Considerableness, I find our Nation, generally speaking, have hitherto conceived very wrong Notions: Nor do I know whither, with greater Justice or Propriety, this *Work* could be Addressed, than to this *Most Honourable* BOARD: Since from thence it is, that, whensoever those Lawless *Free-Booters*, of whom I treat, and who are so perniciously troublesome to the Commerce of the greatest Part of EUROPE, should again pre-  
 fume

sume to interrupt the Trade of these Mercantile Realms, with their so *frequently Experienced*, and so *much-to-be-Avoided* Depredations; whensoever, I say, MY LORDS, they should again dare to attack US, in so tender a Part, from this *much-dreaded* BOARD it is, that proper Measures are to be taken, in order to crush *them*, and chastise their Insolence.

The *Author* and his *Performance*, MY LORDS, lye wholly at the Mercy and Discretion of YOUR HONOURS; readily submitting to be treated according to our respective Merit, or Demerit.

After the just and equitable Choice, made by the most PRUDENT and most DISCERNING of MONARCHS; a PRINCE who so conspicuously seems born for the Good of His People, and to lay nothing so near His ROYAL Heart as their Welfare and Glory; after such a Choice, from a whole Common-Weal like this, in which are so many able Members, it would be but Impertinence, if not Arrogance in me, to offer to enter on the private Characters

ters of *Patriots*, selected by such a MONARCH for such a CHARGE. What can I pretend to advance on that Topic, after HIS MAJESTY has deemed it convenient and beneficial to these His Kingdoms, to repose in Your Breasts the Direction of, indisputably, the most formidable Naval Power in the Universe!

Wishing I had an Offer of more Worth to tender, I shall only beg Permission, submissively, to subscribe my self

YOUR HONOUR'S

*most obedient,*

*and most devoted*

*humble Servant,*


J. MORGAN.



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N. B. Had I been fond of borrowed Plumes, this List would have been considerably more Showy than it now is, *in puris naturalibus*. Near 100, who either their Selves, or others for them, had consented to be set down as *Subscribers*, have, on *second Thoughts*, desired to be *excused*; and accordingly they are erased. Yet, on *second Thoughts*, likewise, I almost repent my consenting to so great a Castration; since, by retaining such a Number of Names, tho' *Shams*, I might have showed away pompously; even tho' I had affixed proper Marks to distinguish them as *Faggots*; a necessary Furniture on *Mustering-Days*. Such as I have retained, tho' they have not my Receipts, are, I have Reason to believe, Persons of Honour and Worth, who design to have their Books; as not having given any *Counter-Order*.



# P R E F A C E.



UCH as are truly curious of being fully acquainted with the State of foreign Parts, all real Lovers of genuine History, (for to them alone I direct my Discourse) are here presented with the History of a People, who, *mal-gré* the many smart Attempts made upon them, maintain their Ground, even in the Teeth of the mighty, hostile Powers of *Europe*, and who, in spite of ungenerous Detraction, and all the Blusters of the prepossessed, wrongly-biassed and partial Ignorant, have long made, still make, and very probably will long continue to render themselves considered, as well in *Europe* as elsewhere, and are actually and positively abundantly more considerable than many misinformed Persons insinuate. By the Book's Title it appears, that I mean the *Turks of Barbary*; more particularly those of *Algiers*.

But, before we proceed, let not the Public, already by far too prone to Prejudice, and Prepossession, imagine me their Advocate. No! As I profess my self to be one so impolitically *unmodish*, that I never can speak one thing when I mean another (whereby I must  
a acknowledge

acknowledge my self no Gainer) nor ever advanced a Step, by way of Insinuation, to *curry Favour* or *Affection*, as they say, on any Side; so far from all that, my Reader will find them throughout painted in their proper Colours, fraught with detestable Vices, like the rest of the World, and, like other People, not devoid of some Virtues. But, were I to encounter *Belzebub* himself, it is my real Principle to attack even that foul Fiend, *en bonne Guerre*. But Impartiality is a *Vice*, with which I meet with few who can boast themselves of being over-much *tainted!*

What a monstrous Load of gross Lies and insufferable Absurdities, as I here and there occasionally observe, does not one fall in with immediately upon laying Hand on any Tract, Treatise, History, Memoir, Relation, Dictionary Geographical, Historical, or Critical, relating to *Africa* and its Affairs! Yet how many *Wise-Acres* tell one, scornfully, we have Histories enough of that Country? Why, truly, so We have: But the Question is, have we one, that is not rather Romance than History? Doubtless, those of other Parts are not free from Falsities: But of those I am not so good a Judge.

With the very same Principle I professed above, and not to ingratiate my self with any, I avow, that the *Algerine Turks*, notwithstanding I do them strict Justice, never had a more inveterate Enemy than my self, nor one who more heartily rejoiced at their Disgraces, and wished, nay merely languished for their Destruction, during the whole Time of my Intercourse in their Country; and all that purely on account of their imperious, insufferable Haughtiness, and that singular Air of Contempt with which they look down upon all but just their own insolent, scoundrel, base-born Selves: Nay, so deep is that irradicable Inveteracy ingrafted in my Mind, that I perfectly hate the whole *Turkish* Nation for the Sake of those Varlets; who, generally, are but the very Offal of the *Ottomans*; and, at this Day, I cannot but be mightily pleased at the Successes of the far less sour and morose, the far more affable, noble, communicative and conversable *Persians*. This is no Sycophantry, no Adulation, *in ordine ad*; but my

real and immutable Sentiments. Yet I detest undeserved Calumny; the which wherever I light on I still endeavour to detect and refute: Pity the World has not more of that Kidney. Certainly, those to whom alone I address this Performance, are disposed to join with me in these Opinions.

It is and ever shall be a Maxim with me, that when I meet with any Author speaking my Meaning, to make bold with his Words, rather than make use of my own. In *M. Laugier de Tassy*, a worthy Gentleman and good *Christian*, still in Being, who writes concerning these very People and Regions, I find, in many Instances, a great Concurrence with my individual Ideas: From him I borrow several Particulars; among others these following, *viz.* “ People discourse, says he, of the *Algerines*; but know as little of them as they do of the Nations most remote from our Continent.—” Again. “ The Generality of *Christians* are so prejudiced against the *Turks* and other *Mahometans*, that they have scarce Language harsh enough to express the Horror and Contempt in which they hold all of that Persuasion. Often it is that they build merely upon the Faith and Credit of a few *Spanish* Monks, who spread abroad a thousand Fables, in order to enhance the Merit of those Services they do the Public, in passing over to *Barbary*, to redeem Captives; or else on the fictitious Stories related by certain pretended Slaves, who roam up and down *Europe*, as Mendicants, carrying about with them Chains and Fetters which they never bore in *Africa*, but artfully and fallaciously make use of some Certificate, from the *Fathers* of the *Redemption*, and which they have either begged or purchased, from some ransomed Person, who had actually been in Captivity.”—I largely declare how the Slaves are treated.—Farther on he adds: “ Many Persons make no manner of Difference between the People of *Barbary* and real Brutes; calling them, simply and absolutely, *Beasts*; imagining those People to have neither Reason nor Common-Sense; that they are incapable of a good Action; nay even, that the very irrational Ani-

" mals themselves are the far preferable Creatures. Some have, like-  
 " wise, asked me, Whether those People had any Notion of a  
 " Deity? To such sort of Folks the bare Name of a *Turk, Moor,*  
 " *Arab,* or other *Mahometan,* is sufficient to inspire them with such  
 " Opinions. But, I am persuaded, that could those very Persons,  
 " unknown to themselves, converse with *Mussulmans* who had no  
 " Turbants, and were habited after the *Christian* Mode, they would  
 " find in them all they can meet with in other People. But if they  
 " wear a Turbant, that Article alone suffices to induce them to per-  
 " sist obstinately in their Prepossessions. It must be acknowledg-  
 " ed, that amidst all Nations of the Earth, we know Man in his  
 " very Nature, such as he is defined by the judicious *M. De la*  
 " *Bruyere*; his Inhumanity, his Ingratitude, his Injustice, his Arro-  
 " gance, his Savageness, his Love for dear Self, and Forgetfulness of  
 " others; nor are all what we term Virtues and Vices any other than  
 " Modifications; which differ according to Place, Education, Laws,  
 " Customs and Constitution, or Complexion. This is so notoriously  
 " true, that it must be owned, that what in one Country are deemed  
 " enormous Vices, in another are commendable Qualifications. Many  
 " Parts of the following Sheets may serve to refute the Prejudices of  
 " such Persons as I have been mentioning, and to make them sensible,  
 " that among their own Compatriots there are many not a Whit  
 " more civilized than are abundance of those People we treat of,  
 " and who have Customs and Manners altogether as ridiculous as  
 " they; would they but think fit to make a few Reflections. Not  
 " that it is any very great Wonder to meet with such Numbers, whose  
 " Minds are fascinated with Prepossession against these People; since,  
 " to many, it is sufficient to render a Person of a Religion, or Coun-  
 " try, different from theirs, the Object of their Aversion, without  
 " agreeing that he can be endowed with, or even capable of one  
 " good Quality, or without once examining into what might render  
 " themselves reasonable and sociable. Thus it is that many Persons  
 " stray from apparent Truth, remaining their whole Lives in Opi-  
 " nions,

## P R E F A C E.

v

“ nions, whose only Foundation is Error and Falsity. Let us, there-  
 “ fore, examine our own selves; and in us we shall soon find the  
 “ very same Vices which we impute to those of other Nations.  
 “ How comes it about, that Travellers are ever more reasonable and  
 “ more moderate than those who never go out of their own Country?  
 “ It is, because they are obliged to see different Nations, and to con-  
 “ verse with Foreigners; they stand in need of them; they have  
 “ Dealings with them; they have Opportunities to make Discovery  
 “ of their good and bad Qualities; and are very often highly asto-  
 “ nished to find them directly different from the Ideas they had con-  
 “ ceived. I speak not either of obstinate, capricious Travellers, or  
 “ of such as are sent by their Parents abroad to see the World, just  
 “ from the Chimney-Corner. Of these, the greatest Part traverse  
 “ Regions whereof they see nothing at all except the mere Surface.  
 “ Puffed up with a supercilious Pride, with a partial Prepossession in  
 “ Favour of their own precious Selves and Country, and prejudi-  
 “ ced, even to Intoxication, against the whole World besides; they  
 “ immediately begin with inconsiderately condemning and despising  
 “ whatever they meet with in foreign Parts, which does not strictly  
 “ agree with their own Manners, Modes and Customs. One of  
 “ this Class of Travellers instantly cries out; *Alas! God is not here*  
 “ *served as among us! These People neither dress, eat, furnish their*  
 “ *Houses, nor divert themselves as we do! Their Manners are quite*  
 “ *different from ours! What a miserable Country is this! What Wretches*  
 “ *have we here! They want even Common-Sense!* It was not of such  
 “ I was speaking. I mean Men of sound Judgment; who are guided  
 “ by Reason: Persons who, themselves desirous of being instructed  
 “ and of instructing others, let slip no Opportunity, but turn every  
 “ thing to Advantage; nicely weighing what occurs, and making  
 “ good Use of their Time, by penetrating into the Reasons and Cau-  
 “ ses of all they see in their Peregrinations, and doing Justice to  
 “ Truth.” This Gentleman, to whom I often resort, has only saved  
 me so much Labour: For had I been to have delivered my own  
 Thoughts,

Thoughts, they would have been much to the like Purpose: But, I say, I am ever fond of having some irreproachable Authority for Sentiments wherein I cannot possibly agree with the head-strong, conceited, partial, and stupidly ignorant Multitude. Towards the Close of this History particularly, and in diverse other Parts of it, I plainly and sufficiently prove, both by my own unanswerable Arguments, and the Words of others of unsuspected Characters, that the Vices which are so much condemned and exclaimed against in these People, are, more or less, and generally speaking, in common to them with those of, I believe, all other Nations whatever, in spite of their so much boasted more virtuous and regular Education, Superiority of Knowledge and Genius, notable and inimitable Oeconomy, with the Excellence and Equity of Laws, Constitutions and Institutions; and that the Majority of the present Inhabitants of *Barbary*, and among others the *Algerines*, of whom I treat more in particular, want nothing in order to render them a very sociable, as they are a very considerable People, but less Pride and Inurbanity, with somewhat better regulated Politics than they think proper to put in Practice: And it is withal proved, that the very Constitution of their Government, with the Character of those who compose it, drag and precipitate them, forcibly and insensibly, as it were, contrary to their Inclinations, into all the Outrages and Excesses which, from Time to Time, are there committed.

“ The Words *Barbary* and *Barbarian*, (says the same impartial Author) “ according to our Ideas and Prepossessions, include all that  
 “ favours of Cruelty and Injustice, all that is contrary and repugnant  
 “ to any Sort of Religion; nay, even to Nature it self. Those of  
 “ mean Intellectuals fancy and believe, that a Native of *Barbary* has  
 “ the Nature and Disposition of an *African* Monster; and guides  
 “ himself by no other Instinct, than one like that of the ferine Ani-  
 “ mals; and that, upon this Account, all that Tract of Land in  
 “ *Africa* is called *Barbary*, and its Inhabitants *Barbarians*. But  
 “ such as are prepossessed with this Opinion, might easily be dis-  
 “ abused,



“ abused, would they be but at the Trouble of perusing the Histories and Relations of diverse Travellers : They would soon be convinced, that there are infinite Multitudes of People in the World, and even in *Europe* itself, who pass their Lives in a far profounder Ignorance ; and who, consequently, are abundantly more savage and unpolished, approaching infinitely nearer the Brute Beasts, than do the Inhabitants of *Barbary* ; the far greater Part of whom are, at this Day, extremely civilized and sufficiently tractable.” Here he means not the *Turks*, but the *Moors* and *Arabs*. I intirely agree in his Opinion, give many Instances to back it, and only add, that I never, hitherto, met with any People endowed with a more sprightly Genius, or more excellent natural Parts and Capacities : Yet, how many have I met with, who could never comprehend the easiest Matter, even tho’ hammered into their impenetrable Noddles, most judiciously terming the best of them, *Savages* ! All this is for want of knowing better. Would not a well-instructed, considerate Person, who thought it worth his Pains, have a strong Inclination to inform such a One, that he was himself, with more than a bare Probability, neither better nor worse than the Heterogeneous Offspring of one cannot trace what Ancestors, who, if not absolutely buried in the most groveling Obscurity, had a far juster Title to that very Epithet, at the individual Time when those, on whose Descendants he bestows it, were making a glorious Figure in the World ; as they still do in ancient Histories, of the very best Authority. Ay ; but they are not *Christians*, like us : They are *Infidels* ! Why, what of all that ? Does a People’s being, thro’ Prejudice of Education, of a Persuasion and Religion different from ours, intitle us, merely on that Score, to term them *Savages* ! Why, they say the same by us. Truly, so they do : And that is one of the most essential Arguments of Savageness and Ignorance I find in their whole Contexture. But, should a wise, a polite People follow an Example set them by those they deem so abundantly their Inferiors, that they count it a notorious Disgrace and Indignity to be only named in the same Breath with an

*African* ?

*African?* It is not long since I here met with one (who has no very great Reason, that I know of, so to value himself, except that valuable Reason of being a *True-born Englishman*, and that truly valuable one of living under so good, so mild, and so happily constituted a Government,) who was highly affronted at my saying, "That had I met him " with a Beard, and in a *Moorish* Garb, I should have taken him for " a certain *Moor* of Quality, I knew in *Barbary*;" and whom he really much resembles. " Prithee! returned my scornful, choleric Chap; " Don't compare Me to any of your scoundrel *Barbarians!*" I ought not, in Reality, to descend to such Trifles; only this is one Instance out of many of a like Nature. Nay, thus much I must needs add, (and if the Saddle fits any one's Back, he must e'en wear it; I I wish I could help it, and had no Cause to say such things of any Member of so fine and so flourishing a Common-Weal as this) I profess, besides what is to be heard of, one almost daily meets with People, of both Sexes, ruder, more brutal, less polished, and superlatively more abandonedly impious, in this noble City, this very Metropolis of ours, than, I positively aver, I ever met with in *Barbary*, during my near twenty Years Intercourse in that savage Country; even among the wildest of the *Arabs* and *Africans*. Sorry I am, I say, to have Cause to impute this to the Charge of such as call and value themselves on being *Christians*, and not *Heathens*: And were it not for the Rigour of our wholesome and equitable Laws, what Enormities are ever transacted in *Barbary*, which we might not suspect would, daily and hourly, be perpetrated in these pacific, well-governed Realms, when, even in the Eye of them, we every now and then hear of and see Villanies committed full as hideous, if not still more execrable?

I protest, I say, that neither this, nor any of the whole Book, is in any wise introduced by way of Apology for the *Moors*, or other *Mussulmans*; I have already intimated enough to the contrary: But I could not help thinking it most egregiously silly in some Folks, among whom, in common Discourse, I happened to drop, that I never heard of any viler Action committed among the *Infidels* of *Barbary*,

*bary* than some of our own Villanies; naming both Events and Persons; I thought it very idle, I say, for them to make Answer; "Well; however they were *Christians*, and not *Heathens*:" As if *Christianity* privileged them to be Villains! Strange Doctrine!

The before-cited *French* Author, having first given an Abridgment of the Tragedy of the *De-Wits*, concludes it in these very Words; *viz.* "Can a *Christian* People, illuminated by the Lights of the Gospel, and whose Knowledge exalts them so far above the ignorant People of *Barbary*; can they, I say, make any Difference between this Scene and that which was transacted at *Tunis*, in 1696?" He then relates the dismal Catastrophe of the Tyrant *Tartar*, whom the *Algerines* created *Dey* of that City, with a Sovereign Power, and whom the enraged Populace served much after the same Manner. The Narrative is at large in this History.

As to the Merit of my Performance, I shall say little; frankly submitting it to the Scrutiny and Verdict of knowing and impartial Judges: And of such alone I either desire the Approbation, or expect the Applause. Such, I am certain, will both espy my Faults and applaud my Sincerity. Such; as they will generously connive at the one, they cannot fail, candidly, of approving the other. This I will say in its Behalf, may aver in the Eye of the Sun, that as, on one side, it is far from being the most regular, it is at least the truest and most to be depended-on History of those Affairs, that ever appeared in any Language whatever; as all competent Judges, who take Pains to peruse it, must, certainly, acknowledge. Farther, I boldly dare challenge all Mankind to disprove me in a single Syllable, where any Passage is positively and absolutely vouched by me, speaking in the first Person singular, as of my own Knowledge. I wish all Writers would, ingenuously, observe the same fair and laudable Method; and not, implicitly, build, as they too often do, upon the not-always sincere Faith of others, without scrupling to assert, where their own Reason might induce them to be rather dubious. Of both this, and my own Cautionness, I deliver many Examples; which my Reader may find dispersed throughout the History; besides the Corrections of a hideous Multitude

titude of the grossest Errors and Insincerities, which, tho' I frequently do, I have not deemed worth while always to specify: Nor, indeed, would the many Discouragements I met with allow me abundance of Leisure: And had my Encouragement been as I fondly expected, I make bold to aver, that the whole Work should have appeared several Months since, have been abundantly completer; and if not much more correct; at least very much more regular. As it is, I no less boldly defy the World, as I already hinted, to produce any one of the Sort, a tenth Part either so good, or so genuine. My sole Anxiety at present is, lest some of the Effects of the Hurry in which I was obliged to prosecute my Design, as best I could, may not be found so very much to the Relish of those I most ought to be desirous of obliging; I mean the generous, condescending Few, who freely contributed towards forwarding my honestly-intended Project. But on this disagreeable Theme I expatiate, in my Letter to a worthy Personage; and thither I refer the courteous Reader; it being, in Effect; no other than the Sequel, or Counter-part of this *Preface*, tho' it cannot be so contrived, that they appear together: But it shall soon follow, under Title of

*The HISTORY of the PROGRESS of the HISTORY of ALGIERS; being A FRAGMENT of, or rather An ESSAY upon the Comi-Tragical HISTORY of SUBSCRIPTION-HUNTING.*

Sensible I am, that several Particulars, in the whole Management of this Work, require some Apology. Enough is, in several Places said, as to the even superstitious Scrupulosity with which naked, unbiassed, disinterested Truth is every where religiously regarded, when I pronounce any thing absolutely and affirmatively; having been too cautious in venturing upon positive Assertions, to be under much Apprehension of being detected, or disproved: Not like abundance one meets with, who, ashamed the World should think them ignorant, or capable of being mistaken, vainly subscribe to a notorious Falstiy, utterly repugnant to all Reason and Credibility, rather than they will fairly own themselves even dubious. This is a very illegal Method, in my humble Opinion, of transmitting Occurrences to Posterity.

Yet

Yet such go down; and with many such both public and private Libraries are adorned; not to say contaminated. But, why should the obscure, the unknown, the nameless I, make such a Bustle? My Subject is unpopular! What care we, say Folks, whether there is any such rascally Place, as *Algiers*, existing on God's Earth? It is nothing to us! Lord! Half a Dozen of our small Ships would blow all those Scrubs to the Devil, and farther!— *Hem!*— I am sure, most, if not all of you, worthy Gentlemen, to whom I address my Discourse, know better Things: Nay, besides this Book of mine, there are several others which might better instruct those who have any Manner of Curiosity to know what's what. Such as talk at this Rate of the *Algerines*, sure know nothing that, among a thousand other Proofs of their Significancy, out of about 16000 regular *Spanish* Troops, by whom a Town of theirs, called *Mostaganem*, was attacked and entered; they, with Part of their own proper Force, and a few not-much-to-be-depended-on *Moors*, carried away to *Algiers* above 12000, with the General's Son; himself, with all the rest, being cut in pieces; for the poor *Modicum* of those who had the good Luck to save themselves, is scarce worth Mention: And yet these well-read Persons may find several such Narrations as this, at large, up and down in this very Book, extracted from Grave, *Catholic*, Pious, and Zealous *Spaniards*, of good Credit and Authority.

Often have I been told, that it is a common Saying among the topping *Dutch* Merchants, “ That, if there was no *Algiers*, they “ would make an *Algiers*.” Why say they so? Because those Cruisers never fail picking up the peddling Traders; which the wealthy *Dons* deem Interlopers, who spoil the Market of their own better-manned, more defensible Vessels. Except my Memory very much fails me in some Particulars; I saw once a huge *Hamburgher*, Burden not much under 900 Tuns, having sixteen Guns, and just as many Men, brought in by a small *Algerine*. For our own Parts, indeed, we have little to do with the *Algerines*, at present, only as Friends and Allies: Nor have we had any other Business with them for al-

most these last forty Years; Thanks to *Shaâban Hojia's* Friendship for and Gratitude to Consul *Baker* (as I fully observe) and very prudent Management, on our Side, ever since; all which wise Conduct (not unaccompanied with some Concessions) I am strongly persuaded, not only the sage Patriots at our Helm, but the whole Nation in general, find turning to very good Account. Some of our Females say, *Better give a Knave a Kiss, than be plagued with him.* Thus far, those Gentlemen, who are so little curious concerning the *Algerines*, notwithstanding the very little they seem to know of them, I must confess, are intirely in the right: We have not now much to do with them: So much the better for many, even of their own supercilious Selves. I cannot forbear mentioning what our late Consul, *Robert Cole*, Esq; whose *Cancellera* I once was, and who constantly resided at *Algiers* between forty and fifty Years, has several Times owned in my Hearing, *viz.* That in our last War with those People, they took, or destroyed (abundance of them under the very Noses of their Convoys) not many fewer than 500 Ships and Vessels, belonging to the Subjects of these Realms. I have by me a List, printed at *London*, in 1682. giving Account of the Names, &c. of no less than 153, besides 7 more, the Names omitted, and "others taken," says the Editor, since "this List came from *Algiers*," between *July* 1677, and *October* 1680. I am ready enough to conjecture, that the unhappy Sufferers had something of an Inclination to be informed, what Sort of *Fiends* those were, who made such strange Sequestration of their Estates, keeping their Relations, Servants and Acquaintance in Slavery, from whence no Redemption without again drawing the Purse-String. No longer ago than 1716. it was actually put to the Vote, in the *Diwan*, or Grand Council at *Algiers*, Whether or no our Sea-Adventurers should be entertained with the second Part to the same Tune. The *Algerines* were then in the same Alliances as at present; *Great Britain*, *France*, and the *States-General*. The two former Powers had long maintained the same amicable Correspondence; and the *Neiherlanders*, about three Years before, had purchased a Peace with this Regency,

on Conditions I specify, as I do the other Peace, much like the former, they have lately concluded. The ravenous Corsairs, quite out of all Patience, at not seeing their Port swarming with Prizes, as usual, began to grow outrageously clamorous; and, at length, no longer able to bear their almost-always returning from Cruise empty-fisted, ran open-mouthed to *Bobba Ali*, their *Dey*, telling him, “That  
 “ it was more than Time for them to break up their Ships, since  
 “ they met with none but Friends abroad. Neither in the Ocean  
 “ nor Narrow Sea, exclaimed they, can we find scarce any who are  
 “ not either *French*, *English* or *Dutch*. Nothing remains for us to  
 “ do, but either to sell our Ships for Fewel, and return to our primi-  
 “ tive Camel-driving, or to break with one of these Nations.” A  
 Grand *Divan*, of Great and Small, as they word it, was instantly  
 called; whereat, with much Clamour and Debate, *pro* and *con*, as  
 customary, Matters were concluded in Terms, running directly thus:  
 “ *France* *Giaur-ler hem yaramas, hem maât-ji, &c.* The *French*  
 “ *Infidels* are both warlike and vindictive; obstinate and our Neigh-  
 “ bours. Thrice they bombarded us severely; as these not-yet-re-  
 “ paired Ruins testify. A fourth such an inevitable Salutation ought  
 “ strenuously and carefully to be avoided.—The *English* are a friendly  
 “ People, keep their Word, punctually remit the agreed on Pre-  
 “ sents, &c. and supply us with many Necessaries we want. Besides,  
 “ notwithstanding the great Distance of their Country, it may not,  
 “ perhaps, be so advisable to quarrel with them while they are Masters  
 “ of *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar*.—As for the *Flemmings*, (so they  
 “ name the *Netherlanders*) they are a good People enough, never  
 “ deny us any thing, nor are they worse than their Word; like the  
 “ *French*: But they certainly play under-hand Tricks with us, in sel-  
 “ ling their Passes to other *Infidels*: For ever since we made Peace  
 “ with them, we rarely light on either *Suede*, *Dane*, *Hamburgher*,  
 “ &c. All have *Dutch* Looks, *Dutch* Passes; all call each other *Hans*,  
 “ *Hans*, and all say, *Yaw, Yaw*.” Thus it was carried against *Hans*; and  
 distrustless *Hans* was seized wheresoever those hungry Hounds could light

on him: Tho' not, as I hinted, without abundance of tumultuous Debate: For, the Truth is, many were more inclined to fall on the well-laden, thick-sowed *English* than any others; alledging, among other Reasons, that it was in no wise generous in them, not to suffer the *Hollanders*, at least a little longer, to enjoy the Fruits of a Peace they had so lately *bought* and so liberally *paid for*. Indeed few, or none were for meddling with the *French*, who, they said, had more Privateers than Traders, and whom, in plain Terms, they rather *fear* than *love*. The *Dutch* Consul, *Myn Heer Van Barle* (I think I am right) was a very deserving Gentleman, and really much esteemed by all in general: Nor met he with any unworthy Treatment; having sufficient Time allowed him to settle his Affairs; which done he departed, I believe, on an *English* Bottom, with his Effects and whole Family, consisting of his Spouse, two fine young Ladies their Daughters, with some Domestics.

Now, to be very plain, for I must acknowledge, that it is the Flouts and indifferent Reception I have met with (nay, among Persons from whom one might, reasonably enough, have expected far better Usage and Encouragement) which naturally urge me to come more home and closer to the Point, than ever I intended, and to use Terms which, otherwise, would never have entered my *Pericranium*: Now I say, were even *these* the only Vouchers for the Significancy of the *Algerines*, (and whoever went about to deny the Certainty of them, would but expose himself,) is not a *Complete History* of a People who dare take such Steps, compiled by a Person (without a Spark of Vanity I speak and affirm it) so sincere, so great a Friend to Reality, and withal so superiorly capable of giving it, as I my self indisputably am, and had I not lost so inconceivably much Time in dancing Attendance, should have done in a Manner irreproachably *complete*; is not such a Composition, I say again, in some Measure worth public Acceptance? Positive I am, that there are thousands of curious, generous, encouraging Persons, in this learned, this reading Nation, who will think it so; tho' I have been thus unfortunate as to meet with



such a small Number of these; and, on the other Hand, my Trudgings have been so misguided, by an *Ignis fatuus*, that I have blundered on, perhaps, thousands, who seem not to have a Glimpse, the least Tincture of either Curiosity, Generosity, or even of Good-Breeding. Many, I am sensible, are quite otherwise disposed: But they are cautious of being *bit; taken in*. They will *buy*, but not *subscribe*. Why, truly, such are not much to be blamed. “We have been served many dirty Tricks, they cry, by dirty, cheating Varlets.” “Have you so, Gentlemen? The more is the Pity: I am sorry for it with all my Heart. But why are not their Ears nailed to a Pillory, for their Pains, as the Varlets most richly deserve! Why must Well-meaners reap the Reward of their Dishonesties!”

But what shall I say to those Pamphleteers, who tell us, a twelve-penny Pamphlet would contain full as much as they care to know of *Barbary*, or any thing belonging to that rascally Country? Three Half-Crowns for a First-Payment! They! They would not give Half of three Half-Crowns for the whole *Ottoman Dominions*! *Hem!* Fine Talk. *Hem!* *Hem!* Pity they should ever be a Quarter of one Half-Crown the better for any of the Advantages accruing to this trading Realm from that noble Branch of our Commerce. But what I say in particular to all such is; Why, let those Pamphlet-Readers pore over their Pamphlets to Eternity: I know very well I have to say, on the Subject, full sufficient for forty such Pamphlets: And, since I am embarked in this scurvy Affair, I despair not in the least of finding some who, during part of their vacant Moments from more weighty Affairs, will amuse themselves with the Perusal: Being only heartily and sincerely sorry, that every one of this other Class wear not a Badge of Distinction, that every Man of Spirit, one who carries a *Soul* about with him, if it is his untoward Fortune ever to descend so low, to be so far debased as to commence *Subscription-Hunter*, might avoid their Rencounter with no less Sedulity than he would Contagion. Indeed, as for those who assure me, they never read History at all, and such as have civilly declined, they are  
intirely

intirely out of the Question: And I am satisfied that my Subject is not so mean as to make me doubt of a tolerable Share of Readers. But this being a Topic on which I think of enlarging in my aforefaid Letter, wherein my Peregrinations are more circumstantially touched upon, I, for the present, chuse to hasten to drop what, already, begins to put me out of Humour. Nor can I join in Opinion with some Friends of mine, who seem to surmise, that whatever I advance upon this Head will create me Ill-Will. I think it humanly impossible for me therein to disoblige any who either have, design, or would have countenanced me had Application been made: Neither can the Cautious well be displeas'd. Ill-Usage would make any one cautious. No: We have a Sett of Heroes, who think it becomes them to treat People worse than a real Gentleman would use a Porter; on which, and something that Way tending, I really shall and will particularize; and whoever finds the *Pack-Saddle* futing his own Back, I protest, I know not any manner of Reason, why it should not grace the rightful Owner. I can as little bear, and am as little used to ungentleman-like Usage as themselves. In their Regard I frankly own my self most negligently, most supinely, most carelessly and most sedately indifferent, not caring a single *Doit* how they take it; since, as I value not their Wrath, I am very sensible, that neither I, nor many others can ever be one *Farthing* the better for Persons so devoid of decent Behaviour, nay common Civility. To have offer'd to resent on the Spot, would have been, perhaps, an unwarrantable Precedent, in one dwindled to accost, Cap-in-Hand, under the scandalous, pitiful and contemptible Character of *Subscription-Hunter*. An abject Vocation! Here especially.

Leaving all this, for which I have no Name bad enough, I enter upon what, it may be, I cannot so promptly, or so boldly answer; meaning certain Omissions and Commissions of my own, whereof I am intirely conscious, and which I could heartily wish rectified. But there is no such thing in Nature as pleasing all People. Not that I shall, in any guise, perplex my Brain with the Apprehensions of what

Remarks and Criticisms may be made on my *long-proposed* Performance, by a Crew of insignificant, impotent Sciologists; who, for the mere Sake of carping, take a Pleasure in seeming to carp at Things of which they are wholly incapable of bettering the very worst Paragraphs. They are harmless Creatures, whom, instead of dreading, I utterly contemn. It is not their despicable Snarlings that can give me any Disquiet: Besides I generally happen to swim beyond their Depth; especially if they chance to be of the same Tribe as one pert, whiffling, Coxcomb, whom I cannot, for the very Soul of me (tho' I had reserved him for another Place) help introducing this Moment. Here he comes. Nor can I bring him in without an Apology for interrupting my worthy Audience with a Bauble of his Nothingness.

It was at a Coffee-House, where I was sitting with several Persons, to all whom I was a Stranger, and with them engaged in promiscuous Discourses, that this *Butterfly* came fluttering in among us, shaking his taudry Plumes. Listening some Minutes to our Talk, which then happened to be about *Tunis*, and the Ruins of *Carthage*: “ Sir, said he judiciously; as you lived so long in the Country, I admire you never had the Curiosity to take a *Ride*, to see the *Pyramids*, which you hinted just now never to have visited.” “ Really, Sir, replied I modestly, as became my present Vocation; that must have been a good smart *Ride*. But I never was in any Part of *Egypt*, I assure you, Sir.” “ *Egypt*, Sir! Why, pray, is not *Carthage* in *Egypt*, Sir?” Among us we disabused him; he seemed to wonder at the Badness of his Memory, and told us, that he was thinking of *Troy*. Some laughed outright, others smiled, and I, perhaps, did both, alternately. However all was again pretty well rectified; he sat down by us, grew pleasant enough, and we talked on. This ridiculous Scene I should scorn to introduce, but for the succeeding Unmannerliness of this *Mam's Loll*. His Politeness may, elsewhere, be touched upon, in Company with that of others, of his own and different Classes: I now only bring him upon the Carpet,

to give some Item of what Sort of Critics I am most Regardless, and least apprehensive.

But those Things of which I have most Reason of all to be ashamed, as I was intimating, and which I am really sorry were not remedied, are my Quotations in *Latin* from *Greek* Writers. Some, indeed, tell me, that all my *Latin* Quotations, in the *Introductory Discourse* are almost useless; since they will be of no Service to a mere *English* Reader. Here, to be plain, I cannot so readily come in; they serving me as so many valid Testimonies and Authorities for what is advanced, in order to confute some later, insincere Writers; nor do I recollect, that many Parts of the *English* Text are unintelligibly imperfect, even when the *Latin* is skipped over. And this I may, probably, say more in my *Letter*.

I cannot so well excuse the other Omission laid to my Charge; to the which I shall make, I fear, but a lame Defense at the best, and which will pass only among the most Indulgent. A judicious and very good Friend of mine, tells me, " I am unpardonable (making bold with his own Words) " in quoting noble *Greek* Authors, from " *rascally* Translations, in a Language not much better understood, by " the Generality, than the very Originals: Adding, that I ought, " infallibly, to have delivered them *finely translated*, in *English*; or, " to have done better, in both *Greek* and *English*: But giving them " in *Latin* is ridiculous." To every Tittle of this I intirely agree, acknowledge my self egregiously in the wrong, and thus enter on my feeble Defense: The only Foundation on which I build, being my having therein shewed my self so unfashionably ingenuous.

By way of Introduction, I must beg Leave to tell a short Tale. Could I call to Mind where I had it, I would fairly present it in the Author's very Words; but this, I am certain, is the Purport: *viz.* Some Great Personage, (a Prince I think,) in a Progress he was making thro' Part of this Country, upon his Approach to a certain Corporation-Town, was met by the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, on Horse-back, in their Formalities. The *Mayor* in their

Front,

Front, harangued to this Effect. "That your Highness, at your honouring our Town with your Presence, is not saluted with our Artillery, as was our constant Custom, whenever Persons of your Rank and Dignity passed this Road, does not, we assure you, proceed from the least Disrespect; but from the following seventeen Reasons.—*First* and *foremost*; Our Cannon was all removed to———this Time twelve-month; and we have not had one Great Gun in the whole Town ever since. *Secondly*—"Hold! Sir! Hold! Mr. *Mayor*! Sir! Sir! (interrupted his Highness, or Grace, whoever he was) I beg you keep the other sixteen Reasons to your self; this your *first* and *foremost* Reason being very satisfactory."

Now, notwithstanding it might, likewise, be a very sufficient Reason for my not *finely translating*, from *Greek* into *English*, the said Quotations, for me to avow, that, whatever *Greek* I might have, formerly, learned at School, I have so disused the Practice of it, ever since, that I at present know very little more than Mr. *Mayor's* Horse; as not daring to venture upon saying, as much as Mr. *Mayor* himself, or any of his Retinue: This, I say, tho' it fully excuses my not *Englishing* them from the *Greek* my own Self, I have still some other weak Reasons (yet not quite so many as Mr. *Mayor*, who, if I remember rightly, had rather more than less than that Number) even for not getting them done by some able Hand; nay, I have at least one, tho' not over and above substantial Reason, for my having delivered the same, just as they are, in *Latin*.

*Imprimis*. My Mind changed several Times, and my Schemes were more than once altered; of which I may, perhaps, give some Account in my said intended *secondary Preface*. Some of the first Sheets were actually printed off before I thought of giving a single Quotation from any *Classic*; nor had it ever been done but at the Instigation of some curious Friends, who assured me, that my so doing would render the whole Work abundantly more acceptable to the Generality of good Readers; whom, indeed, I am most desirous

and ambitious of pleasing. Having once begun, my whole Time was too much divided between keeping the Press going, and attempting; to very little Purpose, to get *farther Encouragement*, for me to be at Leisure to run with every Scrap of a Quotation, (stopping the Press all the while, upon each Occasion,) to a *Learned Man*, in order to get them *finely translated*; nay, even tho' I have several *Learned*, good-natured Friends, who would have served me, *gratis*.—These are the best Reasons I am able to produce, both for my neither doing them my self, nor getting them done by *able Hands*: And these, I hope, will pass Muster with the indulgent Considerate. As I am not, since I so plainly disavow my understanding the Originals, a Judge whether the *Latin* Versions are *rascally* or not, I am only to suppose them such, because a good Judge affirms it: But, had I ventured upon *Englishing* from thence, they, certainly, must have been rendered still more *rascally*. Not having the *English* Versions of those Authors, nor knowing well where to procure them, had Time been less precious, they go as they are; tho' it seems I might have found them ready *translated*; I know not how *finely*. Now the next and last Reason I shall be at the Trouble of laying down, for giving *Greek* Authors Sense in *Latin* Terms, is, without any Reserve, because the *Learned Aldrete*, that curious *Spaniard*, from whom, *verbatim*, I take almost every one of the said Quotations, uses that very identical Method, and introduces them on almost the very same Occasions; tho' his Paraphrasings and mine differ.

Notwithstanding I was assured by several, that provided all I wrote was purely *my own*, and nothing relating to any thing to be met with in other Books, they would willingly encourage me, both by *subscribing* their Selves, and engaging their Friends to do the like. This last Article, by the Bye, I fancy would be no easy Matter; as well by what I know of the Story, as by what several Gentlemen have ingenuously owned to me; *viz.* That they know nothing more difficult in Life, than to get *Subscribers* to any thing whatever; it being a received Maxim among the Generality of even the greatest Readers,

Readers, "Never ask Me to *Subscribe*, and I'll never ask You;" and that, among the very best and most intimate of their Friends and Acquaintance, they might, with a better Prospect of Success, request them to part with ten Pieces towards even the Relief of a distressed Family, than to advance one Half-Crown towards the Encouragement of a Book by *Subscription*; so are they prepossessed against it. Notwithstanding, I say, those generous Offers, which were not few, I could not prevail with my self to sit down, merely to write a twenty Years *Annals*, of the Occurrences of *Algiers*, and its large Territory, just within my own particular Knowledge; as supposing at least some of the wiser Part of this Figure-making Nation would be glad to know somewhat more; especially since I was conscious, it lay so much in my Power evidently to convince them, that if they knew nothing better to be depended on, than what they could learn from the Accounts we already have of those Matters, they, in plain Terms, knew very little worth knowing. Upon this very Consideration, I irreparably lost a considerable Number of good *Subscribers*; because I fairly avowed to them, that my Design was to take what I best liked from all that should come to Hand: And it is very probable, that the Books from which I have thought fit to borrow, either because I approved of what the said Authors advance, or in order to refute and correct their disingenuous Absurdities, might have lain long enough before they came to the Hands of those Admirers of *Memoirs* and *Annals*. I shall give some Account of those Authors to whom I am most obliged.

But, before we enter upon that, I must animadvert, that the *Introductory Discourse* bears a Title, which is neither liked by my self, nor by others. By Mistake, the first Sheet was worked off so; and, rather than maim the whole, I let it go with so improper a *Running Title*: Nor, as Encouragement goes now-a-Days, could I well afford to lose a Sheet's Impression. The Intelligent will soon perceive, that, tho' it bears a wrong Title all along, it concludes with one very proper: And as for such as have thought fit to scrue up  
their

their Mouths at it, they would find it a very difficult Matter to discover whose *quondam* Performance I have been all this while EPITOMIZING. Some Men of Worth and Sense have given themselves the Trouble, and done me the Honour of perusing the whole: Yet they stick not to assure me, that there is not any Part of the Work, but what is pertinent enough to the Subject; that it really deserves better Encouragement than it has met with; that it acquaints them with many Particulars they knew not before; that it generally carries with it a Face of uncommon Truth and Sincerity; and, in short, that they find very little, throughout, which will not, well enough, bear a Reading; nay, that it is a Piece of History nothing unworthy Publication; and very necessary for all who have any Tincture or Desire of being undeceived from the erroneous Notions, concerning those People and Countries, into which they have been led, either by ignorant, insincere Writers, or the inconsistent Talk of the stupid Vulgar; whose wild Ideas and spurious Imaginations concur with their own weak and rustic Intellectuals; and, consequently, never ought to merit the Attention and Regard of any who are not, in every Respect, like themselves.

Very many considerate Persons scruple not, intirely, to agree with me, in the main Points of my more immediate, my more particular Drift, *viz.* That if any People, whosoever they be, are really in any wise considerable, they ought fairly to be acknowledged for what they indisputably are; especially, since all the vain, ridiculous Blusters and Scurrility, that can be used at a Distance, will not render them a Jot less considerable: And yet they aver, that they themselves have been no less scandalized than I my self, at finding such unpardonable Partiality, accompanied with such profound and, seemingly, incurable Ignorance, among even People who, by the Figure they affect to cut, ought to have better Conceptions; to say nothing of their Want of Manners: Adding, with me, that whatever scurrilous Language is spewed out against any Person, in his Absence, does the railed-against Party no Manner of Injury; but makes the mean-spirited,



rited, impotent Railer look extremely ridiculous ; since it sufficiently demonstrates a Baseness of Soul in him, who speaks out of any one's Hearing what he dares not say to his Face.

I cannot be supposed insensible, that I am extremely blame-worthy, in being, thus perpetually, harping on this unmelodious String ; and I heartily crave the Excuse and Pardon of every such Reader as truly merits better Entertainment : Humbly intreating him to impute it solely to the very unworthy Treatment I have met with, in the Prosecution of this Design, and the Inundations of such-like Froth and bombastic Rhodomantade where-with my Ears were dinned, while I was upon the Seek for due Encouragement. I cannot but own, that the far properer Place for all this, (if any can be such) is my projected *Letter*, to my worthy Friend, whose desirable Acquaintance I have many Years had the Happiness of enjoying, and than whom I know not, in all Respects, a more competent Judge of the Piece of Work wherewith the Public, at least the Candid and Curious, are here presented. Conscious of my Error, in so doing, I again beg Pardon : Not doubting but I shall find some indulgent enough to attribute the indecent Warmths, and some *over-acid* Expressions, into which I am too apt to break out, to their real and only Motives, and whereof I give so frequently repeated Intimations.

In a foregoing Page, I term this my still-*uncomplete* Performance, *long-proposed*. Why I call it so, is directly for the following Reasons, *viz.* Because, perhaps, it gives me more Concern, and causes me a greater Uneasiness, to have had (I cannot say in my Pocket) the Monies of my *Encouragers*, towards a *non-appearing* Book, for one Year, than, seemingly, it does to some, who have been several Years under a like Circumstance ; tho' fixed Times have been formally promised for punctual Publication. But the more diffident, more cautious I, apprehensive of the Worst, would not venture on promising any set Time ; which I cannot help saying, now affords me small Satisfaction. In one Edition of my *Proposals*, indeed,

hazarded so far as to intimate, That, if not retarded for Want of due Encouragement, I hoped to Publish about last *Michaelmas-Term*: The Want whereof, and no other Motive whatever, wholly occasioned my Delay: All which I cannot recall to Remembrance without some Confusion. Thus much I could not avoid advancing, even in this very Place, towards my own Vindication. Nor can I but be confounded at being, as it were, under an indispensable Obligation of staining my *Preface* with Trash so disagreeable, both to my Self and Reader; who I fear begins to be out of Patience. Besides what have been already hinted, the only Reason I shall alledge for my having assumed the Liberty to be thus impertinently minute, more especially at such unseasonable Junctures, is because, I strongly fancy this Work to be the very last I shall ever have the least Itching to think of *Proposing* by *Subscription*. Probably, others, sunk to the same villanous Degree of Abjection, may, with my self, have had an equal Portion of base Rencounters; but if any one has, and ever returns to so vile a Calling, I must proclaim him far better stocked with Insensibility than my self: And here, with the *rascally* Vocation, I bid *Adieu* to the *scandalous* Subject; till I re-assume it elsewhere.

In order to perform my Promise, I next proceed to say something concerning what has dragged me into all this: I mean my Book. The *Introduction*, or *Epitome* of the Country I treat of, in general, is a mere Work of Supererogation, and in no guise what I first intended; as, I think, is somewhere intimated. As, at the Instigation of some peculiar Friends, and perhaps in order, somewhat, to ingratiate my self with all Readers, of any tolerable Curiosity, I own I went about it utterly unprepared, at a Conjunction when, I dare say, very often at least three Parts in four of my whole Time was employed after the elegant and delectable Manner I shall so amply specify, in my future *Epistle*: Infomuch, that, without much Exaggeration, I may safely avow, that very Part of the Work to have given me more Trouble, by far, than all the rest has hitherto done, or possibly

can do; even should I resolve to proceed to the Utmost of what I had, at one Time, fondly projected; when buoyed up by some curious Well-Meaners, I was flattered with the Hopes, that, in a Nation like ours, I need not in the least despond of meeting with thousands, who would willingly come into any reasonable Measures, so they might have, from a capable and impartial Hand, Matters of so *peregrine* and *grotesk* a Nature as this, and some other Topics I hinted. Such we, infallibly, have: But I found the Number unexpectedly diminutive. I wish I knew where the rest grow. But, at the same Time, I must confess, that had the fifth Part of the formal *Promises* which, almost unasked, have been, gravely, made me, had they been, I say, *chymically* transmuted into real *Actualities*; or, indeed, had I been Fool enough to have built, implicitly, on a Foundation I have since, in great Part, experienced to be so fallaciously instable, the Impression of this very Book might have been, perhaps, the largest of any Work of Bulk that ever appeared among us; still excepting *unprofane*, or *good* Books (not to part with the general Phrase) some of which, of one Sort or other, I am almost daily informed, by many credit-worthy Eye-Witnesses, may be seen lying on every Bawd's and Strumpet's Toilet in *Great-Britain, Ireland, &c.* And if such have them, what may we not presume, concerning them, elsewhere? But to have done with this insipid Ribaldry; I, the *often-bit*, the *mistaken* I, upon finding whole Drovers of those profuse *Promisers*, either unaccountably short of Memory, or else extremely prone, with a wonderful Alacrity, to *slip* their *Necks* out of the *Collar*, and withal wisely and maturely weighing my Theme's Unpopularity, particular Care has been and shall be taken, on my Side, that the *incurious* Town shall not have abundance of Reason to complain of being over-glutted. I cannot but acknowledge, it often enough excites my Irascibility; nor can I chuse but repine at my sinister Fate, in being destined to live in a Place, and being born in an Age when and where such Multitudes of People, who, I am almost certain, would take it in excessive

cessive Dudgeon to be thought *unfashionable*, seem to fancy themselves never nearer to the very *Summit* of the *Mode*, than just when they are telling an abominable *Untruth*, *innocently* railing behind Folks Backs, or *promising* what they never design to *perform*; and all this in serious Accent, Air serene, and a mighty grave Countenance. Monstrous! But! Whither, in the Name of Goodness, am I, at last, to be hurried by my over-sanguine, and, I believe, not very prevalent Sensibility?

I was speaking of my Book's *Introduction*, and the Trouble it gave me. It requires not a very penetrating Eye, either to discover how difficult a Task it must, unavoidably, have been to one taken at and labouring under all the before-hinted Disadvantages, or discern what a Number of gross Pseudo-Chronisms; and other Inconsistencies are therein rectified. It certainly set me a rummaging abundance of mouldy Authors it is very unlikely I should, otherwise, ever have looked in; and after all, some may call it *dry* Reading. But, I think it extremely ungenerous in such as seem to endeavour to depreciate the Work by insinuating, that there are abundance of Passages that may be found in other Writers. All that is positively true! Nor is it a whit less true, that I found the collecting and connecting them very troublesome; and even then I had not a few Faults and Mistakes to correct. And I hope it must be allowed, that it contains many Particulars which they never could have met with any where else, which have been occasionally, if not purposely introduced, by Way of *interlarding*, adapted to the Palates of some who express a Loathing to *dry* Meat: Some relish one thing, some another; but most have a *Goût* for Variety. It would be in vain to hope for pleasing every Appetite: However, I could wish it were all better.

I should be unpardonably ingrateful, should I offer to deny my being highly obliged to Dr. *Bernardo Aldrete*, that Curious and Reverend *Spaniard*, Canon of the Cathedral at *Cordoua*, whose *Antiguedades de Espana y Africa*, and others of his Writings,

ings, bear such Rank in the Republic of Letters, that few scruple acknowledging him to have been one of the most Learned Men of his Age. No; I am abundantly his Debtor: Yet, whosoever went about to call me his Translator, in any considerable Degree, would not only do me manifest Injustice, but, upon Examination, find themselves exceedingly mistaken. This I hint, because I am informed, that some think fit to harbour such Surmises. The Truth is, his Works are very well worth translating; nor will I stick to affirm, without a Spice of Vanity, that few could make more of some of them than my self; considering the Annotations they would very well bear, nay actually require.

Nor am I a little indebted to *F. Diego de Haedo*, Abbot of *Fro-mesta*, whom I frequently mention. He wrote a circumstantial, and not contemptible History of *Algiers*; which he brings down to near the Conclusion of the sixteenth Century. But, excepting a few good Passages and Remarks, which I, occasionally, pick out, his three tedious *Dialogues*, in particular, concerning *Captivity*, *Martyrs*, and *Morabboths*, or *Mahometan Santons*, are silly enough, replete with nauseous Cant, and, in many Cases, insufferably partial. I am most his Debtor in the Succession of the *Bashas*, &c.

I likewise, sometimes make good Use of *Luis del Marmol*, another noted *Spaniard*, a good Writer in several Respects, tho' often somewhat too verbose, virulently partial and not always correct; more particularly, when he touches upon what regards the People and Country I chiefly treat of, wherewith he seems less acquainted than with any of the rest of *Barbary*. I often speak of him. With *Leo Afer* I seldom meddle; since *Marmol* has, in a Manner, copied him; tho' with many Enlargements and Corrections: Yet it is remarkable, that, to the best of my Remembrance, he does not once name him; and, if I mistake not, *Aldrete* makes the very same Remark. Since *Leo's* Time, even tho' he had not been so often *misinformed*, the Face of Affairs in *Barbary* is strangely changed. His Book was pub-

lished in 1525, has been translated into several Languages, and was *Englishted*, in 1600, by *Mr. Pory*: Besides, there are large Abridgments of it in *Purchas*, *Harris*, and others. For all these Reasons, added to the little I find in him either to my Liking, or to my Purpose, occasioned my not having much Recourse to him, notwithstanding his great Reputation. I think, I have been at the Pains of detecting two or three abominable Blunders of his; which I did, perhaps, with more Willingness, because many have disdainfully insinuated, that *Leo*, being in so many Languages, they needed no other History of *Barbary*. What is taken from the Ancients, in the *Introduction*, is always fairly quoted.

Nor make I much Use of either *Gramaye*, *Dan*, *Davit*, *Dapper*, &c. As for our own huge Tomes, compiled from the Works of not-over-sincere Foreigners, since they so abound with Errors, they have been of little or no Service to me: From *Haklytt*, indeed, I borrow several good, necessary and seemingly very genuine Particulars. Throughout the Historical, &c. Dictionaries, one scarce can light on a single Article relating to these Affairs, which does not abound with Incoherencies; not worth while to enumerate. Besides what I have mentioned above, and some curious and very useful Notes and Remarks kindly communicated by the Reverend *George Holme*, D. D. Rector of *Hedley*, near *Farnham* in *Surrey*, who resided on the Spot some Years, together with some Particulars from other Moderns, as I duly observe and acknowledge my chief Helps have been from the worthy *M. Laugier de Tassy*, who so often speaks my Meaning.

When I first thought of writing this History, my Design was to have taken *Haedo* and Him for my Ground-Work; out of which two imperfect Performances, with convenient Improvements and Corrections, some Book-sellers would have had me compile a regular History; but would have cramped me up to a moderate Volume in *Octavo*. But I knowing I had abundantly more to say, and very much to the Purpose, than I could propose to bring into so narrow

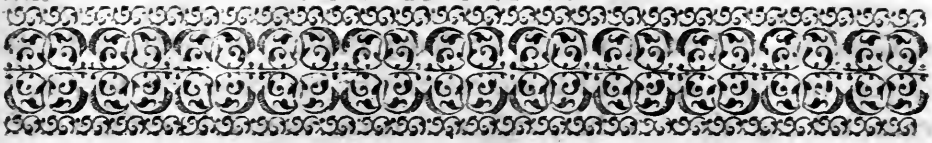
a Compass, and being withal, by some Persons of Figure and Curiosity, earnestly dissuaded from attempting to starve my Subject, I extended my View farther, and undertook what I have since most heartily repented ever to have touched; except my Steps had been better directed; and all those who have any Tincture of the Spirit of *Mæcenas* in them were more distinguishable by their external Appearance; & *per contra*.

What I present in this Volume, is completely the one Half of the Utmost I ever pretended to promise, for the *Subscription-Money*: Being full fifty Sheets; whereas I *proposed* about a hundred; which many would have thought amply complied with, in giving ninety. It really grieves me that my *Encouragers* cannot have the Whole. Such as in any wise like the Subject-Matter and Performance, cannot, reasonably, tax me with selling them a dear Bargain; the Goodness of Paper and Print considered. I mean as to *Quantity*; but in respect of the *Quality*, I must not presume to determine. As this is liked of, the rest may probably come to Light, in due Time; with several Miscellaneous Treatises, concerning Oriental Affairs; wherewith, perhaps, none except my self is able to furnish the Curious. Cautious as I am of making Promises, I can venture to promise, they shall have nothing less worth throwing away their Time on, than what they have already: Nay, I almost dare venture to engage for several Narratives, &c. not unentertaining. But, before I would think of again undergoing such Fatigue, such scurvy, base Treatment, in hawking about with any Work of mine, I here avow, that I would sooner chuse to be a Hackney-Horse, &c. in *England*; a Country so deservedly termed the HELL of that useful, noble and generous Creature.

Valete.

## E R R A T A.

P. viii. L. 12. dele I.—P. xxiii. read, no small.—*Ibid.* read, I hazarded.



# CONTENTS

OF THE

INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE; or, the EPITOME of  
the HISTORY of BARBARY, in general.

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## SECT. I.

*Of the original Inhabitants of this Country.* Page 1

<b>H</b> istories of <i>Barbary</i> unfaithfully written. Page 1	Ancient Tribes of <i>Moors</i> , and <i>Libyans</i> . 6
The Design of this Work. 2	Oriental People in <i>Africa</i> : The Opinion of <i>Sallust</i> . <i>ibid.</i>
Extent of <i>Africa</i> in general. <i>ibid.</i>	Of <i>Procopius</i> , and other Ancients, 7
Fables concerning this Region: Its ancient Names. <i>ibid.</i>	<i>Barbary</i> a fine Country, in Comparison with the more Southern Regions. 8
<i>Africa Propria</i> , or <i>Minor</i> . Its Name whence derived. 3	Traditions of the <i>Africans</i> , concerning their Origin. <i>ibid.</i>
By whom first Peopled, dubious: Presumed by <i>Egyptians</i> . <i>ibid.</i>	Ancient Ruins in <i>South Numidia</i> , &c. 9
<i>Africans</i> ignorant in ancient History. 4	Caves. <i>ibid.</i>
Their Tradition concerning the Origin of the Word <i>Barbary</i> . <i>ibid.</i>	Difference of Manners and Way of Living of the primitive <i>Moors</i> . 10
<i>Barca</i> ; a Desert. 5	<i>St. Augustine</i> . <i>ibid.</i>
A Mistake of <i>Leo Afer</i> . <i>ibid.</i>	<i>Liby-Pbanicians</i> . <i>ibid.</i>
And of later Writers. <i>ibid.</i>	<i>Libyans</i> . 11

SECT.



# CONTENTS.

## S E C T II.

### Of Carthage and its Empire. Page 11

<b>C</b> arthage. Its Original.	Page 11	Palmyra.	22
Dido.	12	Moors of Africa, how named by ancient Writers.	ibid.
Byrsa. Its Etymology.	ibid.	Lybians, a wild and savage People.	23
Variety of Testimonies, concerning the Time of its Foundation.	ibid.	Some Account of the Numidians.	ibid.
Divers Opinions of Authors.	13	Syphax. His Kingdom.	ibid.
Fragments of the ancient History of Carthage.	14	Cirtba.	24
First Punic War.	16	Masanissa. A gallant Prince.	ibid.
Hannibal.	ibid.	In Alliance with Scipio.	ibid.
Second Punic War.	ibid.	Asdrubal.	25
Third Punic War, and Fall of Carthage.	17	Sophonisba. Her Influence over Syphax.	ibid.
Carthaginian Possessions in Africa.	ibid.	Some of the Actions of Masanissa.	ibid.
Numidians.	19	A Scourge to Carthage.	27
Carthaginians crafty and vain-glorious.	ibid.	Speech of the Numidian Ambassador before the Roman Senate.	ibid.
Mauritania. Its Divisions and Extent.	20	Fate of Syphax and his fair Queen Sophonisba.	28
North-Numidia.	ibid.	State of Numidia after the Decease of the Great Masanissa.	29
South-Numidia; briefly described.	ibid.	Phileni, two Brothers. Their remarkable Story.	ibid.
Dangerous and uncomfortable Traveling.	21		

## S E C T III.

### Of the ROMAN PROVINCES in AFRICA; being a Continuation of the History to the coming of the VANDALS. 30

<b>T</b> unis.	30	Casaria: Now supposed Algiers. The Regal Seat of Juba.	ib.
Bocchus.	31	Julius Casar. His Death.	ib.
Bocchar.	ibid.	Bogud and Bocchus. Their Fate.	35
Masanissa's Sons. Kings of Numidia.	ib.	Juba II. Much favoured by Augustus.	ib.
Jugurtha. His History.	ib.	Ptolemy.	38
Masimtha.	32	Tacfarinas. A brave Rebel.	ib.
Juba, Prince of Numidia; affronted by J. Casar.	ib.	Cinithii, perhaps Zeneta.	39
Hiempsal. He goes to Rome.	ib.	Cowardice feverely punished.	ib.
Bogud.	33	The insolent Demand made by Tacfarinas to Tiberius: Who highly resents.	40
Death of Cato, &c.	34		
Young Juba carried to Rome.	ib.		

# C O N T E N T S.

That Rebel defeated by <i>Junius Blefus.</i>	Three <i>Mauritania.</i> Proved by several
Page 40	Testimonies. 56
<i>Garamantes.</i>	Commotions. 58
<i>Dolabella.</i>	<i>Comes.</i> Its Signification. <i>ib.</i>
Defeat and Death of <i>Tacfarinas.</i> The	<i>Firmus.</i> An Arch Rebel. <i>ib.</i>
War concluded. 42	<i>Theodosius</i> the Great. 59
<i>Tiberius</i> partial. <i>Dolabella's</i> great Merit	<i>Algiers.</i> Scarce any Remains of Anti-
slighted. 43	quity there. <i>ib.</i>
A cheap Way of rewarding Services. <i>ib.</i>	<i>Gildon,</i> Brother to <i>Firmus,</i> rebels. 60
<i>Ptolemy's</i> Death. <i>ib.</i>	An impious Tyrant. 61
<i>Caligula's</i> Character. 44	His Death. <i>ib.</i>
<i>Edeon</i> rebels against the usurping Ro-	The State of <i>Christianity</i> in <i>Africa.</i> 62
mans. <i>ib.</i>	<i>Heracion.</i> A Rebel. 64
<i>Claudius.</i>	Church Affairs continued. 65
A pretended Miracle. 45	Prelates very numerous in <i>Africa.</i> <i>ib.</i>
Vanity of Superstitious Credulity. 46	The Author's Remarks thereon; where-
When the <i>Mauritania,</i> &c. became Ro-	in are included several Curiosities con-
man Provinces. <i>ib.</i>	cerning the present State and Aspect
<i>Sitifenfis.</i>	of the Country. <i>ib.</i>
The Divisions of those Provinces. <i>ib.</i>	<i>African</i> Highlanders. Their Disposition,
Some Account of those Regions and	and strange Antipathy to <i>Christianity.</i>
their Inhabitants. 47	68
A Remark. 48	Marked with indelible Crosses. <i>ib.</i>
<i>Africans</i> described. Their Unpoliteneſs.	The Author's Conjectures thereon. 69
49	Those People farther described. <i>ib.</i>
Commotions. <i>ib.</i>	<i>Cucco.</i> <i>ib.</i>
<i>African</i> Cities annexed to <i>Spain.</i> 51	<i>Beni-Abbas.</i> 70
<i>Lucius Piſo,</i> assassinated. <i>ib.</i>	<i>Zwouwa.</i> <i>ib.</i>
Disturbances in the <i>Carthaginenſis.</i> 52	Remarks on those Nations. <i>ib.</i>
Trifling Criticism. 53	Disputes between them and the <i>Arabs.</i>
Roman Provinces in <i>Africa.</i> Their Con-	71
dition. <i>ib.</i>	Unconvertible. <i>ib.</i>
<i>Africans</i> unquiet. Excellent Horsemen. 55	St. <i>Augustine's</i> Epistle concerning the
State of <i>Africa,</i> upon the Division of the	<i>Africans.</i> 72
Empire. <i>ib.</i>	

## S E C T. IV.

*The History of BARBARY continued; from the Irruption of the VANDALS, to the Conquest of those Provinces by the SARACENS, or MAHOMETAN ARABS.* Page 73

S State of the <i>African</i> Provinces, at the	him. <i>ib.</i>
<i>Vanaal</i> Invasion. 73	<i>Africans,</i> hating the <i>Romans,</i> join the <i>Kan-</i>
<i>Hyperborean</i> Nations over-run the Em-	dals. 75
pire. 74	<i>Vandal</i> Princes Tyrants. 76
<i>Genſeric,</i> King of the <i>Vandals,</i> enters	<i>Africans</i> farther characterized. <i>ib.</i>
<i>Africa.</i> <i>ib.</i>	Abstract of the <i>Vandal</i> Wars. 77
<i>Bonifacius.</i> Some Particulars relating to	

# CONTENTS.

<i>Valentinian. Aëtius. Maximus. Eudoxia</i> : She invites <i>Genferic</i> to <i>Italy</i> ; who sacks <i>Rome</i> .	79	Just Complaints.	96
<i>Eudoxia</i> , and her two Daughters.	81	<i>Africans</i> again briefly described.	97
<i>Marcian</i> .	<i>ib.</i>	A Discourse concerning Camels.	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Leo</i> . Too clement.	<i>ib.</i>	Odd Lyings-in.	98
<i>Majoran</i> .	<i>ib.</i>	Treatise of Camels pursued.	<i>ib.</i>
The Death of the execrable <i>Genferic</i> . Soon followed by the Ruin of the Western Empire.	<i>ib.</i>	Intended Stratagem of an <i>Arab</i> .	99
<i>Huneric</i> . A still greater Tyrant.	82	Camels fierce at certain Seasons.	100
<i>Zeno</i> .	<i>ib.</i>	Of Dromedaries.	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Vandal</i> Inhumanity.	<i>ib.</i>	Notable Account of one.	101
Farther Remark concerning the <i>Africans</i> .	83	<i>Soloman</i> victorious.	103
Inveterate Haters of <i>Christianity</i> .	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Faudas</i> .	<i>ib.</i>
A moving Scene.	84	<i>Auras</i> . A fine Mountain.	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Huneric's</i> miserable Death.	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Tamuga</i> .	104
<i>Gunthamond</i> . A cruel Prince.	<i>ib.</i>	Erroneous Notions of the Complexions in <i>Africa</i> attempted to be refuted.	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Thraſimond</i> . Such another Tyrant.	85	Wrong Notions contradicted.	105
<i>Africans</i> . Their Genius.	<i>ib.</i>	Wife Questions.	<i>ib.</i>
Camels. Formerly terrible to the Horſes of <i>Africa</i> .	86	Disturbances.	<i>ib.</i>
Now quite otherwise; being abundantly more common.	87	<i>Barbaracini</i> .	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Hilderic</i> . A Prince not devoid of Hu- manity and Virtue.	<i>ib.</i>	Mount <i>Aspis</i> .	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Gilimer</i> . The laſt <i>Vandal</i> King of <i>Afri- ca</i> . Little better than the worſt of his Predeceſſors.	88	<i>Gregory</i> , the Great, converts <i>Pagans</i> .	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Belifarius</i> ſent againſt him by <i>Juſtinian</i> .	<i>ib.</i>	Conſpiracy againſt <i>Soloman</i> .	106
The true Character of the <i>Africans</i> .	89	<i>Faudas</i> . A bold <i>African</i> .	<i>ib.</i>
Remarks.	90	A dangerous Paſs.	107
Partiality condemned.	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Zieb</i> . A <i>Numidian</i> Province.	<i>ib.</i>
And diſavowed by the Author.	91	More well-grounded Complaints. Re- marks thereon.	108
<i>Africans</i> , farther characterized.	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Soloman</i> juſtly upbraided.	109
The Subject continued.	92	Of Wives and Concubines. A ſaying a- mong the <i>Arabs</i> , &c.	<i>ib.</i>
The chief Differences preſumed to have been between the ancient and modern <i>Africans</i> .	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Soloman's</i> Death. Not wholly unne- -rited.	110
A ſuppoſed Scene.	93	<i>Procopius</i> . A good Hiſtorian.	<i>ib.</i>
Remarks.	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Tripolitana</i> .	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Zazo</i> .	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Cabaon</i> .	111
<i>Gilimer</i> made Priſoner; which put an End to the <i>Vandal</i> Empire in <i>Africa</i> ; all which Provinces return to the Im- perial Crown.	94	<i>John</i> . Governor of <i>Africa</i> . Subdues the Rebels; and makes Peace.	<i>ib.</i>
Commotions.	95	Many Commotions. Teſtimonies con- cerning them.	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Belifarius</i> triumphs.	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Gennadius</i> .	112
<i>Gilimer's</i> remarkable Ejaculation.	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Mauricius</i> .	113
<i>Soloman</i> , laſt Governor of <i>Africa</i> .	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Phocas</i> . A Tyrant.	<i>ib.</i>
		<i>Heraclius</i> .	114
		Superſtition.	<i>ib.</i>
		A Tyrant's juſt Reward.	<i>ib.</i>
		<i>Khoſron</i> . A Deſtroyer of the World.	<i>ib.</i>
		His Arrogance.	115
		<i>Hejira</i> begins.	<i>ib.</i>
		Its Signification.	<i>ib.</i>
		A neceſſary Table, how to compute it.	116
		<i>Heraclius</i> victorious over <i>Khoſron</i> .	118
		<i>Madarſas</i> .	

# C O N T E N T S.

<p><i>Madarfias. Syroes.</i> This last a good Prince. <i>ib.</i>          Puts his execrable Father to a miserable Death. <i>ib.</i>  <i>Khoifrou</i> was <i>Mabomez's</i> Precursor. 119          That Pseudo-Prophet's true Name. <i>ib.</i>          Etymology of the Word <i>Saracen.</i> <i>ib.</i>  <i>Abou-Bekra.</i> 120  <i>Aisha.</i> <i>ib.</i>  <i>Constantine III.</i> succeeds <i>Heraclius.</i> <i>ib.</i>  <i>Pyrrhus,</i> a Traytor. <i>ib.</i>  <i>Martina. Heraclion.</i> <i>ib.</i>  <i>Constans II.</i> 121  <i>Gregory,</i> Governor of <i>Africa.</i> <i>ib.</i>          A Synod called. <i>ib.</i>  <i>Saracens.</i> Their Encouragement to invade the <i>Roman States</i> in <i>Africa.</i> 122          Many Testimonies from the <i>Classics,</i> &amp;c. relating to the ancient <i>Africans,</i> describing their Manners, &amp;c. Intermix'd with various Remarks. <i>ib.</i>          The <i>Saracen Mussulmans</i> first Visit to <i>Barbary.</i> 143          The whole Region conquered by <i>Sidi Occuba.</i> 144  <i>Sitifi.</i> <i>ib.</i>          A ridiculous Criticism of a <i>Spaniard.</i> <i>ib.</i>          The <i>Arab General's</i> remarkable Saying. 145          Animadversions on that Conquest. <i>ib.</i>  <i>Aldrete.</i> A very learned <i>Spaniard.</i> Several Extracts from his curious Writings, relating to <i>Africa</i> and its People; with some Remarks thereon. 147  <i>Pagan Outrages.</i> 149          The Author animadverts thereon. <i>ib.</i></p>	<p>The <i>Africans</i> insuperable Aversion to all Resemblance of Image-Worship. 150          Instances of it. <i>ib.</i>          Their Partiality, in regard to the <i>Pagan Idolaters.</i> 151  <i>Constans II.</i> A cruel, wicked Prince. Unsuccessful. 152  <i>Beni-Ommeyab.</i> <i>ib.</i>  <i>Constantine V.</i> Why surnamed <i>Pogonatoros.</i> <i>ib.</i>  <i>Africa's</i> Wretchedness. 153  <i>Justinian II.</i> Why surnamed <i>Rhinotmetos.</i> 154  <i>Leontius.</i> <i>ib.</i>          Unseafonable Caprice. <i>ib.</i>  <i>Leontius.</i> A tyrannic Usurper. 155          Justly rewarded by his Successor <i>Abfimarus;</i> who is miserably slain by the vindictive <i>Rhinotmetos.</i> <i>ib.</i>  <i>Walid,</i> the <i>Saracen Khalifa,</i> reduces <i>Barbary.</i> <i>ib.</i>          His mighty Acquisitions. <i>ib.</i>          He enlarges the Temple at <i>Medina.</i> Others of his Deeds. 156          A Fragment of the <i>Saracen</i> History. 157          A memorable Passage. 158          Another. <i>ib.</i>  <i>Christianity</i> extinguished in <i>Africa.</i> 159          The total Reduction of that Country. Whence dated. <i>ib.</i>  <i>Moufa.</i> A brave <i>Arab</i> General. 160  <i>Cairouan.</i> <i>ib.</i>  <i>Tharek.</i> A bold <i>Arab</i> Captain. Enters <i>Spain.</i> Envied by <i>Moufa.</i> <i>ib.</i>  <i>Gibraltar.</i> Whence its Name. <i>ib.</i>  <i>Moriscoes,</i> or <i>Spanish Moors.</i> 161          Unjustly persecuted by Zealots. <i>ib.</i></p>
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## S E C T V.

*Some TESTIMONIES of the Pride, Tyranny and Injustice of the ROMANS in general, and of the enormous Vices of the AFRICAN CHRISTIANS in particular; which much conduced to their Overthrow, and the Loss of those Provinces. Taken from ALDRETE. 162*

THE Author's Remark on these Testimonies. 166      Another Remark. 167

*Cairouan.*

# C O N T E N T S.

## S E C T. VI.

*The History of BARBARY, &c. continued, to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century; when ALGIERS came into the Possession of the TURKS.*  
Page 167

<p><b>C</b>airouan. At one Time the Metro- polis of all <i>Barbary</i>. 167</p> <p>State of the Country. 168</p> <p><i>Beni-Aglab</i>: A Dynasty. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Beni-Rostam</i>: Another. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Beni-Edris</i>: Another. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Fathimites</i>. Another notable Dynasty; founded by <i>Al-Mehedi</i>. 169</p> <p><i>Sheites</i>. A Sect. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Mehedia</i> built. 170</p> <p>Epitome, concerning the first <i>Fathimite</i> Princes. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Mussulman</i> Schifm. 171</p> <p><i>Zeirites</i>. A Dynasty. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Corruptly called <i>Zegriss</i>. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Bujeya</i>. 172</p> <p><i>Scenite Arabs</i>. Enemies to walled Towns. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>How first permitted to pass into <i>Bar-</i> <i>bary</i>. 173</p> <p>They lay waste the Country; but stock it with <i>Camels</i> and <i>Arab Women</i>. 174</p> <p>Their greater Tribes; and most nume- rous Subdivisions. 175</p> <p>Some Account of the <i>Arab Distinctions</i>, <i>Helel</i> and <i>Zeneta</i>. 177</p> <p><i>Jezzia</i>. An <i>Arab Princess</i>. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Anarchy in <i>Barbary</i>, &amp;c. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Religion often a Cloke. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>A notable Instance of it. 178</p> <p>An odd Passage. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Africans</i>, &amp;c. modest. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Of <i>Al-Morabbehiab</i>, a noted Dynasty cor- ruptly called <i>Almoravides</i>. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Well-acted Hypocrisy. 179</p> <p>A Saying of the late <i>Tunis Envoy</i>. 181</p> <p>Surmises of the Author. 182</p> <p><i>Al-Moahedoun</i>: Another great Dynasty, corruptly named <i>Almohades</i>. 183</p>	<p>Its Founder makes Religion as good a Cloke as any of his Predecessors. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Imaum</i>. What the Word signifies. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>The Word Mosque whence derived. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Who were the twelve <i>Imaums</i>. 184</p> <p>Fable of the last of them. And of the <i>Mussulman's Antichrist</i>. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>From whence <i>Gulliver</i> borrowed his Fable of the Empire of <i>Lilliput</i>. 185</p> <p>The Author declines treating of any Mat- ters the <i>Africans</i>, &amp;c. profess in com- mon with other <i>Mussulmans</i>. But gives the Fragment of a Sermon, delivered by a pious <i>Derwisch</i>. 186</p> <p>Pleasant Sneer of a <i>Moor</i>. 188</p> <p>A fleeing Heretic. 189</p> <p>That Preacher's Zealous Repentment. Appeased by a polite <i>Spabi</i>. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>What Time will bring forth. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Mussulman</i> Sayings and Tradition. 190</p> <p><i>Adam's Shoes</i>. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Our Ancestors <i>Brobdignaggians</i>, of the largest Size. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Ribs of Gyants. 191</p> <p>And Stone Coffins seen by the Author. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Other Antiquities. 192</p> <p>The Discourse of the couterfeit <i>Mehedi</i> re-assumed. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Beni-Merin</i>. A famous Dynasty. 194</p> <p><i>S. Fago</i> performs Wonders. <i>ib.</i></p> <p>A partial Zealot speaking honourably of his most hated Enemies, to the Shame of such, who, tho' not Zealots, never speak well even of their Friends. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Moors</i> not very remarkable for their Pas- siveness. 195</p> <p><i>Mulei Ismael</i>. <i>ib.</i></p> <p><i>Mulei Kasbid</i>. <i>ib.</i></p>
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# CONTENTS.

Some good Effects of Tyranny.	196	Wretched <i>Arabs</i> .	ib.
Of the Kings of <i>Tremizan</i> .	ib.	<i>Santons</i> highly venerated.	206
Of the Kings of <i>Tunis</i> .	196	Hypocrisy turns to good Account	ib.
<i>Arabs</i> there very much regarded.	200	The Author's officious Proneness to in-	
What the Word <i>Mulei</i> implies.	201	terlard his driest Meats, in Hopes of	
The Descent and Device of those Princes.	202	hitting the Relish of some particular	
	202	Palates.	207
<i>Beni-Hafs</i> . A Singularity of that Family.	203	Is a Lover of Truth, and condemns	
<i>Moors</i> in Spain.	204	those who are not. He hopes some	
<i>Portuguese</i> in <i>Africa</i> .	ib.	will like him the better for that very	
<i>Sherifs</i> of <i>Africa</i> .	ib.	good, tho' not very common Quality.	ib.
Religion again made a Cloke.	205		

## ERRATA.

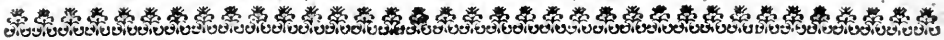
P. 1. L. 6. dele *it*. — P. 47. L. 3. for *his* read *his Patron*. — P. 144. L. *pennult*. dele *vulgar*. — P. 151. L. *ult*. for *divide* read *deride*. — P. 172. L. 7. read *Roger I*. — P. 1. of the *History*, for *Situations*, read *Situation*. — P. 287. in the *Note*, read *Philip I*.



THE



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BARBARY  
EPITOMIZ'D.



*Of the original Inhabitants of this Country.*



HAVING been long conversant in the Country I am about to treat of, and meeting with so many gross Errors, and even palpable Falsities, in Accounts given us concerning it, I purpose to set Matters in a much clearer Light than they have hitherto appear'd in, and to rectify several Mistakes the Publick has been led into, by ignorant, enthusiastick Monks, and such like romancing Zealots: One of the bad Consequences whereof, and that none of the least, is, that later Writers, Persons of the greatest Erudition and Veracity, by building on such as apparently seem to have had neither Probity nor Learning, exhibit Things that would induce one to call in Question, if not their Sincerity, at least their Judgment.

Tho' the main Subject I design to handle, is what more immediately relates to *Algiers*, and its Territory; yet, for the better Illustration of my intended History, I find it necessary to advance a previous Discourse concerning the ancient State of this Dominion, and the neighbouring Provinces; wherein, with all convenient Brevity, and according to the best Authorities, I shall just take Notice of some of the most remarkable Occurrences that have happen'd in *Barbary*, from the earliest Ages, till the Time that a very considerable Portion of that Country fell under the Tyranny of those Disturbers of Commerce, the *Algerine Turks*, somewhat more than two Centuries since.

Of the Part of the World in which this large Tract of fruitful Land is situate, I shall give only these few general Hints. In the common Division of this our terraqueous Globe, *Africa* is counted one of the four Parts; tho' the Partition is very unequal. The Extent our correctest Geographers allot to this vast *Peninsula*, from Cape *Guardafu* in the East, to Cape *Non* in the West, is about eighty Degrees, 4800 Miles; and from Cape *Bona* in the North, to the Cape of *Good Hope* in the South, at least seventy Degrees, or 4200 Miles. As the Equator cuts it almost in the Midst, the far greater Part of it lies between the Tropicks, and consequently no less than forty seven of the seventy Degrees of its Breadth, or 2820 Miles, suffer the Inclemency of the Torrid Zone.

The little Knowledge the primitive Ages had of this Region, occasion'd the unaccountable Fables, of old, which have been written concerning it, more monstrous, if possible, than the Monsters it is said to produce: Doubtless, under those Fictions may lie couch'd some Gleanings of real History, tho' hard to come at. Many were the Names given it by the Ancients; *Olympia*, *Oceania*, *Eschatia*, *Coryphe*, *Hesperia*, *Aeria*, *Ortygia*, *Ammonia*, *Aethiopia*, *Ophiusa*, *Cephenia*, *Cyrene*, with some others; meaning sometimes part, sometimes the whole; but more generally *Libya*, which now is adapted only to that barren, sandy Desert, which stretches along, from *Egypt* down to the *Atlantick*, or Western Ocean, under the Tropick of *Cancer*, and borders upon the *Blackis*: As for its present Denomination, *Africa*, it was not so much used in former Days. Had the bold Attempt of the ancient *Egyptians* taken Effect, all this great Part of the Universe had been an Island; but the cutting through that *Isthmus*, by which it is join'd to *Asia*, was found impracticable.



Not to amuse, or rather tire, either my Reader, or my self, with the several abstruse, far-sought Etymologies Authors are pleas'd to give us, I shall, implicitly, join in Opinion with some others, but more particularly the *Arabs* and *Africans* themselves, (whose Sentiments I never can be dispos'd to reject but when I find surer Ground to go upon) that *Africa* derives its Name from *Ifriki*, or, as some have it, *Ifrikish*, an *Arab* Prince, of whom I shall soon have Occasion to make farther mention. Their Writers, as well as the *Europeans*, agree, that the Name properly appertains to only one Province, which is the more Easterly Part of *Barbary*, call'd by *Latin* Historians *Carthaginenfis*, *Byzacena*, *Marmarica*, *Cyrene*, *Zeugitana*, and *Africa Minor*, or *Propria*: It includes all the North Parts of the present Kingdoms of *Tunis*, and *Tripoly*, bordering to the West on the *Algerine* Territory, at the same River which, if I mistake not, was the Eastern Boundary of the ancient Kingdom of *Numidia*. This Province all the *Asiatick* *Arabs* call *Frikia*, or rather *Ifrikia*; tho' they, as well as the *Turks* and *Persians*, the *Mussulman Tartars* and *Indians*, and, for ought I know, many other Oriental Nations, speaking, or writing of *Africa*, call it *Magrib*, that is *West*; tho' by that Name they mean not any Part of *Egypt*, neither of the *Æthiopia*, nor indeed any other but *Barbary*, and the *Numidian* and *Libyan* Desarts, down to the Western Ocean; all which they term *Magrib*, and sometimes *Al Garb*, on account of its Situation in respect of them: But when they would distinguish, they say *Magrib* the *hithermost*, the *middle*, the *farthermost*, if they mean *Barbary*; if the Desarts, they say *Sabara Magrib*.

Of this great *Peninsula*, in general, what has been said shall suffice; my Theme confining me to narrower Limits. Few, I believe, but are of Opinion, that *Egypt* and *Abyssinia*, or the *Upper-Æthiopia*, were long inhabited before the rest of *Africa*. Might I presume to venture upon my own private Sentiment, whatever People may have since introduc'd themselves into *Barbary*, and the contiguous Desarts, as *Æthiopia* is universally allow'd to have peopled all the Regions inhabited by *Blacks*, it is natural enough to conjecture, that the very first who peopled Westward of the *Nile* were the Dregs and Refuse of the primitive *Egyptians*: Nor do I remember any where to have either read, or heard, that any particular People are positively affirm'd; upon reasonable Foundations, to have actually been the first Discoverers of *Barbary*, and its Neighbourhood.

4            *The HISTORY of BARBARY Epitomiz'd.*

During the Course of several Years Residence in that Country, I have had, in many Parts of it; frequent Opportunities of familiar Converse and Communication with some of the most intelligent, and best qualified Natives, as well *Arabs* as natural *Africans*. Not to mention others of their Books, I have heard *Ib'n Al-Rakik*, their most esteem'd Historian and Chronologist, often quoted by *Leo Africanus*, read quite over; tho' not with Attention enough to have retain'd any thing considerable, as little imagining ever to have undertaken a Work of this Nature. What I recollect, in general, is, that *Leo* has borrow'd from him very much; and that all his Readers and Commentators are most superlatively ignorant in many Things; especially in Periods of Time, making strange Havoock and Confusion of Ages and Persons; more particularly, all they discourse of, concerning the *Romans*, before the Decline of the Empire, is enough to shock every judicious Auditor; as the Empire decays; they seem to begin to grow somewhat more tolerable: I shall not descend to Instances.

Before I take Notice of what our own Historians advance, relating to the peopling *Barbary*, I shall deliver the Notions of the Natives themselves, upon that Head: *Leo*, and, from him, others have the like, tho' with some Variation, as may be observ'd, both in that Point, and in the Etymology and Signification of the Word *Barbary*.

A certain *Melic*, or King, say they, of Part of *Yeman*, or *Arabia Felix*, whose Name was *Ifriki*, making War with the *Affyrians*, had with them many Encounters with various Success; till having Intelligence, that those his Enemies were preparing again to attack him, with a very formidable Power, and finding himself too weak to withstand them, retreated, with five Tribes, or Nations, his Subjects, into *Egypt*. But the *Egyptians* not suffering him to make a Settlement there, he was forc'd to remove into the Desert of *Barca*, which separates *Egypt* from the *Cyrenaica*. Finding little Sustenance for his numerous Followers, their Herds and Drovers, in that barren Region, he dispatch'd a Party, mounted on Dromedaries, in Search of a more commodious Habitation. At their Return, the Prince inquiring what News they brought; *Ber! Ber!* cried they, with great Eagerness; that is, Land! Land! By thus duplicating the Word, and giving their Heads and Bodies certain Gestures (as is very usual when they bestow more than ordinary Commendation upon a Thing, or Person) they signified the same as if they expressly said, they had discover'd a glorious Country: And such the very worst Spot of Ground throughout

throughout *Barbary* must really be, in Comparifon with that frightful Defart of *Barca*, (call'd by the Ancients *Catabathmos*;) as I have heard affirm'd by many Western Pilgrims, who never scruple to own, that they endure far greater Hardfhips and Incommodities in their Passage between the *Cyrenaica* and *Alexandria*, than in all the rest of the tirefome Journey from *Grand Cairo* to *Mecca* and *Medina*. Its length is above 400 Leagues.

I cannot but wonder, that an Author of fuch Reputation, as *Leo* is allow'd to be, and whose History of *Africa* has been fo generally receiv'd, and translated into fo many Languages, fould be led into fuch an egregious Miftake, as to affirm, that *Ber*, abfolutely fignifies, in *Arabick*, a Defart. That others have fallen into the like Error, being Foreigners, is not fo much to be admir'd at; but that one of his Learning and Experience fould fo err, in his native Idiom, is fomewhat furprizing. He was born at *Granada*: In his Youth he was tranfplanted into *Africa*, where his natural Language is the predominant Dialect. Perhaps, an *Arab* may, occasionally, call a Country actually defart *Ber*, and indeed it is fometimes fo ufed; but that is no Manner of Argument, that he does it to diftinguifh it from others that are not fo. *Ber*, in Effect, has no other real Signification than Land, or Country; and did it pofitively imply a Defart, Why do they always ufe the Term *Sabara* to diftinguifh a fandey, barren Region from *Till*, which is one whose Soil is of a quite oppofite Nature and Quality? Very few Parts of *Barbary* it felf have any Title to that firft Term; nor is it ever call'd fo. Then again, Why fould they generally call *Chriftendom*, *Ber Nafara*; *Turky*, *Ber Turc*; *Persia*, *Ber Al-Ajam*; *Egypt*, *Ber Maffir*; *Arabia*, *Ber Al-AArab*, &c.? Can it be fuppos'd they mean the Defarts of the *Chriftians*, *Turks*, *Persians*, &c.? Stupidly ignorant as many of them may be, they cannot imagine thofe Countries deferve that Epithet and Character; nor do they mean fo.

The other Word, *Burbura*, which *Leo*, and from him, others fancy might have given *Barbary* its Name, feems ftill more trifling. Some are pleafant enough to inform us, that *Barbary* comes from that Word, which, in *Arabick*, is to fpeak, or mutter, fcarce articulately, between the Teeth, as the Language of the Inhabitants, they fay, founded in the Ears of the *Arabs*, who firft came into the Country; and in the fame Breath they give us to underftand, that, as *Ber* fignifies a Defart, that Part of *Africa* was call'd *Berberia*, by reafon that thofe very *Arabs*, whose Ears were fo offended with the muttering, uncooth Speech of the *Africans*, found the Country wholly defart, and uninhabited. As to this

Etymology, I never met with any of the Western *Arabs*, that insist much upon the matter; but it is very common, when *Moors* are talking in their own Tongue, for them to say, *Sunnut had-bo'l Bereber*; *Tabanin kif-e burburou*: "Listen to those *Berebers*; how the Cuckolds mutter." Such as are fond of believing, that the *Romans* (who, as well as the *Greeks*, called all Strangers *Barbari*) named this Country so, rather than any other, on account of the superlative Barbarity of its Natives, perhaps, may be in the right, tho' I much doubt it. The Natives themselves agree, that Part of the Land they inhabit was nam'd *Ifrikia*, from the Prince before mention'd, the whole Coast *Berberia*, and their Ancestors *Bereber* (in the Plural, *Berber* is the Singular) long before the *Romans*, or even the Founders of *Carthage*, set Foot in their Territory: I cannot say they value themselves upon the Name; nor are they displeas'd if so call'd. They likewise affirm that Prince to have been a real *Arab*, and his People *Sabeans*; but they are not able to fix the Time of his being expell'd *Asia*. In this Point, perhaps, they have fifty different Opinions, upon none of which one can depend; tho' all agree, that the Tribes he brought with him, were the same, whose Posterity are the present *Moors* of *Barbary*, not without some Mixture, and still retain their original Names, *Musamouda*, *Zeneta*, *Sinhajia*, *Gomera* and *Hoara*; that they are of very ancient standing, but acknowledge they were not the first Inhabitants, there being five other Nations, whose Names are *Zenaga*, *Ganzaga*, *Terga*, *Lumpta*, and *Berdoa*, now dispers'd throughout the *Libyan* Desarts, who are of greater Antiquity; adding, that by long Intercourse and Communication with them, and other later People, their Language, originally the purest *Arabick*, is become what it now is. When other Grounds are wanting, we must take up with Tradition, and such is the Tradition of the *Barbary Moors*.

Probably it may be a Matter of no less Difficulty, to attempt tracing the Original of these People, than that of any other Nation in the Universe: It is a Rock that many split upon. But let us examine what others lay down. An Author of no less Credit than *Sallust*, says, that the Army, compos'd of sundry Oriental Nations, which *Hercules* conducted into *Spain*, being dispers'd, many *Armenians*, *Medes* and *Persians* pass'd over to *Africa*. The first Habitations those *Persians* had upon that Coast, were under their own Barks, or Ships, which they turned Keel upwards: Mixing with the *Getulians*, they became one Nation, and were call'd *Numidians*. The *Medes* and *Armenians* joining the *Libyans*, afterwards

were nam'd *Mauri*, or *Moors*. This must have happen'd almost 3000 Years ago. The same Author's Remark, that the Cottages of the *Numidians*, in his Days, resembled a Ship inverted, answers tolerably well still, as well in the Huts as the Tents of the present *Africans* and *Arabs*.

But if <sup>a</sup> *Procopius* is to be depended on, the *Africans* may claim a still greater Antiquity; for he assures us, that the *Canaanites* expell'd their Country by *Joshua*, at least two Centuries earlier, found it already peopled. He scruples not to affirm, that in the Time of the *Vandal War*, in *Africa*, whither he accompanied the great *Belisarius*, in Quality of his Secretary, were still to be seen, near a great Fountain, at *Tangier*, two Columns of white Stone, whereon, in the *Phœnician Tongue*, was an Inscription to this Purpose; WE FLY FROM THE ROBBER JOSHUA THE SON OF NUN. This he wrote in the sixth Century. Almost innumerable are the Writers, ancient and modern, who make mention of this; but he was certainly the first Introducer of it. Not to quote *Theophanes*, *Nicephorus Calistus*, *Suidas*, &c. (the first of which will needs have the said Columns to have been concave) *Ib'n Al Rakik* says the same thing, but places the Stones at *Caribage*; and <sup>b</sup> *Evagrius* has it all at length, but seems in Admiration, that, among all the ancient *Greek*, *Latin*, or *Barbarian* Writers, none but he should take notice of so very remarkable a Passage. But I shall set down some Particulars of what he says, treating of the Original of the *Africans*, whom he calls *Maurusii*, as do many others of the Ancients.

The *Gerbestes*, *Jebusites*, with several other Nations, says he, whose Names are to be met with in the *Hebrew* Writers, inhabited the Country called *Phœnicia*, being the whole Coast from *Sidon* to *Egypt*. Of these, great Numbers, being driven away by a powerful Enemy, sought Refuge in *Egypt*, where multiplying exceedingly, they made an Irruption into *Africa*, (meaning the Province properly so call'd) and possessing themselves of the Country down to the *Herculean Pillars*, they built and peopled many Towns and Cities, using a *Semi-Phœnician* Dialect. Among others, they built the strong City *Tingis*, in *Numidia*, where, &c. as above.

Allowing all this to be Fact, as I discern no Impossibility in the case, if *Tingis* be *Tangier*, as it is generally taken to be, he is very much out

<sup>a</sup> L. 2. De Bel. Vandal.

<sup>b</sup> L. 4. C. 18.

in calling that Part of *Barbary*, where it stands, *Numidia*; whereas it is well known to have been the Capital of the more Westerly *Mauritania*, which Province, or rather Empire, was from that City nam'd *Tingitana*. If, therefore, the *White Moors* of *Africa* owe not their Original to these *Canaanites*, or *Semi-Phœnicians*, as by this it seems they do not, I must even return to my first Surmise, that they were old *Egyptians*; that being the nearest adjoining Country. What has been said is sufficient to prove the *Moors* an ancient People: Their Language, (of which more in a proper Place) together with that great Variety and Diversity of Complexion, to be seen among them, evidently bespeak them a mix'd Generation.

Whosoever were the first Comers, one may very rationally suppose them to have taken up their Abode in the best Part of the Country, which, beyond all Comparison, is *Barbary*: So that such as settled in the far less comfortable Regions, South of the Mountains, did it rather by Compulsion than Choice. No People in the Universe, how savage and brutish soever they be, want a sufficient Share of Reason and common Sense to distinguish a good Country from one that is just the reverse. *Barbary* is a temperate, delightful Region, extensive enough to contain many Millions of Inhabitants; and such is the Fertility of its Soil, almost every where, that, were it well cultivated, it might vie with any Part of the Globe for its plentiful Produce of Sustenance, both for Man and Beast: Whereas, for the single Advantage, those on the other Side the *Atlas* have above their Northern Neighbours, of abounding in Dates, (which grow only near the fix'd Habitations, at great Distances) they are utterly destitute of most of the more material Comforts and Conveniencies of Life which the others enjoy, or at least might enjoy in wonderful abundance, were they but industrious, and suffer'd to reap the Fruits of their Labour in Quiet; a Blessing this Country seems always to have wanted.

This seems to be corroborated by what the *Barbary Moors* tell us, concerning the numerous Nations, of most ancient *Africans*, inhabiting the Desarts of *Libya*. Those five Tribes, say they, were Possessors of the whole Region, when *Melic Ifriki*, with his *Sabeans*, (their own Ancestors, if they may be credited) were expell'd their native Land. Having forc'd the first Proprietors of the Country (whom they paint out as most miserable Savages, not many Removes from Brutes) into the Mountains, where they herded together in Caves and wretched Cottages, they built themselves many Towns, in all the best and most fruitful Parts of *Barbary*.

For many Years the *Sabeans* were quiet enough; holding an amicable Correspondence and Communication with their new Land-lords, and contenting themselves with such Portions of unoccupied Lands as the others thought fit to allot them, which was full sufficient, till their Numbers, both of People and Cattle, began to be much increas'd. Generally speaking, all that follow the *Scenite* Way of Life, are sworn Enemies to fix'd Habitations, and look with an Eye of Contempt upon such as dwell in Cities and Towns; esteeming themselves far nobler than they, who, as they say, are mean-spirited enough to live cag'd up between Walls; and indeed, being Masters of the Fields, they have it very much in their Power to starve them. In Process of Time, they add, the *Sabeans*, growing very powerful, ravag'd the Country; whereupon ensued a general and furious War between those two Nations; and the *Scenites*, having the Advantage, compell'd the conquer'd *Canaanites* to become their Tributaries. Some submitted, and remain'd in their Towns, under such of the Conquerors as thought fit to settle among them; others withdrew to the Mountains; but the far greater Part of them, tenacious of their Liberty, betook themselves to the Country call'd *Biled al-jerid*, or the *Land of Dates*, which is properly *South-Numidia*, where they settled, till they were, likewise, driven thence, and forc'd into the *Libyan* Desarts, where their Posterity still remain, in very great Numbers, some in Towns and Villages, but abundantly more of them roving about with their Tents, like the *Arabs*, with whom they are now mix'd: But the coming of these last into *Africa* is of a much more recent Date, scarce exceeding 700 Years, as shall be observ'd elsewhere. Certainly, as I hinted, no People would ever have thought of settling in so comfortless a Region as *Libya*, that produces scarce any thing to support Life, had they been suffer'd to have continued unmolested, even in *South-Numidia*. This great Revolution they affirm to have happen'd long before the building of *Carthage*; but what Authority they go upon I know not.

In some Parts of *South-Numidia*, I have seen the Remains of several large Towns and Castles, which carry with them a Face of the remotest Antiquity; so that of them we may justly say, with the Poet, *periere ruine*, their very Ruins have perish'd: And even most of those that are still on foot bear a very aged Countenance. Many strange Caves, amidst Mountains, I have, likewise, seen; some wholly form'd by Nature, others enlarg'd by Art, and scarce credible Labour; and am inform'd that the Mountains are full of such. These were, certainly, the Abodes and Lurk-

ing-Places of those original *Africans*, who were forc'd from the Plains, to retire for Refuge to Mountains difficult of Access.

All this seems to agree very well with the Accounts the most credible Authors, among the Ancients, give us of the *Africans* of their Days. Some, they say, dwell'd in Cities and Towns, others, rich and powerful, in Tents, while a poorer and weaker Party took up with wretched Hutts and squalid Caverns, in the Mountains, these creeping in and out of their Holes like savage Beasts, those roaming about the Country, while the former pass'd their Lives like other civiliz'd People. I am hereby the more confirm'd in what has been already intimated, and the readier to fall in with those who assert, that the main Body of the ancient *Africans* was compos'd of *Arabs* and *Canaanites*, and that, after their Transplantation into *Africa*, they follow'd the Course of Life natural to each of the respective Countries those different People came from. The *Sabeian Arabs*, like all other *Nomades*, or *Scenites*, adher'd to the Customs and Way of living they, and their Ancestors, had been inur'd to, ranging about with Tents, Families and Drovers, all which, it is very likely, they brought with them, at their first coming into the Country; it being the general Custom of those People never to take any long Journey without them, if to be done with any Conveniency: This is the Life that is most agreeable to their roving, unsettled Disposition. On the contrary, those who came from the Land of *Canaan*, built immoveable Mansions, as rather inclin'd to Traffick, and the Culture of the Earth, than to pasturing Cattle, and spoiling Travellers. Thus, by Writers of past Ages, are an *Arab* and a *Canaanite* describ'd and distinguish'd; the one a Merchant; the other a Robber; and thus, notwithstanding the many strange Revolutions that have happen'd in those Parts of the World, do the Inhabitants live to this very Hour, and such is still their Genius, as will plainly appear in the Series of this History: And as for other Strangers, who might have come among them, as Adventurers, in all Probability, they were in far less considerable Numbers, and betaking themselves to one, or the other of these Parties, as best suited their Inclination, or Conveniency, in time became incorporated, and, as we may say, lost in the greater Bodies.

St. *Augustine* says, "If we inquire of any of our Peasants, concerning their Original, the Answer they immediately give us is, *Canaanite sumus*, "We are *Canaanites*." But, indeed, he there seems to speak of the Relicts of the *Pœni*, or *Carthaginians*, or perhaps of their *Liby-Phœnician* Subjects. These were a mungrel Breed of *Tyrians* and old *Africans*,



seemingly those primevous *Phœnicians*, or *Canaanites*, who remain'd behind, and who are said to have flock'd in, very early, to their Compatriots, the Founders of *Carthage*, and to have greatly forwarded all their Progresses.

I can by no means join in Opinion with those who would insinuate, that *Barbary* was peopled from *Libya*; neither will any of the *Moors* allow it. The *Libyans*, indeed, may justly be look'd upon as the true old *Africans*. Tho' they are far from being naturally Negroes themselves, yet, by mingling with *Æthiopian* Women, many of them are extremely swarthy; nay several Negro Princes are reported to owe their Original to them, particularly the Kings of *Walata*, *Melli* and *Tombuto* descended from the Princes of *Zanaga*, which potent Tribe inhabits that Part of *Libya* which is bounded by the *Atlantick* Ocean. These Nations lye, from West to East, in the Order I have put them: But as I have never been in any Part of their Country, nor even seen many of those People, I shall say little of them, but refer the curious Reader to *Leo*, and others, who affirm they have travell'd in those Regions. However, as Occasion offers, and any thing occurs to my Memory, that I have heard concerning them, farther may be said.

Of the Affairs of this Country, during the primitive Ages of Darknes, and Obscurity, very little can be advanc'd, with any tolerable Certainty; nor, indeed, have we many good Authorities for any considerable Part of its History, till within these last 2000 Years, when the *Romans* first began to be acquainted with it; since, of all the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian* Chronicles, scarce one Fragment is to be met with.



### Of Carthage and its Empire.

MANY have treated of this famous City, tho' with great Variations in their Accounts of it. <sup>a</sup> *Servius*, speaking of Queen *Dido*, its Foundress, says, *Huic conjux Sichæus erat*; and then tells us of the Liberty the Poets take in changing Names. *Quoties Poeta aspera invenit nomina*,

<sup>a</sup> L. 1. Æn.

vel in metro non stantia, aut mutat ea, aut de his aliquid mutilat; nam Sichæus Sicharbas dictus est; Belus Didonis pater Metres. He again says, <sup>b</sup> Appulsa ad Libyam Dido, cum ab Hiarba pelleretur, petiit calidè, ut emeret tantum terræ, quantum posset corium bovis tenere, quod cum ille permisisset, corium in tenuissimas corrigias sectum tetendit, occupavitque stadia XXII; quam rem leviter tangit Virgilius, dicendo, Facti de nomine, & non tegere, sed circumdare. And again, Aut antiqua Tyros. Carthago antè Byrsa, post Tyros dicta est, post Carthago. From Trogus Pompeius, his Epitomizer <sup>c</sup> Justin gives the same Account, but calls her *Elissa*, rather *Elisa*. This *Hiarbas*, mention'd by *Servius* and so many others, was a *Numidian* Prince, and Proprietor of that Part of the Country. <sup>d</sup> *Appianus* tells the same Story, adding, that the *Africans* laugh'd at her Folly, in begging only for so small a Quantity of Land as she could cover with the Hide of an Ox; but much admir'd the Subtilty of her Contrivance in cutting it into Thongs. This, by innumerable Authors, is held to have been the Origin of a State, which has made so great a Figure in the World.

Some will needs have the Word *Byrsa* to be *Greek*, and to have given that Name from signifying a Skin or Hide: But I am so far of the Opinion of *Mariana*, in this Point, that I can scarce think the *Phœnicians* would give it a foreign Name. It much rather seems to have been *Bisra*, *Bosra*, or *Bozrah*, there being other Cities of the East so nam'd, as the Metropolis of <sup>e</sup> *Idumæa*, or *Edom*, one of the Cities of the *Moabites*, and another in *Arabia*. In the ancient *Hebrew* the Word signifies a Fortrefs, as I am credibly inform'd, with which Language the *Phœnician* bore a very near Affinity, as I may observe elsewhere: So that it must rather have been a *Punick* than a *Greek* Name. This City went by several Names, of which I shall say something among the few *Punick* Words I meet with.

Tho' Authors agree pretty well, as to its Original, yet they most unaccountably vary in the Point of Time when this renowned Commonwealth was first establish'd. Among an enormous Multitude of different Opinions, I shall take notice of some. *Strabo* says, *Phœnices porrò harum ego rerum fuisse indices dico, qui ante Homeri* (who was born *A. M.* 2914.) *ætatem optime Africa & Hispania tenuerunt, & domini eorum fuere locorum, donec eorum a Romanis est abolitum imperium.* Certain it is, that the *Phœnicians* traffick'd upon the Coasts of *Spain*, and perhaps of *Africa*, before

<sup>b</sup> Ib. L. 4.    <sup>c</sup> L. 18.    <sup>d</sup> In *Libycis*.    <sup>e</sup> *Genesis* xxxvi. 33. *Isaiab* xxxiv. 6. &c. *Jeremiab* xlvi. 24. and many other Places in the *Old Testament*.

Queen *Dido's* Time, and even built *Cadiz*; and many say, that happen'd not very long before *Carthage* was founded.

<sup>f</sup> *Strabo*, & *Pomponius Mela*, and some others, affirm their first coming to *Cadiz* to have been soon after the Destruction of *Troy*, *A. M.* 2767. And *Appianus Alexandrinus* so far stretches the Matter, that he will needs have at least *Byrsa*, the Citadel of *Carthage*, to have been built still fifty Years earlier, tho' he acknowledges that neither the *Romans*, nor *Carthaginians* agree with him in his Assertion, which he endeavours to modify by insinuating, that he means only the Fortrefs *Byrsa*: Not to say much of the beautiful Fiction of the Adventures of its Foundress *Dido*, or *Elisa*, Queen of *Tyre*, with the *Trojan* Prince *Aeneas*, so sweetly sung by *Virgil*, or of *Ovid*, *Silius Italicus*, and others of the *Latin* Poets, his Imitators; it being to be presum'd, that few are ignorant of that Story's being long since exploded as Fable, there being upwards of three Centuries between those Persons. The different Opinions of several are mention'd by *Eusebius Caesariensis*; some making the founding of *Carthage* 143 Years after the burning of *Troy*, in the Beginning of the Reign of King *David*: He quotes *Latinus Sylvius*, saying 296 Years before the building of *Rome*; as do, likewise, *Cassiodorus*, *St. Isidro*, and others. Then again he speaks of some who say 172 Years after the *Trojan* War, and others 172 Years later. <sup>h</sup> *Josephus*, out of the Annals of the *Tyrians*, and the Succession of their Kings, whose Names and Time of Reign he specifies, affirms to have found the building of *Carthage* to have been 143 Years after the finishing of the Temple by *Solomon*, *A. M.* 2940. <sup>i</sup> *Dion. Halicarnassens* condemns *Timeus Siculus* for affirming *Carthage* and *Rome* to have been founded about the same Time, and 38 Years before the first *Olympiad*, himself asserting *Rome* to have been built 62 Years later than *Carthage*; and *Velleius Paterculus* 65. *Solinus* holds its Destruction to have happen'd 737 Years after its Foundation. According to <sup>k</sup> *Pliny* it was in the Year of *Rome* 600; tho' in another Place he has it 608. <sup>l</sup> *Florus* says 606; as does *Cassiodorus*; by which Accounts *Carthage* must have been about 136, or 138 Years older than *Rome*, which pretty well agrees with *Josephus*. The Epitomizer of *Livy* says, *Carthage* was destroy'd 700 Years after it was built; and *Eutropius* says the same, as does <sup>m</sup> *Suidas* in two several Places; this seems to make it not 100 Years older than *Rome*. *Eusebius*, in another

<sup>f</sup> L. 3.    <sup>g</sup> L. 3. C. 6.    <sup>h</sup> Contra Apion.    <sup>i</sup> L. 1.    L. 1.    <sup>k</sup> L. 14. C. 4.  
<sup>l</sup> L. C. 15.    <sup>m</sup> In Africanus & Carthodon.

Place, says in the Year 669 from its Foundation; and adds, that others make it to have flourish'd 748 Years. Then again *Appianus*, who, as is observ'd, carries the Age of *Byrsa* so high, says, that when the *Carthaginians* were expell'd *Sicily*, in the Year of *Rome* 510, the current Year of *Carthage* was 700. To have done with this Confusion, and Variety of Opinions, I shall close with what <sup>a</sup> *Servius* says, which is the more remarkable, because he plainly seems to have taken it both from the *Phœnician* Writers, and *Livy's* lost Works. *Carthago enim est lingua Pœnorum nova civitas, ut Livius docet, &c. Carthago a Cartha, & lectum est, & in historia Pœnorum, & in Livio, &c. Urbs antiqua fuit. Bene dixit; namque & ante LXX. annos urbis Romæ condita erat; & eam deleverat Æmilius Scipio; quæ autem nunc est, postea a Romanis est condita, unde antiquam accipe, & ad comparationem istius, quæ nunc est, & Roma antiquiorem.* To these 70 Years <sup>•</sup> *Trogus Pompeius* adds two more, saying *Condita est urbs hæc LXXII. annos antequam Roma.* Of the same Opinion is *Paulus Orosius*. We may, with *Appianus* and others, reasonably conclude, that the Fortrefs *Byrsa* was built some Time before the City came to be very considerably increas'd. As to the rest, our exactest Chronologists fix these *Epochas* thus: *Troy* built *A. M.* 2450. Flourish'd 317 Years. Destroy'd *A. M.* 2767. *Carthage* built *A. M.* 3075. Flourish'd 731 Years. Destroy'd *A. M.* 3806. *Rome* built *A. M.* 3198; which is 123 Years later than *Carthage*.

I shall set down a few Heads of the *Carthaginian* History before the *Punick* Wars, as mention'd by Writers of Note, dating them from the building of *Rome*; that Date being less apt to occasion Confusion. This *Epocha* is express'd by these three Capitals, *A. U. C.* signifying *Anno Urbis Condite*, and begins 752 Years before the *Christian Æra*.

*A. U. C.* 135. The second Year of the fortieth *Olympiad*, King *Nebuchodonosor*, in the seventh Year of his Reign, laid Siege to the City of *Tyre*, and having been thirteen Years before it, at length carried his Point, *Ithobal* being then King; as <sup>p</sup> *Josephus*, from the Testimony of *Phitostrotus*, relates, and <sup>q</sup> again confirms; as does, likewise, the Prophet <sup>r</sup> *Ezechiel*. The *Carthaginians*, then not very powerful, sent them what Succour they were able.

*A. U. C.* 200. According to <sup>f</sup> *Justin* and <sup>t</sup> *P. Orosius*, the Wars the *Carthaginians* were carrying on in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, were attended with

<sup>a</sup> L. 1. Æn.    <sup>•</sup> *Justin.* L. 18.    <sup>p</sup> L. 10. C. 11.    <sup>q</sup> L. 1. Contra Apion.  
<sup>f</sup> C. 26, 27, 28, 29.    <sup>t</sup> L. 18.    <sup>r</sup> L. 4. C. 6.

such bad Success, that the Senate banish'd their General *Mazeus*, or *Macheus*, together with all the Remains of those Armies, who thereupon rais'd an Insurrection, made themselves Masters of *Carthage*, and took a terrible Revenge upon such of the Citizens as they suspected to be their Enemies.

A. U. C. 230. The Wars in *Sicily* renew'd, and great Commotions in *Africa* upon that Account.

A. U. C. 245. This Year *Rome* began to be govern'd by Consuls, and first enter'd into a Treaty with the *Carthaginians*. This Treaty is mention'd, in a very particular Manner by "*Polybius*, who, I think, is the only ancient Author that ever took Notice of this Passage.

A. U. C. 280. *Diodorus Siculus* acquaints us, that *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian* General, with a mighty Army of 300000 Men, pass'd over to *Sicily*, carrying with him 2000 warlike Vessels, besides Onoraries, or Transports, laden with Money and Provisions, in Number no less than 3000, if not more, of which many were dispers'd and lost in a Tempest. King *Gelo*, partly by Force, and partly by Stratagem, overcame and slew *Amilcar*, with more than 150000 of his Men, making Prisoners of the rest, and burning all the Fleet; insomuch that the Senate of *Carthage* was constrain'd to purchase a Peace at a very dear Rate.

A. U. C. 361. Being the first of the ninety seventh Olympiad. According to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Trogus Pompeius* and *Paulus Orosius*, the *Sicilian* Wars being again reviv'd, *Imilco* went thither, from *Carthage*, with a powerful Fleet, against *Dionysius* the Elder, but with no better Success than his Predecessor *Amilcar* had done against *Gelo*; for entering into that Part of the City of *Syracuse*, which was call'd *Acradina*, plundering and violating the Temples, so dreadful a Pestilence overtook him, that both himself and his Army perish'd. This Army was compos'd of *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Sardinians* and *Coriscans*.

A. U. C. 402. "*Paulus Orosius* marks this Year as the first in which the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* made a League or Treaty, tho' *Polybius* absolutely calls it the second.

A. U. C. 422. *Alexander* the Great besieg'd and took *Tyre*: The *Carthaginians* did all they could to relieve it, which that Monarch resent'd, and had some Thought of revenging, as is related by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arrianus*, *Plutarch*, *Q. Curtius*, &c.

These few Instances of the Affairs of that Republick, which was grown so powerful and formidable, that *Rome* began to look towards it with a jealous Eye, may serve to refresh a Reader's Memory. Besides what the *Carthaginians* were possess'd of in *Africa* and *Spain*, they were in a manner Masters of several Islands of great Importance, as *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, the *Baleares*, or *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Ivica*, &c. in all which, by long and cruel Wars, they had got strong Footing. The three celebrated *Punick Wars*, having been the Theme of so many able Pens, it shall suffice to hint, in general, that the first brake out *A. M.* 3687, which was in the Year of *Rome* 489. It lasted twenty four Years. The main Cause of it was because the *Carthaginians* assist'd *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*, against the *Mamertines*, Allies of the *Romans*. Till this Time *Rome* had never fitted out a Fleet; and all the Success the *Romans* had in this new manner of engaging their Enemies was intirely owing to their Resolution and Valour, being much inferior to the *Carthaginians* in Sea Affairs. The History of *Regulus*, who first carried the *Roman Arms* into *Africa*, is well known. *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* and *Hannibal* made notable Figures in this War: This last was Admiral of *Carthage*; and for his ill Success was crucified. *Sicily* surrender'd to the Conquerors. *Carthage* bought a Peace, which was concluded *A. M.* 3710. *A. U. C.* 513.

This War was scarce ended, when the *Carthaginians* found themselves involv'd in another, no less dangerous, with their *African Neighbours*, the *Numidians*, and others, as related by *Polybius*, which brought them very low. Presently after this, again, upon their refusing to pay off the Army that had been in *Sicily*, a cruel War arose, which *Livy* says lasted five Years, but others only three Years and four Months; in which unheard of Inhumanities were committed on both Sides. This Opportunity the *Romans* laid hold on, and made themselves Masters of *Sardinia*, which the *Carthaginians* were glad to relinquish; and to evade a new War, in the Extremity they were reduc'd to, sent to *Rome* 1200 Talents.

No sooner had they breath'd a little, but *Amilcar*, Father to the great *Hannibal*, undertook the Conquest of *Spain*. There it was that he oblig'd his Son, then nine Years old, to swear at the Altar, to be an irreconcilable Enemy to the *Roman Name*; an Oath he most religiously kept to the Hour of his Death, as History sufficiently informs us.

After an Interval of about twenty three Years, viz. *A. M.* 3733. *A. U. C.* 536, these two Rivals quarrel again. The Occasion was the Loss of *Saguntum*, destroy'd by *Hannibal* the Great, *Rome's* sworn Enemy. This War

War lasted seventeen Years, with great Variety of remarkable Incidents, of which all Readers of the *Roman Histories* cannot be ignorant. Fifty one Years after this War was concluded, viz. *A. M.* 3801. *A. U. C.* 604, the third and last *Punick War* began. *Æmilius Scipio Africanus* (so call'd, like the other *P. C. Scipio*, who so gloriously triumph'd over the *Carthaginians*, in the former War, both in *Spain* and *Africa*) laid Siege to *Carthage*, and in the fourth Year took and demolish'd that proud City, in the Year of the Word 3806, of *Rome* 608, and before Christ 145 Years. Thus much in general: But it is necessary, for the better understanding the Affairs of the *Africans*, exclusive of the *Carthaginians*, to look back a little, and be somewhat more particular, in order to inform our selves of the State the *Roman Proconsular Province* was in, during its Infancy, and the Footing it stood upon with regard to its Neighbours.

Those who run away with a Notion, that the *Carthaginians* ever conquer'd all *Barbary*, or, indeed, any very considerable inland Part of it, in Comparison with the whole, are intirely mistaken; tho' I have met with several of that Opinion, positively insisting, that all the *Africans* were their Vassals, and that the *Numidian* and *Mauritanian* Kings and Princes receiv'd their Diadems at the Hands of the Senate of *Carthage*. So far from that, it is well known to all such as are conversant with the *Latin Authors* of those Times, the *Carthaginians* were never actually Masters of any Portion of Territory worth mentioning, except the Province of *Africa*, properly so call'd, and what they had upon the Coast; where, in reality, they were possess'd of most of the Harbours, from beyond *Tripoly* in the East, down to the *Herculean Pillars*, or *Streights Mouth*, in the West, and I believe of some few Places upon the Ocean Coast. *Aldrete*, a very curious and learned *Spaniard*, produces solid Reasons to incline one to fancy, that, in some Parts, even of their own Province, they had no great Authority beyond the Walls of their Sea-Port Towns; and as for those that stood on *Numidian*, or *Mauritanian* Ground, as many of them did, there is great Appearance, that they were only suffer'd for the Conveniency of Trade and Commerce. What *Livy* says, speaking of the Dread *Asdrubal* was in at Sight of the two *Roman Gallies*, that came with *P. Scipio*, when he sought an Alliance with *Syphax*, sufficiently demonstrates, that all the Coast did not belong to the Republick; since he gives us to understand, that, being in a Port belonging to the King of *Numidia*, the *Carthaginian* General had little Occasion to be under such Apprehensions. The *Cyrenaica* never belong'd to *Carthage*, as I shall observe.

*The HISTORY of BARBARY Epitomiz'd.*

Not to introduce, at present, a Multitude of obsolete Names of People and States, we light on in Authors, most of which are utterly lost to the modern Natives of *Barbary*, I shall reduce all those *African* Nations under two general Heads, as in effect they were; the rest being only inconsiderable and subordinate States, or Communities. These Nations were *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*, with whose powerful Kings, more particularly of *Numidia*, the *Carthaginian* Republick was sometimes at War, sometimes in Alliance; and so, very rationally, may be suppos'd to have continued till its first Quarrel with the *Romans*, near 2000 Years ago.

As for the *Libyan* Tribes, there can be little Appearance of the *Carthaginians* having ever had any Concerns with so remote a People, otherwise than by way of Traffick; or that even their nearer Neighbours, the Princes of *South-Numidia*, were ever engag'd in Wars with them, they being separated by such vast and impracticable Desarts, especially for an Army to traverse. But it is more than barely probable, that whatever of the Products of the *Lower-Ethiopia*, or *Negroland* (such as Elephants, Gold-Dust, Ivory, &c.) these more northerly Potentates, and their People, had Occasion for, pass'd all thro' the Hands of the *Libyan* Traders, before they reach'd either *South-Numidia*, or *Barbary*. Now I mention Elephants, it may not improperly be observ'd, that there is not, I believe, at present, one tame Elephant in all *Africa*, except what the Emperor of *Abyssinia* keeps; nor can I any where find that any have been tam'd since the Fall of *Carthage*, except, perhaps, some *African* Prince might have had one brought him for Curiosity. Those the *Carthaginians* used in their Wars were certainly brought from *Ethiopia*; it being scarce probable they should have them from *India*, considering the prodigious Distance; nor were ever any heard of to breed on this Side the *Niger*, which separates the *Blacks* from the *Libyans*. In *Arabick* and *Turkish* they are call'd *Fil*; Ivory, *Aáj*, or *Neb al Fil*; in *Turkish* *Fil-Dish*, q. d. Elephant's Tooth.

Tho' *Carthage*, once *Rome's* dreaded Rival, is no more, yet will the illustrious Names of those bold *Africans*, the great *Hannibal*, and others of her daring Sons, be venerable to the latest Posterity. Her large Acquisitions in *Spain*, the Islands *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, the *Baleares*, &c. together with almost all that haughty Republick had ever possess'd in *Barbary*, fell a glorious Prey to the victorious *Romans*. I say almost all; since some of their inland Territory, during the two last *Punick* Wars, had been seiz'd by the *Numidians*; and the Conquerors ow'd too much of their Success, in those their *African* Wars, to that Nation, particularly



larly to their steady Friend the gallant *Masaniffa*, and were themselves, in those Days, too generous and grateful to disoblige such faithful Allies. Faithful they certainly prov'd to the *Romans*, upon that Occasion, even contrary to their natural Génius, partly out of their innate Propension to the Love of Novelties (from which they are in no wise degenerated to this Day) partly out of Hatred to the proud *Carthaginians*, but mostly thro' the irreconcilable Inveteracy *Masaniffa* himself justly bore to *Syphax*, King of the other *Numidians*, who, by the Instigation of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and the Wiles of her politick Father, the crafty *Asdrubal*, strenuously and vigorously espoused their Cause.

The Figure these *Numidians* make in ancient History, is too considerable for me to pass them by in Silence: So that before I enter upon the Transactions of the *Romans*, after they became Masters of the *Carthaginian* Possessions, in *Africa*, it is requisite to make a Digression, first saying something of their Country, next of themselves.

Maturely weighing and considering what one meets with in so many old Writers, who treat of these Affairs, the Common-Wealth of *Carthage* seems to have maintain'd its Empire, for above seven Centuries, rather by pure Artifice, and *Punick* Subtilty, than by its own Strength and Vigour. Of those mighty Fleets and formidable Armies, set on foot by the *Carthaginians*, scarce ever one third Part of their Numbers consisted of their own natural Subjects. The Republick was then look'd upon as the most mercantile Nation in the Universe, and consequently immensely opulent. As they wanted neither Craft to insinuate, nor Money to tempt, so they wanted not mercenary Neighbours, who were willing enough to serve for Hire: Tho' there are several Examples extant of their perfidious Ingratitude to such of their Auxiliaries as had render'd them the most important Services. Another main Cause of their Successes, it is very likely, might have been the great Severity the Senate usually exercis'd upon their Generals, and Officers, when the Enterprizes and Expeditions, they were intrusted with, prov'd unfortunate. As, in those Ages, none of the *Africans*, except themselves, had any manner of Knowledge in maritime Affairs, other Nations had very little Intercourse with them; and, by Consequence, it was no difficult Matter for a vain-glorious and insinuating People, such as the *Carthaginians* are always describ'd, and who traffick'd, by Sea, in most Parts of the then known World, to make Strangers believe, that *Barbary* was all their own: The same they, likewise, gave out concerning *Spain*; and boasted, that in *Africa*, beyond the Streights, they had

had no less than 300 Cities, one of them larger than even *Carthage* it self; all which they had just as much Right to, as had the no less vain-glorious *Romans* in assuming the lofty Title of Lords of the World.

Tho', in History, we frequently meet with three *Mauritanie*, viz. *Tingitana*, *Cæsariensis* and *Sitifensis*, yet, at first, only the more Western, extensive Province, (the present Empire of *Fez* and *Morocco*) was call'd *Mauritania*, and distinguish'd by the Name of *Tingitana*, from *Tingis* (now *Tanja*, or as we, corruptly, have it *Tangier*) its then Capital, but not till half of the ancient Kingdom of *North-Numidia* came to be nam'd *Mauritania Cæsariensis*: As for *Mauritania Sitifensis*, it was the Remainder of that Kingdom, or at least the greatest Part of that Remnant, and was not so nam'd till long after, viz. at the Death of *Constantine* the Great, *A. D.* 337. The ancient *Mauritania* was bounded on the East by the River *Mulucha*, (call'd by some *Melua*, now *Muluia*) on the South by the *Atlas*, on the North and West by the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantick* Seas. This River is now the Boundary between the Territories of *Fez* and *Algiers*: But of this in a proper Place. From thence all along, between the Coast and the Mountains, as far East (I really take it) as the River now call'd *Serrat*, which can be no less than 600 Miles, was subject to the Kings of *Numidia*: As this River then separated the *Numidians* and the *Carthaginians*, so now it bounds the States of *Algiers* and *Tunis*. This fine Region (which I have gone quite thro') I look upon as the best in all *Africa*; at least it is a far better Country, in most respects, than what I have seen of the *Carthaginensis*; tho', generally speaking, worse cultivated: In all Appearance, from what I can gather, it was the Realm of King *Syphax*, of whom I shall presently say more; nor is it to be wonder'd at, that *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, Generals of the Armies of the two rival Common-Weals, should be, at one and the same time, courting the Friendship of that potent Prince.

As for *Biled el-jerid*, or the Country of Dates (rather Palm, or Date-Trees) by most modern Writers term'd, *Numidia*, absolutely and without Distinction, it is a Region of prodigious Extent; being reckon'd to stretch along, from near the very Borders of *Egypt*, by the *Libyan* Desarts, down to *Cape Nun*, or *Non*, in the Western Ocean; tho' one may safely venture to affirm, that not the hundredth Part of it is habitable. Notwithstanding, by all Reports, it far exceeds the rugged, inhospitable Desart of *Barca*, and most Parts of *Libya*; yet barring the vast Quantities of Dates, and some other Commodities, I shall mention hereafter, that come from thence;

it scarce merits the Name of a Kingdom, as many call it; tho' by its Vastness, and, more especially, by reason of the Nature of its Soil, it seems impossible ever to have been, intirely, under the Dominion of one Prince. I have both heard and read, that in some Parts of it, one must, necessarily, traverse horrible Wildernesses, for several Days, in so torrid a Clime, without a Drop of Water, but what is carried on Camels in, Goat-Skins, or seeing a Habitation, or even any of human Species, except such as were to be wish'd farther off; for most of the wandering *Arabs*, and *Africans*, who frequent those Wilds, are much readier to plunder, if not cut the Throats of all they encounter, than to offer them the least Succour or Assistance in their Extremity. Few, or none, are so rash as to venture far into those Desarts in the Height of Summer; for the Sun-Beams are then so fierce and scorching, that all their Water would, infallibly, be exhal'd thro' the Pores of those leathern Vehicles; were there no other insupportable Inconveniency, as the suffocating and burning South and West Winds (which, accompanied with the Fatigue of travelling, neither Man nor Beast would possibly be able long to endure) together with the then more than ordinary Fury, Boldness and Vigour of the monstrous Animals, as well Quadrupedes as of the Serpentine Breed, which, in the hot Season, are extremely dangerous, as is also the Venom of Scorpions and other small Reptiles. In Winter it is tolerable travelling; if the Autumnal Showers have fallen plentifully, such Parts of this *South-Numidia* (for so I shall always call it) as are at any time good for something, put on a quite new Countenance; nay even in the barrenest Places will be found Pools of good Water, to the great Refreshment of Travelers, and their Cattle. As good Land is so very scarce in this Country, no Doubt needs be made, but that every Foot of such as is in any wise profitable, is cultivated and improv'd, to the utmost, by the Proprietors, if not interrupted in their commendable Industry by others more wretched than themselves, who envy their Happiness. The *Atlas* abounding in plentiful Springs and Fountains, happily for those parch'd *Numidian* Regions, some of them bend their Course Southward, and, uniting, form several Rivulets, and even Rivers, which traverse and water a few of those arid Plains, till their Streams are lost and swallow'd up in the devouring, thirsty Sands. Here and there, likewise, a Hill, or Mountain, of their own Growth, is munificent enough, kindly to discharge its liquid Treasures in their Favour; Blessings *Libya* is said most grievously to want, and whose Rarity renders them more estimable. Nay, where no running Sources ever came,

are to be met with verdant and delectable Spots of fertile Soil, (both here and in *Libya*, tho' much rarer there, as I am told) arising, like pleasant Islands, amidst a vast tempestuous Ocean of moving Sand. Some few such I have seen; and at a proper time shall give an Account of what Parts of this Country I have been in. On one of these Islands, in a sandy, barren Ocean, stood situate the once famous *Palmyra*, or *Tadmor*, whose celebrated Ruins sufficiently denote its pristine Grandeur and Magnificence: The History of Queen *Zenobia* is well known. *Strabo* acquaints us that the *Egyptians* call'd these Spots of Ground *Abases*; perhaps, from thence the *Ethiopians* came to be call'd *Abyssines*, or, as the Orientals have it, *Habesh* and *Abaza*. This is only Conjecture: But to return. Little, or rather no Wheat grows in this Region; but I have seen there the finest Barley perhaps in the whole World. Thus much of *South-Numidia* in general; of the other, and far more noble *Numidia*, I have only given a Hint of its Dimensions, till I come to a more particular Account of it. Next a few Words concerning the *Numidians* themselves, as the *Romans* found them, when they first enter'd *Africa*.

All the Authors I meet with, strangely confound these People; nor could any of the *Moors* I have convers'd with ever set me right; since all or most of the Names, those their Fore-Fathers are reported then to have gone by, and with which the Works of ancient Poets and Prose-Writers are crowded, are utterly extinct.

It must first be observ'd, that very few of the ancient Names, either of Regions, States, Provinces, Towns, or People, are now existing among the modern *Africans*: Such as are yet in being may, perhaps, be taken Notice of on proper Occasions. Of the Appellations *Mauri*, *Maurusii*, *Maurophori*, *Pharusii*, *Nomades*, *Numidæ*, *Lothophagi*, *Trogloditæ*, *Garamantes*, *Nasamones*, *Antoleles*, *Evilei*, *Mazaces*, *Maceæ*, *Hasbitæ*, *Hammantentes*, &c. of Nations, or of *Numidia*, *Mauritania*, *Zeugitania*, *Cyrenaica*, *Pentapolis*, *Byzacena*, *Catabathmos*, &c. of Regions and Provinces (not to say any thing here of the Names of Towns and Cities) of all these, I say, none of all the *Moors* I ever examin'd had the least Notion. Their old Manners and Customs they have, indeed, retain'd much better than their Names, which are now generally such as are in common with other *Mahometans*, especially the *Arabs*. When I treat of the Disposition and Way of living of the *Moors* of these Days, they will be found little differing from the Descriptions given us, by the Ancients, of the old *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*.

The grand Expulsion of the more civiliz'd Part of the ancient Inhabitants of *Barbary*, before spoken of, was not so general, but that the Remainder still follow'd the same Course of Life they had done when all together; the main Difference was, that the Towns and other fix'd Mansions were in greater Subjection, and had more Dependence upon those who were Masters of the Fields, and whole Country. By what I know of the Geniu and Temper of such as have been us'd to a *Scenite* Life, the evacuated Houses were peopled only by those who, thro' Indigence, or some other Cause, could no longer make any thing of a tolerable Figure among their Kinred abroad. As for the Generality of the exil'd Tribes, by all I can learn of them, their Posterity has so far degenerated, that they have ever been look'd upon as ruder, wilder, and more unpolish'd, if possible, than the best of those by whom their Ancestors were expell'd. But that, very probably, may be owing to the wretched Life they, inevitably, must undergo in such comfortless Climes.

The *Romans* found the Country in Possession of the *Carthaginians*, *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*. Of these last, there is not so much Notice taken, in History, till later Times: But certain it is, that the Republick of *Carthage* had great Intercourse with them, having numerous Bands of them in their Fleets and Armies; which they being Lords of all those Seas and Coasts, might conveniently do. By Land, their Communication could not be so open, having 200 Leagues of Country to traverse, through innumerable Tribes of warlike *Numidians*, as well on this as on that Side of the Mountains. These, to say nothing of the petty Philarchs, or Princes, were two distinct Nations, said to differ even in Language; tho' that I fancy was not very much. I know not better how to distinguish them than (as I do their Countries) by terming them *North* and *South-Numidians*. Historians make some Confusion, relating to these People, and their respective Dominions. Most of them agree that the one were call'd *Massylians*, and the others *Massefylans*, *Massefulans*, or *Massefylans*, for they give us that Word with all these Variations; and of which Names I know of no remaining Footstep, unless we seek for it in the poor Town of *Mesila*, whereof something shall be said when I speak of the *Algerine* Eastward Province, or in that small Province of *Tripoly* call'd *Mesellata*: In the second *Punick* War, *Syphax* was King of the *Massefylans*, and over the *Massylians* rul'd *Gala*, Father to *Masanissa*. *Livy*, and others, inform us, that the Territory of *Syphax* lay all along the Coast, opposite to *Spain*, as far West as *Mauritania*, and that he had a Sea-Port

almost over against *New-Carthage*, or *Carthagena*, where he was at the time when both *Publius Scipio*, and *Asdrubal*, at once visited him, to solicit his Alliance. The Metropolis of his Realm is by all allow'd to have been *Cirtba*, (not very far distant from the occidental Limits of the *Carthaginensis*) which in the Opinion of most, and by many Circumstances, was no other than *Costantina*; if so he was certainly King of all *North-Numidia*, which is the whole State of the *Algerines*, (excepting the Province of *Zeb* in *South-Numidia*) in Length, I say, about 600 Miles, tho' in the broadest Part not above 100 Miles over, which is in the East; towards the West it is scarce half so wide. The *Massylians*, who were the Subjects of King *Gala*, lay all along South of the *Cyrenaica* and *Carthaginensis*, and perhaps considerably farther down Westward, parted from those Provinces, and the other *Numidia*, by a long Chain of Mountains.

As the *Carthaginian* Affairs began to decline in *Spain* and *Italy*, the *Romans* took Breath, and cast an Eye even upon *Africa*. The Result of that Interview between *Asdrubal*, *Scipio*, and King *Syphax* was, that this Prince soon after enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Roman* General, and obtain'd of him proper Officers to train up his *Numidian* Peasants for Foot Service, that Nation, till then, using only Cavalry in their Wars. This was accomplish'd with such Success, that falling out with the *Carthaginians*, he beat them in two or three pitch'd Battles, but himself receiv'd a notable Overthrow by *Masanissa*, and his *Massylians* alone, his Father King *Gala* siding with the opposite Party. This hopeful Prince, being then very young, scarce eighteen, gain'd great Renown by that gallant Action. In *Spain*, not long after, he commanded a Body of Horse, in the *Carthaginian* Service, where it is well known how well he behav'd. There *Scipio*, having worsted the *Carthaginian* Army, honourably releas'd a noble Youth, nam'd *Massiva*, Nephew to *Masanissa*, sending him to his Uncle; which was the Foundation of that Prince's Friendship to the *Romans*. At a private Meeting he had, afterwards, with *Scipio*, he return'd him Thanks for that Favour, and promis'd a grateful Return at a more proper Season; meaning when they met in *Africa*. Mean while his Father died, and the *Massylian* Crown devolv'd to his Uncle, Brother to *Gala* (as often usual among those Nations) and then to his Kinsmen: All which time *Syphax* was doing the *Romans* good Service, by giving their Enemies a powerful Diversion in *Africa*. *Masanissa*, in order to attempt the Recovery of his Father's Realm, with a few Followers, got over into *Mauritania*, where, by Intreaty, he prevail'd with King *Bocchar* to convoy him to the *Massy-*

him Confines ; who accordingly gave him 4000 Horfe. Tho' the Party, that advanced to receive him, was not fo numerous as he had hoped ; yet he soon picked up an Army, and carried his Point. During thefe Tranfactions, while *Scipio*, having reduced *Spain*, was preparing to invade the *Carthaginian* State in *Africa*, the crafty *Asdrubal* managed his Affairs fo well with *Syphax*, and among his other *Punick* Wiles, fo dazzled the Eyes of the amorous *Numidian*, with his beautiful Daughter *Sophonisba*, that, inftead of a potent Ally, ready with open Arms to receive them, the *Romans*, at their Arrival, found, in *Syphax*, a terrible Enemy to encounter. The *Carthaginians* having Intelligence of the Correspondency held between *Scipio* and the new King of the *Maffylians*, I mean *Mafaniffa*, had fo far prevailed with *Syphax*, unable to deny any thing to the lovely and infinuating *Sophonisba*, that he carried on a cruel War againft that Prince, and at laft had driven him to fuch Extremities, that, after having loft a fignal Battle, he was beleagured in a Mountain, and there attacked on all Sides, both by *Syphax* and his Son *Vermina*. He efaped, with only eighty Horfe, to the leffer *Syrtis*, and in thofe Defarts continued, in very indifferent Circumftances, till the landing of *Scipio*, near *Utica* ; and all the Troops he could then mufter up, to bring in to him, exceeded not 200 Horfe. But before this (for *Mafaniffa*'s Life is a Sort of Prodigy) he was reduced to far greater Hardfhips : It may not be impertinent to repeat fome Particulars, fince they give an Infight into the Genius and Way of Life of thofe People. *Syphax* having routed him in the Field, he got, with a few Horfe, to the Mountain *Balbus*, whither he was foon after followed by feveral Families of *Maffylians*, with their Tents and Cattle, according to their Cuftom ; the reft of the Nation fubmitting to the Conqueror, without Refiftance, anfwerable to their changeable, volatile Difpofition. I am uncertain what Mountain this was ; but *Livy* fays it abounded with Water and Pasture ; fo that thofe Fugitives wanted not for Sufenance, their chief Food being Milk and Flefh. This answers to the prefent Inhabitants of the fandy Countries, who, if they have neither Dates nor Barley, live wholly upon Milk and Flefh, particularly of Camels : But thofe Creatures, fo very ufeful in fuch Regions, were not then fo plenty there, as they have been fince the coming of the laft *Mahometan Arabs*, above 700 Years ago. At firft they only made Incurfions by Night ; but the Party growing ftronger, they openly infefted the whole Country, wafting the *Carthaginian* Territories more than any others, not only becaufe there was more Booty to be got than among the *Numidians*, but likewife, by reafon they

could there pursue their Depredations with greater Security to themselves: Nay, at length they grew so bold and formidable, that they scrupled not to convey their Plunder to the Sea-Side, in order to dispose of it to such Traders as came thither on purpose; and they are even said to have destroyed more of the *Carthaginians* and their Subjects, than had been lost in some regular Wars. The Senate warmly represented these Disorders to *Syphax*; who, thereupon, sent his General *Bocchar*, with 4000 Foot and 2000 Horse, promising a mighty Reward for *Masanissa's* Head, but a much greater, in case he took him alive. Arriving unawares, he so surprized them, that as the Peasants were straggling about near the Plains, he intercepted and drove away a great Number of Men and Cattle, their main Strength being at a good Distance from thence; *Masanissa*, with some of his Followers, were forced to the Summit of the Mountain, where they could not long subsist. Most of the *Massejlians* were sent away to *Syphax*, with the Prisoners and Booty, *Bocchar* retaining only 500 Foot and 200 Horse, sufficient to put an End to that Affair. He had driven *Masanissa* from the Mountain, and, shutting him up in a narrow Valley, had placed Guards at both Avenues. Forced to engage under such Disadvantages, great Slaughter was made of the *Masylians*; but *Masanissa*, with fifty Horse, broke thro', and was vigorously pursued. Every one of his Men were cut off, except four, who, with himself, sorely wounded, plunged their Horses into a rapid River; two were carried away by the Stream, and sucked in by a violent Whirlpool, in Sight of the Pursuers: *Masanissa*, with his two Companions, made shift to get to the other Side, out of the Reach of his Enemies, who verily thought him to have been one of those who had perished, and so fancied there was no Occasion to run the Hazard of venturing into the River. All the Country was variously affected with the false Report of *Masanissa's* Death. He lay lurking in a private Cave, for some Days, curing his wounds with Herbs, as best he could, living all the while upon such Plunder as his two faithful Followers could bring him. No sooner was he able to handle his Lance, but he had the Courage to sally out, and getting among some of his own People, who were agreeably surprized to see him, whom they had lamented as dead, and so heartily espoused his Cause, that in a few Days he got together 6000 Foot and 4000 Horse, and began again to give great Disturbance both to the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, who were Thunder-struck to find him alive, and at the Head of an Army. After various Successes, he was reduced to the Condition in which I observed he came to *Scipio*.

I say



I say the more of this great Man, because the Ruin of *Carthage* was, in great measure, owing to him, tho' he lived not to see it: Certain it is, he was a terrible Scourge to the *Carthaginians*, and the third and last *Punick* War brake out upon his Account; at least his Complaints of the *Carthaginian* Hostilities were made the Pretext. The Reply, *Livy*\* tells us, his Embassadors made to those sent from *Carthage*, before the breaking out of that War, gives a good Idea of the State of Affairs at that Juncture. The *Carthaginians* grievously complained to the Senate of the *Numidian*; and he played his Part in accusing them of treacherous Designs against the *Roman* State. But the chief Debate was concerning a fertile Territory, called *Emporia*, being the Coast near the lesser *Syrtis*, not far from *Tripoly*. Among other Towns the City *Leptis* alone was wont to pay the *Carthaginians* no less than a *Talent* of daily Tribute. Of this Province *Masanissa* had, in a manner wholly possessed himself; and his Deputies urged, that he had as much Right to it as the *Carthaginians*, who claimed it as belonging to their Empire, not only as having been theirs for several Ages, but likewise by the Decision of *P. Scipio Africanus*, the Conqueror, at the Conclusion of the second *Punick* War, and even by *Masanissa's* own Confession, who, at a certain Time, being in Pursuit of a fugitive Rebel, begged leave of the *Carthaginians* to pass thro' that very Province. To all this the *Numidians* answered, " That it was utterly  
" false, that *Scipio* had ever set any such Limits; adding, that if the true  
" Original of the *Carthaginians* Right was to be searched into, what Part of  
" *Africa* could be found justly belonging to them? Certain Strangers had as  
" much Ground precariously allotted them as they could cover with an  
" Oxe's Hide, which they, fraudulently, cut into Thongs; and every Foot  
" they have since acquired, without the Walls of their ancient Seat *Byrsa*,  
" has been got by Force and Violence. That as for the Region in  
" Dispute, they lied, in asserting they had always possessed it since it first  
" came into their Hands, since, all along, it had alternately belonged to  
" the Kings of *Numidia* and themselves, being always his who had the  
" longest Sword." Tho' the *Roman* Senate made shew of Impartiality by sending Embassadors into *Africa*, in order to set Matters right, yet nothing was done; the *Numidian* persisted in his Depredations, took from *Carthage* above seventy Towns and Castles; *Rome* connived, and at length

\* L. 34.

openly espoused his Quarrel, to the Ruin of its unhappy Rival : But before we come to this, let us see what becomes of the amorous *Syphax*.

Such was the Influence the wily *Asdrubal*, and his fair Daughter *Sophonisba*, had over this great Prince, that they prevailed with him to set on foot a numerous Army, with which he joined the *Carthaginians*. With the Assistance of *Masanissa*, the *Roman* General *Scipio* found Means to fire both Camps, and to destroy those Armies with a terrible Slaughter. However, it was not long before *Syphax* rais'd 50000 *Massylians* more, and in Conjunction with another Army of *Carthaginians*, came to a Battle with the *Romans* and *Massylians*, in which he was routed, and his Horse being wounded, and falling under him, he was made Prisoner. His Queen was at *Cirtba*, the Capital of his Realm, whither had retired great Numbers of his surest Friends. *Masanissa* obtained Licence to follow with a Body of Horse, and to take with him the captive King; by which Means the Gates were opened to him. Hastening to the Royal Palace, *Sophonisba* threw herself at his Feet, conjuring him to give her his Promise never to deliver her into the Hands of any *Roman*, from whom, as a *Carthaginian*, and Daughter to one of their greatest Enemies, she had all things to apprehend. Her Words and Looks had such Persuasion, that he not only promised what she desired, but instantly married her himself; for which being, a few Days after, mildly checked by *Scipio*, who demanded her as the *Roman* Senate's Prisoner, he sent her a Dose of Poison, which she instantly drank off, saying only, she accepted that nuptial Present, since her new Spouse had nothing better for her; but that she should have died with more Honour, had she not wedded at her Funeral. Thus ended the War. *Syphax* followed *Scipio's* Chariot at his Triumph, and was afterwards poisoned in Prison, according to *Claudian*.

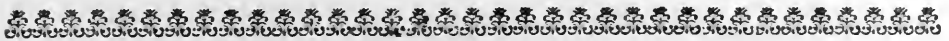
*Haurire venena  
Compulimus dirum Syphacem.*

This was a terrible Blow to *Carthage*. Her chief Hope was built upon this Prince; nor can she be said to have ever raised her Head after it. *Masanissa*, loaded with Honours and Power, became a very formidable Monarch. He not only recovered all he had lost, but was put in full Posses-

sion of most of what had belonged to *Syphax*, not excepting the City *Cirtha*. The cruel Wars he, afterwards, carried on against the *Carthaginians*, are largely treated of by *Appian*. He died during the third *Punick* War, being upwards of ninety Years old, and left three Sons, *Mecipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Manastabal*, between whom *Æmilius Scipio*, as their common Father, divided the Realm, and left them peaceable Possessors: For tho' *Vermina*, the Son of *Syphax*, lived some Years after, and was followed by a Body of *Numidians*, maintaining himself in a certain Territory (of which I find no Account, only *Livy* says, that he sent an Embassy to *Rome*, requiring that he might be acknowledged as a Prince in the *Roman* Alliance, which Request was denied) yet he seems not to have been considerable enough to give the Sons of *Masanissa* much Interruption. Either by this *Vermina*, or some other Son, *Syphax* had a Grand-Son, named *Archobarzanes*, who, before the Death of *Masanissa*, commanded a great Army, in Favour of the *Carthaginians*, against the other *Numidians*, who had seized Part of the Republick's Territory, (seemingly the Province *Emporia* before spoken of) and refused to restore it, which occasioned the last *Punick* War. This Country lies from *Tripoly* Eastward, and is now called *Mesellata*, which likewise seems to bear some Affinity with *Massyliæ*. From the Borders of this Region, towards *Egypt*, begins the *Cyrenaica*, or *Pentapolis*, which reaches to *Barca*, and never belonged to the *Carthaginians*, whose Territory went no farther than *Ara Philenorum*, or the Altars of the *Phileni*. The Story of those two Brothers is remarkable; and being now about to take Leave of the *Carthaginians*, it may not be unnecessary to mention it.

The *Cyrenaica* was so named from the City *Cyrene*; tho' it was also called *Pentapolis*, from five Cities it contained, which other four were *Berenice*, *Teuchita*, *Appollonia*, and *Ptolemais*: From this last and the first, which, perhaps, were the chief of the five, it had the Name of *Ptolemais Cyrenaica*, as it is often called. Those Cities, said to have been originally Greek Colonies, were long in a very flourishing Condition, and that little State made a notable Figure: The Successors of *Batus*, the first King are affirmed to have reigned above 200 Years; after which it became a free Common-Wealth; and had many bloody Disputes with the *Carthaginians* about their respective Limits; to prevent which for the future, it was at last agreed, that each Party should, at a precise Time, send away two Men on foot, and that where they met should be the Boundary. From *Carthage* set out the *Phileni*, who made such extraordinary Expedition,

dition, that those from *Cyrene*, meeting with them so near their own Homes, were in utter Despair, and so affected, that they proffered, that in case the Tryal might be made again, they would willingly be buried alive on the Spot where they arrived; otherwise insisting, that if the *Phileni* were resolv'd to hold the Advantage they had gain'd, they should undergo the like Fate; which those generous Youths, out of Love to their Country, readily embraced, and were buried alive in the very Place they had made such Haste to reach. In Gratitude to their Memory, the Senate of *Carthage* erected two Altars there, and instituted annual Sacrifices to their *Manes*. It is uncertain what Time this happened. According to *Marmol*, there is a Town whose modern Name is *Nain*, in that Place. This Territory at length fell to the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt*: The last Prince of that Family was surnamed *Apion*, natural Son of *Ptolemy Phiscon*, who, having no Children, made the *Roman* People his Heirs, *A. U. C.* 658; and the Cities of this small Kingdom were decreed free by the Senate: *Cyrene*, having revolted, was destroyed by the *Romans*; but afterwards rebuilt. *Livy*, *Justin*, *Marmol*, *Moreri*, &c. Thus it appears, that the State of *Carthage* was surrounded by Enemies. I come now to the Condition of the Country while the *Romans* were there.



*Of the ROMAN PROVINCES in AFRICA; being a Continuation of the History to the coming of the VANDALS.*

**I**T cannot be supposed, that the Destruction of *Carthage* proved the total Extirpation of the *Carthaginian* People. The Bulk of the remaining Citizens went to *Tunis*, (or rather *Thunis*, as the *Africans* call it) an ancient City, tho' not very large 'till it grew from the Ruins of that famous and once flourishing *Emporium*. It stands about twelve Miles distant from the Sea, and within sight of *Carthage*, at least the Place where it was; for it is now only a wretched Heap of Rubbish: I may take some Notice of its Ruins hereafter. Many are likewise said to have withdrawn into *Egypt* and *Asia*; others to have remained dispersed in the Province, while the rest, with such of their *Liby-Phœnician* Vassals as would  
not

not brook the *Roman* Servitude, retired to the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*, and the whole *Byzacena*, or *Carthaginensis*, became a Proconsular Province of the *Romans*; as for the *Cyrenaica*, or *Pentapolis*, as I have observed, it was theirs before; but of *Numidia* I do not find, that they refered to themselves a Foot of Ground, but relinquished the whole to the Sons of *Masanissa*, and continued peaceable Possessors of their Acquisitions for several Years, without attempting new Conquests, but cultivating an amicable Correspondence with their *Numidian* Allies, by whom they were in a manner surrounded: With the *Mauritanians* it was some Years before they had any Intercourse.

All the *Numidians* were not subject to the Sons of *Masanissa*, for King *Bocchus* was one of the Successors of *Syphax*, and ruled a considerable Part of the *Numidian* Territory, called afterwards *Cæsariensis*, and seems to have had a Truce with the others. Of the ancient *Mauritania*, that is the *Tingitana*, King *Bocbar* was Sovereign, and had reigned many Years: Not to mention the many petty Princes, who apparently were Dependants on those superior Powers. Thus stood the *African* Affairs when the *Romans* first became Proprietors of that Part of *Barbary*.

The three Brothers, joint Kings of the other *Numidians*, enjoyed the Bounty of the *Roman* Senate in great Tranquillity. *Gulussa* and *Manastabal*, the two younger, were not long lived; and the Survivor *Micipsa* remained alone upon the Throne. He had two Sons, *Adherbal* (or *Atherbal*) and *Hiempsal*, both very young. His Brother *Manastabal* left a natural Son, named *Jugurtha*, who gave the *Romans* the first Interruption, of any Moment, they met with in *Africa*, since their Settlement. This young Prince, in regard to the Meanness of his Descent by the Mother's Side, his Grand-Father *Masanissa* had brought up in his Court only as a private Gentleman; but, being a promising Youth, his generous Uncle *Micipsa* adopted him, and declared him Co-heir to the Crown with his own Sons, who were both considerably younger. He perfected himself in the *Latin* Tongue at the famous Siege of *Numantia*, in *Spain*, where he behaved with uncommon Bravery, being General of the *Numidian* Troops his Grand-Father sent over in the *Roman* Service, to whom *Scipio* wrote a very obliging Letter, in Commendation of *Jugurtha*. When *Micipsa* died, he left his Children under the Tutelage of their Kinsman *Jugurtha*; but they thought it a great Indignity done them, to have the Son of a Concubine their Companion on the Throne, and offered him several Affronts. For

some Time he dissembled his Resentment; but at length both that and his Ambition appeared but too conspicuous; for he waged a cruel War against them, and never gave over till he deprived them both of Crown and Life; first one and then the other. All these Transactions, together with the whole *Jugurthine* War, are at large related by *Sallust*, *Florus*, *Plutarch* and others.

But before Matters came to an open Rupture, one of the *Numidian* petty Princes, called by *Greek* Authors *Philarchs*, and by the *Arabs*, &c. *Sbeikhs*, whose Name was *Jarbas*, rebelled against the Brothers, who complained thereof to the Senate of *Rome*, and *Pompey* was sent over to reduce him, which *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Pompey*, tells us he effected, spoiling him of his whole Territory. This Prince must have been very powerful, that the Kings of *Numidia*, then at Peace, could not quell him without the Assistance of so great a General.

During the Civil Wars in *Numidia*, we hear of a certain gallant Youth, named *Masintba*, of Princely Extraction, who after the Death of *Adberbal*, slain by *Jugurtha*, was for setting up for himself, and went to *Rome* to solicit the Senate's Concurrence. *Hiempsal* sent thither his Son *Juba* to defend his own Cause against *Masintba*, who claimed an Independency, in which he was patronized by *Julius Cæsar*: And *Suetonius*, in the Life of that great Man, has these Words; "Even in his Youth, he expressed the utmost Zeal and Fidelity in the Service of his Clients. He defended *Masintba*, a young Man of a noble Family, so impetuously against King *Hiempsal*, that, in the Heat of Pleading, he took *Juba*, that Prince's Son, by the Beard; and when the Cause was lost, and his Client declared Tributary to the *Numidian* King, *Cæsar* rushed in, and rescued him from those who were dragging him away, concealing him, for many Days, in his own House; and when, at the End of his Pretorship, he was setting out for *Spain*, he, unperceived, carried him off with him, in his Litter." What became of him afterwards I know not.

Notwithstanding King *Hiempsal* was greatly esteemed at *Rome*, yet *Jugurtha* by his Wiles, but more by Dint of Money, so corrupted many of the Senators, that even when the Consul *L. Calpurnius Bestia* came against him with an Army, he found Means to send him back as he came, only much richer and with less Honour. He was at length summoned before the Senate, and accordingly ventured to *Rome*, where tho' he met with many Frowns, yet the rich Presents, with which the Eyes of several powerful Men were dazzled, brought him safe away again. At his Departure,  
looking

looking back, he is reported to have said, "Mercenary City! Ready ripe for Sale, were there but a Purchaser." However he could not always fend off the Blow that threatened him. The War was carried on briskly against him. Q. *Cæcilius Metellus*, surnamed *Numidicus*, defeated him. Two Years after he was again routed by *Marius*; and the ensuing Year *Bocchus*, his Father-in-Law, King of the *Cæsariensis*, betrayed and delivered him bound to *Sylla*, who put him into the Hands of *Marius*, who made him one of the chief Ornaments of his Triumph. This unhappy Prince died at *Rome* in Prison.

After his Death, *Curio* Tribune of the People, warmly proposed, that the Kingdom of *Numidia* should be declared a *Roman* Province; but *Masanissa's* Memory was still so dear to the People of *Rome*, that the Crown was given to *Juba*, the Son of *Hiempsal*. This Prince, who could never forgive the Affront put upon him by *Cæsar*, when he presumed to handle his Beard, (than which there cannot, even now, be a greater Indignity offered to an *African*) opposed him in all he could, and vigorously sided with those of *Pompey's* Party, who came to *Africa* after the Rout at *Pharsalia*. At this Time *Bogud* was King of the *Tingitana*, as was *Bocchus* of the *Cæsariensis*; both which were on the opposite Side. Their respective Realms bore their Names for some Time, at least among such as talked *Latin*; for the Easterly Province, which was all, or good Part of the *Cæsariensis*, was called *Mauritania Bocchi*, and the *Tingitana* went by the Name of *Bogudiana*. <sup>2</sup> *Dion Cassius*, speaking of King *Juba*, says; *Sed Juba, Hiempsalis filius, rex Numidiæ, qui causam Pompeii prætulera, quam Reipublicæ & Senatûs esse censuerat, Curionique cum aliis, tum quod is tribunus plebis regno se spoliare, regionemque publicam Romanis facere intenderat, magnâ vi bellum Curioni fecit.* He likewise affirms the abovesaid Kings to have been Enemies to the *Pompeian* Party. The Tribune *Curio* was vanquished and slain by *Juba*. Of King *Bogud* in particular *Strabo* makes mention, treating of *Eudoxus*; and <sup>2</sup> in another Place speaks of both *Bocchus* and *Bogud*, saying, *Non diu ante nostra tempora Bogud & Bocchus reges, Romanorum amici, Mauritaniam tenuerunt.* As for *Bocchus*, he at last fell off from *Cæsar's* Alliance, and sent his Sons to the Assistance of the *Pompeians*. King *Bogud* stood firm, went over to *Spain* in *Cæsar's* Behalf, and was present in the War carried on there by *Marcellus*, *Lepidus* and *Cassius*,

<sup>2</sup> L. 41.<sup>2</sup> L. 17.

treated of by *A. Hirtius*. The various Successes and final Event of the War in *Africa*, finished by *Cæsar* in Person, with the Deaths of *Scipio*, *Cato*, King *Juba* and others, is a Story well known; being to be met with in *A. Hirtius*, *Plutarch*, *D. Cassius*, *L. Florus*, *Appianus*, *Cæsar* himself, and others: *Juba*, to avoid falling into the Hands of *Cæsar*, caused his particular Friend *Petreius* to run him thro' the Body, and in Requital did him the same Piece of Service: This happened *A. U. C.* 708, forty six Years before our *Æra*. *Cato* slew himself at *Utica*; and *Scipio*, *Afranius* and *Sylla*, fell into the Hands of *Sitius*, one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, and were put to Death. King *Juba's* Goods were sold at a publick Auction, his young Son *Juba* was made Prisoner, and graced *Cæsar's* Triumph, and that Part of the Kingdom of *Numidia* which he had possessed, was decreed a *Roman* Province, tho' it did not long continue so: *Sallust*, the Historian, was the first Governor. To this young *Juba*, of whom I shall say more in a proper Place, the City *Cæsaria* (looked upon by many Authors to be no other than *Algiers*) is acknowledged to have owed all its former Grandeur, it being his Royal Seat, and till then a Place of no great Consideration, tho' very ancient. In this Overthrow of *Cæsar's* Enemies, King *Bogud* did him very great Service, as he likewise did in *Spain*, against the Sons of *Pompey*, whose Cause King *Bocchus* had lately espoused: Of this <sup>b</sup> *Dion Cassius* says thus; *In utriusque ducis exercitu præter Romanos sociosque, multi Hispani Maurique erant: nam Bocchus filios suos Pompeio auxilio miserat: Bogud verò ipse cum Cæsare militabat.* Both these Kings, at length, lost both Crown and Life, thro' their Inconstancy and Ambition.

*Julius Cæsar*, being assassinated, in the fourth Year of his Imperial Reign, (tho' that Title was not fully settled till the Time of his Successor *Augustus*) *A. M.* 3907. *A. U. C.* 710. *Bogud*, King of the *Tingitana*, thought of making an Advantage of the Broils and Commotions the *Roman* State was in, upon that Occasion. <sup>c</sup> *Dion Cassius* says; *Sub idem tempus (viz. A. U. C. 716.) Bogud Mauritanie rex in Hispaniam, sive Antonii jussu, sive suapte voluntate navigavit, eique & dedit multum mali, & vicissim accepit; interimque deficientibus ab eo Tingitanis, & ex Hispaniâ recessit, neque suum regnum recepit. Quippe qui in Hispaniâ Cæsari [Augusto] favebant, ii Bocchi auxilio Bogudem vicerunt. Bogud ad Antonium se contulit. Boc-*

<sup>b</sup> L. 43.<sup>c</sup> L. 48.



*ckus regnum ejus occupavit.* This Author doubts whether he was set on by *M. Anthony*, to invade *Spain*, or did it of his own Accord. The Damage he did there was great; yet what he himself received was far greater. His Neighbour King *Bocchus*, siding with the *Cæsarians*, overthrew him, seized his Realm, with the Assistance of those of his own Metropolis *Tingis*, whom *Augustus* gratified with honouring them with the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens, confirmed *Bocchus* in the *Tingitanian* Throne, and *Bogud* was forced to fly to *Anthony* for Shelter, and was, about eight Years afterwards, killed by *Agrippa*, at the Siege of *Mothone* in *Greece*, according to<sup>d</sup> *Strabo*. Nor did *Bocchus* long continue grateful to his Benefactor *Augustus*, but waged War against his Partisans in *Spain*. Of this <sup>e</sup> *Appianus* says; *Bocchus rex Maurorum, a Lucio persuasus, Carinati Hispaniam pro Cæsari curanti bellum intulit.* He gives no Account of the Event: Only <sup>f</sup> *Dion Cassius* has these Words; *A. U. C. 721. Cæsar Boccho (fuit is rex Mauritanie) vita functo regnum ejus nemini alii tradidit, sed inter provincias Romanas retulit.* This Kingdom of his must be understood to have been the *Cæsariensis* and the *Tingitana*; so that then the *Romans* were the nominal Proprietors of all *Barbary*, tho' not long; and we are to suppose the far greater Numbers of the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians* to have paid them little or no Obedience, as indeed they never did, nor do, to any strange Prince, but when compelled. As for *Tingis*, tho' allowed the *Roman* Immunities, it was not made a Colony till the Reiga of the Emperor *Claudius*.

*Plutarch*, speaking of the Triumphs of *Julius Cæsar*, says; *Inde tres triumphos duxit, Alexandrinum, Ponticum, & Africanum; non de Scipione, sed de rege Juba. Ibi Juba filius ejus, admodum puer, in triumpho ductus est. Fortunata ei fuit captivitas, qui inde ex Barbaris & Numidis inter eruditissimos historicos recensetur.* And <sup>g</sup> *Appianus* has these Words; *Alium Africanum de Afris, &c. In quo Jubæ filius Juba historicus, infans etiam, tunc traductus est.* This young *Juba* was educated at *Rome*, the Emperor *Augustus*, on account of his promising Genius and virtuous Disposition, taking a singular Affection to that captive Prince, who followed him in all his Expeditions; and the *Egyptian* War being ended, <sup>h</sup> *Dion Cassius*, speaking of the Children of *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, calls the Daughter she had by *M. Anthony* by the Name of her Mother, tho' *Suetonius*, *Suidas*,

<sup>d</sup> L. 8.<sup>e</sup> L. 5. *De Bel. Civ.*<sup>f</sup> L. 47.<sup>g</sup> L. 2. *De Bel. Civ.*<sup>h</sup> L. 51.

and others, name her *Silene*; and *Plutarch* gives her both those Names. *Augustus* married her to his Royal Captive, and for a Dowry bestowed on him the *Mauritanian* and *Numidian* Crowns; so that *Plutarch* might well say of that Prince, that he had a fortunate Captivity: For, excepting the City of *Zelis* (now quite ruined, near *Tingis*, *Tanja*, or *Tangier*) and some few other Cities and Towns in *North-Numidia*, he had both, or rather the three *Mauritanie*, with all the rest of *Barbary*, and *South-Numidia*, which had not been possessed by the *Carthaginians*; the *Pentapolis* I have observed is always excluded. This happened *A. U. C.* 729. What <sup>i</sup> *Dion Cassius* says is this: *Cleopatra autem Jubæ, Jubæ filio, in matrimonium tradita est. Hunc Jubam Cæsar in Italiâ educatum, ac suam militiam secutum, hoc regno & paterno etiam donavit.* This he places *A. U. C.* 725. So that he was married to *Silene*, or *Cleopatra*, about four Years before he was restored to his Royalty. In <sup>k</sup> another Place he is more particular, and dates four Years later: *Cantabrico finito bello, Augustus emeritos milites auctoravit, urbemque eos in Lusitaniâ Augustam Emeritam nomine condere jussit, &c. Jubæ pro paterno regno Getulie quasdam partes, quoniam pleræque ad morem Romanum compositæ erant, & Bocchi Bugudisque ditiones dedit.* Thus it appears, that this King *Juba II.* had all I have been saying; nor does it seem that very many of the *Numidians*, &c. had conformed to the Laws and Manners of the *Romans*, which, probably, was the main Reason of *Augustus's* Bounty to young *Juba*, the properest Person to keep in some Order a People ever impatient of, and averse to a foreign Power. All this is farther explained and confirmed by <sup>l</sup> *Strabo*; *At Africæ partes, quæ non juris Carthaginensium, regibus concessæ sunt Romanorum imperio obedientibus, & si qui deficere, ii ditione omni sunt exuti. Nunc Mauritaniam, aliasque multas partes Africæ, Juba obtinet, ob studium in Romanos & amicitiam hoc consecutus.* What immediately appertained to the *Romans*, was kept by a standing Garrison of two Legions. *Mauros Juba rex acceperat donum populi Romani; cætera per duas legiones, &c.* <sup>m</sup> *Tacitus.* —

I dwell the longer upon King *Juba*, as well because he is acknowledged to have been an extraordinary Person, both for Learning and Gratitude, and that in him the Sovereignty of the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians* may be said to have ended, for many Ages, (the Reign of his Son *Ptolemy* hav-

<sup>i</sup> L. 51.    <sup>k</sup> L. 53.    <sup>l</sup> L. 6. at the End.    <sup>m</sup> *Annal.* L. 4.

ing been little memorable) as likewise on account of his being looked upon as the Restorer, tho' not the Founder of *Algiers*, as shall be farther observed. His Works have been highly celebrated in the Republick of Letters; and according to *Pliny*, who frequently cites him, he was a most curious and elaborate Collector of valuable Historiés, having learnedly and diligently extracted from the *Greek, Latin, Punick and African* Chronicles and Annals, and perhaps from those of other Nations, whatever he met with most worthy to be transmitted to Posterity, and connected such memorable Transactions with the greatest Accuracy, which induced <sup>n</sup> *Pliny* to say he was *Studiorum claritate memorabilior, quam regno*; more memorable for his singular Erudition, than for the Crown he wore, glorious as it was. He was a great Favourite of *Augustus*, who used to converse very familiarly with him, and is said to have bestowed on him the <sup>o</sup> Consulship of *Cadiz*, then a most flourishing City, on account of its great Trade with his Dominions, and its Propinquity to some Part of them: Of this *Festus Avienus* takes Notice. In Gratitude, and to please the Emperor *Augustus*, his Patron, he dedicated his Performances to *Caius Cæsar*, afterwards the Emperor *Caligula*. It was not till after the Decease of this King *Juba*, that *Strabo* finished his Books of Geography, and concerning him <sup>p</sup> says; *Non diu ante nostra tempora Bocchus & Bogud, reges Romanorum amici, Mauritaniam tenuerunt, quibus mortuis Juba successit. Cum Cæsar Augustus ad paternum regnum hoc illi adjecisset. Is Juba fuit filius ejus qui contra D. Cæsarem cum Scipione bellum gessit, Juba nuper vita functo, successit in imperio Ptolemæus, Antonii & Cleopatrate filie natus.* And *Suidas* says; *Juba Libya, & Maurusie rex, quem Romani captum, & flagris cæsum in triumpho duxerunt, non tamen occiderunt ob eruditionem. Fuit sub Augusto Cæsare, & Cleopatrate filiam Silenem, quam è Caio Cæsare natam adopterat, uxorem duxit. Scripsit multa.* Much is said of this Prince; and much more might have been said had his Works been preserved; whereas the little Care that has been taken of them, and of the curious Performances of other great and learned Men, is an irreparable, and never enough to be lamented Loss to all Lovers of ancient History.

Of the Occasion why this King *Juba's* Queen is differently named by Authors, *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Mark Anthony*, after exposing some of the Vices of her Mother *Cleopatra*, says thus; *Cæterum turpitudine fuit Cleo-*

<sup>n</sup> L. 5. C. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Vide *F. B. Aldrete. L. 1. C. 3. De orig. ling. Hisp.*

<sup>p</sup> L. 17.

*patræ honorum Romanis molestissima. Exaggeravit probrum, quod geminos ex illa sustulisset, appellassetque unum Alexandrum, alteram Cleopatram, hanc Silenem cognomento, illum Helium.* With the same Folly and Vanity with which she called herself *Isis*, and *Anthony* her Paramour *Osiris*, the Names of the *Egyptian* Gods, that vain-glorious and luxurious Princess named her Children *Apollo* and *Diana*, or the Sun and Moon, for that is the Signification of *Helius* and *Silene*. Her Son *Cæsario*, whom she had by *Julius Cæsar*, some Years before her Greatness with *Anthony*, was slain soon after her Death, by Order of *Octavius Cæsar*, afterwards the Emperor *Augustus*. There are Medals with both those Names, on some of which she is named *Silene*, on others *Cleopatra*.

King *Juba*, during his whole Reign, was a faithful Friend and Ally to the *Romans*, from whom in general, but more particularly from *Augustus* himself, he received many Honours, and daily Tokens of Esteem. I know not exactly how long he reigned; but he died in Peace, and was succeeded by his Son *Ptolemy*, by *Silene*, then in his Minority; nor do I find that he had any other Children.

*A. U. C. 771; A. D. 18.* in the Time of the Emperor *Tiberius*, this *Ptolemy* being King of the *Mauritanie* (for the Name of *Numidia* had, for some Years, began to be almost out of Use, at least the Western Part of *South-Numidia* was no longer so called, but instead thereof *Mauritania Cæsariensis*) a smart War brake out in *Africa*, which lasted near seven Years: I borrow the following Particulars from *Tacitus*.

The Leader was *Tacfarinas*, a bold *Numidian*, who had served in the *Roman* Armies; but, upon some Disgust, deserted, and drew after him a Company of Vagabonds, delighting in Plunder and Rapine, whom by Degrees he formed into a regular Body of Troops, their Numbers daily increasing; all which were by him diligently trained up in military Exercise; and the *Musulans*, a potent and numerous People, having no Towns nor Cities, but dwelling in Tents and moveable Huts, bordering on the Desarts, chose him for their General. [These were *South-Numidians*; and there seems to be still some Remains of the Name, as I shall take Notice elsewhere.] They had taken up Arms against the *Romans*, and drawn over to their Party some of the nearest *Mauritanians*, whose Chief was one *Mazippas*, between whom and *Tacfarinas* the whole Army was divided. This General had under his Command a choice Band of disciplined Troops, armed like *Romans*, and continually incamped, to inure them to Obedience and military Discipline, while *Mazippas* ravaged the whole Province,

with a formidable Body of Light-Horse, carrying Fire, Sword and Terror, wherefoever he went; infomuch, that he forced the *Cinithii*, a no contemptible Nation, to enter into their League. [By an easy Transition, this Word *Cinithii*, seems to be no other than a Corruption of *Zeneta*, or, as many of the *Africans* have it, *Zenetha*, they using the *th* much more frequently than the *t*, as in *Thunis* for *Tunis*, and innumerable others, of which farther Notice shall be taken. I have already instanced the Tribe *Zeneta* to be one of the five old *African* Nations, which has been in all Ages exceeding powerful, and is still very numerous, tho' dispersed.]

The Proconsul *Furius Camillus*, greatly alarmed, went against them with one *Roman* Legion, and what Auxiliaries he could pick up; all which Forces were so inconsiderable, in Comparison with the Numbers of the Enemy, that their only Apprehension was, that the *Roman* would not venture to give them Battle; so confident were they of the Victory; which Confidence occasioned their Overthrow.

By this it appears, that the Revolt of King *Ptolemy's* Subjects was in a manner general. The Defeat *Tacfarinas* and his Army received was very considerable; for no mention is made of him till about two Years after, when he again appeared in Arms, and renewed the War; first only by infesting the *Roman* Province like a Robber, but made no Stop any where, next by setting Fire to several Towns, and carrying off great Booties, and at length he was so bold as to lay formal Siege to a *Roman* Fortrefs, of which *Decrius*, a courageous Commander and experienced Soldier, was Governor; who looking upon that Piece of Insolence of the Enemy as a Derogation from his own Honour, encouraged his Garrison to face the Besiegers in the open Field, and accordingly sallied out, and drew them up in Battle-Array, before the Gate of the Fort: But at the first Onset they gave Way, shamefully turning their Backs; which the valiant Governor endeavouring to prevent, lost one of his Eyes, and received several Wounds; yet still making Face to the Enemy, he was left quite alone, and there slain. This was so highly resent'd by *L. Apronius*, the Proconsul, who succeeded *Camillus*, that he decimated that dishonourable Garrison, and such as the Lot fell upon he caus'd to be scourged to Death.

This Act of Severity produced a good Effect; for soon after, a *Roman* Ensign, with only 500 Veterans, put to Flight the Enemy's whole Army, as they were preparing to invest another Fort of the *Romans* called *Tbala*. This so dispirited the *Numidians*, that their General resolv'd not to attempt any more Sieges, and only ravaged and plundered all he could, miserably

miserably infesting the Provinces, still retreating as the *Romans* and their Allies approached, and following them as they retreated, keeping them in Play for some Time, with little Advantage to either Party. At length, in hopes of some good Booty, he ventured near the Sea Side, and there incamped. Thither *Apronius Cæſianus*, Son to the Proconsul, followed him, with a strong Body of Horse and Foot, both *Romans* and Auxiliaries, and forcing the Rebels to a Battle defeated them, and *Tacfarinas* was obliged to retire to the Desert, where he continued till he had recruited his tattered Army.

Notwithstanding he had been several times routed, with great Loss, yet two Years after he had so far repaired his Damages, as to appear with a great Number of Troops in the very Heart of *Africa*, and was insolent enough to send an Embassy to *Tiberius*, requiring a Territory for himself and Followers, menacing him with perpetual War, in case his Demand was not complied with. That Emperor is reported to have been in a greater Passion, upon this Occasion, than ever he was known to have been in his Life, taking it as the highest Indignity and Affront that could possibly be offered to himself, and the People of *Rome*, that a Rebel and a Robber should presume to treat and capitulate with them, as a just and honourable Enemy. He therefore sent Orders to the Proconsul *Junius Bleſus*, to proclaim a free Pardon to all who would lay down their Arms, and to spare no Cost to get their Leader into his Hands. Many of the Rebels accepted the Offer, and assisted in the War carried on against him. However, with such few as adhered to his Cause, he led his Enemies a tiresome Dance, often drawing them into Ambuscades, and cutting off considerable Numbers, having divided his Troops into several Bands, flying if pursued, but dangerous to be followed too far. The *Roman* Army was also divided into three Bodies, one commanded by the Proconsul himself, the second, by his Son, and the third by *C. Scipio* his Lieutenant. This last was to cover the Country about *Tripoly*, and intercept the Rebels Retreat to the *Garamantes*; the next was to prevent the *Cirtbensians* (which I take to be those who inhabited that Eastern Part of *North-Numidia* where the City *Costantina*, the ancient *Cirtha* stands) from joining the Rebels; while the main Body, led by *Bleſus* himself, marched in the Middle, (which must be in some Part of the present Kingdom of *Tunis*) erecting Castles and Fortresses in proper Places, by which prudent Management the Enemy was reduced to very great Streights; for which Way soever he turned himself, the *Roman* Forces would appear either in Front, Flank, or Rear,

and

and he had abundance of his Men either cut off, or made Prisoners. The Proconsul afterwards subdivided these Armies into several smaller Parties, the Conduct of which he gave to Commanders of tried Valour and Experience; and when Summer was over, withdrew not his Troops into Winter-Quarters, in *Old-Africa* (so they began to call the *Carthaginensis*) as usual, but, as if the War was but just begun, having built several new Forts, he, with a strong Band of Light-Horse, well acquainted with the Defarts, warmly pursued *Tacfarinas*, who daily changed Quarters, till his Brother was taken, and then he hastily retired, tho' not very much for the Quiet of the Country, having left behind him such as would endeavour to revive the Disturbances: But *Tiberius* judging the War at an End, allowed *Blesus* the Honour of being saluted *Imperator* by the Legions, one of which, *viz.* the ninth, he recalled. No more is heard of this Arch-Rebel till two Years after; thus related by <sup>a</sup> *Tacitus*.

*A. U. C. 777. A. D. 26.* This Year, says he, delivered the *Romans* from their long and burdensome War with *Tacfarinas*. The preceding Generals had contented themselves with Triumphal Honours, without exerting their utmost Force to ruin the Enemy. At *Rome* had been erected no less than three Statues, crowned with Laurels, and yet *Africa* was still infested and ravaged by *Tacfarinas*, aided by the *Mauritanians*, who, being most of them disgusted with the Procedure of several of King *Ptolemy's* Ministers and Officers, who ruled all during that Prince's Minority, preferred an honourable War to an inglorious Vassalage. Their Place of Retreat was the Territory of the Prince of the *Garamantes*, who was a Sharer in the Spoil, tho' without contributing towards the War, otherwise than by some few Troops, which Fame, by reason of the great Distance, had extremely multiplied. Vagabonds, and other infamous Scoundrels, from every Quarter of the whole Region, flocked in apace to them, and that the more readily, because after the Victory which *Blesus* had obtained, the Emperor had recalled the ninth Legion, flattering himself he had no more Enemies left to engage with; and *P. Dolabella*, the Proconsul for that Year, durst not detain them, as dreading his Sovereign's Displeasure more than the uncertain Events of the War. Hereupon *Tacfarinas* took Occasion to disperse a Rumour, that the *Roman Empire* was attacked by divers Nations, and, by Degrees, they were deserting *Africa*; and that it would be an

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<sup>a</sup> *Annal. L. 4.*

eafy matter for him to make an End of the few remaining Troops, provided all thofe who preferred Liberty to Slavery would but join with him in the glorious Attempt.

By this artful Device he confiderably increased his Army, and laid Siege to *Tubuscum*. [This Town perhaps was the fame as *Tibiffa*, of which in another Place.] *Dolabella* got together all the Force he was able, and obliged the Befiegers to quit that Enterprize; the old *Numidians* as much dreading an Encounter with the *Roman* Infantry, as do their Succelfors, the *Barbary Moors* of thefe Days, the very Looks of the *Algerine Janifaries*: Their Horfe they value not fo much; nor were their Anceftors very apprehenfive of the Cavalry either of *Carthage*, or *Rome*, as we may gather from *History*: But to return to the Proconful.

Having fortified the Avenues of that Place, feveral Chiefs of the *Mufulans*, who were fecretly carrying on a Conſpiracy, were by his Order made ſhorter by the Head; and then, affiſted by King *Ptolemy*, and his *Mauritanians*, and taught by the Experience of the preceding Part of the War, inſtead of attempting to engage a ſcattered Troop of Vagabonds with the Grofs of his Army, he divided the whole into four Parties, or Bodies, the Command whereof he intruſted to the Conduct of the Tribunes, and chief Officers of the Legions, leaving to King *Ptolemy* the Care of the Plunder. As for himſelf, without being confined to any certain Poſt, he reſerved the ſupreme Command, to give neceſſary Orders and Supplies where requiſite.

Upon Intelligence, that the *Numidians*, diſtruſting their own Force, lay incamped in the midſt of a Wood, called *Auzea* [I know of no ſuch Name] to which themſelves had ſet Fire, he inſtantly, without imparting his Deſign to any, ſilently and in good Order marched away at the Head of all his Horſe, and light-armed Foot, and by Day-break, ſurprized the Enemy aſleep, and their Horſes ſtaggling in the neighbouring Paſtures; when falling on them, who were without Arms, or Counſel, and utterly unprovided for Reſiſtance, they were eaſily vanquiſhed and cut in Pieces, or led away like Sheep. The Victors, animated with the Remembrance of their paſt Fatigues in their tedious and fruitleſs Purſuit, failed not to glut themſelves with Blood and Vengeance, loudly and eagerly exhorting each other to take particular Care not to ſuffer *Tacfarinas* to eſcape, whoſe Perſon, by many former Engagements, was well known to all there preſent; crying out, that the War would never end while that Traytor was alive. This brave Rebel, perceiving his Guards cut in Pieces all around him, his  
Son



Son already a Prisoner, and the *Romans* pouring in upon him on every Side, undauntedly sprang into the thickest of his Enemies, sold his Life as dear as possible, and by a glorious Death prevented a dishonourable Captivity. Thus ended the War, and that gallant *Numidian*; *A. U. C. 777*, as I observed, which was *A. D. 26*.

The Emperor *Tiberius*, at the Instance of his Prime Minister *Sejanus*, refused to grant the Honours of a Triumph to *Dolabella*, lest he should thereby eclipse the Glory of *Blesus*, that Favourite's Uncle. But this Refusal, as it did not make *Blesus* look greater, increased the Glory of *Dolabella*, who, with a smaller Army, had finished a tedious and dangerous War, killed the Leader, who was the very Soul of it, and took a Multitude of noble Prisoners; and, which had scarce ever been seen before, brought, in his Retinue, Embassadors from the Prince of the *Garamantes*, whom he sent to excuse his Proceedings to the Senate and People of *Rome*, whom he was apprehensive were offended, and to offer them Satisfaction. The good Services performed by King *Ptolemy* were acknowledged by an express Embassy, attended with an Ivory Truncheon and a Triumphal Robe, the ancient Presents of the Senate, which were carried by one of their own Body, who had Orders to treat him as a King, Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People. [This is a very easy Method great Princes have found out, to acquit themselves of Services done them by their Inferiors: A Badge or Mark of titular Honour, sent by the Hand of a Person of high Rank and Dignity, saves them abundance of Expence, were Services to be recompenced with their intrinsic Value. To say nothing of greater Potentates, this Piece of Oeconomy and Politicks is very well known to, and much practised by the *Algerines*, as I shall observe in due Place.] The Words of *Tacitus*, concerning this Particular, are these; *Cognitis Ptolemæi per id bellum studiis, repetitus ex vetusto mos, missusque à senatoribus, qui scipionem eburneum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera daret, regemque, & socium, atque amicum appellaret.*

This *Ptolemy* was the last *African* King, for many Ages. He was killed at *Rome* by *Caligula*; so that this unhappy Prince must have lost his Life in the Flower of his Age. The manner of his Death is, in these few Words, mentioned by *Suetonius*, in the Life of that infamous Emperor. *Leve ac frigidum sit, &c.* "It would be a low and trifling Thing to add,

! In vit. Cal. Sect. 26.

“ after what manner he treated his Friends and Relations; *Ptolemy*, the  
 “ Son of King *Juba*, and his own Cousin-German, for he was Grand-  
 “ Son to *M. Anthony*, by his Daughter *Silene*, &c.” And † again; *Pto-*  
*lemæum, de quo retuli, &c.* “ *Ptolemy*, whom I mentioned before, he in-  
 “ vited over to him, from his own Realm, and gave him a very honour-  
 “ able Reception; but suddenly murdered him, for no other Reason,  
 “ than because, at a certain Shew of Gladiators, which he exhibited, he  
 “ observed, that when he came in, he drew the Eyes of all the Spectators,  
 “ by the Splendidness of his purple Robe.” † *Dion-Cassius* gives another  
 Reason for his putting him to Death: *Caius Ptolemæum Jubbæ filium ewo-*  
*cavit, ac, cum cognovisset de ejus divitiis, necavit.* Likely enough, that  
 a Prince of such Character as *Caligula*, not only avaricious and profuse,  
 but most inhumanely sanguinary and perfidious, and withal jealous and  
 envious to a monstrous Degree, was the readier to perpetrate such a Vil-  
 lany, when the Reward was to be so rich a Crown, and the rifling a well-  
 filled Treasury, to gratify his present Extravagancies. But † *Seneca* asserts  
 he only banished him: Perhaps he did not kill him upon the Spot, as he  
 did so many Multitudes of others, on whose account he had less to apprehend  
 from the People; tho’ in that Point he never was very scrupulous.

After the Demise of this unfortunate Prince, his Kingdom became Ro-  
 man Provinces, being divided into two Parts, according to *Pliny*, who  
 says thus; *Principio terrarum Mauritanie appellantur, usque ad Caium Cæ-*  
*sarem, Germanici filium, regna, sevitia ejus in duas divisa provincias.* But  
 this was not accomplished without Disturbance and much Blood-shed;  
 for *Ædemon*, one of King *Ptolemy*’s Freed-men, took up Arms to revenge  
 his Master’s Death. Of this *Pliny* says; *Romana arma primum Claudio*  
*Principe in Mauritania bellavere, Ptolemæum regem a Caio Cæsare interemp-*  
*tum ulciscente liberto Ædemone, refugientibusque Barbaris ventum constat ad*  
*montem Atlantem.* This was the first War the Romans had in that West-  
 ern *Mauritania*. Hereby it appears that *Caligula* did not survive King *Pto-*  
*lemy* many Months. The War set on Foot against him, was prosecuted  
 by his Successor *Claudius*, who began his Reign, *A. D.* 41. tho’ some  
 say 42. others 43. *Dion Cassius* says, *Caligula* was slain *A. U. C.* 794, and  
 that *Ptolemy*’s Death was in the Year preceding. The same Author af-  
 firms, that the Senate would have decreed Triumphal Honours to *Claudius*,

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 † *Ib.* Sect. 35.

 † *L.* 59.

 † *De tranq. vit.*

for some notable Exploits performed by the Roman Arms, in this *Mauritanian War*, wherein this Emperor was so far from having any Hand, that they happened not even in his Reign. *Senatus Claudio persuasit, ut propter res gestas in Mauritania honores triumphales acciperat, non modo ab ipso non gestas, sed nec sub ejus quidem imperio.* So far was the ancient Roman Virtue degenerated. He says not what those Exploits were; but they must have been in some Defeat given the *Mauritanians* before the Death of *Caligula*.

Under the Year of Rome 795. *A. D. 44.* *Dion Cassius* goes on, saying; *Anno insequenti, Mauri iterum bellum moventes, oppressi sunt Suetonio Paulino, viro Prætorio, eorum regionem usque ad Atlantem populante.* \* *Pliny* uses Words to almost the same Purport; *Suetonius Paulinus, quem Consulem vidimus, primus Romanorum Ducum transgressus quoque Atlantem aliquot millium spatio, &c.* Of the Progress and Conclusion of this War, as likewise of the Roman Army's being supplied with Water by Magick, *Dion Cassius* gives this Account; *Eandem ob causam Cn. Sidius Geta post (Paulinum) expeditione facta, recta adversus Salabum Ducem eorum contendit, eumque semel atque iterum vicit.* [We hear no more of the faithful *Ædemon*; probably he bravely lost his Life at the Beginning of the War.] *Qui cum relictis quibusdam ad limites, qui insequentes arcerent; ad arenosa confugeret, ausus est Sidius insectari eum, ac parte exercitus posita in subsidiis, processit aqua, quantum potuit, secum portata, verum ea absumpta, cum nulla suppeteret, in summâ hæsit difficultate. Barbaris durantibus, eo quod diutissimè tolerare ad-suevissent, ac peritiâ locorum aquam invenirent. Romanis verò neque progredi jam, neque regredi integrum erat, cum quidam indigenarum confœderatorum Sidio auctor fuit, ut incantationibus, & magicâ arte uteretur, affirmans sæpius se eo modo plurimam aquam elicuisse: cum paruisset, tanta confestim aque vis cœlitus fluxit, ut & sitem exercitus restingueret, & hostes perterrefaceret, divinum auxilium Romanis adesse putantes. Itaque ultro pacis conditiones acceperunt. His actis, Claudius, Mauritaniâ subditam, in duas partes divisit, Tingitanam & Cæsariensem, duobus iis equitibus præpositis. Eodem tempore finitimi Barbari, cum Numidiæ quasdam partes infestassent, victi bello sunt, ac Numidia pacata.* This is not the only Author who speaks of the Practice of Magick among the *Africans*; they are still great Pretenders to it; as I shall take Notice. It was a bold Attempt of *Sidius*, to follow

\* L. 5. C. 1.

the *Moors* into the Desarts; and his Conjurer stood him and his Army in very good Stead. In all Ages Superstition and Credulity have prevailed, and it is to be feared will still continue so to do; and Events natural, and merely accidental, will be attributed to preternatural Causes. For my own Part, I must confess, that I cannot help thinking, that it would have rained full as fast on the *Roman Army*, and at the very same Instant it is then said to have done, had all the Magicians in *Africa* been snoring asleep in the *Antipodes*; tho' one needs not go far from Home to seek out People of a quite different Opinion. However, I have known some odd Matters, in *Barbary*, affirmed to have been the real Effects of Magick, which they will not allow to be what we call Necromancy, or the Black Art: I may have Occasion to advance some Instances. To return.

Things being pacified, the whole Country, which heretofore had composed divers Kingdoms, States and Principalities, became Imperial, *Roman Provinces*, and were governed by *Romans*, in the Manner as shall be farther intimated. During the Time of *Claudius*, who reigned from *A. D.* 41, to 54 (some say 56.) of which Space of Time he was peaceable Possessor of all those Provinces about twelve Years, he established no more than three Colonies in the *Mauritania*, or rather only two, and to the third, which was *Ruscium*, allowed the Privileges, peculiar to *Roman Citizens*, without the Name; so that of twelve Colonies, whose Names I know not, reckoned by *Pliny*, in his own Time, in the *Mauritania*, nine were established by *Augustus*, the rest by *Claudius*; a very inconsiderable Number, seemingly, for such extensive Regions, of which the same *Pliny* says; *Utriusque Mauritaniae longitudo octingentorum triginta novem mill. latitudo quadringentorum sexaginta mill. pass.* In Length 839000, in Breadth 460000 Paces.

This must be understood only of the *Tingitana* and the *Cæsariensis*; for there was never any Mention made of the *Sitifensis*, till after the Death of *Constantine the Great*, *A. D.* 337. Some will not allow, that this last was ever named *Mauritania*; but I shall produce undeniable Authorities to prove the contrary I have often enough observed, that the *Tingitana* began, Westward, at the Ocean, and terminated at the River, now called *Muluia*, almost as high as *Oran*, properly *Wabran*; there began the ancient *Numidia*, whose Western Part, (not much higher, I positively be-

lieve, than *Algiers*) came to be called *New-Mauritania*, perhaps, somewhat before the *Jugurthine* War, but never was named *Cæsariensis*, till King *Juba II.* re-edified the ancient *Jol*, or *Yol*, and in Honour of his *Augustus*, called it *Cæsaria*, making it the Metropolis of his Territory, as shall more particularly be demonstrated when I come to treat of *Algiers*. Tho' when the *Tingitana* was abstracted from the rest of *Africa*, and annexed to *Spain*, then *Mauritania Cæsariensis* began between *Tangier* and *Ceuta*, including this last City. This shall be farther spoken of.

Here it seems not improper to consider farther the State of the Country, and to make some Reflections upon the Genius of its natural Inhabitants; in whom I cannot perceive any considerable Alteration in these Days, from the Character they bore so many Centuries ago. It must be remembered, that neither *Ptolemy*, his Father *Juba II.* nor his Grand-Father *Juba I.* were ever put in Possession of such *Numidian* or *Mauritanian* Cities and Towns, as had received the *Roman* Laws and Manners, of which there were many, as well on the Coast, as within the Country; but these last were mostly those which lay nearest the *Roman* Old Province, *i. e.* the *Carthaginensis*; and as for *Cirtha*, the ancient Metropolis of *Numidia*, I am almost sure the *Romans* seized it during the *Jugurthine* War, and never parted with it till the Empire's Decay; nor do I believe, that the said Princes had much to do in any Part of what was afterwards named the *Sitifensis*, which lies due West from that City, about eighty Miles, as near as I can guess. Now *Sitif*, (which gave it that Denomination) stands about the mid-way from *Algiers* to the Confines of the *Carthaginensis*; the greatest Part of the Road between which Cities (once the Capitals of two of the *Mauritaniae*) lying over very high and rugged Mountains, as shall be farther described; all which mountainous Region was, probably, as well peopled then as it is now, and with much such Sort of Inhabitants, no less indomable than the very Leopards it breeds; and I take it to have always been what it now is, in a manner independent, as then were, and still are many other Mountains in *Barbary*: But I shall not here particularize. When the *Sitifensis* took that Name, the *Tingitana* was no longer counted Part of *Africa*, but of *Spain*: Of this in due Place. The *Byzacena*, *Pentapolis*, or *Cyrenaica*, was, as I said, the first Province the *Romans* possessed in *Africa*, and always retained some or all of those Names: Next they conquered the *Carthaginensis*, or *Africa Minor*, and then *Egypt*; next they became Masters of both the *Numidia*, and the Death of King *Ptolemy*, and the Suppression of those who attempted to revenge it, rendered

them, at least, Titular Sovereigns of the whole Region of *Barbary*, besides what they had in *South-Numidia*, and the *Cyrenaica*: In this last, and in the Old Province, it is very likely they were absolute; but, in all the rest, I scarce believe them to have been ever obeyed, but just while their naked Weapons were held at the Throats of their new Vassals, whose Disposition may be easily guessed at by what *Tacfarinas* was able to do, even while *Rome* was, we may say, in the Zenith of its Glory, and had a faithful Ally, in young King *Ptolemy*. Tho' at the same Time, and long after, the *Roman* Provinces abounded with several fine Colonies, and other noble and flourishing Cities, where all liberal Arts and Sciences appeared in as great Splendor as in most other Parts of the Empire, yet so averse were the Bulk of the *Africans* to all civil Society and Politeness, not unlike their present Posterity, that they chose rather to follow Brigandage, and to lead the Life I already have, and farther shall describe, than to civilize themselves, notwithstanding all the chief Towns were full of such of their Compatriots as happened to be born with better Notions. It would be doing them a notorious Injury to say, it proceeds from the Want of natural Capacity, since it is universally known, what great and famous Men, not only of the Sword but of the Pen, *Africa* has produced.

*Pliny* seems to have finished his *Natural History* towards the End of *Vespasian's* Reign, which we will fix at somewhat above thirty Years after *Claudius* had reduced *Mauritania*, and more than a hundred after *Augustus* had established his Colonies in those Countries; yet he makes this Complaint; *Sed id plerumque experimento deprehenditur, quia dignitates cum indagare vera pigeat, ignorantiae pudore mentiri non piget, haud alio fidei proniore lapsu, quam ibi falsæ rei gravis auctor existit.* These Words are very remarkable, and is a Pack-Saddle would, I fear, too well fit the Backs of many grave and stately Dons of the present Age, who are stationed in Employments of the greatest Importance: Ashamed to expose their Ignorance by inquiring into Affairs, yet not a whit ashamed to exhibit Lies; and the Mischief of it is, their Lies are swallowed for Fact, thro' the Gravity of their Looks, the Authority of their Persons, and the Dignity of the Posts they so undeservedly enjoy. But what *Pliny* seems to allude to is, the Indolence and Insufficiency of so many noted Men, of the Consular, Patrician and Equestrian Orders, who had been sent to govern in those Provinces, yet he could meet with no satisfactory Account concerning what he wanted to know; and tho' *Suetonius Paulinus* had been at, and even beyond the *Atlas*, yet *Pliny* had but a superficial No-

tice of it. As for the *Greeks*, as *Pausanias* affirms, their Knowledge of those Affairs was little or nothing.

Before I reassume the Thread of my History, I shall only add, that considering the great Extent of these two *Mauritaniae*, in Length, according to *Pliny* and others, above 800 Miles, and in Breadth more than 400 (but this must include all the West Part of *South-Numidia*, to the very Borders of *Libya*) in so great a Country, I say, twelve Colonies could not do very much towards civilizing a People so prone to Unpoliteness as were the natural *Africans*; and what they always were they still are, and very probably will so continue: For if the flourishing State, first of the *Carthaginians*, and afterwards of the *Romans*, for so many Centuries of Years, could not polish them, how can it be expected, that they should be polished now; since, in a manner, all those fine Cities, of old, have been long buried in Ruins and Oblivion, and the whole Country left so thin of Towns, as it is at present? It would not be stretching the Matter too exorbitantly, should I absolutely affirm, that, between the *Mediterranean* and *Negroland*, there are Millions of People who, neither they nor their Ancestors, for perhaps ten or fifteen Generations, ever once had even the Sight of a Place that merited the Name of a Town; nor should I exceed the Truth in asserting, that scarce one *African* in five hundred is capable of writing his own Name, or even of reading it if written. Yet, as I said, all this is not thro' want of Genius; for I profess, I never met with People of better, or brighter, natural Parts; but it is intirely owing to their invincible Antipathy to Politeness, and a settled State of Life; it being observable, that such of them as think fit to conform to the Manners of more civilized Nations, seldom, or never, fail of shining as conspicuously as any other Candidates for Reputation whatever.

A. D. 70. <sup>2</sup>C. *Tacitus* gives the following Account of the *African* Affairs, when *Vitellius* was Emperor; *Isdem diebus accessisse partibus utramque Mauritaniam interfecto procuratore Albino, &c.* "About this Time, " says he, arrived an Express from *Africa*, that both the *Mauritaniae* had " declared for him [*Vitellius*] upon the Death of the Procurator *Albinus*. " This *Luceius Albinus* had, by *Nero*, been constituted Governor of " *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, to which *Galba* had added the *Tingitana*; so that " by the Administration of both those Provinces, he became Master of a

" very considerable Strength; no less than eighteen Cohorts and five  
 " Wings [*Alæ*] of regular Troops, besides an infinite Number of *Mau-*  
 " *ritanians*, whose ravaging manner of Life had qualified them well for  
 " the Service: All these were wholly at his Disposal. When *Galba* was  
 " slain, he acknowledged *Otho*: Yet not satisfied with *Africa* alone, he  
 " had a Design upon *Spain*, from whence it is separated by a very narrow  
 " Sea. *Cluvius Rufus*, suspecting some ill Intent, drew down the tenth  
 " Legion to the Coast, as if in order to transport them. Some Officers  
 " had been dispatched away before to dispose the *Mauritanians* in favour  
 " of the Pretensions of *Vitellius*; which was no very difficult Matter to  
 " effect, such great Reputation the *German Army* had acquired. Besides  
 " a Rumour was spread, that *Albinus* looked upon the Title of Procura-  
 " tor, or Governor, as too mean, and had assumed the Name of *Juba*,  
 " and some other Marks of Royalty, peculiar to the Kings of that Coun-  
 " try. By these Motives Peoples Affections began to be changed: *Asinius*  
 " *Pollio*, Commander of one of the Wings, very intimate with *Albinus*,  
 " together with *Festus* and *Scipio*, Commanders of Cohorts, were surpris'd  
 " and slain. *Albinus* himself, coming by Sea from the *Tingitana* to the  
 " *Cæsariensis*, was assassinated the Moment he landed; as was likewise his  
 " Lady, who voluntarily presented her Breast to the *Ruffians*."

All this gives but an imperfect Idea of the State of the Country. It  
 seems dubious, whether *Albinus* really designed a Revolt, or was malici-  
 ously aspersed by his Enemies. Probably he might suffer the *Moors* to  
 call him *Juba*, a Name dear to them, the better to ingratiate himself with  
 a wild, ungovernable People, most impatient of a foreign Yoke; which  
 was laid hold on by his ill-wishers, as the readiest Way to ruin him with  
 the *Romans*. His passing by Sea makes me think there were Commotions  
 in the Provinces; and *Præcopius*, in his Time, takes Notice, that there  
 was no safe Passage by Land, from one Province to another. Nor is it  
 now, even when there appears not the least Sign of publick Broils, very  
 safe travelling in *Barbary*, except in Seed and Harvest Time; and then it  
 is not adviseable to venture far out of Sight of the Husbandmen's Tents;  
 the wildest of the *Moors* being tolerably peaceable at those Seasons, and  
 will favour and assist any that, being pursued by Robbers, repair to them  
 for Refuge.

Tho' *Augustus* had done something towards it, yet it was the Emperor  
*Otho* who first made to the Province of *Betica*, in *Spain*, a formal Grant



of certain Cities in the *Tingitana*, some of which remained annexed to the Spanish Crown for many Ages, even till after the Conquest of *Spain* by the *Arabs* and *Moors*, in the Reign of *Don Rodrigo* the last *Gothish* King, whose History is well known. Of this Grant <sup>a</sup>*Tacitus* makes mention, saying; *Provinciae Beticæ Maurorum civitates dono dedit.* Tho' these Cities are not expressly named, yet they apparently seem to have been those nearest that Continent, *Tingis* the Capital itself being one of the Number. This Step was certainly taken by that Prince, for the better Security of *Spain*, upon the Rumour of the intended Usurpation of *Albinus*, true or false, who tho' he had declared in his Favour, yet might have proved a dangerous Enemy, by getting into his Power so important a Part of the Empire. This was the Original of the Claim *Spain* had to the *Tingitana*, tho' it had only those Towns, till the Division of the Imperial Provinces, between the three Sons of *Constantine* the Great, near 270 Years later, as I shall remark.

While *Vitellius* and *Vespasian* were contending for the Empire, there were some Disturbances in *Africa* between those opposite Parties, in which Commotions the Proconsul *Lucius Piso* was murdered, as is related by *Tacitus*, who introduces that Tragedy with this brief Preamble. *Legio in Africâ, auxiliæque tutandis imperii finibus, sub D. Augusto, Tiberioque, &c.* "The Legion in *Africa*, and the auxiliary Troops appointed to guard the Frontiers, were, during the Reigns of the Emperors *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, under the Direction of the Proconsul; till *Caius Cæsar Caligula*, a Prince capricious and whimsical, and withal apprehensive of *M. Silanus*, who had obtained the Government of *Africa*, took away the Command of that Legion from the Proconsul, and sent a Legate, or Deputy, purposely to take Charge of it; so that the military Authority being thus divided between two Chiefs, and the Points of their Commission interfering, great Discord and Contention arose."

He next says; that *Valerius Festus* had, at that Time, the Command of the Legion in *Africa*; that he was a riotous, ambitious young Man, and nearly related to *Vitellius*; that the *African* Army was ill affected to *Vespasian*, and that some of the fugitive Partisans of his Competitor *Vitellius* were tampering with the Proconsul *L. Piso* to make himself Emperor, who would never be prevailed on to comply, but actually killed a Centu-

<sup>a</sup> L. 1. *Hist.*

rion, who had proclaimed him at *Carthage*. It must be observed, that this City, having lain in Ruins twenty two Years, had been rebuilt; but the first Colony was not very considerable, till *Julius Caesar* sent one much more noble and numerous, making it the Metropolis of the Proconsular Province, yet far short of its pristine Grandeur and Magnificence. This Historian goes on in these Words; "But *Festus* having Notice of the Up-  
 " roar and Consternation among the People, the Centurion's Death, and  
 " other Occurrences, partly true and partly false, as Report generally in-  
 " larges Matters, he sent a Party of Horse to take off *Piso*, who, mak-  
 " ing all possible Haste, early in the Morning, before it was light, brake  
 " into the Proconsul's Palace, Sword in Hand; and notwithstanding they  
 " were *Moorish* and *Punick* Auxiliaries, belonging to the Army, chosen  
 " out purposely for that Execution, yet few or none of them had any  
 " personal Knowledge of *Piso*. His own Words are, *Et magna pars*  
 " *Pisonis ignari, quod Pænos auxiliares Maurosque in eam cædem deligerat.*  
 The first they encountered was one of his chief Domesticks, of whom in-  
 quiring, who he was, and where they might meet with the Proconsul, that  
 resolute and faithful Gentleman, perceiving the Danger that threatened his  
 Lord, boldly made Answer, "I am *Piso*;" whereupon they instantly slew  
 him. Soon after the Proconsul himself was discovered by one *Bebius*  
*Massa*, who knew him; and he was likewise assassinated. All this *Tacitus*  
 much condemns, and calls it a wicked Enterprize. This *Bebius Massa*,  
 he says, was one of the Procurators of *Africa*; and he gives him a very  
 bad Character.

*Piso* being thus killed, the Historian goes on, saying; *Festus mox Ophensum Leptitanorumque discordias componit, &c.* "*Festus* next took up the  
 " Quarrel between the *Ophenses* and the *Leptitani*, which from small Be-  
 " ginnings, as plundering Corn, and driving away Cattle, was now main-  
 " tained by open Force and reciprocal Hostilities: The *Ophenses*, being  
 " the weaker Party, called in to their Assistance the *Garamantes*, a thievish,  
 " savage and unmanageable Race of People. Upon this, the Fields of  
 " the *Leptitani* were miserably wasted and destroyed; nor were they free  
 " from Apprehension, even within their walled Towns, till the Arrival  
 " of the *Roman* Cohorts, &c. who put to flight the *Garamantes*, and re-  
 " covered all the Spoil, except what had before been conveyed away far  
 " into the Country, and disposed of among their wild and inaccessible  
 " Hovels." All this happened in the *Old Province*, namely the *Carthaginensis*,  
 or *Africa Minor*, or *Propria*.

Here we find that some of the *Africans* were still called *Peni*. Tho' *Cornelius Balbus* once triumphed over the *Garamantes*, and after the Rebellion and Defeat of *Tacfarinas*, we hear of their *Embassadors*, at *Rome*, humbly suing for Peace, and offering Satisfaction, yet they were not a People in any wise disposed long to endure the *Roman* Yoke upon their Necks. The *Libyan* Desarts are a safer Retreat than the most inexpugnable Fortresses in the Universe.

Who those *Ophenses* were I know not; nor is there any such Name that I could ever hear of: But it seems a groundless and trifling Criticism of *Justus Lipsius*, and others, to dispute there ever having been any such Place, or People, and to assert that *Tacitus*, instead of *Ophensum*, should have said *Censum*, merely because they never met with that Word in any other Author: And on Account of *Pliny's* Expression; *Ad Garamantes iter inexplicabile adhuc fuit. Proximo bello, quod cum Censibus Romani gessere initiis Vespasiani Imperatoris, compendium viæ quatruidi deprehensum est;* the aforesaid *Lipsius* adds; *Quod illud bellum sub initia Vespasiani nisi istud?* It cannot be expected to find the Names of all the Cities, Rivers, Mountains, &c. of *Africa*, in the Historians of those, or any other Times: The Authority of *Tacitus* is certainly sufficient to induce one to believe, that there was such a Place, especially since none of his Contemporaries offer to contradict him. Those who would be at the Trouble of examining, might find many Names of Towns, &c. in *St. Augustine*, and the *Codes* of the *Canons* of the *African* Councils, that were never once mentioned by any of the earlier Writers.

<sup>d</sup> *Eusebius* says, that in the last Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Trajan*, when the *Jews* attacked the *Romans* on every Side, *Africa* bore a very great Share in the common Calamity: This he fixes *A. D.* 117. And in the seventh Year of *Adrian*, (*viz.* 124.) he adds; *Hadrianus Imperator in Libyam, quæ à Judæis vastata fuerat, colonias duxit.*

The *Romans* were very powerful in *Old* and *New Africa*, (as they often distinguished all their Conquests down to the Borders of *Mauritania*, and no farther) which Provinces they kept in tolerable good Order, well peopled with their own Subjects, and strongly garrisoned; yet could they scarce defend them against the suddain IncurSIONS of their Southern Neighbours, and were obliged to be continually on their Guard, tho' they had,

<sup>c</sup> L. 5. C. 1.

<sup>d</sup> L. 4. C. 2.

likewise, founded and rebuilt a good Number of Towns and Fortresses, at a considerable Distance in the *Numidian* Desarts: *Tozar, Casfa, &c.* (now belonging to *Tunis*,) as likewise *Tuggurt, Wargala*, (which pay a Tribute of Black-Slaves to the *Algerines*, with other Places more immediately theirs, together with many Castles, &c. long since in Ruins) having been *Roman* Garrisons, as appears by Fragments of *Latin* Inscriptions, tho' some of them are more than 300 Miles within the Desart. I could never find, that the *Carthaginians* had any Territory in those Parts. In the *Mauritanie* their Power was far less; insomuch, that they were not, by any Means, able to prevent the great Invasion of *Spain*, which happened *A. D.* 170. in the Reign of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus Philosophus*, spoken of by *Capitolinus* in these few Words; *Cum Mauri Hispanias prope omnes vastarent, res per legatos bene gestæ sunt.* This must have been done with a very numerous, and well disciplined Army, not only of Foot but of Horse, the main Strength of the *Moors* always consisting in Cavalry. And how they, so early, became Masters of a sufficient Number of Shipping to transport such a Body of Troops, is somewhat surprising. Yet, even if one was inclined to dispute the Truth of it, what *Elius Spartianus* (in the Life of *Severus*, the only natural *African* among all the *Roman* Emperors, being born at *Leptis Magna*, taken to be Old *Tripoly*) advances, concerning a second Invasion of *Spain*, from *Mauritania*, removes all Scruples. He fixes it *A. D.* 179. and says; *Militari post quæsturam sorte Baticam accepit, &c. Sed dum in Africa est Sardinia ei attributa est, quod Baticam Mauri populabantur.* Of these Incurfions there is still the Remembrance in *Andalusia*.

The *Roman* Garrisons in *Mauritania* were so far from being able to prevent these Invasions, that they were obliged to augment their standing Forces, and to send over frequent Recruits. *Herodian* gives us this Account how Affairs stood *A. D.* 238. *Erat Capellianus, quidam Senatorii ordinis vir, procurator Mauritanie Romanis subjectæ, quæ ab ipsis Numidia appellatur; ea gens munita ab exercitibus fuerat, à quibus Barbarorum incurfus, ac populationes coercerentur. Quare haud contemnendam militum manum circa se habebat. Cum hoc igitur Capelliano veteres Gordiano simulates ex forensi disceptatione intercesserant, quo circa nomen adeptus Imperatoris, successorem illi misit, atque abscedere provincia imperavit. Ille ea re indignatus, ac Principi*

*Maximino suo devotus, à quo magistratum quoque eum accepisset, omni coactò exercitu validissimasque copias secum adducens, virosque cum etate florentes, tum omni armorum genere instructos, peritosque rei militaris, atque ex consuetudine præliorum adversus Barbaros magnopere ad pugnandum paratos.* This shews in what continual Alarms the Africans kept the Imperial Garrisons, that they were oblig'd to have continually their Weapons in Hand. *Capellianus* had likewise in his Army some Troops of *Numidian* Cavalry, and of them the same Author says thus; *Numidæ jaculatores optimi, atque equitandi peritissimi, sicut equos etiam infrænes virgâ tantum currentes moderentur.* They are still excellent Horsemen, and handle their Lances with great Skill and Dexterity; but they have long difused their ancient Manner of riding without Bridles, probably ever since the coming of the *Mahometan* Arabs. But of this more hereafter. *Gordian* and his Son, who were in *Carthage*, put in Order their Army, which exceeded in Number, tho' not in Expertness, the Forces of *Capellianus*. The elder *Gordian*, despairing of Success, slew himself, as did likewise his Son, having been routed in Battle.

The Emperor, *Constantine* the Great, died *A. D.* 337. Before his Decease, he divid'd the Empire between his three Sons, according to the Testimony of <sup>f</sup> *Eusebius* and <sup>g</sup> *Nicephorus Calistus*, tho' they acquaint us not after what Form and Manner that Division was made. <sup>h</sup> *Zosimus* and <sup>i</sup> *Aurelius Victor*, likewise take Notice of this Partition, but not with that Clearness and Distinction as does <sup>k</sup> *Zonaras*; so that we will have Recourse to his Words; *Inter illius filios divisum imperium, vel ab ipso Constantino, ut quidam scribunt, vel eo defuncto ex eorum consensu in hunc modum. Constanti tributam esse Italiam, & Romam ipsam, Africam, Siciliam, cum reliquis insulis, atque etiam Illyricum, Macedoniam, & cum Achaia Peloponesum. Constantino Alpes Cottias, cum Gallis, & tractum Pyrenæi usque ad Mauritaniam Oceani angustò fretò diremptam ab Hispaniis; Constantio ea obvénisse, quæ in Orientali parte Romane ditionis erant, & Thraciam cum urbe paterna.* By this Partition the *Tingitana* became divided in two Districts, one of which retained its former Name, from *Tingis*, *Tanja*, or *Tangier*, its Metropolis, while the Eastern Part, wherein *Sebta*, or *Septa*, now corruptly *Ceuta*, was included, was annexed to the *Cæsariensis*, which still kept its Name, but had a third *Mauritania* taken out of its Eastern Territory, namely the *Sitifensis*, so called from the City *Sitisis*, its Capital,

<sup>f</sup> L. 4. Vit. Const. C. 51.

<sup>g</sup> L. 8. C. 54.

<sup>h</sup> L. 2.

<sup>i</sup> In Const.

<sup>k</sup> Tom. 3.

which was made a Roman Colony, and became a Place of great Note, as may be collected from History, and as its Ruins still testify. Many, as I observed elsewhere, will not allow that there were ever three *Mauritaniae*; in which they are very much mistaken, as I prove by what follows.

*Sextus Rufus*, in the first Year of the Emperor *Valentinian's* Reign, viz. *A. D.* 364. giving him an Account of the *African* Affairs, names six Provinces; using these Words; *Ac per omnem Africam sex provinciae factae sunt. Ipsa verò Carthago est Proconsularis; Numidia Consularis; Byzacium Consularis; Tripolis & Mauritaniae duae, hoc est Sitifensis & Caesariensis, Praesidiales.* By this it appears that the Proconsular Province was, at that Time, barely the present Kingdom of *Tunis*. As for *Byzacium*, one of the Consular Provinces, it seems to be the ancient *Pentapolis*, which with the *Tripolitana*, one of the three Praesidial Governments, make the present State, or Kingdom of *Tripoly* in *Barbary*, so called to distinguish it from *Tripoly* in *Syria*. The noble Kingdom of *Numidia* was so castrated, that it dwindled away to the Eastern Province of the *Algerines*; nay and not the whole neither; for *Sitifis*, which gave a Name to the most modern *Mauritania*, is situate in that Part of it which, in after Ages, was termed the Kingdom of *Boujeiab*, corruptly called *Bugia*, and is almost opposite to it, not much less than twenty Leagues within Land. However, as much of *Numidia* as retained its ancient Name, was the other Consular Province. The two *African Mauritaniae*, for the third belonged to *Spain*, were the other Praesidial Provinces, whose Prefects, or Governors, were qualified the Emperor's Procurators, and commanded all the Garrisons there established to defend the Frontiers, as likewise the Officers belonging to those Garrisons. The same Author, in another Place, speaking of the Affairs of *Spain*, says; *Transfretum etiam insula terrae Africae provincia Hispaniarum est, quae Tingitana Mauritania cognominatur.* These were certainly three *Mauritaniae*.

Tho' this is sufficient, yet I shall still produce farther Testimonies to prove this Assertion, in Contradiction to those who so erroneously affirm the contrary. *Paulus Orosius*, who wrote *A. D.* 417. in his brief Description of the World, says; *Sitifensis & Caesariensis Mauritania habet ab Oriente Numidiam, ab Occasu fluvium Muluam, &c. Tingitana Mauritania ultima est Africa: haec habet ab Oriente flumen Muluam, à Septentrione mare nostrum usque ad fretum Gaditanum, quod inter Abennen & Calpen duo contraria sibi promontoria coarctatur, ab Occidente Atlantem montem, & Oceanum Atlanticum.* Tho' he here gives the *Tingitana* its ancient Boundary

to the East, yet he mentions both the *Cæsariensis* and *Sitifensis*. With the same Distinction, frequent Mention is made of these Provinces by the Emperor <sup>1</sup>*Theodosius*; and in his Code of Laws, he often speaks of the *Sitifenses*, or the Inhabitants of that City.

<sup>m</sup> S. *Isidro* makes the like Division. *Prima Mauritania Sitifensis est, quæ Sitifim habet oppidum, à quo & vocabulum traxisse regio perhibetur. Mauritania Tingitana, à Tingi metropoli hujus provinciæ; hæc ultima exurgit a montibus septem, &c. Mauritania Cæsariensis coloniæ Cæsariæ civitas fuit, & nomen provinciæ ex ea datum.* He before had observed the *Tingitana* to be a Province of Spain; and here he fixes its Eastern Boundary at the seven Mountains, from whence *Septa* (or *Sibta*, as the *Africans* call it, and we, abusively, *Centa*, from the *Spaniards*) derived its Appellation, and which, in this last Division, became included in the *Cæsariensis*. Some Authors call this City *Trajectum*, and others *Julia Trajecta*.

*Ptolemy*, indeed, places *Sitifis Colonia*, as he terms it, in the *Cæsariensis*. But <sup>n</sup>*Ammianus Marcellinus* expressly calls *Sitifis* the Capital City of the *Sitifensis*, as he does *Cæsaria* of the *Cæsariensis*; and notwithstanding he makes Use of the Words, *ad Tingitanum castellum progressus*, he must not be understood to have meant the City *Tingis*, which was a Colony, and did not in any wise appertain to those Provinces he was treating of; nay, he himself plainly demonstrates, that *Theodosius* passed not beyond the Limits of the *Sitifensis* Eastward, nor of the *Cæsariensis* to the West. The War being concluded, he says; *Sitifim triumphanti similis rediit, etatum ordinumque omnium celebrabili favore susceptus.* Of this War I shall speak presently. By all this, and much more that might be produced, it evidently appears, that, in the Division of the Empire, after the Death of *Constantine* the Great, his Sons and Successors followed the Method, begun first by *Augustus*, and farther confirmed by *Otho*, as to Spain, which, while the whole was under the Jurisdiction of one Prince, or Sovereign, occasioned no Disputes, but coming into the Hands of three, each of which had his different Limits and Pretensions, Matters were brought to a more particular Distinction, and then the *Tingitana* in a manner quite lost its ancient Name, and assumed that of *Hispania Transfretana*.

In the Codes of the *African* Councils, and in the Works of S. *Augustine*, *Fulgentius*, *Optatus*, *Victor*, &c. written since the Time of that Em-

<sup>1</sup> *Novella 23. de tributis fiscalibus; and Novella 40. de pistoriis Afris.*

<sup>m</sup> L. 14. C. 5.

<sup>n</sup> L. 29.

peror, much is said of the *Sitifensis*, as more noble than the others; not a Word is mentioned of the *Tingitana*, and but very little of the *Cæsariensis*. But of this enough for the present: I shall only add, that soon after the said Division of the Empire, it is affirmed by several, that the *Roman Eagle* first began to spread with a double Head, with relation to the two Imperial Seats, *Rome* and *Constantinople*; which was not till the Decease of *Constantine*, the eldest of the three Brothers, who survived the Emperor his Father but three Years, or thereabouts.

In *Ammianus Marcellinus*, we find a lively account of what passed in *Africa*, just at the Beginning of the Reign of the Emperor *Valentinian*, *A. D.* 364. An *African* People, whom he calls *Asturiani* (of which Name there is not the least Similitude in any I ever heard of) made horrible Devastations in the *Tripolitana*, upon the People of *Leptis*. His Words are these; *Asturiani his contermini Barbari in discursus semper expediti, veloces, vivereque adsueta rapinis & cædibus, paulisper pacati ingenuinos turbines revoluti sunt, hanc causam pretendentes, ut seriam. Stachao quidam nomine, popularis eorum nostra peragrando licentius, agebat quædam vetita legibus, inter quæ illud potius eminebat, quod provinciam omni fallaciarum via prodere conabatur, ut indicia docuere verissima: quocirca supplicio flammæ absumptus est.*

In the same Emperor's Time, *A. D.* 376. according to the Reckoning of *Paulus Orosius*, began the Rebellion of *Firmus*, the Occasion of which *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us was as follows; *Nubel velut regulus potentissimus, vita digrediens, & legitimos & natos à concubinis reliquit filios, à quibus Zamma Comiti nomine Romano acceptus latenter à fratre Firmo peremptus, discordias excitavit & bella.* Once for all, I shall here remark, that the Word *Comes*, which we interpret a Count or Earl, did not signify, in the *Latin* Acceptation, any hereditary Title, as those more modern Words do, but rather barely Governor. The Governor, therefore, attempting to chastise *Firmus*, and he standing upon the Defensive, kindled a Fire that destroyed many Cities and Towns, and was the Source of infinite Damages and Exorbitancies.

To manage this War, *Valentinian* dispatched away the brave *Theodosius*, Father to the Emperor of that Name, who prosecuted and concluded it in the Manner related by *A. Marcellinus*. From that Narrative may be



gathered the Condition of the two *Mauritanæ*, namely the *Sitifensis* and *Cæsariensis*, which seem'd rather, especially the latter, as if they had been new Conquests, than to have been, for so many Centuries, subject to the Roman Empire; so abundantly did those Provinces swarm with rebellious Ravagers, and in such small Numbers were the Cohorts and Garrison Towns to oppose them. *P. Orosius* gives the following brief Account of those Disturbances. *Interea in Africæ partibus Firmus sese excitatis Maurorum gentibus, regem constituens, Africam Mauritaniamque vastavit, Cæsaream urbem nobilissimam Mauritanie dolo captam, deinde cædibus incendiisque completam Barbaris in prædam dedit. Igitur Comes Theodosius, Theodosii, qui post imperio præfuit, pater, à Valentiniano missus, effusas Mauro-rum gentes, multis præliis fregit, ipsum Firmum afflictum & oppressum coegit ad mortem.* That Rebel, having been several times routed by that worthy General, is reported to have laid violent Hands upon himself; and the best Recompence *Theodosius* met with, for that and many other most important Services, was to have his Throat cut; being beheaded at *Carthage*, and his Son narrowly escaped the like Treatment: But Providence preserv'd him for greater Matters, as may be seen in the Life of that noble Prince, known in History by the Name of *Theodosius* the Great. Among innumerable other Mischiefs and Devastations committed by the impious *Firmus*, none of the least was his destroying the celebrated *Cæsaria*, one of *Africa's* chiefest Ornaments. It was indeed soon rebuilt, as *Marmol* and others affirm, but in no wise equalled its pristine Splendor. If *Algiers* really arose from its Ruins, as, from some Circumstances and Authorities which shall be taken Notice of hereafter, it seems to have done, if so, I say, then certainly either this *Firmus*, the succeeding *Vandals*, or else the Schismatick *Mahometans*, who in a Manner destroyed all the fine Edifices throughout *Barbary*, and its Neighbourhood, employed their utmost Malice against that unhappy City, since there does not remain the least Footstep of its primitive Magnificence, whereby one may form something of an Idea of its having been so noted a *Roman* Colony, and the Royal Seat of a mighty Monarch, as was King *Juba II.* since in many Remains of Structures, actually in Ruins, and in whose Destruction no small Store of Rage and Industry apparently seems to have been practis'd, some Imagination may be formed of what they had been: But in and about *Algiers*, there is not one Building but what has the Appearance of being much more modern; but of this more in due Place.

*Firmus* (which, by the bye, I cannot, by any Means, conceive to be an *African* Name) had two Brothers, *Gildo*, or *Gildon* and *Mascizel*. This last, tho' I never knew any so called, may, probably, be *Moorish*, at least it has no *Roman* Sound: As for the other, it seems a Corruption of either *Guydóm*, or *Guylan*, which are common Names among the *Moors*, tho' not among the *Arabs*. *Gildon*, notwithstanding he assisted his rebellious Brother *Firmus* during the whole War, yet he at length submitted, and the Emperor *Theodosius* shewed him much Favour, and even invested him with the Title and Authority of *Comes*, as above. But he repayed all those Favours with the basest Ingratitude, aiming at no less than the Sovereignty of all *Africa*, either for himself or some other; but as that other Person is not any where mentioned, it is natural enough to suppose, that he fought his own Battles. His Rebellion, from its Original to his Death, lasted about twelve Years, tho' there were some Intervals and Interruptions. *Claudian* wrote a particular Poem on this Subject, from whence I shall, occasionally, take a few Verses. In one Place he says;

*Jam solis habene*

*Bis senas torquent hiemes, cervicibus ex quo*

*Hæret triste jugum: nostris jam luctibus ille*

*Consenuit, regnumque sibi tot vendicat annis.*

According to what *Paulus Orosius* writes of this War, in the Year in which it was brought to a Conclusion, the perfidious *Gildon* seems to have had his Treachery in Agitation several Years before he broke out into open and manifest Rebellion. I will first lay down what *Claudian* again says, to this Purpose, before Matters came to Extremities, being some Part of the Character both of *Gildon* and the Times.

*Pars tertia mundi*

*Unius prædonis ager, distantibus idem*

*Inter se vitiiis cinctus, quodcumque profunda*

*Traxit avaritia luxu pejore refundit.*

*Instar terribilis vivis, morientibus hæres,*

*Virginibus raptor, thalamis obscænus adulter,*

*Nulla quies: oritur præda cessante libido,*

*Dirivibusque dies, & nox metuenda maritis.*

*Quisquis*

*Quisquis vel locuples, pulchra vel conjuge notus*

*Crimine pulsatur falso: si crimina desunt,*

*Accitus conviva perit: mors nulla refugit*

*Artificem, &c.*

*Splendet Tartareo furialis mensa paratu*

*Cæde madens, atrox gladio, suspecta venena.*

To such vile Uses did this execrable Tyrant, as the Poet paints him, employ the great Honours and Authority to which that great Emperor had advanced him: And as, *Regis ad exemplum*, all the Troops under his Command imitated their unworthy Leader, that Monarch, the Year before he died, sent him a Letter, <sup>p</sup> still extant, wherein he gives him this honourable Title; *Gildoni Comiti, & Magistro utriusque militiae per Africam*. The main Purport of it was, that, in case of Adultery, no military Person should refuse to stand Tryal at the Tribunal before which he had been accused; nor should his Privileges as a Soldier avail him in that respect. Neither the Imperial Mandate, nor mild Exhortations wrought any good Effect; but rather the contrary.

*Theodosius* died at *Milan*, *A. D.* 396. From hence we may date the Decay of the *Roman* Empire. He was succeeded by his two Sons, *Arcadius* in the East, and *Honorius* in the West, both young Princes, without Experience. This News much elevated *Gildon*, and encouraged him to appear more barefaced than ever; nor did he attempt any longer to make a Secret of his Design, which was to make himself independent King of the *Mauritanie*. <sup>9</sup>*Theophanes* says thus; *Interea Gildo Comes Africae, cognata Theodosii morte, arbitratus in parvulis spem, fore Africam jure proprio cepit usurpare*. His surviving Brother *Mascizel*, doubtful of the Success, refused to be concerned with him; but chose rather to abandon the Country, and his two Sons, whom the cruel Tyrant immediately caused to be murdered. *Gildon*, being afterwards defeated, fled to *Sicily*, where he is said to have hanged himself. Here ended this War. *A. D.* 398.

His Estate and Effects were all confiscated to the Imperial Treasury; and his Body Guards and Satellites were all cut in Pieces. A Magistrate was made bearing Title; *Comes Gildoniaci partimonii*.

<sup>p</sup> L. 9. *Ad leg. Jul. de adult. in Cod. Theod.*

<sup>9</sup> *In hist. miscel. de Arcad. & Honor.*

A DIGRESSION. But it is Time to say something of the State of *Christianity*, formerly settled in a very considerable Part of this Country. † The *African Churches* were not planted by the Apostles, neither did they send thither any Preachers. As for *Petilian*, he is positive, that the *Africans* were the very last People in the whole Empire that received the Gospel. † *S. Augustine* does not affirm its having been planted in *Africa* so early as the Apostles Times; All he asserts is, that some Barbarous Nations embraced Christianity later than the *Africans*. Nor does *Tertullian*, in his *Prescriptions*, range the *African Christians* among the Apostolick Churches. True it is, that † *Salvian* seems to say, that the Church of *Carthage* was actually founded by the Apostles: But he being of a different Country, and much later in Time, his Testimony is not so considerable. *Nicephorus* and *Dorotheus* relate, that *Simon the Canaanite*, surnamed *Zelotes*, and likewise *S. Peter*, preached the Gospel in *Mauritania*: But this is looked upon to be intirely romantick. The same *Dorotheus* affirms *Epenetus*, one of the seventy Disciples, as he and others call them, to have been Bishop of *Carthage*. *S. Augustine*, Pope *Innocent I.* and Pope *Gregory the Great*, positively declare, that the *Africans* received the Gospel from the *Romans*; that is, the Bishops of *Rome* sent Missionaries, who founded the *African Churches*: Which was not till Christianity had made some Spread in the World: Some say not till towards the Middle of the second Century. But granting, that this Part of the World had not the Happiness of the earliest Conversion, it cannot be denied but that *Christianity* gained Ground in a very little Time, and flourished in all the Provinces that were subject to the *Roman Empire*. The *Pagan Persecutions* carried off great Numbers; but the Resolution with which the Martyrs suffered, caused their Religion to spread the farther, as *Tertullian* expresses it; *Plures effcimur quoties metimur à vobis, semen est sanguis Christianorum*: Their Sufferings were a vital Principle to the Church, and brought in abundance of Converts. Soon after the tenth and last general Persecution, raised by the Emperor *Dioclesian*, (in which upwards of two Millions of *Christians* are recorded to have suffered Martyrdom) had ceased, began the Schism of the *Donatists*. It sprang up *A. D.* 311, and lasted more than three Centuries, notwithstanding the Decision of the Councils, Laws of Princes, publick Conferences, and several learned Tracts made Use of to suppress that Poison;

† *Collier.*† *De unit. Eccl. C. 15.*† *L. 7. De Provid.*‡ *Epif. 43.*‡ *L. 7. Epif. 30.*

and about a Century later the Church was disturbed by *Celestinus* and *Pelagius*. But before all this, in *S. Cyprian's* Time, the Church of *Carthage* was infested with the Schisms of *Felicissimus* and *Novatus*. In his Time was, likewise, the Division of Provinces in the Church, settled conformably to the Civil Regulations: But the Metropolitcal Jurisdiction was not fixed to the Metropolis, the eldest Bishop of the Province being counted the Metropolitan. But here the Bishop of *Carthage* must be excepted; that Prelate being as it were the Patriarch of all *Africa*, and had particular Privileges in Precedency and Power thro' all the Provinces. As some Parts of *Africa*, more particularly the Old Provinces, were well stocked with Cities and Towns, and consequently the Inhabitants very numerous, the Bishops were so in Proportion; nay very commonly small Towns and even Castles and Villages were erected into Sees. Thus the *African* Councils generally consisted of many Prelates. In the Conference held at *Carthage A. D. 411*, some grave Writers affirm, that there appeared 470 *Catholicks* of that Order; but of this more below: And in a List of the *African* Bishops drawn up in the Time of *Huneric* the second *Vandal* King of *Africa*, eldest Son of *Genferic*, there were no less than 458, all which were banished by that *Arian* Tyrant, together with a great many other Ecclesiasticks, in all to the Number of 4966. But of this I shall say more when I come to the Irruption of that barbarous, *Hyperborean* Nation. Yet, notwithstanding those Calamities, the Orthodox Church, in some measure, recovered itself: For when the *Vandals* were expelled by *Justinian* the Emperor, *Reparatus* Bishop of *Carthage* held a Council of 217 Prelates. The whole Number of *African* Bishops, drawn from old Registers and Records, was 690.

It is certainly an Error in several great and learned Men, when they affirm, that in the Time of Pope *Gregory* the Great, there were but three Bishops in all *Africa*, and a very small Flock for those Prelates to take Care of; so low, say they, had the *Mahometan Saracens* brought the Church: Whereas that Pope succeeded *Pelagius* II. *A. D. 590*, and died *A. D. 604*; and it is well known, that the *Mussulman Era*, as I shall more largely explain, began not till *A. D. 622*. Nay, some will needs be such Pseudo-Chronologists, that they make those three Pastors to have flourished under *Gregory* VII, more than 400 Years later. Besides, there were Congregations of *Christians*, in *Africa*, for at least 200 Years after the *Arabs*, I mean the *Mahometans*, first over-ran the Country; but I have no Authority

thority to prove whether any bore, so long, the Title of Bishop. This Hint shall suffice, till I treat farther of those Times and Affairs. Nor shall I pretend to write the particular History, either of the *African* Councils, or of the several Schisms which miserably rent and harass'd that Church: The *Codes* of those celebrated Councils, and the Writings of *S. Augustine*, and others of the Fathers, against the *Donatists*, *Pelagians*, *Manicheans*, *Monothelites*, *Arians*, *Pagan Idolaters*, &c. will sufficiently satisfy the Curiosity of such as are desirous of being acquainted with more Particulars than I have either Room, Leisure, or indeed Inclination to enumerate: What occasionally falls in my Way, and is to the Purpose in Hand, may be taken Notice of. Even when, in succeeding Ages, as shall be remarked, the natural *Africans* had worsted the *Arabian* Conquerors, forcing the main Body of them to the Deserts, yet they had the Misfortune to retain their Heterodoxies, at least the Name and outward Appearance thereof, (for thousands of them are of no Religion at all, but say they are *Mussulmans*) as well those who had, all along, continued *Pagans* and Idolaters, as such as had once embraced *Christianity*.

To return for a while. After this *Gildonian* War, the *Roman* Provinces were harass'd with many other Commotions and Rebelions; the *Africans* being, as I often observe, a turbulent, unquiet People, and naturally inclined to Innovations. *A. D.* 412. the Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius* made a Law, directed, \* *Honoratis, & Provincia-libus Africae*, wherein they thus decreed; *Heraclianum hostem publicum judicantes digna censuimus auctoritate puriri, ut ejus rescantur infaustae cervices, ejus quoque satellites pari intentione prosequimur.*

This *Heraclian*, according to <sup>y</sup> *Zosimus* and <sup>z</sup> *P. Orosius*, was a Captain under the Emperor *Honorius*. *A. D.* 408, he killed the bold Traytor *Stilico* at *Ravenna*; for which great Service he was made Governor of *Africa*. During the Revolt of *Attalus*, he continued very faithful, and gallantly defended his Provinces against all that Rebel's Attempts, and even slew *Constantine* his General. This so endeared him to the Emperor, that he chose him Consul. Finding himself advanced to such high Dignity, he grew ambitious; and hearkening to the violent Counsels of one *Sabinus*, whom from his Domestick he had made his Son-in-Law, he aimed at no less than the Imperial Throne. He retained all the Shipping that

\* L. 21. De pæn. in C. Theod.

y L. 5.

z L. 7. c. 42.

came to load Corn, &c. for *Italy*, and put to Sea with a Fleet of 3700 Sail, and a great Number of Troops. Attempting to land in *Italy*, he was intirely routed by *Marinus*, and himself, with a single Ship, got away to *Carthage*, where he lost his Life, *A. D.* 414, by Order of the Emperor *Honorius*, who had declared him a publick Enemy.

I have, on this Occasion, hinted only just enough to give a superficial Insight to Matters at that Time: And from the *Canons* of the grand Council held at *Carthage*, the Year before, *viz.* *A. D.* 411, it will appear how the *Christian* Religion had spread itself, tho' divided by Schisms. Several other Meetings and Conferences, which had preceded, were only to make Way for this general Assembly of Prelates of the two contending Parties, *Catholicks* and *Donatists*.

*S. Augustine* (differing from what others advance, as above) affirms, the Number of *Catholick* Bishops, present at this Council, were 286, exclusive of the absent Members, prevented from appearing thro' Age or Infirmities, who were 120; all which amount to but 406, less, by 64, than the Quota mentioned above. Of the *Donatists* came 279: But, even in this Number, he seems to contradict them; intimating, that the Present signed for the Absent, and that their whole Number was but so many; tho' they boasted, that, together with such as could not come, they made up more than 400. This *S. Augustine* makes appear to be no other than *Rhodomantade*. Allowing them then to be only 279 in all, which is not disputed, and the Orthodox to be 406, they make up between them 685, which pretty well agrees with the List said to be found in old Registers and Records; *viz.* 690.

This Number is really very great, and scarce credible: For, tho' the Extent of the Country is no less than has been observed; yet, by what I know and have heard of it, except even Villages were erected into Sees, as I take Notice is asserted by Authors, the Towns, I mean the Footsteps of them, lie so very thin, that it could not possibly be but that great Part of those Prelates were merely Titular. For, positively, I should not be much out, notwithstanding the mighty Boasts of the *Carthaginians*, of their 300 great Cities, in *South-West Barbary*, in affirming, that there never were, in the whole Country, complete 100 Cities, deserving the Name of an Episcopal See. I doubt not in the least, but that great Numbers of their Diocesans dwelt in Tents, as their Posterity still do; for had Cities been so very plentiful, as such a Congregation of Bishops seems to

promise, what can have become of even their Ruins? Can the Earth have quite swallowed them up? Have they been removed to build in other Places, or to repair decayed Structures, at enormous Distances, and which have themselves disappeared? Very certain I am, that I often enough have rode for at least 100 Miles upon a Stretch, and that thro' several of the very finest Parts of the whole Country, without the Sight of a sufficient Quantity of Materials to build a moderate Conventicle, much less a Cathedral: This is to be understood of Stones that ever passed thro' the Hands of Masons. Here and there one finds the miserable Remains of a solitary Building, near a small Spring, being only a few large, wrought Stones, lying straggling about it, and evidently demonstrating the Fabricks to which they belonged never to have been any way considerable, and at the best most of them could have been nothing but sorry Forts.

Many I have met with which really puzzled me strangely, to imagine what they were designed for, so unaccountably thick were the Walls in Proportion to the Square they encompassed. And as for the many hundreds of Prelates, and other dignified Ecclesiasticks, before mentioned, I am utterly at a Loss to conjecture where they could have resided, except in Tents: For I cannot readily prevail with myself to fancy, that there were ever any Bishops, &c. in the *Atlas*, or indeed in any others of the mighty and rugged Mountains which abound throughout *Barbary*; and yet most, if not all of them, swarm with People, many dwelling in Tents, like those in the Plains, but far greater Multitudes in numberless Villages, many of which are large and passably well built and accommodated, considering where they are, and by whom inhabited, while others are inimitably wretched and beggarly; and whatever the best of them may have formerly been, sure I am, that none, I have either seen or heard of, seem as if they had ever been honoured with Episcopal Palaces; at least I need not scruple to say, that as for the modern Clergy, it is not only the Prelates, but even the simplest Curates would not be over eager in their Sollicitations for Benefices among those untractable *African Highlanders*: And I have very good Ground to suggest, that their Ancestors, for many Ages past; must have been much the same Sort of Gentry as are these their Posterity.

Most of the great Mountains were, positively, never conquered at all, nor can I fancy any of them can be said ever to have been wholly subdued; and, by all Appearance, it seems scarce morally possible for even all the  
 Potentates



Potentates of *Africa*, if actually united, ever to hope the reducing them to any tolerable Subjection: They might almost as easily hope to reduce to their Obedience the wildest of the *Libyans*, and other remote *Arab* and *African* Nations of the *Sabara*, or *Desart*; for I look upon the Difference not to be very great between undertaking the Reduction of a People, who, tho' within Sight, are not to be come at, without apparent Danger of being slaughtered, one scarce knows how, nor from whence, and that of the Conquest of such strolling Vagabonds as are not to be followed without the utmost Peril of perishing by Excess of Heat, Thirst and Weariness. This, as I observed, must, inevitably, be the Fate of whatever Army, or Body of Men, should attempt penetrating far into those arid Wilds, except in the Winter; and not even then with much Safety, to either Man or Beast, if the Season has not been very moist and rainy. Indeed, if provided with an able <sup>a</sup> Conjuror, to work a Miracle, an Army might venture any where: I know not of any such, that I would recommend a Friend to; and, without that Precaution, I would not advise even so small a Company of Traders as 100 Men, to hazard themselves without double, or even treble their Number of Camels, to carry Provisions, more particularly that most necessary and requisite Article Water; nor would it be very prudent for them to offer at setting out unprovided of offensive and missive Weapons, and that in good Store, to keep at Distance the Enemies they would be like to meet with, both rational and irrational. That the *Scenites*, provided they have barren Wildernesses near enough for a Retreat, are not to be conquered by any Power, we have indisputable Instances, in all Ages, to this very Day, in the *Scythians*, *Tartars*, *Arabs*, &c. who have successively baffled the utmost Efforts of the most formidable Monarchies and States in the Universe. But I am, unawares, running into a Digression, occasioned by the Comparison I made between the Probability, or even Possibility, of reducing either the one or the other of these directly distinct, opposite, and in a manner innumerable *African* Tribes and Nations, the *Mountaineers*, and the *Scenites* who wander about in, or near the Borders of the *Libyan* Desarts. But of these last, I shall not have much Occasion to say a great deal more than what has been already intimated; and shall here only add, that I cannot easily believe, that a single Man among all their Progenitors was ever a Diocesan to any of

<sup>a</sup> Vide Page 45, 46.

the numerous Assembly of Bishops who are upon Record, as Assisters at the *African* Councils.

Neither, indeed, am I very rigidly disposed to assert, even that any considerable Part of the primevous *Highlanders*, tho' surrounded, as it were, by *Christians*, of several Sects and Persuasions, Orthodox and Heterodox, ever embraced *Christianity*, even the bare Name and Profession of it; so much I know of the Tempers and Genius of their Offspring; whom I really look upon to be a most improper Congregation for a pious Pastor of the Holy *Catholic* Church to preach the Meekness of the Gospel before. They would stare, as if bewitched, at the Doctrine of Chastity, Monogamy, Humility, Oblivion of Injuries, and all the rest of the laudable Tenets we good *Christians* are bound to observe: And, not to take Notice of any of the grossest of *Romish* Trumpery, I cannot but smile to think what strange Work they would assuredly make with the *Father-Confessors*, who should presume to retire with their Wives, Sisters, or Daughters, into a private Apartment, in order to administer Spiritual Absolution; and as for whatever Penances might be enjoined, to either Sex, at the Confessional-Chair, they look very much like a Sett of Sparks, who would be apt enough to inflict the same Penance, quadruply measured, upon the Backs and Shoulders of the best Priest, Monk, or Frier of them all, who should have the Insolence to take Cognizance of their Venialities. They are mightily pleased with the *Swedish* Method, of forcing such as are under an Obligation of Continency, and enjoy not the Happiness of the Gift of that Virtue, to an unspontaneous Observation of their Vow of everlasting Chastity. I own I should not much care to be a Missionary among these *Kabeys*, or *Highlanders* of *Barbary*: And I cannot but fancy their Fore-Fathers were very much the same Sort of People. I shall say more of their Morals, &c. when I descend to more modern Times: But to be serious, and return.

Notwithstanding what I have now advanced, in Opposition to the Notions of those who affirm, that not only all the more civilized *Africans*, but, likewise, the Generality of them, were once *Christians*, there is one Article, in respect of these *Mountaineers*, that seems to make strongly against me; and that is the perfect and indelible azure, or blue Crosses, made upon the Hands, Arms, Legs and Faces of all the Youth, of both Sexes, in very many of the most impenetrable and best peopled Mountains

in the whole Region: Some of these People I may, elsewhere, name, and particularize farther concerning them, and their respective Countries.

Concerning these Crosses (which are made just as those our *Jerusalem* Pilgrims have upon their Arms) several Authors inform us, that while the *Christian* Faith was predominant in *Barbary*, at least in many Parts of it, such as bore about them those distinguishing Badges of *Christianity*, were, alone, exempted from certain grievous Tributes and Exactions that were imposed upon all, in Subjection to the *Christians*, who had them not to shew, and were, thereby, assuredly known for *Pagans*. Now, as the said Marks, or Crosses, are, in a manner, universal among the *Zwouwa*, and other most numerous potent Tribes and Communities of *Kabeys*, not one Jott less indomable than the very Leopards, Lyons, and other of the ferine Species, their Compatriots, and which Marks, more particularly the Crosses, are nothing near so frequently to be seen among many other Inhabitants of the *Highlands*, whose Mountains are far less difficult of Access, it would almost induce one to believe, that the rugged Ancestors of such unconquerable *Cross-Bearers* were the real *Christians* of the Country, and that such as are now without them must needs be the Offspring of *Ethnicks*.

But before I deliver my private Opinion, in that Particular (which I shall do in few Words, and which can be but Conjecture at the best) I shall slightly touch upon this *Highland* Nation whose present Name I mentioned, and which I absolutely take to have been their original Appellation; I mean the *Zwouwa*.

These People are actually dispersed throughout *Barbary*, and for ought I know there may be of them not only in *South-Numidia*, but even in *Libya*. They are, as I said, a sturdy Race of Men, behaving like such wherever they are, but, like most of the other *African* Mountaineers, are dangerous Enemies to be attacked in their scarce accessible Fastnesses, as the *Algerines*, and, I doubt not, all who have gone before them, have often found to their Cost, whenever they have undertaken a War against them; of which I shall give divers Instances. The most compact, and which may be called the main Body of them, are the Inhabitants of a very mountainous Region, the West Part whereof lies even within Sight of *Algiers*, and is well known in the *Spanish* Histories under the Name of the Kingdom of *Cucco*, from a Fortrefs of that Name, naturally exceeding strong, and now in Ruins, once the Capital and Regal Seat of the Princes

of that State, which has made a no contemptible Figure: And had it not been for their cruel, and almost incessant Wars with their Eastern and contiguous Neighbours, *Beni-Abbas*, a powerful Nation, in all respects very much resembling themselves, which have somewhat eclipsed their former Grandeur, their Prince might still have been reckoned among the most formidable Potentates of *Africa*; and as it is, they have more than once baffled the united Strength of *Beni-Abbas* and the *Turks* of *Algiers*; nor are they yet in any wise subject to either, tho' intirely encompassed by them, and other less considerable, tho' no less inveterate Enemies.

*Leo Africanus*, *Marmol*, and from them many other Moderns, erroneously enough, call this tough Highland Nation *Azuaga*; whereas the true Name is, as I said, *Zwouwa*. North-Westward of *Costantina*, a good Day's Riding, indeed, there is a Mountain, inhabited by a People named *Zwaga*; but they are a very small, inconsiderable Tribe, in Competition with those I treat of, dwelling all in Tents, and using no Language but *Arabick*; whereas all the Mountaineers who bear the general Denomination of *Kabeyls* (of which Number are the aforesaid *Zwouwa* and *Beni-Abbas*, with an Infinity of others, many of which I shall speak of as Occasion offers,) inhabit Villages, and speak the *African* Tongue, Multitudes of them being utterly incapable of making themselves understood in *Arabick*.

Tho' all this is what rather belongs to the particular Description of the *Algerine* Territory; yet, having, as it were insensibly, entered upon it, I shall proceed a little farther, and refer to these Pages, when, in the proper Place, I reassume this Discourse. It must be observed, that all the *Barbary Highlanders*, at least those within the Compass of the *Algerine* Dominion, are distinguished by the general Names *Kabeyl* and *Fibeylia*, which last Word has no other Signification than absolutely *Mountaineers*, from *Fibil* a Mountain, in the Plural *Fibeyl*, and so *Fibeylia*. As for the Word, *Kabeyl*, it is no other than the Plural of *Kabela*, which implies a Tribe, or Family, who live and keep together, just like the Clans in our *North-British* Highlands. These *Kabeyls*, (to give it our own Plural Termination) value themselves excessively upon their Antiquity, Purity of Blood, and Invincibility. I have heard averred from many, not only of them, but likewise of the Western *Arabs* (not over-much to the Credit of the Ancestors of these last, I mean the *Asiatick* Conquerors, who introduced *Mahometism* into *Africa*) that the Appellation *Kabeyl* might, very reasonably, bear another Etymology, which, they say, is this:

When

When the *Arabs* over-ran the plain Country, where they carried all before them, the Mountaineers, whom they could make nothing of, sent the *Arabian* Chieftain Word, *Hanna Kabeyl*, &c. meaning, as the *Kabeyls* themselves will have it, "We are invincible Tribes of resolute Men, fully and unanimously determined to maintain our Liberty; so it will be very little to your Advantage, to be so fool-hardy, as to attempt the hazarding your selves in our Mountains: Except you molest us, you may go on with your Shew, as long as you think fit; we will rather forward than hinder you: For we hate the *Nasara*, or *Christians*, as much as you possibly can do: But if your Eyes should happen to glance towards us, know, that the nearer you approach, the greater is your Peril." Thus do the *Highlanders* of *Barbary* tell the Story. But the *African Arabs* give it a different Turn and Interpretation. "The *Mussulman* Army, say they, sent from *Arabia*, by the *Khalifa Othoman aben Aufan*, (for the Body of *Arab* Troops before sent by *Omar aben al Khotab*, the preceding *Khalifa*, or, as we and others corruptly pronounce it, *Caliph*, came no lower down than *Tripoly*, and that Neighbourhood,) in the rapid Progress of their Conquests, from *Egypt* down to the Western Sea, still summoned the Mountains, as they passed along, not thinking it worth their Trouble to lose Time in reducing them by Force of Arms, as they had done the level Country. The general Answer they received was, *Hanna kabilna*." These words signify, in *Arabick*, "We have agreed, or consented;" which the *Arabs* interpret, as if the Mountaineers had consented, implicitly, to embrace their Religion, and submitted to the common Fate of the Country, and that merely to save the *Mussulmans* the Pains of coming up their rugged and pathless Precipices. These distinct Nations often dispute warmly for Nobility of Extraction, Terms of Superiority, and the like; but I never yet met with an *Arab* pretending to count the *Kabeyl* among the Nations subdued by his Progenitors, as every *Arab* is apt enough to do by all the rest of the *Africans*.

I shall not advance my Verdict in Favour of either of these Opinions, as being intirely uncertain which is the right: But this I am sure of, that there is not one natural *African*, on this Side the *Niger*, who if asked, of what Religion he is, will not, with Indignation in his Countenance, on account of so dubious and affronting a Question, immediately reply, "I am, God be praised, a *Mussulman*;" whereas I cannot help surmising, that,

that, even while *Christianity* was in its most flourishing State in *Africa*, which must have been when the Prelates were so very numerous, I cannot, I say, but suggest, that there was scarce one *African* in ten, who was not either a professed *Pagan*, or at least a secret Enemy to every Tenet of the Orthodox Church: For, by what I know of these modern *Africans*, I make not much Scruple thus, peremptorily, to pass my Judgment and Sentiment on those from whom they are, undoubtedly, descended, that they never were a People capable of conforming to a regular and civil Course of Life, such as *Christianity* enjoins: *Mabomet* allowed a Scope fuitable to their Depravity of Genius.

What I have been intimating, I shall back with some Testimonies, from grave and credible Writers, of Passages that happened at or about the Time when I left off, and began this long Interruption of the History of the ancient State of *Barbary*. In the *African* Council, celebrated in the Time of Pope *Boniface* I. (who died *A. D.* 423, after having filled *S. Peter's* Chair five Years) there is a Canon which says; *Instant etiam aliæ necessitates a religiosis Imperatoribus postulandæ, ut reliquias idolorum per omnem Africam jubeant penitus amputari; nam plerisque in locis maritimis, atque possessionibus diversi adhuc erroris istius iniquitas viget: ut præcipiant, & ipsa deleri, & templa eorum, quæ in agris, vel in locis abditis constituta nullo ornamento sunt, jubeantur omnino destrui.* The like Motion and Ordinance were made in the fifth Council of *Cartbage*: To this Effect the Emperors instituted divers Laws, some of which are yet extant. I have met with the Ruins of several stately Buildings, amidst solitary and seemingly little-frequented Woods, in uncooth Mountains, which were perhaps, *Pagan* Temples; tho' the Fabrick looks rather *Roman* than *African*, between which, as I shall observe, the Difference is very conspicuous.

By what <sup>b</sup> *S. Augustine*, in most pathetick Terms, writes to *Bonifacius*, the *Comes*, or Governor, it plainly appears, that the *Africans* still followed their primitive, ravaging Manner of Life. *Quid autem dicam* (says that Father of the Church) *de vastatione Africæ, quam faciunt Afri Barbari, resistente nullo, dum tu talis tuis necessitatibus occuparis, nec aliquid ordinas, unde ista calamitas avertatur? Quis autem crederet, quis timeret, Bonifacio Domesticorum, & Africæ Comite in Africâ constituto cum tam magno exercitu & potestate, qui tribunus cum paucis fœderatis omnes ipsas gentes expug-*

<sup>b</sup> *Epist.* 70.

nando & terrendo pacaverat; nunc tantum fuisse Barbaros aufuros, tantum progressuros, tanta vastaturos, tanta rapturos, tanta loca, quæ plena populis fuerant, deserta facturos? Qui non dicebant, quando tu Comitivam sumeres potestatem, Afros Barbaros non solum domitos, sed etiam tributarios futuros Romane reipublicæ? Et nunc quam in contrarium versa sit spes hominum vides: nec diutius hinc tecum loquendum est, quia plus ea tu potes cogitare quam nos dicere. All this represents, in lively Colours, the crazy State of the Roman Affairs in *Africa*, upon the Irruption of the *Vandals*; the Letter bearing Date not long before this *Epocha*, so calamitous to that unhappy Country in general, and so particularly fatal to the Orthodox Church.



*The History of BARBARY continued; from the Irruption of the VANDALS, to the Conquest of those Provinces by the SARACENS, or MAHOMETAN ARABS.*

**H**ISTORY acquaints us, that the *Romans* were never in actual Possession of so many Parts of *Africa*, as they were at the Time of the *Vandal* Invasion; notwithstanding which, and their strong and numerous Garrisons, they were not able to prevent the almost daily Incursions and Devastations of the other *Africans*, probably those to the *South*, and the Generality of the Mountaineers, who seem to have borne a no less irreconcilable Hatred and Inveteracy to the Name of *Christianity* than do their present Posterity. Their natural Averseness to Restriction of Manners, their roving, unsettled Disposition, their Impatience of a rigid, haughty, oppressive and tyrannical Government, such as certainly was that of the imperious *Romans*, whose Licentiousness and Depravation of Morals visibly increased as their Empire declined; all these, I say, together with the wrong Steps taken by the abovementioned *Bonifacius*, then chief Governor of the Imperial Forces in the *African* Provinces, facilitated the Ravages and Exorbitances of that inhumane Northern Nation, which proved in a Manner the utter Ruin of this once flourishing Country; the

dire Effects whereof it may be said to feel to this very Day; since many fine Cities, then destroyed, have ever since lain in Rubbish.

When, in the Beginning of the fifth Century, the Western Empire was over-ran by the *Goths, Vandals, Franks, Huns, Sueves, Alans*, and other savage *Hyperboreans*, who, among the innumerable Disorders and Barbarities by those Scourges of Mankind committed and perpetrated, infected all Places where they came with their pestilentious Heresies, *Spain* fell to the Share of the *Vandals, Sueves* and *Visi-Goths*. These last continued Sovereigns of the whole Realm, till *Roderic*, or *Don Rodrigo*, their last King, was vanquished and deprived of both Crown and Life by the *Arabs* and *Moors* of *Barbary*, in the Beginning of the eighth Century. The *Sueves*, indeed, erected a Kingdom there, which flourished many Years, but was at length swallowed up by the *West-Gothish* Kings of *Spain*. As for the *Vandals*, they possessed themselves of the Province of *Bætica*, from them called *Vandalusia*, and since corrupted to *Andalusia*. They held it but a few Years: For their King *Genferic*, having falsified his Promise to the *Suevish* King, a furious War ensued, with various Success. However *Genferic* was powerful and fortunate enough to defeat an Army of *Romans* that attacked him *A. D.* 422. About six Years after, this *Bonifacius*, the Governor of *Africa*, invited him over from *Spain*, which proved the Destruction of himself, and of the whole Country. It may not be improper to insert a few Words concerning this Person, who may be said to have been the, partly innocent, Occasion of all the succeeding Calamities. <sup>b</sup> He was a brave Soldier, and had gained very great Reputation in the Wars: And being sent into *Spain*, against the *Vandals*, was so unworthily treated by his Colleague *Castinus*, *A. D.* 422, that he quitted his Post, and passed over to *Africa*, where the singular Services he rendered to the Empire acquired him much Wealth and Honour. He contracted a strict Friendship with *S. Augustine*, whose pious and edifying Conversation had, at first, so great an Influence upon his Mind, that he made a Vow to embrace a Monastick Life. But that good Pastor persuaded him rather to live exemplary, in his Station, without turning Recluse, whereby he might have it in his Power to do the Church very considerable Services. He afterwards espoused an *Arian* Lady, consented that the Daughter he had by her should be baptized by a Prelate of that Heretical

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<sup>b</sup> *Procopius, Proffer, Paulus Diaconus, &c.*



Persuasion, and even began himself to run into several Debauches and Extravagancies. This occasioned St. *Augustine's* writing that excellent Epistle, out of which I set down the foregoing Abstract; as likewise to pronounce Excommunication against him, as a Chastisement for his having forced a Delinquent from the Sanctuary; but upon Acknowledgment of his Fault, and restoring the said Criminal to the Church, he was pardoned, and again received into the Communion. Being accused of a Design to revolt, *A. D.* 428, the Emperor *Valentinian III.* commissioned Troops to go against him as a Traytor; but he stood bravely on the Defensive, and called over the *Vandal King Genferic* to his Assistance; who in *May*, that same Year, landed in *Mauritania*, at the Head of 80000 Fighting-Men. But it was not long before *Bonifacius* had Reason to repent his having, so inconsiderately, introduced such insolent Guests, who sought nothing but their own Advantage; and finding the Majority of the *Africans*, more particularly such as most detested the *Roman Name*, partly on account of their being *Christians*, but still more for their Imperiousness, licentious Avarice and Tyranny, readily disposed to side with any that should offer, in order to exterminate the hated *Imperialists*, he made his Peace with that misguided Emperor, and with what Strength he could raise came to a Battle with the *Vandals*, and their Auxiliary *Africans*, wherein he was unfortunately defeated, and forced to quit *Africa*. He was afterwards pursued by the gallant *Ætius* (General to the same Emperor *Valentinian*, who some Years after, most unworthily, slew that valiant Commander, who was *Rome's* Glory, and merits the Name of one of the last *Romans*) and in an Engagement received a Wound, of which, in three Months after, he died, *A. D.* 432. Thus much of that memorable Person, whose Memory on this Account *Africa* has not much less Reason to execrate, than has *Spain* that of the vindictive *Don Julian*, who bore the same Title, that is *Comes Africae*, erroneously interpreted *Count of Africa*.

Divers are the Authors who treat of the Wars and inhumane Persecutions of the barbarous *Vandals*; more especially *Procopius*, in two Books, and *Vittor Uticensis*, Bishop of *Utica*, in three, and from whom all the later Writers seem to have borrowed most of what they advance; only in some of *S. Augustine's* Epistles, several Particulars are to be met with, which he mentions from his own Knowledge, a few of which shall be taken Notice of, as shall also some from the others, who have written of those Af-

fairs; but only just sufficient for the Information of an indifferent Reader, who cares not for the Trouble of examining such as have made Choice of this Piece of History for their only Theme, or Subject.

These *Vandal* Princes, in *Africa*, were six in Number, most of them remarkably infamous for their Impiety, their Tyranny, and their cruel, sanguinary Disposition. Of their Names, together with some notable Occurrences during their detestable Administration, regular Notice shall be taken. *Victor* of *Utica* begins his History with these Words; *Sexagesimus nunc, ut clarum est, agitur annus, ex quo populus ille crudelis ac sævus, Vandalicæ gentis Africæ miserabilis attigit fines, transvadens facili transitu per angustias maris, qua inter Hispaniam Africamque æquor hoc magnum & spaciosum bis senis millibus angusto se limite coarctavit.* Hereby it seems that they landed somewhere within the very Mouth of the Streights; perhaps at *Tangier* or *Ceuta*. This Author, having given a lamentable Relation of the Ruin and Desolation they brought upon the *Roman* Provinces, the horrible Disorders, Pollutions, Slaughters and Massacres, &c. wherewith every Part of those Regions was afflicted, he goes on, treating of their most sacrilegious Impiety, and says; *Præsertim in Ecclesiis, Basilicisque, & Cœmeteriis, & Monasteriis sceleratius sæviebant, & cum majoribus incendiis Domus Orationis, magis quam Urbes, cunctaque oppida concremârunt.*

If the *Africans* of those Days resembled those I have been acquainted with, as I am very much disposed to fancy they did, the wicked *Vandals* could not have pitched upon a more inducing Method of bringing them over to their Party than that of firing, pulling down and demolishing Places that favoured of *Christianity*, more especially of Divine Worship: Nor would they ever have conformed even to call themselves *Mussulmans*, had not the subtle Legislator indulged his libidinous and unconformable Profelytes in some Articles naturally adapted to their unalterable Genius: And that it certainly is, and perhaps nothing else, that has so endeared his Memory to at least most of them, that even such among them, as apparently seem to have scarce the least Notion of the Practice of any one Religious Rite, hold in most profound and very exemplary Veneration all Places appropriated for sacred Worship, by those of their own Sect and Persuasion, and most scrupulously observe their rigid, annual Fast, of thirty successive Days Continuance, with a surprizing Constancy. Nor is the Abomination and Contempt in which they hold the Churches and Synagogues of *Christians* and *Jews* less superlative. These last, indeed, they despise upon

all Accounts, and look on them as several Degrees beneath even the blindest and most wretched of all *Heathens, Ethnicks, Pagans* and *Idolaters*: This I shall say more of hereafter. The *Christians* in general, but more particularly the *Romanists*, they actually hate and abominate, but more on account of their Image-Worship, to which they will never be persuaded to afford any softer Term than that of *Idolatry*. But what makes them quite outrageous, and puts them beyond all Patience, is the intolerable *Officiousness* and *Impertinence*, say they, of the too busy *Priests, &c.* who will needs pretend to dive into Peoples Thoughts, and inhumanely torture such as they are only pleased to surmise have no strong Inclination to vouch for the *Infallibility* of all the inconsistent *Absurdities* they would urge down their Throats. This, I say, bereaves even the most moderate of them, of all manner of Patience: And as I am apt enough to believe, that by far too many of the *Priests* of those Ages were full as meddling, and agitated with the same Zeal as they are now at *Rome, Madrid*, and elsewhere, I do not much wonder, that a People disposed as I know the *Barbary-Moors* to be, and probably have always been, should joyfully lay hold on all Opportunities of ridding themselves of such troublesome, vexatious *Inmates*; or that they sided with the *Vandals*, at that Juncture, with the same Readiness and Alacrity, as did their Posterity, more than 200 Years later, with the *Arabs*, both whose Quarrels they positively espoused merely because they were avowed Enemies to the People whose very Principles they held, and do still hold in utter Detestation and Abhorrence.

But as I promised to give some regular and methodical Account of these *Vandal Tyrants*, I return to the cruel and impious *Genferic*. After he had, with the Assistance of the *Africans*, routed and put to Flight *Bonifacius*; he carried all before him Eastward as high as *Hippo*; or, as in our Maps and Histories, *Bona*; tho' the present People of *Barbary* give it different Names, as shall be observed. *S. Augustine*, Bishop of that celebrated See, was then there; but died before the Besiegers entered. That City being strongly fortified, made a good Defense. *Possidius Calamensis*, who wrote *S. Augustine's* Life, Bishop of *Calama* (of which Place, nor even of where it stood, I have not any Knowledge) has left the Particulars of that memorable Siege. But *S. Augustine* himself, in a very moving Sermon, describes the Sufferings of the Besieged, for the few Months before his

Death, which happened towards the End of the Year 430, in the seventy sixth Year of his Age, and in the thirty sixth of his Prelacy. The Emperor *Theodosius* the Younger, had sent to desire his Assistance at the General Council celebrated at *Ephesus*; but his Messengers arrived not till after that worthy Pastor's Decease, whose own Writings, as well as those of other pious Men, are irreproachable Vouchers for the Purity of his Morals and the Title of Saint he acquired. He was by Birth a *Numidian*, of the City *Tagasta*, whereof I meet with as little Remembrance as I do of *Calama*, I mentioned above, or of a Multitude of others, to be found in ancient Writers.

*A. D.* 439. The same Emperor, foreseeing the Consequences of suffering *Genferic* to make himself absolute Master of *Africa*, which he seemed in a fair Way to accomplish, mustered up the main Strength of the Eastern Empire, which he sent against him, under the Conduct of *Aspar*, his General, a Soldier of great Reputation: But he received a miserable Overthrow; few of the Chieftains escaping without the Loss of either Life or Liberty, and *Genferic* possessed himself of almost all the Country. Upon this Success the Tyrant grew insupportable. Being himself, and all his *Vandals* professed *Arians*, he determined to establish that Heresy throughout his new Acquisitions; and to effect it, stuck at nothing. As for the Western Empire, it lay expiring. The Emperor *Valentinian* III. unable to encounter this fortunate *Arian* Tyrant, struck up an inglorious Peace with him. *Carthage*, the Capital of *Africa*, had been, in vain, attacked by the *Vandal* Army: But *A. D.* 439. they treacherously surpris'd and took it, while all things seemed in a profound Tranquillity; such an Attempt being the least of *Valentinian's* Apprehensions, and his renowned General *Aetius* then absent, chastising the rebellious *Gauls*. Unheard-of Inhumanities were, by this execrable Barbarian, exercised upon the Citizens of miserable *Carthage*, and the Churches, and other sacred Places, most impiously pillaged and profaned, insomuch that *Paulus Diaconus* says of him, that it seemed a no easy Matter to determine, whether he was waging War against God or Mankind. Not content with destroying the *African* Provinces, he fitted out a great Fleet, and passed into *Sicily*, *A. D.* 440, where, in many Parts, he committed horrible Barbarities and Disorders, and had utterly ruined the whole Island, but that he received Intelligence, that *Sebastian*, Son-in-Law to *Bonifacius*, was entered *Africa* with an Army. This unexpected News hastened his Return; and he soon

came to an Accommodation with that General, whom he afterwards cruelly put to Death, because he could not prevail with him to become an *Arian*. As his Successes multiplied, his blood-thirsty Fury, and false Zeal, against the Orthodox, visibly increased. *Theodosius* the Emperor sent against him a considerable Naval Force, under the Command of *Arcobindus*, *Germanus* and *Anaxillus*, which Expedition proved wholly ineffectual by reason of the Time they squandered away in loitering about the Coasts of *Sicily*. The ill-advised *Valentinian*, having, *A. D.* 451, murdered his chief Supporter, the brave old *Ætius*, was himself assassinated, four Years after, by *Maximus*, whose beautiful Wife that rash and libidinous Prince had craftily decoyed and forced. The Adulterer slain, the abused Husband usurped the vacant Throne, and by way of Retaliation, forcibly compelled the Empress *Eudoxia*, to his Bed, which was, very apparently, contrary to her Inclination; evidently demonstrated, that she did it unwillingly; for she instantly sent for *Genferic*, to revenge, as she is said to have worded it, the Death of the late Emperor, his Ally, and to deliver an unhappy Princess, whom the Traytor *Maximus* under Title of Husband, held in a miserable Captivity. The ambitious *Vandal* needed not many Invitations. He soon landed in *Italy* at the Head of a powerful Body of Forces, stormed *Rome*, and gave it over to Pillage for fourteen Days; nor were the Churches exempted, but all the immense Riches found in them were, by that sacrilegious Ravager, transported to *Africa*, and, among the rest, all the Gold and Silver Vessels and Ornaments brought from *Jerusalem* by the Emperor *Titus*, which till then had been carefully preserved.

Great Part of the *Vandal* Army, in this Expedition, was composed of *Africans*. Of this *Victor* of *Utica* says, *Factum est peccatis urgentibus, ut urbem illam quondam nobilissimam atque famosam decimo quinto regni sui Genfericus caperet Romam. Et simul exinde regum multorum divitias cum populis captivavit. Quædam multitudo captivitatis Africanum attingere litus dividitibus Vandalis & Mauris ingentem populi captivitatem, ut moris est Barbaris, mariti ab uxoribus, liberi à parentibus separabantur.* All this is spoken of by <sup>d</sup> *Procopius*, <sup>e</sup> *Evagrius*, <sup>f</sup> *Nicephorus Calistus*, <sup>g</sup> *Theophanes*, &c.

*Sidonius*, directing his Discourse to the City of *Rome*, has these Lines, making mention of some *African* People assisting at its Desolation :

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<sup>d</sup> L. 1. De Bel. Vand.    <sup>e</sup> L. 2. C. 7.    <sup>f</sup> L. 15. C. 11.    <sup>g</sup> L. 15. In Maximo.  
Interea

*Interea in cautam furtivis Vandalus armis  
 Te capit, infidoque tibi Burgundio ductu  
 Extorquet trepidas mactandi Principis iras.  
 Heu facinus! in bella iterum, quartosque labores,  
 Perfida Elissæ crudescunt classica Byrsæ.  
 Nutritis quod fata malum? Conscenderat arces  
 Evandri Massyla phalanx, montesque Quirini  
 Marmarici pressere pedes; rursusque revexit,  
 Quæ captiva dedit quondam stipendia Barce,  
 Exiliumque patrum, &c.*

This Calamity befel that unfortunate City, *A. D.* 455. It had been likewise sacked, about forty five Years before, *viz.* *A. D.* 410. by *Alaric* King of the *Visi-Goths*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Honorius*, who shamefully fled to *Ravenna*.

The following Passage, from *Victor* of *Utica*, may serve to give some Light into the Affairs of those Times of *Barbarian* Persecution. *Decernit statim rex cuidam Gentili regi Maurorum, cui nomen erat Capsur, relegandos deberi transmitti. Maximam verd Christi famulam confusus & victus propriæ voluntati dimisit, quæ nunc virgo superest mater multarum virginum Dei, nobis etiam nequaquam ignota. Pervenientes autem traduntur regi Maurorum commanenti in parte eremi, quæ dicitur Capræ picti. Videntes igitur Christi discipuli multa apud Gentiles, & illicita sacrificiorum sacrilegia, cœperunt prædicatione & conversatione sua ad cognitionem Domini Dei nostri Barbaros invitare, & tali modo ingentem multitudinem Barbarorum Christo Domino lucraverunt, ubi antea nulla fama Christiani nominis fuerat divulgata.* These new Converts, whoever they were, sent to *Rome* for some more Spiritual Guides to instruct them. *Capsur* acquainted King *Genferic* with all that was transacted; the Tyrant cruelly commanded them all to be slain, and they suffered Martyrdom with great Resolution and pious Magnanimity: But it would be endless to enter into the Detail of this *Vandal* Persecution, which is thought to have exceeded all the ten that the primitive Church suffered under the *Pagan* Emperors. I now return to *Genferic*.

Among the Number of the principal Nobility of *Rome*, led by this ungenerous *Vandal* Prince into Captivity, were the Empress *Eudoxia* (again a Widow, her last Consort *Maximus*, who had dragged her to his detested Embraces,

Embraces, having been torne Piece-meal by the intruded *Romans*, and, as is said, at the Instigation of that Princess) together with her two Daughters, by *Valentinian*, named *Eudoxia* and *Placidia*. The eldest, who bore her Mother's Name, the Tyrant, soon after, married to *Huneric*, his eldest Son and immediate Successor. As for the Princess *Placidia*, she was some Time afterwards released, at the earnest Sollicitations of the Emperors, and, with the Empress her Mother, sent away to *Constantinople*. Many Bishops and other dignified and venerable Personages, of the Orthodox Clergy, against whom the impious *Genferic* seemed chiefly to vent his Malice, were put to cruel Deaths, at his Return to *Africa*; not to take Notice of the lamentable Ravages he committed upon the Coasts, and in the Cities of *Italy*, *Dalmatia*, *Epirus*, *Sardinia*, &c. Having thus in a manner ruined the Western Empire, and stocked *Africa* with fighting Captives of all Sorts and Conditions, he did the like in *Illyria*, *Peloponesus*, *Greece*, and several of the Islands in the *Archipelago*. The Eastern Emperor *Marcian*, a good Prince, who died *A. D.* 457, finding himself unable to oppose the united Strength of the *Vandals* and *Africans*, or, perhaps, rather on account of the Promise he had made to *Genferic*, when he set him at Liberty after the Defeat of *Aspar*, never more to bear Arms against the *Vandals*, thought fit to dissemble, and continued peaceable, whatever might be his Resentment at those Outrages and Insolencies. But his Successor *Leo I.* surnamed the Old, and the Great, *A. D.* 468, raised an Army 100000 strong, which he embarked on 1000 Ships, and sent upon the *African* Coasts, against this haughty and inhumane *Vandal*, under the Conduct of *Basiliscus*, Brother to the Empress *Verina*. But this perfidious Traytor, being himself Heretically inclined, was easily suborned and corrupted with Gold and Persuasions, and basely connived at the firing of his whole Fleet: Yet this too indulgent Emperor had Weakness enough to forgive so black a Treason. But I should have observed, that about eight Years earlier, viz. *A. D.* 460, *Majoran*, Emperor of the West, miscarried in an Attempt upon *Africa*, thro' the Craftiness of *Genferic*, who found Means to surprize and make himself Master of no less than 300 of his Ships, as they lay in the Bay of *Carthagena* in *Spain*. He had, likewise, the Address to engage in his Party *Olibrius*, against the Western Emperor *Anthemius*. Not long after the World was delivered from this Tyrant, who, after a tedious Reign, died *A. D.* 476. Nor did the Western Empire long survive him. For many Years it had laboured under an in-

curable Distemper, had now dwindled away to nothing, and was quite extinguished in *Augustulus*, so named in Contempt.

A. D. 476. Nor could the World in general, or poor harassed *Africa* in particular, be called Gainers by the Demise of the infamous *Genserich*; his eldest Son and Successor, *Huneric*, rather out-doing than coming short of him in most respects, except in Fortune and Length of Reign. Of this wicked Prince, *Victor Uticensis* says; that in the Beginning of his Administration he expressed a certain Mildness and Affability, which were of short Continuance. His Rage against the Ecclesiasticks of the Orthodox Church surpasses all Description. However, at the Instance of the Emperor *Zeno*, he consented to the Election of a Bishop of *Carthage*, which City had been without *Catholick* Prelates no less than twenty four Years; but upon Condition, that *Zeno* should tolerate *Arianism*, and even countenance their Bishops throughout his Dominions: Which is not to be wondered at in so licentious, irreligious a Prince. Henceforth must be remarked, that by Emperors is ever to be understood those of *Constantinople*, or the East; the very Name of those of the West being in those Days utterly extinct, and so remained for several Ages. In case the above-said Conditions, says the same Author, were not complied withal, *Huneric* threatened the Emperor; *Tam Episcopus, qui ordinatus fuerit, vel Clerici, sed & alii Episcopi, qui in Africanis provinciis sunt, jubentur inter Mauros mitti.* He adds, discoursing of this Tyrant's Persecution, as I have <sup>h</sup> already hinted; *Quibus autem prosequar fluminibus lachrymarum; quando Episcopos, Presbyteros, Diaconos, & alia Ecclesie membra, id est, quatuor millia, noningentos sexaginta sex ad exilium eremi destinavit?* Among this enormous Number of Ecclesiasticks was the pious Bishop *Felix*, who had been forty four Years a Prelate, together with many who were both blind and lame with Age and Infirmities, scarce capable of standing alone, or even moving without Assistance. He goes on and says; *Congregantur universi in Siccensem & Larensem civitates, ut illic, occurrentes Mauri, sibi traditos ad eremum perducerent.* I know no Places of those Names.

That Multitude of Prisoners were divided between those two Cities, and as many as were in each shut up for many Days all together, in Places so incapable of affording them a convenient Reception, that they would scarce contain them standing crouded; nor were they suffered once to go

<sup>h</sup> Vide P. 63.



forth upon any Urgency whatever; than which nothing can possibly be more inhumanly barbarous. *Victor* says, that he and some others went into their Prisons, to visit them, having, in order thereto, bribed the *Mauritanian* Guards, while the *Vandal* Officers were asleep; where he affirms, that they began, as it were, to swim in Filth and Nastiness, being up to the Knees in Excrement: His Words are these; *Qui introeuntes veluti in gurgite luti usque ad genu cœpimus mergi, illic tunc Hieremiæ fuisse completum, Qui nutriti sunt in croceis amplexati sunt stercora sua. Quid multa? Præcepti sunt, undique perstreptentibus Mauris aditur ubi destinati sunt, præparari. Exeuntes itaque die Dominica linita habentes stercorebus vestimenta, facies simul & capita, à Mauris tamen crudeliter minabantur, hymnum cum exultatione Domini decantantes. Hæc est gloria omnibus Sanctis.*

This Description is really lively and very moving: It sets in View the Spirit both of the *Vandals* and *Africans*: And, by this, and what may follow, and by abundance of Testimonies more that might be produced, can any one imagine that these last were ever good *Christians*, as many affirm them all to have been? Or do I merit Censure for being rather of Opinion, that, notwithstanding the numerous Assemblies of Prelates at the *African* Councils, not one natural *African* among ten were ever any other than just what they are at this Day, barring the Profession they now make of *Mahometism*, as they then, and long before and long after, did of *Paganism*? But as for their Antipathy to *Christianity* (I speak only of about, perhaps, nine Parts in ten of their whole Numbers) I actually look upon it to have neither increased nor diminished, from the very Instant that any of their Ancestors knew that there was such a Thing as *Christianity* existing upon the Surface of the Earth, down to this very individual Moment; nor can I entertain any other more favourable Notion, than that, for some Reasons I have hinted, and others I may, occasionally, hint elsewhere, they will, unalterably, so continue, till the ultimate Dissolution of the Universal Fabrick. Not but, now I recollect my self, the Abhorrence with which they look upon the Principles of the *Papish* Church-men, and more superlatively on those of the pious and merciful *Inquisitors*, may have acquired some small Augmentation within these last 235 Years, on account of their superabundant Love and Tenderneſs towards their Brethren the *Moriscoes*.

My Author goes on, saying; that when those unhappy Victims were going to Martyrdom, to which they were all condemned (which cruel

Sentence others affirm to have been pass'd by *Huneric*, rather thro' the incessant Importunities of the *Arian* Bishops, than by Inclination) all the good *Christians* came out to meet them, bearing lighted Torches, casting themselves and Children at their Feet, drowned in Tears, asking, Why they abandoned them? Whom had they left to Baptize their Infants? Who must Absolve their Sins? Who was to perform their Funeral Ceremonies? With many other such Questions full of Grief and Compassion: All which caus'd not the least Emotion in the obdurate Breasts of the Unbelievers. And by reason that many of them, as they were going, fell down and expired thro' Age or Sicknes, the *Mauritanian* Guards were commanded to tie by the Feet such as could not keep Pace with the rest, and drag them along like the Carcase of a dead Animal; and many were so treated, and torne in Pieces, first their Garments, then their Bodies. The short Paragraph runs thus in the Original; *Imperatum est Mauris, ut eos qui ambulare non poterant, ligatis pedibus, ut cadavera animalis mortui, traherent per dura & aspera loca, ubi primo vestimenta, postea membra singula carpebantur.*

*Victor*, *Procopius*, and others have these Wars and Persecutions at large, as I observed, interspersed with divers Miracles, &c. all which, to avoid Prolixity, I shall omit; neither are they very pertinent to the Purpose in Hand. The detestable *Huneric* died miserably after a short Reign of about eight Years, viz. *A. D.* 484. Of his Death *Victor* says; *Nam putrefactum, & ebulliens vermibus non corpus tantum, sed & partes ejus viderentur sepultæ.* *S. Isidro* thus has it; *Ut Arius pater ejus interioribus cunctis effusus miserabiliter vitam amisit.* And *Gregorius Turonensis* differs thus; *Arreptus a Dæmone, qui diu de Sanctorum sanguine passus fuerat, propriis se moribus laniabat, in quo etiam cruciatu vitam indignam justa morte finivit.*

This impious Father, and more impious Son were succeeded by four other Princes of the same Race and Family, namely *Gunthamond*, *Tbrasamond*, *Hilderic* and *Gilimer*, some of them tolerable, none very good, but the worst far short of those I have been treating of, as well in Cruelty as Impiety: Yet all except *Hilderic* persecuted the *Catholicks*, especially their Clergy. *A. D.* 484, or as some have it 485. *Huneric* was succeeded by his Nephew *Gunthamond*, whom some call *Gondiband*, and *Gondimond*; I shall not say much of this Prince. His Father's Name was *Genton*, or *Genzon*. At first he us'd the *Catholicks* with Gentleness, causing to cease the Persecution which long had rag'd with such Fury. But it soon re-  
vived;

vived; and many Prelates, and other pious *Christians* suffered Martyrdom, and more underwent grievous Tortures. He reigned somewhat more than ten Years, and was succeeded by his Brother *Thrasamond*, whom some call *Thrasimond*.

A. D. 495, or 496. This Prince was a most rigid *Arian*, as were, indeed, all the *Vandal* Nation. He published several very severe Edicts against the *Orthodox* Clergy, particularly forbidding the Creation of Bishops. Notwithstanding which, such few as were left remaining in the *African* Provinces, determined to proceed to a numerous Ordination, that their Flocks might not be destitute of Pastors to protect them from the ravenous *Arian* Wolves. This was so highly resented by *Thrasamond*, that he resolved to banish the whole Number, and actually exiled about six Score of them to the Island *Sardinia*. Of this Number were S. *Fulgentius*, Bishop of *Ruspe*, and sixty Prelates more of that Province. It would be no easy Matter to direct a curious Traveller where to find these Episcopal Sees, or, I doubt, even any ten of them. He afterwards recalled that Metropolitan, in order to confer with him, who returned such strong and distinct Answers to all his, as he imagined, invincible Objections, that this *Arian* Prince could not but admire his profound Erudition and persuasive Eloquence. However the Persecution was violent and of no short Continuance, he reigning near twenty seven Years. He had long and bloody Wars with the *Africans*, wherein he was generally worsted.

Here appears the Genius of the *Moors*, who can never love a foreign Nation, for their own Sakes, looking on all as Usurpers of their Rights; but will side with any against such Inmates as they want to get rid of: And now it seems they began to be as sick of the *Vandals*, as they had been before of the *Romans*, were afterwards of the *Arabs*, and at this Instant are, and, for above 200 Years last past, have been heartily so, of the *Turks*. But, we are not to suppose that all, or, perhaps, a fifth Part of the *Moors* were actually at War with this Prince. The *Moors* are a People who never were, nor, I believe, can be unanimous: For were they so, no Force could possibly maintain an Inch of Ground in their Country; since as their Numbers are infinite, so I am very sensible they want not personal Courage and Resolution: But they are too volatile and quarrellsome ever to unite.

Before I have done with these *Arian* Persecutions, I shall just hint what *Victor* of *Utica* says of those who were sent into Banishment among the *Moors*, and such as suffered Martyrdom at *Carthage*; tho' this seems to have happened in *Huneric's* Time. *Primo Sacerdotum & Ministrorum copiosissimam & maximam turbam, in longinquis & extremis regionibus exilio crudeli detruxit, &c. Post modicum verò temporis universas Ecclesias præjudicatis venerabilibus portis cæmentis ingentibus claudi mandavit. Universa namque Monasteria virorum, vel puellarum gentibus, id est Mauris, cum habitatoribus donare præcepit.* Tho' the *Christians* of *Africa* were thus inclosed on every Side, by fierce and barbarous Nations, yet, in all Probability, they might have stood their Ground to this very Day, had it not been for the fatal Schisms and civil Dissentions they nourished in their own Bosoms. As for the inconstant *Moors*, they, according to Custom, were ever ready to espouse his Party who offered the best Conditions. *Procopius*, among others, affirms many of them to have frequently served the *Vandals* in all their Wars: *Maurusi* (as he always calls them) *Vandalis quam plurima incommoda intulere, passique item ipsi sunt.*

But *Procopius*, *Evagrius*, *Nicephorus Calistus*, *Theophanes*, and some others, make very grateful Mention of a certain *Gentile*, or *Pagan* Chieftain, whose Name was *Cabaon*, in the *Tripolitana*, against whom *Thrasamond* sent his Army, which was intirely defeated. They fain would attribute that Victory to a miraculous Cause, on account of the Favour shewn by that gallant *African* to the *Catholicks*, and their Places of Worship, which the Heretical *Vandals* had ruined and profanely defiled, and he piously caused to be repaired, cleansed and purified. As I presume the rest of those Authors borrow from *Procopius*, I shall content my self with introducing his Words. *Cabaon*, says he, *præfectus quidam, apud Tripolin erat bello exercitatus, & animo vafer.* And when this Person understood, that the *Vandals* were marching against him, the same Author continues; *Ubi verò Cabaon hoc accepit, è vestigio exercitum in occursum deducit, sepitque vallo camelis pro munitione dispositis, ex iisque duodecem in fronte collocavit, pueros autem ac feminas, omnemque imbellem turbam, simul cum thesauro, in medio ponit, fortissimos quosque ad camelorum pedes cum scutis constituit.* His Forces being thus disposed, attending the *Vandals*, who were all Cavalry, and their Horses so terrified at the Camels, whose Form and Scent, as not accustomed to those Creatures, they would not abide, that instead of attacking the *Moors*, the *Moors* furiously fell upon them, taking  
Advantage

Advantage of the Disorder into which their affrightened Horses had put them, and, with incredible Slaughter, gained a complete Victory.

This is an indisputable Demonstration, that the Camels were not, in former Days, any-wise near so common, in *Barbary*, as they have been ever since the Irruption of the *Mussulman Saracens*. It is now far from being a Novelty, to see Multitudes of Horses, Mules and Camels travelling, and even grazing together, very peaceably. There is not now, I am very sure, one *Arab*, or *African*, in the whole Region, who would not laugh heartily at being told of a Body of Horse, nay Horse bred in the Country, being put to Flight at the Appearance of a Dozen Camels. I have often met with many Thousands at once feeding in a Plain; nor should I stretch much if I said I had, at one particular Time, seen near 300000, belonging to a noble *Neja*, or Tribe of *Arabs*, named *Heyl Ben-Ali*, of whom I may have Occasion to relate some Matters; and many of those People scrupled not to aver, that if the Camels of the whole *Neja* had been together, their Amount would not have been less than Half a Million. *Hirtius* says, that in the Wars *Julius Cæsar* carried on, in *Africa*, against King *Juba* and *Scipio*, that Prince had two and twenty Camels: *Et camelis viginti duobus regis adductis*. There is scarce a poor *Arab*, who has any at all, but is nigh as well stocked as his *Mauritanian* Majesty, if those were all he was possessed of: Tho' it may be supposed, that the Author speaks only of such as carried the richest of his Moveables.

Now I am upon this Subject, it may not be altogether impertinent to take Notice of such another Stratagem, *Procopius* relates, used by the *Moors* against *Soloman*, Prefect of *Africa*, by which his Cavalry were routed, which being perceived by that General, he, with 500 of his Followers, dismounted, and recovered himself thus; *Ipse milites non minus quingentis secum ducens, in parte walli mittit, mandatque, ut ensibus utentes camelos, qui in ea parte erant, interficerent. Quo facto Maurusii, quotquot ibi aderant, fugere cœperunt: illi verò camelos fere ducentos perimunt, quibus cadentibus statim ad munitiones aditus Romæis aperitur, qui è vestigio in medium ubi Maurusiorum feminae erant irruunt*: Thus much of Camels, for the present. But to return to *Thrasamond*; of whom I have only to add, that he took so much to Heart the Defeat given him by *Cabaon*, that he sickened and died soon after.

A. D. 523. To him succeeded *Hilderic*, whom some call *Huneric*, said to be Son to *Huneric* by the Princess *Eudoxia*, Daughter to the Emperor *Valentinian*,

*Valentinian*, and consequently Grandson to the Tyrant *Genferic*: But he neither imitated him, nor any of the rest of his Predecessors, and was, indeed, the only tolerable Prince of that savage Dynasty. It is said of him, that *Thrasamond*, when on his Death-Bed, exacted from him a solemn Promise, never to recal the Prelates he had exiled, after his Accession to the Throne, and he, not to falsify his Oath, caused them all to be sent for before he would ascend it, or even assume the Regal Title. A rare Example! However, this and other Instances of his Lenity rendered him contemptible in the Eyes of his licentious Subjects; and he held the *Vandal* Crown somewhat more than seven Years.

*A. D. 531.* The sixth and last of these *African-Vandal* Kings was *Gilimer*. He was Son to *Gilared*, and Grandson to *Genton*, of *Genferic*'s Family; his Predecessor *Hilderic* was his near Kinsman, whose presumptive Heir he had been unanimously declared. Finding that vertuous Prince's Life and Reign likely to be of longer Continuance than suited his Ambition, he found Means so to ingratiate himself with the *Vandals*, that *Hilderic* was deposed this Year, as I observe above. The Emperor *Justinian*, who had long meditated some grand Design upon *Africa*, which had now been separated from the Empire no less than a whole Century, looked upon this Juncture as a favourable Opportunity of pushing to refix that valuable Jewel in the Imperial Diadem. As an Introduction and Pretext, he wrote to *Gilimer* in Behalf of the dethroned *Hilderic*; and in Return met with just what he seems to have expected, nay desired; Mocks to his Intreaties, and to his Menaces Contempt. Having thus a plausible Handle to proceed, he struck up a Peace, or at least a Truce with the *Persians*, in order to turn the intire Force of the Empire upon this insolent Usurper: And accordingly, in the seventh Year of that Emperor's Reign, viz. *A. D. 533*, the great *Belisarius* arrived on the *African* Coast, at the Head of a powerful Army, on a Fleet of 500 Sail. Being landed, that brave and fortunate General soon gave the *Vandals* to understand, that their Tyranny was drawing near its ultimate Period. To their Ruin their own nefarious Procedure, together with certain impolitick Steps lately taken, in dismantling the Strong-Holds, were not a little conducive. As their ravenous Avarice on one Side, and their insufferable Imperiousness on the other, had rendered them equally odious to the *Africans*, with whom they did and did not cohabit, they grew diffident, even of those in whom they had once placed the greatest Confidence, and from whom they had received

the most momentous Services. Accordingly the Walls of not one fortified Place were left standing intire, except those of their Metropolis, *Carthage*; as being, and with abundance of Reason, in hourly Apprehensions of Rebellions and Incurfions of intestine Foes, tho' little dreading any foreign Invasion. *Procopius*, who, as I have intimated, was Secretary to *Belisarius*, and wrote the History of all the *Vandal Wars* in *Africa*, says; *Loca munita Africa, excepta Carthagine, muro cincta, ne Africanis rebellandi aliquo modo animus esse posset, mœniis omnibus, atque munitionibus expoliaverunt.* And, in another Place, speaking of the City *Syllectum* (of which I know nothing) near the Sea-Shore, he says; *Cujus mœnia jam dudum diruta fuere, domos oppidani circummunivere incurfus Maurorum metuentes.* Certainly, by such and other Means, as inconsiderate as these, this impious Nation hastened and facilitated their deserved and desired Downfal.

*Gilimer* courageously fought his bold Invader: When coming to a set Battle, he had the Advantage of the *Imperialists*; and might have carried the Day, had he known how to make right Use of that Advantage; which not doing, he had the Mortification of beholding the Defeat of his Army, and Death of his Brother, cut in Pieces in his Sight, and was himself glad to escape into *Numidia*; instead of getting into *Carthage*, capable of making a vigorous Defense. Thither marched the Conqueror, and easily obtained Admittance.

The same Historian is very particular in this War. In one Place he mentions the small Dependance *Gilimer* had upon, and the little Assistance he met with from the naturally inconstant, but now irritated *Moors*; with some other Matters to our Purpose. *Gilimer*, says he, *postquam in Corbule campum se recepit, qui quatuor iter dierum à Carthagine, nec procul à Numidarum finibus distat. Hic Vandalos omnes ad se vindicandam excitat, ac si quos inter Mauritanos amicos habebat: nam pauci admodum in ejus venerunt fœdus, atque hi omnino liberi, & sine principe. Quicumque enim in Mauritania & Numidia apud Byzacium Mauritanis dominati sunt, legatos ad Belisarium miserunt.*

This is all so exactly like the *Moors*, that methinks I see them before my Eyes. A few ragged squalid Vagabonds, belonging to beggarly, independent Communities, dear Lovers of fishing in troubled Waters, meager with Hunger, and consequently eager after Spoil, yet too proud,

stately and lazy to work, or serve, yet not caring how much Toil both themselves and their poor harassed Hacknies undergo, so they bear the honorary Title of Allies, and not Vassals; such a promiscuous Troop, I say, of hardy *Numidian* and *Mauritanian* Varlets, inured to Misery, I cannot but fancy I both hear and behold, with an audacious Liberty and saucy Familiarity, scurrilously railing against the triumphant *Belisarius*, yet most sycophantically adulating the half-desponding *Gilimer*, whom, from the very Bottom of their hollow Hearts, they, most religiously, wish at the very Bottom of the *Red-Sea*, or, perhaps, in a worse Place, extolling, above the distant Clouds, Virtues he never possessed, as they are themselves conscious, protesting they are all ready to *die before him*, that is, fighting in the Front of his Army, their usual Term, upon every such Occasion. And what is all this for? Why, the very same Motive that induces our own Parasites to act the detestable Parts they daily and hourly do: Vile, sordid Interest. Lucre, filthy Lucre. Alas! it is not only these *Africans* that are tainted with having a remarkably good Hand at playing the Sycophant: Tho', indeed, as they are somewhat gross in all their Doings, they do this grossly enough. The *Algerine Turks* having good Noses, manage accordingly: I may, probably, particularize. It were to be wished this odious Faculty was confined to *Barbary* alone: But I know not where it does not reign predominant.

I doubt not but this will be termed an immethodical running into Digressions; and I shall be censured for thus incongruously blending Matters diametrically opposite. But having a somewhat treacherous Memory, I set down what occurs to my Thought, without much regarding Place, or Season: I can but, as I hinted somewhere, the oftner trouble a courteous Reader with References.

As I utterly protest against all Manner of Partiality, on any Side, I will, to the utmost of my Knowledge and Remembrance, and with the strictest Regard to Veracity, do as exact Justice to the People, whose History I have undertaken to write, in describing their good and moral Qualities, as Occasion shall offer, (and some they, certainly, have, enough to make too many of our *European* Pretenders to *Christianity*, Civility and good Manners blush) as I will to Truth, in painting out their Deformities, among which none of the least is what I have been speaking of above, and which, in particular, odious as it is, is so far from being peculiar to them, that I wish I could say it were not most scandalously common to all Na-



tions under the Sun, notwithstanding the noisy Pretensions to Superiority, in Points of Integrity of Morals, Uprightness of Heart, Politeness, and what not, of Nations more refined in Manners and Politicks, inviolable in their Fidelity, at least all these shining Qualities are incessantly boasted of by them, and to such a Pitch are those Pretensions carried, that scarce any People, but their own precious Selves, are allowed to deserve even the Name of a People: They are Savages, Brutes, Monsters, devoid of all Similitude of Humanity, except the bare Form. This is being exorbitantly partial; or I am exorbitantly mistaken.

But let none be so far mistaken, in their Notions, as to deem me, an Advocate for the *Moors*. No: I shall, impartially, paint them out in their truest Colours; as may be met with, dispersed up and down in this Work, by such as shall be at the Pains of reading it over: For the more is said in one Place, the less Occasion I shall have of enlarging in another; and if I do it not so regularly, I will, at least, vouch its being performed with a far greater Share of Truth, and disinterested Sincerity, than any other Writers, on these Themes, have thought fit to put in Practice, among the many I have, not without some Indignation, ran thorough, more especially among the Moderns. To particularize would be tiresome, and even endless.

I broke off, leaving the discomfited *Gilimer*, environed by a tattered Rabble of undisciplined *Numidian* and *Mauritanian* Bumpkins: Insolently proud and assuming, yet abjectly fawning, provided they can get by it: Unparallel'd Incendiaries: Perfidious and inconstant Mercenaries: Inimitably good at menacing the Absent: Not so very good at facing a bold and resolute Enemy: Some inured to freeze on Mountain-Tops, eternally buried in Snow: Others accustomed to fry in torrid Desarts, almost continually buried in Clouds of Sand: Generally speaking, most exemplarily and perseveringly patient of such, and other Extremities of Wretchedness; if, thereby, they can maintain their adored Independency: Implacably revengeful; in which respect they come not, I think, very far short of any of our *European* Nations, whose Character, for that Passion, is most eminently famous: In everlasting Enmity among themselves, butchering each other without Remorse, upon the slightest Provocations; but wearing Hearts incurably cankered towards any Usurpers upon their ancient Patrimonies; and such they have, successively, deemed all foreign Powers, who have established Settlements in their Country; tho' they dissemble,

and carry it plausibly till Occasion offers of giving a home Stroak, or till they find no farther Advantages accrue from that Dissimulation. Such is some Part of the real Character of the *Moors* of these Days, more particularly those who are in a State of Independency; and I strongly fancy their Progenitors, who, I have been observing, flocked in to countenance *Gilimer*, and to dispose and encourage his Remnant of *Vandals* to venture a decisive Push (while they, like the vigilant Mungrel-Cur were waiting for the Bone the two Mastiffs contended for) to have been, in most respects, very little different.

To carry this Argument some few Steps farther; suppose one was to take a circulary Trip, among the other *Africans*, who thought it their Interest to side with the victorious *Imperialists*, and who, as *Procopius* has informed us, were, by much, the greater Numbers. Nor are we to conclude, but that many Tribes remained absolutely neuter, watching the Event; as never fails to happen on such Occasions. I shall describe the Matter as it would now be, which, as I often intimate, must needs have been much the same two thousand Years ago, and perhaps in still remoter Ages; the People being still the same, with little or no material Diversity, notwithstanding their present Intermixture with the *Asiatick Arabs*; the main Alteration consisting in the universal Profession of *Mahometism*, in lieu of the Practice of *Pagan Idolatry*, among the many, or of feigned and involuntary *Christianity* among fewer; yet certainly some Numbers of these last real good *Christians*, others, again, Heretically disposed, after the Example of those with whom they chiefly communicated, and most depended on: To which may be added, Corruption of Speech; *Arabian* instead of *African* Proper-Names of People, many Places, &c. the utter Destruction, nay Oblivion of hundreds of once stately and flourishing Edifices; miserable Poverty, instead of immense Opulency, reigning almost every where, except in the few Capital Cities now left in any tolerable Condition, which is no more than what may, rationally, be expected in Regions so frequently stripped to the very Skin, as one may say, as the *African* Provinces have been, and which, for so many Periods of Years, have groaned under the Oppressions of despotick Tyrants. In these Particulars, the modern State of *Barbary*, and its Neighbourhood, is, undoubtedly, different from what it was in some of the preceding Centuries: But as to the Manners, Customs, Morals, &c. of the People who inhabit there, I cannot help thinking, but that the Alteration, from what they formerly were, is very inconsiderable.

Imagine

Imagine, therefore, a Prospect of the declining *Vandals*, abandoned by all, except a few half-starved Free-Booters, hovering about them, as Birds-of-Prey hover over a Place where they are likely to meet with a Glut of Carrion, while several of the Petty-Potentates of *Africa* are in deep Consultation, hugging themselves at the Commotions, tho' dubious and in Suspense which Party to espouse, till their Scouts fly with Intelligence of what Success has attended the Invaders. Turn next your Eyes towards the Imperial Camp; behold it swarming with shabby Embassadors, and Crowds of their more shabby Retinue, and the pompous Pavillion of the great *Belisarius* thronged with the First-Comers, the rest tumultuously elbowing for Admittance, in order, as others are doing, to stun the Ears of that Rising-Sun, and now their Darling, if the noble Warrior has Faith and Credulity enough to believe the parasitical Proteftations, penetrable Lies, and most fulsome Flatteries, which glibly flow from the deceitful Tongues of those *Southern* Sycophants. This is really the Character of the *Africans*.

But have I not been, all this While, laying out some Portion of the Character of more *Northern* Sycophants? Alas! I greatly fear it. Have we not any Instances, in Story, of some such-like Deportment practis'd by politer and more refined Nations, on this Side the *Mediterranean*, towards their own natural Princes, as these Savages, as they will needs have them to be, sometimes practise towards foreign Tyrants and Usurpers, whom they have all imaginable Reason to detest and abominate? Letting alone what I have both read and heard; I have even known many base and villanous Enormities perpetrated by such as would be highly affronted to be named in the same Breath with an *African*. But Prejudice will prevail; Sycophantry will flourish, and even be countenanced; and till Mankind wholly ceases to exist, there is little Appearance that any one Clime in the whole Universe, if peopled at all, will ever cease to be peopled by the same Mixture of Good, Indifferent and Stark-Naught it now is, without any of those mighty Advantages so sanguinely stickled for by each Pretender to a Superiority in Purity of Morals. But it is high Time to have done with moralizing, and to return to my History.

*Gilimer* had a Brother in *Sardinia*, named *Zazo*, or *Zazon*, whom he sent for over, with what Troops he could raise; and joining them and his own to their *African* Allies, he formed a considerable Army, and marched directly for *Carthage*. *Belisarius* met him, and the Battle was very furious, with  
much

much Slaughter on both Sides. *Zazon* lost his Life, and *Gilimer* betook himself to a precipitate Flight. *Belisarius* followed the routed *Vandals*, broke thro' their Intrenchments, and possessed himself of the whole Camp, in which were infinite Riches, as says *Procopius*, all they had amassed during the ninety five Years they had been peaceable Possessors of the *African* Provinces. In Pursuit of *Gilimer* were sent 200 Horse with a valiant Officer, whose Name was *John*; by whose unfortunate Death, in the Execution of his Commission, that Prince found Means to escape to a certain Mountain, called *Papua*. I do not remember ever to have heard of that Name; but *Procopius* says of it thus; *Hic mons in Numidiæ finibus extremis, valde quidem abruptus, adituque petris undique altissimis communitus, in quo Maurusii habitant, Gilimeris amici ac in bello socii.* Here we find, that notwithstanding what I had been saying of the Treachery and other ill Qualities of the *Africans*, they were not all so perfidious; the unfortunate *Gilimer* finding a Place of Retreat among some of them, in his greatest Extremity; which, much to the Praise of many of the *Moors* be it spoken, their most inveterate Enemies often meet with.

The Imperial General, soon after, ordered *Pharas*, one of his most experienced Captains, to beleager that Mountain; who managed so well, that it was not long before he got *Gilimer* into his Hands, and conducted him to *Belisarius*, at *Carthage*. And to put an End to this *Vandal* War, Part of the Imperial Army marched Westward, to *Cæsaria*, and thence down to the Streights Mouth, as far as *Ceuta*, all which Coast was easily cleared of the Residue of those *Arians*, who had tyrannized ninety five Years, according to some, tho' others make their Stay in the Country six or seven Years longer. This last War, from the Landing of the Imperial Army to the total Reduction and final Expulsion of the *Vandals*, lasted not six Months complete.

All being over, *Belisarius* made Preparation for his Departure: But before he went, *Procopius*, in a very angry Mood, takes Notice that; *Maurusii quot apud Byzacium & in Numidia habitabant, ad defectionem ex nulla penitus causa tendebant, ac statim fœdere soluto contra Romanos arma parare decreverant, & hoc quidem ex more patrio faciebant. Illis enim neque Dei merus est ullus, neque hominum reverentia, neque item jurisjurandi, aut obsidum ulla cura: etiam si filios aut fratres ipsorum ducentium exercitum eos esse contingeret. Denique cum nullo pacem habent, nisi cum eis quorum metu coercentur, &c. Quando classis in Africam ab initio mittenda parabatur, formidantes*

*dantes Maurusii, nequid incommodi acciperent, septem vaticiniis feminarum sunt usi: nam in hac gente viros vaticinari nefas.* As to this conjuring Part of the Story, I have nothing to say to it; only I know, that, now-a-Days, both Sexes are great Pretenders to Magick, tho' differing in their Methods of Working. I may say more elsewhere. But here my Author paints out the *Moors* in even blacker Colours than I had been doing just before; as a People neither fearing God, nor respecting Man: But, when I wrote that, I was not come to this Passage.

However, these *Numidians*, &c. having, by their Divinations, true, or untrue, found that the prognosticated, lucky Moment was at Hand, took the Field; and over-ran the *Byzacena* like a Torrent; where meeting with little Opposition, they swept away all that came in their Way, Women, Children, Cattle, &c. *Femine cum pueris capiuntur, pecunia, opesque ex universa regione abducuntur, denique fuga locus omnis refertus.* This exactly answers the Vigilance of the *Moors*, who watch all Opportunities of suddenly falling upon the Unwary.

*Belisarius*, tho' he heard of these Disorders, could not put by his Voyage; but, all things being ready, embarked, with his rich Spoils, and numerous Prisoners, at whose Head went the unhappy *Gilimer*; recommending the Preservation of the lately-recovered Realms to the Care of his Lieutenant, the noble *Soloman*, a brave Soldier and wise Commander. The victorious General, arriving at *Constantinople*, entered that proud Metropolis in Triumph, the chief Ornament whereof was that dejected Captive King, of whom it is reported, that as he beheld the Emperor *Justinian*, sitting on his splendid and magnificent Throne, surrounded by his Nobility, in the great *Circus*, to see the Triumphal Ceremonies, and reflecting on his own present abject State, to which his Ambition had reduced him, he broke out into these memorable Words, *Vanity of Vanities! All is Vanity!* The Emperor bestowed on him, his Family and Relations, certain Lands and Possessions in *Galatia*, and would have inrolled him in the *Patrician Order*, could he have prevailed on him to renounce *Arianism*. *Belisarius* is a notable Instance of the Instability of Mundane Affairs; being said to have been reduced to such Misery, that he ended his Days begging for Sustainance, in the Streets of *Constantinople*; tho' some inform us, that, before he died, he was restored to all his Honours.

The new Governor, *Soloman*, sent for a Re-inforcement; the Troops left him by *Belisarius* not being sufficient to garrison the fortified Places,  
and

and defend the Provinces from the Insults of the *Africans*, who gave daily Proofs of their not having sided with the *Imperialists* out of any Affection they bore them, but merely out of Hatred to the *Vandals*. *Soloman's* chief Care, according to *Procopius*, was where there seemed to be the greatest Appearance of Danger, *ubi Maurusios erectos ad defectionem, turbataeque res valde vidit*. What most employed his Thoughts, was the Success of the Commission he had given to four of the expertest Captains of his Army, who *ubi Maurusios, ubi praedam agentes, ac omnia populantes, tum Afros ubique captivos ducentes viderent &c. Maurusios omnes ad praedam bujusmodi dispersos partim interficiunt, partim capiunt*.

Upon this, four *African* Chieftains hastily united their Forces, and at Sun-Set falling upon them, utterly defeated and slew two of those Commanders, with a good Number of their Men, carrying off many Prisoners. When *Soloman* had Intelligence of this Disgrace, he wrote to those Petty-Princes, upbraiding them with their Perfidy, putting them in Mind of the Hostages they had given him, and their solemn Promises; intimating, that in case they did not desist from such Hostilities, the same People who had been able to quell the Insolence of the *Vandals*, wanted neither Strength nor Resolution to chastise Injuries done them by others. Their Answer was in these Terms; *Belisarius, nos magnis pollicitationibus circumveniens, induxit nos Imperatoris Justiniani sponte subditos esse, nibilo bonorum nos impertiendo fame pressos, amicos nos esse ac socios rogavit. Itaque non Maurusios magis, quam vos infidos appellari jure oportebit: foedera solvunt, non qui injuriam patientes à proximis desciscunt, sed qui foederatos habere aliquos postulantes deinde violant*.

Here the civilized People seem to be in the wrong, and not the *Barbarians*, as this Author and many others name them: But let us examine the Extract of a Letter wrote to the Emperor *Justinian*, by one of the four Rebel Princes, by Name *Antalas*: These are the Words, as related by *Procopius*; *Servus esse tui Imperii nunquam ipse negaverim. Maurusii tamen, qui erant in foedere à Solomone intoleranda indignaque passi, nuper arma sumere coacti sunt, non quidem te, sed inimicum suum petentes. Ego quoque inter ceteros maximè lacesitus, quem ipse non solum cibariis, quæ mihi paulo antè Belisarius, tuque dedisti, privavit, sed & fratrem meum, à quo nullum acceperat incommodum, interfecit*. Sure *Procopius* did not include this injured Moor in the Number of those who neither feared God, nor respected Man. I would fain know, what Army, or Body of Troops,

would

would not rise, even against their own lawful Prince, if deprived of their promised Stipend, and had the Mortification of having their dearest Relations and Friends slaughtered without Cause.

Tho' these *Moors* had some plausible Pretext for their Procedure, yet *Soloman* was of a contrary Opinion; and his Valour and Fortune got the better of the seeming Justice which pleaded in the Rebels Behalf. Understanding the Purport of the Letter sent to the Emperor, and the Determination of the *Africans* to stand up in their own Defense, he marched his Army into the *Byzacena*, and, *apud oppidum Mamma*, (of which I know nothing) *ubi quatuor Maurusorum duces castrametati sunt, vallum firmavit. Montes hic altissimi sunt, & parvum oppidum Males* (I know it not) *ad montium radices. Hic Barbari se ad pugnam accingentes, aciem hoc modo constituunt. Camelos circa in gyrum locant, &c. sœminas cum pueris intus in medio statuunt. Nam Maurusiis mos est sœminas cum pueris in expeditionem ducere, ut vallum tuguriaque faciant, præterea equos scite ac diligenter curant, camelis pabulum subministrant, armaturamque omnem ferream poliunt ac mundant, multis denique laboribus per eas levantur.* Nothing can more exactly describe the modern *Africans* than do these few Lines. They carry their whole Families with them to the Wars; their Women look after their Horses and Furniture, put on and take off their Saddles, &c. cleanse their Sabres, Lances, and even Fire-Arms, now they have them, feed their Cattle, provide Wood and Water, fetching the same on their Backs, if they have no Mules nor Asses, make all their Tents and other woven Furniture; as I shall more distinctly observe; and in a Word, the Men have very little to do but to mount their Horses, except such of them as follow Husbandry, and they only take a little Pains just in Seed and Harvest Times; so that their Women are perfect Drudges to their Laziness all the Year round, and in all Weathers; and the Comfort of it all is, that they do it without grumbling, looking on it as their indispensable Duty.

To what I already said concerning <sup>k</sup> Camels, I shall add, that those Creatures, which, I took Notice, are now in far greater Plenty than they seem formerly to have been, are of great and unvaluable Use to their Possessors. The *Moors* of these Days have few of them, in Comparison of what the *Arabs* breed; they being their chief Wealth. They ask

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\* Vide P. 86, 87.

not, how many thousand Ducats a Man is worth; but, how many hundreds, or thousands of Camels he is Master of. The Camels are to them the very Nerves of War, and the Regales of Peace. Without them they could not possibly reach a Retreat in the Desarts, nor subsist when there. Provided with a numerous Drove of Camels, a Body of 1000 resolute Fellows, if they have but twelve Hours Warning, can transport themselves where all the Powers of *Africa* dare not attempt to follow them. Tho' their Motion is but slow, never exceeding a Foot-Pace, yet, in one Night's March, they will be out of Danger of being over-taken by any Body of Horse, not accustomed to those arid Regions, who will be in great Necessity of Rest and Refreshment, while the Camels and their Drivers can very well hold on for thirty or forty Hours longer, without stopping, at least without making any considerable Stay, till they are past all Fear of farther Pursuit; nor are their Horses much less capable of enduring that Fatigue than are their Camels and Selves; a Draught of warm Camel's Milk, with a few Dates, and Handfuls of Barley, being a Repast sufficient to set both Man and Beast a jogging on very vigorously: Neither are their Women and Children (many of which hoof it over those Desarts, tho' the better Sort ride on the Camels) very apt to lag behind. I have actually seen Women fall in Labour on a March; and, in less than half an Hour after all has been over, follow the rest of the *Neja*, with five or six more, of their own Sex, who stayed to assist them; their Husbands, with, perhaps, half a Score of their Friends; bringing up the Rear, at a Distance. Our nice, tender *English* Females would think very much of such Lyings-in!

When I said, that Camels were not so plenty among the *Moors* as among the *Arabs*, I ought to have excluded the *Libyans*, and their Neighbours the *South-Numidians*, who dwell not in fixed Mansions; they being possessed of innumerable Drovers of those useful Creatures. Nor, indeed, comparatively speaking, are their Numbers very considerable any where on this Side the Mountains; neither do they thrive so well, or become any thing near so serviceable, in a rich and fertile Soil, as they do in a barren and torrid Region. Cold they cannot endure; an uneven Country they are very unfit for; and their Epidemical Distemper is the Mange, of which they seldom perfectly recover. In the Desarts they are not so subject to it, and are easily cured, by being daubed over with *Kitran*, or liquid Pitch, commonly called Tar. Among a Multitude of quaint Sayings



ings of the *African-Arabs*, they have this; *Al Tbilje e-berress al Jibeyl*; *Al Shurr e-bed al Rajeyl*; *Wa'l Jerubb e-fissed al Jimeyl*. That is, "Snow batters Mountains; Want pulls-down Men; And the Mange spoils Camels." They also say; If one should put the Question, *Amma bassanlic, ya'l Jimil, al Aakaba ou'l Hadura?* "Which is best for you, O Camel, to go up Hill or down?" He will make answer; *Allah innallahum mineyn't luccau*: "God's Curse light on 'em both, wheresoever they are to be met with." And the Truth is, a few Hours marching on uneven Ground does a Camel more Hurt, and tires him more than several Scores of Leagues will do in travelling thro' a level, dry Country; as the *Moors* and *Arabs* all agree: And after a Rain they are scarce able to go on at all, their soft, hoofless Feet being extremely apt to slip; and when they once fall it is difficult to make them rise again. In stony Ways the poor Creatures hobble very much; yet all the heaviest Luggage of the *Turkish* Camps is carried on them, notwithstanding the many rugged Mountains they are obliged to pass over. I shall treat farther of the Use the *Arabs* and *Africans* make of Camels in their Wars. What I have here said, was introduced by what *Procopius* reports, in several Places, of those of his Times. It seems that the *Africans* he last spoke of, had a good Number of them; since they could shelter all their Baggage and useless People within the Circumference made by their Camels. That Position was well enough contrived, to oppose an Enemy whose Horses were afraid of the very Sight of Creatures with which they were not acquainted: But the Stratagem would not answer now, since, as I said, they are become so familiar. In the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, I have read of one would have been much more effectual, designed, some Years ago, by an *Arab* Prince, to be put in Practice against a Company of *English* Merchants, and their Retinue, who were well provided with Fire-Arms, which the *Arabs* dread, and who went to take a View of the stately Ruins of the famous *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra*, in the Midst of a spacious Desert in *Syria*. It was, to have loaded all their Camels with Sand, in old rotten Sacks, full of Holes, and to march behind them, advancing towards the Caravan when the Wind blew strong, and full in their Teeth; which would not have failed of the desired Effect: For the Sand issuing apace from those Holes, as the Camels moved on, and the Wind driving both that, and what was raised by theirs and the Horses Feet, in Clouds, into the Eyes of those who stood ready to receive them, and who would, probably, have made a general

Discharge, in order to prevent being over-borne and trampled down by the impetuous Shock of the Camels, upon which the *Arabs*, swift as Lightning, wheeling about, without allowing them Time to recharge, in the Disorder the Dust and Sand must needs have put them, would, infallibly, have dispatched every Man, with their Sabres and long Lances. For some thousands of Dollars, in Specie and Merchandize, Matters were accommodated, and the Gentlemen got away safe to *Aleppo*; but returned afterwards, with better Success, as may be read at large, with a curious and exact Description of the noble Remains of that once celebrated City.

Various are the Names by which the *Arabs* call their Camels; having Distinctions for their several Ages, Perfections and Defects, which would be too tedious to enumerate. A Camel in general they call *Jimil*, Plural *Jimell* and *Jimeyl*; as likewise *Ibill*. The Male, when full-grown, is *Baeyr*; the Female *Nagga*: A young Camel is *Hafsi*. In *Barbary* they have none of those double-bunched Camels, such as are in *Bactria*, &c. This shall suffice. They often ride upon them, either loaded, or empty; either with or without the Pack-Saddle; if without, the Rider sits behind the Bunch, or Hump, using no manner of Bridle, guiding the Beast only by striking gently with a Stick on his Neck. They go very joulting and uneasy; nor is it possible for their Rider to sit steady. This Creature is very docile and tractable, except at the Season of its coupling, and then apt to be fierce and mischievous, remembring any particular ill Usage of the Driver, and rewarding it with a fly Kick, or a good Bite: So the conscious Clown prudently endeavours to keep out of Reach. Of hundreds of *Africans* I have examined, none ever gave me a satisfactory Account, as to their Way of ingendering: What some affirm, others contradict: But the most general Report is, that the Female is compelled, by the biting of her rough Wooer, to lie down, doubling her Knees under her, as when they load and unload. The Certainty is, that these modest Brutes are extremely shy of having the Consummation of their Amours exposed to Sight, and therefore generally chuse to skreen them under a Veil of Darkness. The Female carries her Young eleven Months.

All the Time I was in *Barbary*, I could never get Sight of above three or four Dromedaries. These the *Arabs* call *Mebera*; the Singular is *Meberi*. They are of several Sorts, and Degrees of Value, some worth many common Camels, others scarce worth two or three. To look on, they seem

seem little different from the rest of that Species, only I think the Excrescence on a Dromedary's Back is somewhat less than that of a Camel. What is reported of their sleeping, or rather seeming scarce alive, for some Time after their coming into the World, is no Fable. The longer they lie so, the more excellent they prove in their Kind, and consequently of higher Price and Esteem. None lie in that Trance more than ten Days and Nights. Those that do, are pretty rare, and are called *Aâsbâri*, from *Aâsbâra*, which signifies ten, in *Arabick*. I saw one such, perfectly white all over, belonging to *Lella-Oumânè*, Princess of that noble *Arab Neja*, named *Heyl ben Ali*, I spoke of, and upon which she put a very great Value, never sending it abroad but upon some extraordinary Occasion, when the greatest Expedition was required; having others, inferior in Swiftness, for more ordinary Messâges. They say that one of these *Aâsbâries* will, in one Night, and thro' a level Country, traverse as much Ground as any single Horse can perform in ten, which is no Exaggeration of the Matter; since many have affirmed to me, that it makes nothing of holding its rapid Pace, which is a most violent Hard-Trot, for four and twenty Hours upon a Stretch, without shewing the least Sign of Weariness, or Inclination to Bait; and that having then swallowed a Ball or two of a Sort of Past, made up of Barley-Meal, and, may be, a little Powder of dry Dates among it, with a Bowl of Water, or Camel's Milk, if to be had, and which the Courier seldom forgets to be provided with, in Skins, as well for the Sustainance of himself, as of his *Pegasus*, the indefatigable Animal will seem as fresh as at first setting out, and ready to continue running at the same scarce credible Rate, for as many Hours longer, and so on from one Extremity of the *African* Desarts to the other; provided its Rider could hold out without Sleep, and other Refreshment. This has been averred to me, by, I believe, more than a thousand *Arabs* and *Moors*, all agreeing in every Particular. These Couriers never dare venture to take a Nap, in the open Desert, especially in the Night, for Fear of being surprized and devoured by the monstrous Serpents, which are most outrageously ravenous, bold and dangerous.

I happened to be, once in particular, at the Tent of that Princess, with *Ali ben Mahamoud*, the *Bey*, or Vice-Roy of the *Algerine* Eastern Province; when he went thither to celebrate his Nuptials with *Ambarca*, her only Daughter, if I mistake not: Of this *Bey* I shall say more in due Place. Among other Entertainments she gave her Guests, the Favourite,  
white

white Dromedary was brought forth, ready Saddled and Bridled. I say Bridled, because the Thong, which serves instead of a Bridle, was put thro' the Hole purposely made in the Gristle of the Creature's Nose. The *Arab*, appointed to mount, was straitly laced, from the very Loins quite to his Throat, in a strong Leathern Jacket; they never riding those Animals any otherwise accoutred; so impetuously violent are the Concussions the Rider undergoes, during that rapid Motion, that were he to be loose, I much question, whether a few Hours such unintermitting Agitation would not endanger the bursting of some of his Entrails: And this the *Arabs* scruple not to acknowledge. We were to be diverted with seeing this fine *Aâsbâri* run against some of the swiftest *Barbs* in the whole *Neja*, which is famed for having good ones, of the true *Libyan* Breed, shaped like Greyhounds, and which will, sometimes, run down an Ostridge; which few of the very best can pretend to do, especially upon a hard Ground, perfectly level. We all started like Racers; and, for the first Spurt, most of the best mounted among us kept up pretty well; but our Grass-fed Horses soon flagged: Several of the *Libyan* and *Numidian* Runners held Pace till we, who still followed upon a good round Hand-Gallop, could no longer discern them, and then gave out; as we were told after their Return. When the Dromedary had been out of our Sight about half an Hour, we again espied it flying towards us, with an amazing Velocity, and in a very few Moments was among us, and seemingly nothing concerned; while the Horses and Mares were all on a Foam, and scarce able to breathe, as was, likewise, a fleet, tall Greyhound Bitch, of the young Prince's, who had followed and kept Pace the whole Time, and was no sooner got back to us, but lay down panting as if ready to expire. I cannot tell exactly how many Miles we went; but we were near three Hours in coming leisurely back to the Tents, yet made no Stop in the Way. The young Princes, *Hamet ben al Guydôm ben Sakbari*, and his younger Brother *Messoud*, told their new Brother-in-Law, that they defied all the Potentates of *Africa* to shew him such an *Aâsbâri*; and the *Arab* who rode it, challenged the *Bey*, to lay his Lady a Wager of 1000 Ducats, that he did not bring him an Answer to a Letter from the Prince of *Wargala*, in less than four Days, tho' *Leo Africanus*, *Marmol*, and several others assure us, that it is no less than forty *Spanish* Leagues, of four Miles each, South of *Tuggurt*, to which Place, upon another Occasion, as I shall observe, we made six tedious Days March from the Neighbourhood

hood of *Biscara*, North of which we were then, at least thirty Hours riding, if I remember rightly: However the *Bey*, who was a Native of *Biscara*, and consequently well acquainted with the *Sabara*, durst not take him up. By all Circumstances, and the Description given us, besides what I know of the Matter my self, it could not be much less than 400 Miles, and as many back again, the Fellow offered to ride, in so short a Time; nay many other *Arabs* boldly proffered to venture all they were worth in the World, that he would perform it with all the Ease imaginable. Thus much of Camels, and that nobler Species of them, the *Dromedaries*.

*Soloman's* Arms were victorious; and with an infinite Booty of Prisoners, of all Ages and both Sexes, with abundance of Cattle and other Spoil, he returned triumphant to *Carthage*; tho' he met with notable Resistance, and the main Body of the routed Enemy escaped to the Mountains. While this Governor was employed in these Wars, *Jaudas*, a powerful *African*, committed great Ravages and Disorders in *Numidia*; against whom *Soloman* marched his Army, at the Instance, and with the Assistance of two other *African* Chieftains, who accompanied him, and whose Names are not mentioned: *Romæorum igitur exercitus, duce Solomone, & Maurusiis, qui se illi adsciverant, juvantibus apud fluvium Abilam castrametati sunt, qui juxta Aurazium transiens ejus circa loca oberrat, &c. Hic mons decem dierum iter à Carthagine distat, maximusque omnium, quos unquam scimus: nam dierum trium ejus circuitus expedito patet, &c. In vertice autem planitiem, camposque habet, &c. Hic arx est incustodita, quod minime habitantibus necessaria videatur.*

This fine Mountain, in several Parts whereof I have been, still retains its ancient Name, being called, both by *Arabs*, *Africans*, &c. *Auraz*, or as some pronounce it, *Oress*. What *Procopius* (from whom I take most of these Passages,) says of it, is, in every respect, very exact. But I cannot avoid taking Notice of one Expression of the *Sieur De La Croix* (among thousands of the same Stamp throughout his *Relation Universelle de L'Afrique ancienne & moderne*) which is this; speaking of *Auraz*, as he calls it; "*Procopius*, says he, makes Mention of this Mountain, under the Name of *Aurazia*, and places it at ten Miles Distance from *Carthage*." How this agrees with the above-quoted Paragraph, is very obvious: One Mile *per Diem* seems but short Days Marches. *Procopius* is, in this Particular (as I fancy him to be in many others) very right, allowing

lowing about twenty five Miles a Day, at which Rate the Body of Cavalry he very likely accompanied, may be supposed to have marched. It would be endless to take Notice of the Myriads of such erroneous Mensurations one meets with in almost every Author one lays Hand on: I could instance enough to take up, at the very least, fifty Pages of full as gross Absurdities as this; and what Light such Histories can afford a curious Enquirer into the Affairs of a Country, I submit to every reasonable Person's Judgment. I may treat of these Mountains more particularly, when I describe the Province to which they are the Southern Boundary, and shall here only repeat what is farther observed by my Author.

To the East of *Auras* stood the City *Tamuga*, (whose Ruins, I believe, I have seen, tho' I do not remember the Name they now go by, but am almost certain it is not *Tamuga*) which had been destroyed by the *Maurusi*; and in its Western Part lies an extensive Region, inhabited then by other *Africans*, whose Prince, or Chief, was named *Citaias*, and who was present in this Expedition. Of him this Historian says; *Hunc ego dicentem audivi, quod regionem quam ipse tenebat, nulli antea mortalium habitatam, sed vacuum fuisse penitus colonis, &c. Ultra vero hanc hominum aliquantulum esse, non sicut ceteri Maurusi colorati, sed valde albi tum coma flava.*

Before I had read this Passage in *Procopius*, I was all along of Opinion, that the *Africans* of a *Hyperborean* Fairness, in Hair and Complexion, of which there are many thousands, especially in these Mountains and their Neighbourhood, must of Necessity be the Offspring of the *Vandals*: But here it seems wholly improbable, that those he speaks of should be of that Extraction; since he could not be a Stranger to it, and would not have failed observing it, according to his usual Exactness. I have never met with any *North-Briton*, *Dane*, or any other, more carotty and freckled than I have known whole Families of these Mountaineers, and others who have owned their Descent from thence: And among the *Arabs* I never could light on one whose Hair was not either Jet-Black, or at least very Dark-Brown. These are generally swarthy, as are their *Asiatick* Kindred; yet some, even of them, have Skins tolerably clear; nay many of them far exceeding abundance of our *Southern-Europeans*. Again, as I said, many of the natural *Africans* in *Libya*, &c. by mixing with their Black Slaves and Concubines, together with being in a manner always exposed to the

scorching Sun-Beams in the Desarts, have Negro's Features, and a very dusky Hue: But what Numbers of natural *Africans* have I not seen, particularly Females, in the *Algerine* Eastern Province, who for well-featured Countenances, fair, curling Locks, and wholesome, ruddy Looks, might not vie with, and even be envied by the proudest *European* Dames, who are hourly persecuted by Crouds of languishing Admirers! Nor are the *African* Damsels destitute of sighing, passionate Adorers. And, yet, which is enough to spoil the best Skin in the World, they all go stark naked, in all Weathers, till they are seven or eight Years old. I have been quite scandalized at some ridiculous Questions, put to me here; and I believe I may have been asked a thousand times, If the *Barbary* Women were not all *Blacks*? But such Interrogations I thought much of a Piece with those wise ones frequently made me by *Moors* and *Arabs* in *Barbary*; as, Whether there was any Wheat or Barley in *Christendom*? If the *Christians* ever eat any Flesh besides Pork? Whether all *Christian* Women, as well as the *French* Women, always bring forth three or four Children at a Birth? With many such like.

After the Defeat of the Rebels, I last mentioned, they again recruited, doing much Mischief to the *Romans* and their Allies, upon which *Soloman* marched his Army against them, slew 5000, and dispersed the rest. The ensuing Winter, according to *Procopius*, that General passed over to *Sardinia*, in order to reduce a barbarous People, settled in the Mountains near *Cagliari*, the Metropolis of that Island. They were originally *Africans*, and not very long before transplanted thither, or rather transported as Slaves, with their Families, by the *Vandals*, against whom they had revolted: But they soon possessed themselves of those rugged *Highlands*. The Name the *Latins* gave them was *Barbaracini*, not unlike the *Spanish* Word *Morisco* instead of *Moro*, from *Maurus*, which we have corrupted into *Moor*. Their Brethren in Mount *Aspis*, as the *Romans* named it, were in open Rebellion and War against the Imperial General, and all his Allies, and had instigated those of *Sardinia* to follow their Example, who, in a Body of no less than 3000 desperate *Ruffians*, committed terrible Outrages upon the Islanders. Many of those Rebels were cut off, and the Residue forced to return to their Lurking-Places. I mention this barbarous Nation, because they most obstinately persisted in their *Paganism*, tho' surrounded by *Christians*, till the Year 594, that Pope *Gregory* the Great wrought their Conversion, and says very much concerning them in several of his Epistles.

*Procopius* says, that when *Soloman* went against those their Kindred, inhabiting Mount *Aspis*, the Army was seven Days in their March thither from the great Mountain *Auras*. He thus describes it; *Ad locum pervenerunt, quem Latini montem Aspidis vocant, quod scuti similitudinem habeat, ubi arx antiqua, fluviusque perennis.* And <sup>1</sup>*Silius Italicus* says of it;

*In clypei speciem curvatis turribus Aspis.*

*Strabo*, likewise, speaks of it, and says thus; *Taphitis promontorium, & in eo collis quidam Aspis nomine, à similitudine scuti, quem Agathocles Siciliae tyrannus condidit, quo tempore adversus Carthaginenses classem duxit, &c. Clypeam civitatem Siculi extruunt, & Aspida primum nominant.* It is, also, spoken of by *Polybius*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus Byzantinus*, *Hirtius* and *Pliny*; and it is said to be the Place near which *Julius Cæsar* landed when he arrived in *Africa* from *Sicily*. <sup>m</sup>*Marmol* affirms it to be now in Ruins, near the Sea, and called *Eraclia*, twenty eight *Spanish* Leagues by Land to the East of *Tunis*, between *Hamamet* and *Susa*; and that it was destroyed by the first *Mahometan Arabs*, for having made a stout Defense. I never saw, nor heard talk of it, so can say nothing.

These Transactions, in which the Governor *Soloman* met with various Success, were succeeded by a great Conspiracy against him, by the Officers of the Army, *A. D.* 539. in which his Life was in great Danger, and was, by the Insolence of his Enemies, forced to go to *Constantinople*, and at his Return renewed the War against the before-mentioned bold *African* Chieftain *Jaudas*, who with many Troops, had possessed himself of *Auras*, and that Neighbourhood. Coming to a Battle, the *Imperialists* had the better, and *Jaudas*, with only 2000 Followers, betook himself to the upper Parts of the said famous Mountain, where was a strong Fortrefs called *Zerbales*, while such as got away fled towards *Mauritania*. The Conquerors ruined the Country about *Tamuga* (or as others call it *Tamaguda*, both which Names have a true *African* Sound) and advanced up towards *Zerbales*, where *Jaudas* had fortified himself, but durst not stand his Ground, retiring, with a few, to the very Summit, among certain sharp Rocks, difficult of Access, called by them *Tumar*, leaving the rest of his Men to defend the Fort, of which *Soloman* soon became Master,



and following his Blow, laid Siege to his Enemy in his last Retreat. By the notable Management of a certain Soldier, *Soloman* found Means to surprize it, and *Jaudas* was wounded; but had the good Fortune to escape into *Mauritania*. In that rocky Place the industrious *Soloman* left a Party of Men, and hastened away to another such Retreat, which *Procopius* calls *Petra Geminiani*, at the Top of which, he says, stood a small, but very ancient Tower, which *Jaudas* had pitched on to secure his Women and Treasure, leaving them to the Care of an old *Moor*, as not suspecting the *Romans* would ever have got up thither. But the Hopes he had conceived were vain: For the Guardian was soon dispatched, and all the rest became a Prey to those who had been at the Pains of Scaling that, vainly supposed, impregnable Fortrefs.

*Procopius*, before he brings this War to a Conclusion, gives an Account of the Condition of the two *Mauritaniæ*, in these few Words; *Maurusii postquam è Numidia superati refugientes Zeben regionem petierunt, quæ supra montem Aurastum est, ad Mauritaniam pertinens, Sitifim metropolim habens Romæorum imperio tributariam. Mauritaniæ verò alterius Cæsareæ caput est, ubi omnia similiter oppida vestigalia facta præter ipsius caput Cæsaream à Belisario Romæis immunem servatam, quam ipsi navibus adeunt, cum terrestri itinere nequeant. In hac Maurusii regione consedere, ac ex illa Afri omnes Romæis obtemperant.* He mentions not any Reason, why the Passage to *Cæsarea* by Land was not free; but says, that the *Moors*, who fled from the *Byzacena*, had retired to the *Cæsariensis*: Yet the Reason seems to be very obvious, and no other than the same that occasions the stern and, as they call themselves, the invincible *Algerines*, even with their whole Eastern Camp, to take a Circuit of several Scores of Miles, by *Mesila*, thro' a Desert, whenever they have a Notion that *Beni-Abbas*, or other Mountaineers, near the Pass, called *Al-Béban*, or the Gates, are disposed to intercept them. The *Turks* call this dismal Pass, *Damir Câpi*, the Iron Gate: I shall take farther Notice of it; having gone that Way many Times, but never without an aching Heart. The Province of *Zeb* is here, likewise, mentioned by its present Name: Speaking of it in the Plural Number, as they often do, they say *Zeban*. It belongs wholly to the *Algerinès*, as shall be observed. Of these Provinces, &c. *Leo*, his Copier *Marmol*, and from them a Multitude of other Moderns, treat largely, but so unfaithfully, in many Particulars, that there are several Passages which I could never read with any Patience. What I am certain of I

may mention in due Place, without giving my self the Trouble of descanting upon every Error that might bear a Comment.

*A. D.* 540, the fourteenth Year of the Emperor *Justinian's* Reign, we learn from *Procopius*, that a new War broke out in the Eastern Parts of *Africa*, upon this Occasion: *Maurusii Leuchatæ appellati cum magno exercitu Leptim magnam vicinam venientes, palam dicebant hæc de causa profectos esse, ut digna dona, eisque debita dando pacem firmarent.*

Who these *Leuchatæ* were I cannot tell: But I cannot much condemn them for acting Hostilities against People who deal perfidiously and ingratelously by them. If a Prince, General, or Governor, after having courted the Alliance and Assistance of warlike Men, basely refuses to requite their Services with the Stipend he promised them, are those Men to be blamed for resenting such injurious Treatment? And this, apparently, is the Case here. The *African* Potentates, and, I fancy, more particularly the *Beys* of *Tunis*, keep Tribes of brave *Arabs* and *Moors* in constant Pay, sending for them when they have Occasion; nor do they ever fail coming, or fighting their Battles faithfully, tho' against their own Kindred, provided their Stipend is constantly and regularly paid them: Otherwise they over-run and ruin their Country. The only thing I can blame them for in all this is, that the Chastisement, due alone to the Guilty, is too often inflicted on the Innocent. Would not our gallant *Swiss*, who fight with such Bravery and Fidelity for, and are courted by so many great Princes, present their Bayonets to the Breasts of any General who should injure, or defraud them of the Bread they purchase at the Expence of their Sweat and Blood? Would not any other Soldiers do the like? Why then are the *Africans* alone to be called Savages and Barbarians for shewing a Manlike Resentment? And yet many zealous Writers have not stuck to bestow on them those Epithets, and others of the same Stamp, on Occasions of this very Nature.

When *Soloman*, the Imperial General, a Soldier otherwise of great Reputation, beheld the *Byzacena* thus miserably harassed, and all thro' his Avarice and Breach of Faith, he made Preparation to apply some Remedy to these Disorders. The War was cruel; and the Success various. *Soloman* finding the Task he had taken in Hand likely to prove more difficult than he had expected, began to wheedle the *Moors*, exhorting them to maintain the Peace he had once settled with them, and making them mighty Offers and Promises; all which they heard with Scorn and Contempt;

tempt; returning for Answer; " You have so ill regarded your former  
 " Promises and Oaths, that those you now make us are very little to be  
 " depended upon. Pray, what Security would you pretend to give us,  
 " since a solemn Oath, which ought to be the most sacred of all Securi-  
 " ties, could not bind you? What Sort of Oath, or Obligation, would  
 " you have us believe you design to observe, since you have violated those  
 " made already? Shall we look upon any second Oath of yours more  
 " binding than the first you have so little regarded?" He next proceeded  
 to Threats, putting them in Mind of their Children, whom, according  
 to Custom even now, they had given in Hostage; desiring them to con-  
 sider the Danger those Pledges were in, who ought to be held so dear:  
*Minime memores, quod fœdera iniveritis, liberosque vestros obsides dederitis,*  
*Ëc. Si filios vestros admittitis, pro quibus jam utro bella periclitamini?* To  
 this, among other Reasons and Arguments, they, seemingly between Jest  
 and Earnest, replied; *Quod si filiorum charitas vobis est curæ, quibus licet*  
*unam tantum ducere uxorem, nos, quibus, si sic contingat, quinquaginta sunt*  
*uxores, filiorum nunquam destituet soboles.*

*Mahomet* has limited that Multiplicity of Wives to four, that is legally  
 contracted ones, as is well known; in regard to Concubines the old  
*Lecher* left no Restrictions to his Profelytes. It seems the *African Pa-*  
*gans*, as well as the *Asiaticks*, who were not *Christians*, indulged their libi-  
 dinous Disposition and Appetite in such extravagant Variety. In all this  
 the present *Moors*, *Arabs*, &c. of *Barbary*, differ very much from their  
 Ancestors, particularly in speaking so slightly of their Children; no Peo-  
 ple in the World being so indulgently fond and tender of their Offspring,  
 especially the Males, as they: Nor is it common to meet with any Man  
 who has more than two Wives, or three at the most: As for the wiser  
*Turks*, they think one Wife at a Time very sufficient, and full as much as  
 they can well manage; and that one they generally use extremely well,  
 for some material Considerations, which shall hereafter be taken Notice  
 of: For I would not have a Reader mistake me so far, as to fancy the  
*Turks* one Jott more continent, or endowed with a larger Portion of Mo-  
 deration than other People. The Natives, indeed, make perfect Hand-  
 Maids of theirs, according to the *Arabick* Saying; *Fe Nahr Debba, wa fe*  
*Leyl Shebba*: All Day a She-Afs, and at Night a Doxy.

The Event of these Negotiations was, that *Soloman*, when he found the  
*Moors* were not any more to be prevailed on, either by his Insinuations

or Menaces, he mustered up his whole Force, and gave them Battle. Fortune does not always favour the injured Party: The *Moors* lost the Day, and the *Imperialists* got an immense Booty, which their avaricious General appropriated intirely to his own proper Use. This was taken so heinously by those to whom he owed his Triumph, that, when the Enemy, being recruited, came to try a second Bout with him, both Officers and Men behaved in such Manner, that he was utterly defeated, and lost his Life, together with a very considerable Part of his Army.

This News being carried to *Justinian*, he sent down a new Prefect, with a Recruit of Officers and Soldiers, and the Wars were obstinately continued with the utmost Fury, in which succeeded much Bloodshed on both Sides, and many remarkable Occurrences. It was not concluded till the nineteenth Year of *Justinian's* Reign, when *Procopius* finished his curious History, which was *A. D. 544*. A History worthy Perusal, as well for the Variety of Incidents it contains, as for the seeming Sincerity and Exactness of its Author. I shall quote from him one or two Passages more, to our Purpose, and then hasten to bring this Discourse to a Conclusion, in order to enter upon more modern Affairs. Speaking of the End of those *African* Wars, he says; *Imperator, &c. Joannem, &c. mist. Is quam primum in Africam venit, nihil antiquius habuit, quam Antalæ ac Maurusius apud Byzacium bellum movere, quod feliciter gerens multis in prælio interfectis, &c. reliquos extorres à finibus Romæorum fecit. Procedente verò tempore, Leuchatæ Maurusii cum magno exercitu se Antalæ conjungentes, è finibus Tripolitanorum in Byzacium irruerunt, quibus Joannes occurrens, ac prælio cum suis superatus Laribum confugit. Hostes verò usque Carthaginem excurrentes, magnas clades incommodæque omnibus circa locis intulerunt. Paulo deinde post Joannes redintegrato, quoad potuit undecumque exercitu, Maurusius aliis quibusdam, simul cum sequentibus Cuzinam sibi adjunctis, hostes rursus petens, partim peremit, partim ad extremos usque Africæ fines fugavit.*

According to this Account, a great Number of *Moors* had assembled in the *Tripolitana*, near the Sea, and from thence made IncurSIONS into the *Byzacena*, which is looked upon to be one of the finest and most fertile Spots of Ground in all *Africa*. This Province <sup>a</sup> *Pliny* informs us, was peopled by the *Liby-Phœnicians*, and wherein stood the Cities *Leptis, Adrumetum, Rhuspina, Thapsus, Theuçæ, Macomades, Tacape* and *Sabatra*,

all in the State of *Tripoly* and the East Part of that of *Tunis*. In the Westerly Part of the *Tripolitana* always inhabited certain faithful Tribes and Families of natural *Africans*; and *Cabaon*, ° I mentioned before, was one of their Rulers. The Emperor *Justinian* used all possible Endeavours to make *Christians* of them, and at length prevailed. After their Conversion, they were called *Maurusii Pacati* by the *Latins*, after the same manner as the *Spaniards* call their *Moorish* Allies, *Moros de Paz*, and often *Moros de Pazes*. Of this *Procopius* makes Mention in these Words; *Tripolis hic promontoria sunt, habitantque Maurusii & Barbari Phœnicum gens, & Romanis antiquo fœdere juncta. Hi omnes à Justiniano rege persuasè Christianorum dogma spontaneè amplexati sunt, vocanturque Pacati, quod Romanis semper confœderati sunt, à Pace ita dicti Latina voce.* These accompanied the Prefect *John* in his Expedition against the rebellious *Pagans*, who molested and ravaged the *Byzacena*, making IncurSIONS to the very Gates of *Carthage*. Of this Governor's Victory over the *Africans*, his Enemies, *Jornandes* treating, uses these Words; *Joannes verò in Africana provincia feliciter degens, Mauris partis adversæ per pacificos Mauros superatis, una die decem & septem Præfectos extinxit, pacemque totius Africae, jurante Domino, impetravit.* By these seventeen Prefects he means Chiefs of the *African* Tribes; and the *Moors*, which *Procopius* says followed the Governor *John* to the Wars, were under the Command of one *Cuzina*, and of those newly converted *Maurusii Pacati*; and in the same Province were, likewise, good Numbers of other *Africans*, who were neither *Christians*, nor Allies to the *Imperialists*. This Peace lasted some Years. *Justinian* the Emperor died *A. D.* 565; tho' *Nicephorus Calistus*, and some others, dissent from that Account.

I shall next take Notice of some other Wars and Disturbances, where-with *Africa* was harassed, after the Decease of this great and vigilant Emperor; I mean such of them as have been transmitted to us by the few Writers of those Ages: For, doubtless, many notable Matters were transacted, among those turbulent Nations, of which no Remembrance remained to their Posterity.

*A. D.* 591. P Pope *Gregory* the Great, writing to *Gennadius*, Exarch of *Africa*, (the Title the *Greek* Emperor's Vice-Roys frequently bore) says; *Vos Dei præ oculis indefinenter habere timorem, ac sectari justitiam submissis*

° Vide P. 86.

P L. 1. Epist. 59. Indif. 9.

*hostium colla testantur.* He afterwards goes on upon the violent Procedure and Irregularities of a certain great Officer, named *Theodorus*, exhorting him to redress them. <sup>9</sup> Again, writing to the same Person, he uses these Expressions; *Sicut Excellentiam vestram hostilibus bello in hac vita Dominus victoriarum fecit luce fulgere, ita oportet eam inimicis Ecclesie ejus omni vivacitate mentis & corporis obviare, quatenus ex utroque triumpho magis ac magis enitescat opinio, cum & forensibus bellis adversariis Catholice Ecclesie pro Christiano populo vehementer obsistitis, & Ecclesiastica praelia sicut bellatores Domini fortiter dimicatis.* He afterwards enjoins him to insist, that a Council shall be assembled, in order to suppress Heresies; and then takes Notice of the Wars of those Times, and of some Victories obtained: *Si non ex Fidei merito, & Christiane Religionis gratia tanta Excellentia vestra bellicorum actuum prosperitas eveniret, non summopere miranda fuerat cum sciamus etiam hæc antiquis bellorum ducibus fuisse concessa. Sed cum futuras, Deo largiente, victorias non carnali providentia, sed magis orationibus prævenitis, fit, ut hoc in stuporem veniat gloria vestra non de terreno consilio, sed Deo desuper largiente descendat. Ubi enim meritorum vestrorum loquax non discurret opinio? Quæ bella vos frequenter appetere non desiderio fundendi sanguinis, sed tantum delatandæ causa reipublicæ in qua Deum coli conspiciamus, loquitur, quatenus Christi nomen per subditas gentes Fidei prædicatione circumquaque discurrat.* These Wars and Victories must have been very considerable. *Photius*, in the Observations he makes upon, and extracts from the Writings of *Theophylactus*, on the Life and Actions of the Emperor *Mauricius*, has these few Words; *Libro septimo agitur, &c. De Maurusiorum etiam adversus Carthaginem expeditione, utque Gennadii fortitudine bellum illud extinctum fit.* And *Theophanes* says; *Sed & Maurusiorum gentes adversus Africam magnas perpetraverunt perturbationes.* These short Hints give one an Idea of a long and furious War; and the *African* Armies must have been very numerous, since they durst attack even the Metropolis *Carthage*.

*Gennadius* governed *Africa* till the Year 597, as appears from divers Epistles wrote by Pope, or Saint *Gregory I.* commonly named the Great, to be seen in his *Register*. In one of those he wrote to him he uses Words worthy to be taken Notice of by all Sovereign Princes and Governors.

<sup>9</sup> *Epist.* 72. L. 3. *Epist.* 7. *Indict.* 12. and L. 5. *Epist.* 61. & 63. vel 161, & 163. L. 6. *Indict.* 15. & in *Epist.* ad *Columb. Numid. Episcopum, & alibi.*

Scito autem, excellentissime fili, si victorias queritis, si de comissæ vobis provincie securitate tractatis. Nihil vobis magis aliud adhoc proficere, quàm zelari sacerdotum vitas, & intestina ecclesiarum, quantum possibile est bella comepescere. All these are Matters which, certainly, ought not to be neglected: But the Question is, whether every Pope would allow the Inspection of Priests Lives and Morals, with the other Ecclesiastical Affairs, to fall under Cognizance of the Laity. This *Gennadius* was a Person endowed with singular Virtue, Courage and Prudence, as that good Pastor testifies, upon several Occasions. By the same Register, it appears, that *A. D.* 600. *Innocentius* was Exarch, Prefect, or Governor of *Africa*, and the several Letters wrote him by Pope *Gregory*, particularly two of them, treating of Temporal Government, are well worth reading. This Year both *Italy* and the *African* Provinces were grievously afflicted with Pestilence; whereof the Pastor says; *Quanta in Africanis partibus lues irruerit jamdudum cognovimus, & quia nec Italia à tali percussione est libera, geminati; in nobis dolorum sunt gemitus.* Another War, likewise, brake out in *Africa*, about this Time, of which *Nicephorus Calistus* takes only this brief Notice: *Tum quoque Maurorum gens in Libya visa est à Germani ducibus bello locis suis expulsa.*

*Mauricius* the Emperor was barbarously murdered, with four of his Sons, and succeeded by the most execrable of all usurping Tyrants, the base-born *Phocas*, *A. D.* 602: One young, and the only remaining Son, named *Theodosius*, not falling into that Butcher's Hands till five Years after. The Life and detestable Actions of *Phocas* are transmitted to us by *Nicephorus Calistus*, *Cedrenus*, *Theophanes*, &c.

*A. D.* 608. The first of these Authors says; "*Narses equidem ducem optimum [Phocas] igni combussit. Igitur Priscus gener ejus, & quicumque Senatorii ordinis erant consilio inito secreto, Heraclio Heraclii, qui post Phocam imperavit, patri, in occidentali Africa & Libya cum militaribus copiis multis rempublicam administranti scribunt, ut modis omnibus populum Romanum ab impia tyrannide liberare contenderet, neque illum ita pereuntem in conspectu suo negligeret. Erat dicto duci legatus Gregoras. Hi inter se consilio communicato filium uterque suum cum fortissimis copiis pedestri & navali apparatu adversus tyrannum misit. Heraclius Heraclii filius classi præfuit. Nicetas Gregoræ filius pedestres ordines duxit.* Almost the same is said by *Theophanes*; only

<sup>f</sup> L. 8. Indiæ. 3. Epist. 37, & 38. & L. 8. Indiæ. 3. Epist. 4. & A. D. 601. Epist. 1. L. 9. Indiæ. 4. ad Innocentium directa. <sup>l</sup> L. 18. C. 34. <sup>u</sup> L. 18. C. 55. <sup>w</sup> In Phoca.

he adds, concerning *Heraclius*, that he was suspected of a Design of setting up for himself in *Africa*; the Words are these; *Eum rebellionem meditari in Africa, unde nec navigia hoc anno Constantinopolim conscenderunt*. The same Author says, that in the seventh Year of the Reign of *Phocas*, which was *A. D.* 609, the *African* Armies were getting ready for the succeeding Year's Expedition, against that Tyrant.

*A. D.* 610, says he, in the eighth Year of *Phocas*, and of *Heraclius* the first, *Heraclius imperator appellatus venit cum navibus castellatis habentibus intra se arculas, & imagines Dei matris quemadmodum Pisides: Georgius quoque perhibetur ducens exercitum copiosum ab Africa & Mauritania venisse; similiter & Nicetas Gregoræ Patricii filius, per Alexandriam & Pentapolin, habens secum multum populum pedestrem*. And *Cedrenus* adds, that *Heraclius* took with him *Venerandam imaginem Salvatoris nullo manuum ministerio factam, sed miraculo effigiatam*. Superstition reigned in those Days as it has ever since, and still continues to do. My Authors seem to intimate, that *Heraclius* needed no other Protection than those inanimate Logs. However, with or without their Assistance, he took the inhumane and impious *Phocas*, and rewarded him answerably to his Demerits, first severely reproaching him with his Enormities, then causing his Hands, Feet and Privities to be amputated, while alive, and lastly put an End to his abominable Life by severing his Head from a detested Carcass, which was afterwards consumed to Ashes by the enraged Populace. He tyrannized seven Years, ten Months and eighteen Days, and was succeeded by the victorious *Heraclius*.

*Khosrou*, King of *Persia*, whom our Historians corruptly name *Cosroes*, had began a most fierce and cruel War against the Empire, but particularly against *Phocas*, to revenge, as he gave out, the Death of his Friend and Ally, the Emperor *Mauricius*. The *Arabians* call the *Persian* Kings of that Race *Kesra*, in the Plural. The Imperial Army had been miserably defeated; and many Provinces fell into the Hands of that ambitious and blood-thirsty Invader. From the East the *Persians* came down Westward; and *Theophanes*, treating of what was transacted *A. D.* 615, says thus; *Ceperunt Persæ totam Ægyptum, & Alexandriam & Libyam usque ad Æthiopiã, multaque præda consumpta, & eximiis quam plurimis & pecuniis, ad propria remearunt. Carthaginem autem minime valuerunt capere: sed custodia dimissa obsidendi causa recesserunt*. To this \* *Naucleus* adds; *In-*



*terea Persæ omni Asia, quæ ad meridiem vergit, sunt potiti. Quo tempore Heraclianus [rather Heraclius] Imperatoris pater defunctus est, cum magni exercitum ex Africa duceret in Ægyptum: quod cum esset Persis renuntiatum, illico in Africam duxerunt, ac Carthaginem ceperunt, inde potiti Africæ imperio, impositisque illi præsidii competentibus in Asiam sunt reversi.* In these African Expeditions the Persians employed two Years. These Provinces were in a very helpless Condition at the Time of their coming; the Imperialists hated by the Generality of the Natives, their Strength exhausted by continual domestick Broils, and those few Forces the Emperor *Heraclius* had left behind him, when he went against *Phocas*, remained without a Head, by the Death of his Father.

This Fate had the unhappy *Africa*, whose Misfortunes opened a Gate for still greater Revolutions. *Carthage* was taken *A. D.* 616, as *Theophanes* affirms: *Castrametati sunt Persæ contra Carthaginem, quam & bello ceperunt.* However the Emperor *Heraclius*, having in vain sued for Peace, carried on the War very vigorously, and obtained signal and glorious Victories over the insulting *Persian*, who was grown to such a Pitch of Pride and Arrogance, that he absolutely refused all Terms of Accommodation, except the Emperor, and all his Subjects, would first renounce *Christianity*.

*A. D.* 622. This Year begins the *Hejira* of *Mabomet*, concerning which, before I proceed in my Narrative, it may not be improper to lay down the following Rules, for reducing that *Epocha* to the *Æra* of the *Christians*, very necessary for Readers of Oriental History.

The Signification of this *Arabick* Word *Hejira*, the grand *Epocha* of all the Disciples of *Mabomet*, is Flight; and bears Date from *July 15. A. D.* 622. on account of his Flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, in the thirteenth Year of his imaginary Mission, and in the Reign of the Emperor *Heraclius*.

For the better understanding this *Epocha*, it must be observ'd, that the Year of the modern *Arabs*, and all *Mabometans*, is Lunar, consisting of 12 Moons, or Lunary Months, containing 30 and 29 Days, alternatively; so that their Year has but 354 Days. We must next take Notice, that they make Use of a Period of 30 Years, consisting of 19 common Years, and 11 extraordinary, or such as have each 355 Days. These longer, or extraordinary Years, are the 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26, and 29. The others, *viz.* 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, &c. are the common, or ordinary ones. It must be farther observed, that this Lunar Year is

shorter, by 11 Days, than the Solar, or *Julian* Year, which consists of 365 Days. Thus 32 *Arabian* Years complete fall short of so many of ours 32 times 11 Days, which amount to 352 Days, wanting but 2 of a Lunar Year. Or take it thus; in 33 Lunar Years are wanting 33 times 11 Days, or 363, which come but 2 Days short of a Solar Year; so that 32 *Julian* and 33 *Arabian* Years are much the same. By this tolerable Computation, which hits the Period pretty near, and serves the Purpose of History, it may suffice to throw in a 33d. Intercalary Year, repeating the Intercalation every 33d. Year. To explain this yet a little farther, and avoid the Mistakes of many Writers, who make great Miscomputations in their References of the *Hejira* to our *Æra*, we are to remember, that the *Hejira* bears Date from *July* 15. *A. D.* 622. and the 2d. Year of the *Hejira* began *July* 4. 623. the 3d. *June* 23. 624. going thus on, 11 Days backward, thro' all the Months of the *Julian*, or Solar Year. *F. Riccioli* has published Tables to this Purpose, out of which I shall set down only what is just sufficient for the Turn. To calculate any Period, after having added 621 to the Year of the *Hejira*, we are to subtract from the Total the Numbers set down in the ensuing Table.

## T A B L E.

33.— 1.	396.—12.	759.—23.
66.— 2.	429.—13.	792.—24.
99.— 3.	462.—14.	825.—25.
132.— 4.	495.—15.	858.—26.
165.— 5.	528.—16.	891.—27.
198.— 6.	561.—17.	924.—28.
231.— 7.	594.—18.	957.—29.
264.— 8.	627.—19.	990.—30.
297.— 9.	660.—20.	1023.—31.
330.—10.	693.—21.	1056.—32.
363.—11.	726.—22.	1089.—33. and so on.

Thus, by adding 33 to the greater Number, and 1 to the smaller, opposite to it, we may compute any Date. An Example or two may not be improper. Suppose in reading, you meet with a Passage transacted in the Year of the *Hejira* 990: to know what Year of our *Æra* that was, look

look in the Table if that precise Number be there. Having found it, add thereto 621, which make 1611, from which subtracting 30, the Number opposite to it, the Residue amounts to 1581, which is the true Date. Again; you find the Year of the *Hejira* 757. which is not there: Adding to it 621, the whole is 1378. then look at the Number immediately above it, which is 726, and opposite 22, which last Number subtract from 1378, and you find the Remainder to be 1356, which exactly corresponds with 757 of the *Hejira*. At my first going to *Algiers*, the current Year of the *Hejira* was 1113, to which if 621 be added, the Total makes 1734. now the Number 1113, being greater than the last of the foregoing Table, in order to find it out 33 must be added to 1089, which will be 1122, and the opposite Number must be 34. So according to the above Rule, and supposing the Table ran on farther, the Number next above 1122, wherein the Date 1113 is included, is 1089, and opposite to it 33. I add to 1113 the Number 621, the Total making 1734, from which subtracting 33, which in the Table answers to 1089, the Year in which I went to *Barbary* appears to be 1701. Our present current Year 1727, corresponds with the *Mahometan* Epocha 1140; thus proved.

$$1089. \text{---} 33.$$

$$1122. \text{---} 34.$$

$$1155. \text{---} 35.$$

In which last greater Number is 1140. whereto add 621, which amounts to 1761, from whence deduct 34.

$$\begin{array}{r} 1140 \\ 621 \\ \hline 1761 \\ 34 \\ \hline 1727 \end{array}$$

This shall suffice; still observing, that from every 33 *Mahometan* Years, 1 is to be deducted; from 66, 2; from 99, 3; from 132, 4, &c.

A. D. 627. This Year, being the eighteenth of *Heraclius* the Emperor, delivered the *Christian* World from one of its most formidable Enemies, the proud *Khosrou*, King of *Persia*. Innumerable were the Calamities under which the whole Empire had groaned for several Years; nor would the Oppressor listen to any Terms, but on those inglorious Conditions: And almost miraculous were the Successes which attended the Imperial Arms, when the generous *Heraclius*, disdaining to purchase Quiet at a Price so infamously dishonourable, determined to repel Force by Force, since no other Means would prevail. The baffled Tyrant was now obliged to shun the Presence of those, over whom he had been accustomed to triumph. Shame, Rage, and, lastly, Despair brought him to a Resolution of quitting his Crown, in Favour of one of his younger Sons, named *Madarfas*, to the Prejudice of his elder, *Syroes*, a gallant Prince, and Heir apparent to all his Realms. This injured and resenting Prince, sent an Embassy to the *Christian* Emperor, with whom soon coming to an Agreement, he found Means to set at Liberty a considerable Number of Prisoners, taken in some former Battles and Incurfions, and with them, together with those who were disposed to follow his Banners, he marched in Search of his unjust Father and usurping Brother, routed their Army and became Master of their Persons, whom he treated as they deserved.

These memorable Transactions are related by *Theophanes*, in these Terms; *Cumque Cosrboes fugere tentasset, nec valuisset, tentus est & valide vinctus ferreis compedibus colligatus, cui & circa collum ferrea pondera imponunt, & mittunt eum in domum tenebrarum, quam ipse munivit à novitate construens, ad recondendas pecunias. Panis quoque parum ei & aque tribuentes, hunc fame necabant. Aiebat enim Syroes: Comedat aurum, quod incaustum collegit, propter quod multos fame necavit, mundumque delevit. Porro misit Satrapas Syroes ad eum injuriis impetendum, & conspuendum, & ductum Mardesam, quam coronare volebat, filium ejus, ante ipsum occidit, & reliquos filios ejus in conspectu peremerunt, & misit omnem inimicum ejus injuriis eum cumulare, & percutere, & conspuere illum. Denique per quinque dies hoc facto jussit Syroes hunc arcubus interficere, sicque paulatim nequissimam animam suam tradidit.* A Fate worthy so inhumane and so haughty a Tyrant.

From the same Author, among many other Particulars, we learn, that *Syroes* concluded a firm Peace with the Emperor *Heraclius*, threw open every Prison throughout his whole Dominions, and sent away to *Constantinople*

*tinople* all the Emperor's Vassals whom his Father had detained in Captivity, and among the rest the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*. At this Time the true Cross was, likewise, recovered out of the Hands of the *Infidels*.

By Vertue of this Peace the conquered and miserable Provinces returned to the Empire, and among the rest those of *Africa*. What they had suffered surpasses all Description. An Idea may be given in the two Words which *Syroes* spoke to his Father, when he came to upbraid him with his Enormities: *Delisti Mundum*. This Ravager may be looked upon as *Mahomet's* Precursor; since he left the Empire in a Condition little able to defend itself against another violent Attack, such as it soon after underwent from the growing *Saracens*: However, that Tyrant's own Territories became their earliest Prey.

*Theophanes* makes some Mention of the magnificent Triumph in which *Heraclius* entered his Capital City, after the Conclusion of that *Persian* War: But *Suidas* is more particular. † *Anastafius Bibliothecarius* says thus; *Cum diebus illis Imperator Heraclius cum victoria à Persarum bello revertetur, & per Æthribum transiturus esset, obviam ei ivit ille exosus Mabomet, ferens ei victorales laudes, sicut ipsam docuerat scelestus ille monachus petitaque ab eo terra quæ pecoribus alendis sufficeret, petitionis compos factus est.* This Request, from one whose Successors could not be satisfied with so large a Portion of the Eastern World as they acquired so suddenly, seems very modest and moderate.

*Syroes* did not long enjoy the *Persian* Crown. *Theophanes* affirms him to have reigned but one Year: *Anno XVIII. Heraclii rex habetur Persarum Syroes, qui anno regnavit uno, quando & Muhammat Arabum seu Saracenorum princeps sub Persis degens sextum agebat annum perventurus ad novum.* I shall here take Notice, once for all, that our corrupt Way of writing and pronouncing that Pseudo-Prophet's Name is borrowed from the *Turks*, who, indeed, call him *Mahomet* and *Mehemet*, but the true *Arabian* Name is *Mohammad*. As to the Etymology of the Word *Saracen*, it is variously reported; nor is it used by the *Arabs* themselves at all, especially according to our Pronunciation. Some will have it to be compounded of *Sabara* a Desert, and *Sakin*, to inhabit; and so *Sabara Sakinin*, Inhabiters of the Desert: Which cannot well be; for expressing that in proper *Arabick* must be *Sakinin Al Sabara*. The most likely Ori-

† In Fragmentis.

gins I can attribute to the Word, are these: *Sarrak* in *Arabick* is a Robber, or rather a Thief, in the Plural *Sarrakin*, an Epithet the *Arab* Freebooters have been intitled to in all Ages; and it is very probable the *Christians*, *Jews*, &c. of the East, who, experimentally, knew those their troublesome Neighbours so well deserved the Name of Thieves and Robbers, might have so called them. The other Etymology I best like, and which is the only one an *Arab* cares to hear of, is from *Sherak*, the East, and so *Sheraka*, and *Sherakin*, Eastern People; tho' none could properly term them so but such as lay West of their Country: And nothing is more common all over *Barbary*, and I believe every where else, among those who speak the *Arabick* Tongue, than for a Westerly Tribe to call any People to the East of them *Sheraka*, or *Sherakin*, and do they all such as lie West of them *Garaba*, and *Garbin*, from *Al Gar'b*, the West.

Tho' many Writers affirm, that *Mahomet* died at *Yathrib*, or *Medina 'nta'l Nabi*, i. e. The Prophet's City, in the tenth Year of the *Hejira*, or his Flight thither from *Mecca*, the Place of his Birth, yet, according to *Theophanes*, he died there *A. D.* 630, which could be but the ninth Year, and the twenty first of the Reign of *Heraclius*. He says; *Moritur Mohammat Saracenorum, qui & Arabum princeps, & Pseudo-Propheta, promotus Ebubezar cognato suo ad principatum suum. Ipsoque tempore venit auditio ejus & omnes extimuerunt. At vero decepti Hebræi in principio adventus æstimaverunt illum esse, qui expectatur ab eis, Christus.* Instead of *Ebubezar*, it should be *Abou-Bekra*, which signifies, the Father of the Virgin; *Mahomet* and the *Arabs* having given him that Name on account of his Daughter *Aisha*, whom the Prophet married very young, and exceedingly loved, beyond all the rest of his Wives, of which, first and last, he is said to have been legally, or at least formally wedded to no less than twenty one, and left the better half of that Number actually in his House, when he died.

*A. D.* 640. This Year died the Emperor *Heraclius*, having reigned some few Months more than thirty Years. He was succeeded by his eldest Son *Constantine III.* whom he had by his first Wife the Empress *Eudoxia*. But that unfortunate Prince was, in less than four Months after his Father's Decease, poisoned by the treacherous *Pyrrhus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, being set on by *Martina* the Empress, his ambitious Step-Mother, to make Room for her own Son *Heraclion*, in Conjunction with whom she herself ruled the Empire, tho' not long; somewhat above a Year. The

Mabometans were already Masters of *Persia*, and many other *Asiatick* Realms.

*A. D.* 641. The Senate deposed *Heraclion*, cutting off his Nose, and depriving his Mother of her Tongue, banished them. *Constans II.* his Nephew, Son to *Constantine III.* and Grandson to *Heraclius*, was advanced to the Imperial Throne. Some name this Emperor *Constantius*, others *Constantine*; but *Theophanes*, every where, calls him *Constans*. Of the Affairs of *Africa* at this Time, all I find is this; *Et consecratur Paulus Episcopus Constantinopoleos, & ipse Hæreticus. Joannes autem Romanus præsul collecto Episcoporum concilio Monothelitarum hæresin anathematizat. Similiter & in Africa penes Byzacium, Numidiam & Mauritaniam diversi Episcopi convenientes Monothelitas anathemate percutiunt.*

The Year following, viz. *A. D.* 642. The abovesaid Patriarch *Pyrrhus*, being degraded and stripped of all his Benefices, sought Sanctuary in *Africa*, and was received by the Patrician *Gregory*, then Vice-Roy, or Governor, who, by this Circumstance, seems not to have been much in the Interest of the Emperor *Constans*. Under the Year 645, *Theophanes* says; *Pyrrhus verò cum pervenisset Africam mutuis cum sanctissimo Maximo videtur adpectibus, Abba videlicet religiosissimo in monasticis correctionibus: nec non & divinorum illic existentium Pontificum præsentatur obtutibus, qui hunc redargutum & persuasum Romam ad Papam Theodorum direxerunt. Qui orthodoxo tradito libello Papæ, ab eò receptus est.* The Dispute between Pope *Maximus* and this *Pyrrhus*, chiefly about Heresies, was wrote by that Pope himself, whom many call *St. Maximus*.

The Year following, viz. *A. D.* 646. the Primates of *Africa* assembled, each in his respective Province convoking a Synod. With *Stephanus*, Primate of the *Byzacena*, met forty two Bishops. *Columbus*, Primate of *Numidia*, assembled all his Suffragans, whose Number I do not meet with. *Reparatus*, Metropolitan of *Mauritania*, was attended by six Prelates. *Gulusus*, Bishop of *Puppa*, as the eldest Prelate, assembled sixty eight Bishops out of the *Carthaginensis*: Here the Episcopal Sees seem much diminished from what they once were. At these Synods several Letters were written against Heresies, particularly that of the *Monothelites*, which were read in the *Lateran* Council celebrated by Pope *Martin I. Victor*, being elected Bishop of *Carthage* after the Synod broke up, wrote, like-

<sup>z</sup> Vide P. 62. & seq.

wife, upon the same Subject. Under this Year *Theophanes* writes; *Simultatem concinnat Gregorius Patricius Africa una cum Afris.* The Emperor *Constans* having openly declared himself a Heretick, *Gregory*, Governor of *Africa*, began, likewise, to throw off the Mask, taking to Arms, and denying him all Obedience. The Steps and Method he took are not particularized; but this Rebellion seems to have been much of the same Nature with those treated of by *Procopius*, and others. Nor is it to be supposed, that the natural *Africans* let slip so favourable an Opportunity of putting in Practice their accustomed IncurSIONS, and Ravages, in which they so greatly delight.

A. D. 647. These Disorders and Commotions rather increasing than diminishing, the *Saracens*, already Masters of *Egypt*, thought the Occasion good of enlarging their Conquests, as being but a few Days riding distant from a noble and fertile Region, still panting for Breath after the late *Persian* Desolation, and now afresh torn in Pieces by Civil Dissentions. The Imperial Forces in a Manner exhausted in the late cruel Wars, and the miserable Remnant hated; nay despised, by the Majority of the *African* Nations, against whose daily Insults they, with Difficulty, maintained their Ground, much less in a Condition to withstand an Attack from a warlike People, flushed with a Series of scarce credible Success, as were then the victorious *Saracens*.

But as their coming into *Africa* occasioned some very considerable Alterations, as I have<sup>a</sup> already hinted, and shall farther observe, before I introduce them, to mix with the more ancient *Africans*, I shall set down some more Testimonies from old Writers concerning them and their Manners before that Mixture.

<sup>b</sup> *Livy* has this Passage, which gives a lively Idea of their Manner of Riding, &c. in those Days, which agrees exactly to what they now are, except in their Use of the Bridle, which, perhaps, they learned of the *Arabs*; at least they now never offer to go where any Danger may be without it; tho' I have seen even little Boys ride a furious Horse, and make him do almost what they pleased, with only striking on his Neck with the Flats of their Hands, and turning him by the Nose if refractory. During the *Ligurian* War, says that Historian, as the *Roman* Army marched thro' a narrow Pass, the Consul, finding the *Ligurians* had way-laid him,

<sup>a</sup> Vide P. 92.

<sup>b</sup> L. 35.



faced about, and endeavoured to return the Way he came, but was informed, that the Avenue behind was likewise blocked up, which put him into great Consternation. Among the other Auxiliaries, he had about 800 *Numidian* Horse, whose Commander assured him, that he would undertake to break thro', on which Side he pleased; only asked him, whereabouts the Villages lay thickest. The Consul gladly embraced his Offer, and promised him, and his Followers, a great Reward. The *Numidians* instantly mounting, made towards the Enemy, without offering the least Hostility. To such as had never seen them, nothing could be, at first View, a more contemptible Sight than this tattered, and seemingly hunger-starved, Body of Cavalry: The Horses extremely lean, without Bridles, going very awkwardly, with stiff Necks, and their Heads thrust out; and their Riders meager, half naked, ungirt, and without any Arms, except Sabres and Javelins, or short Lances. This ridiculous and despicable Figure they, likewise, industriously, augmented, sliding off their Horses, and playing a hundred Buffooneries, on purpose to be taken Notice of; all which had the intended Success: For the Enemy, who before were intent, and ready to receive them, had they been provoked, had most of them laid aside their Weapons, and sat still gazing at this Troop of Tatterdemalions. The *Numidians* rodè farther on, and then back again, when facing about once more, they, by Degrees, got pretty near the Pass, seemingly as if they could not stop their Horses, and then suddenly clapping Spurs to their Sides; they, like Lightning, brake thro' the Midst of the *Ligurians*, into the open Country, where in a Moment all they came near was in a Blaze, Houses, Villages, and even Towns, destroying all around with Fire and Sword. Those who were posted to secure the Pass, perceiving their Habitations all in Flames, immediately hasted away to save what they could, and the *Roman* Army marched off undisturbed.

Innumerable are the Authors who take Notice of their Skill and Expertness in Horsemanship. *Justin* has these Words; *Numidæ jaculatores optimi, atque equitandi peritissimi, sic ut equos etiam infrænes, virgâ tantum currentes, moderentur.* Of their wandering about with their Tents, as well as their Way of Riding, *Silius Italicus* says;

*Nulla Domus, plaustris habitant, migrare par arva  
 Mos est, atque errantes circumvestire penates.  
 His mille alipedes turmæ, velocior Euris,  
 Et doctus virgæ sonipes in castris ruebat.*

Sallust says of them; *Uti mos gentis est illius, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum equalibus certari.* And again; *Pleraque tempora in venando agere.* Of them and their Country <sup>d</sup> Florus says; *Ipsa verò Africa regio est longè maxima, & beata, & dives; homines verò habens patriâ indignos: regio quippe ipsa optima, homines verò non æque: fraudulentis quippe fere omnes ei dicuntur, qui aliud quidem dicant, aliud verò faciant; quare haud facile bonus quis inter eos reperitur, quanquam & inter multos pauci boni esse possunt.*

The Character this Epitomizer of Livy here gives of the Region, is really very just; but of the People somewhat too partial.

*Hinc Gætulæ urbes, genus insuperabile bello,  
 Et Numidæ infræni cingunt, & inhospita Syrtis.* Virg.

Sallust and Servius have these Words; *Gætulæ urbes. Ad terrorem urbis dixit, nam in mapalibus habitant.* And Pomponius Mela says; *Gætularum late vagantium.* These seem to be Libyans; of whom <sup>f</sup> Pliny says; *Gætulos Autololes;* and afterwards; *Fis (Pharusis scilicet) jungi mediterraneos Gætulos Daras.* And, speaking of the Tingitana, he says; *Gætulæ nunc tenent gentes Banurri, multoque validissimi Autololes.* The last have no Footstep left of their Name, in Africa; that I could ever hear of: But Dara, or D'ra is a Province in the Tingitana, and Gezula is another, which seem to bear great Affinity with Gætulæ and Daræ. And Errif, or Rif is a mountainous Province, inhabited by the Tribes of Gomera and Hoara, running up from near the Streights Mouth, about fifty or sixty Leagues to the East, the Inhabitants whereof are sometimes generally called Beni-Errif, and one particular Clan of them Beni-Aros, of which last Name I know two or three other Clans in the Algerine Territories; but whether related to those of Errif or not I cannot be certain: Methinks the Transition from Beni-Errif and Beni-Aros to Banurri and Ba-

<sup>d</sup> L. 2. C. 15.<sup>e</sup> Æneid. 4.<sup>f</sup> L. 3. C. 1.<sup>g</sup> L. 5. C. 2.

nurros is easy and natural enough. These are, by some Latin Authors, called *Bamuri*, *Barumæ*, &c.

<sup>h</sup> *Lucan* elegantly sums up several of the *African* Nations;

————— undique vires.  
Excivit *Libycæ* gentis, extremaque mundi  
Signa sua comitata *Jubam*: non fusior ulli  
Terra fuit domino, quæ sunt longissima regna  
Cardine ab occiduo, vicinus *Gadibus Atlas*  
Terminat: à medio confinis *Syrtibus Ammon*.  
At qui lata jacet vasti plaga servida regni,  
Distinet Oceanum, Zoneque exusta calentis  
Sufficiunt spatio; populi tot castra sequuntur.  
*Autoles*, *Numidæque* vagi, semperque paratus  
Inculto *Gætulus* equo: tum concolor *Indo*  
*Maurus*, inops *Nasamon*, misti *Garamante* perusto  
*Marmaridæ* volucres: æquaturusque sagittas  
*Medorum*, tremulum cum torfit missile *Mazax*.  
Et gens quæ nudo residens *Massyliæ* dorso,  
Ora levi flebit frænorum nescia virgæ.  
Et solitus vacuis errare mapalibus *Afer*  
Venator, ferrique simul fiducia non est,  
Vestibus iratos laxis operire leones.

<sup>i</sup> *Silius Italicus* thus describes the *Africans*:

Quin & *Massyli* fulgentia signa tulere  
*Hesperidem* veniens lucis domus ultima terre:  
Præfuit intortos demissus vertice crines  
*Bocchus atrox*, qui sacratas in littore sylvas,  
Atque inter frondes revirescere viderat aurum.  
Vos quoque desertis in castra mapalibus itis  
Misceri gregibus *Gætuli* assuea ferarum  
Indomitique loqui, & sedare leonibus iras:  
Nulla domus, &c.

And again;

*Marmaridæ medicum vulgus strepuere catervis,  
Ad quorum cantu serpens oblita veneni,  
Ad quorum cantus mites jacuere cerasæ.  
Tum chalybis pauper Barumæ cruda juventus  
Contenti parca durasse basilica flammâ,  
Miscabant avidi trucibus fera murmura linguis:  
Nec non Autololes levibus gens ignea plantis,  
Cui sonipes cursu, cui cesserit incitus amnis.  
Tanta fuga est, certant pennæ, campumque volatu  
Cum rapuere, pedum frustra vestigia quæras.*

<sup>k</sup> Claudian, of Getulia, says;

*Namque procul Libykos venatu cingere saltus  
Et juga rimari canibus Gætula videbar.*

<sup>l</sup> And;

*Quidquid monstriferis nutrit Gætulia campis.*

And;

————— *repetunt deserta fugaces  
Autololes.*

Getulia is frequently mentioned by <sup>m</sup> Martial, and among others he has this Distich;

*Tecum ego vel ficci Gætula mapalia Pœni,  
Et poteram Scythicas hospes amare casas.*

Sallust often mentions their Fierceness and wild Manner of Life: *Hi neque moribus neque lege, aut imperio cujusquam regebantur, vagi, palantes, quas nox compulerat sedes habebant.* Again; *Super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare.* And again; *Jugurtha postquam amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus pervenit ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, & eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani: eorum multitudinem in*

<sup>k</sup> De Bel. Gild.

<sup>l</sup> In Manl. Theod. conf.

<sup>m</sup> L. 10. Epig. 20.

*unum cogit, ac paulatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere, &c.* These *Getulians* must be *Libyans*; tho' they are sometimes mentioned as dispersed in several Parts, even of *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, as well as in the Desarts of *Libya*. "S. *Isidro*, treating of the *Tripolitana*, and its Limits, says; *A meridie Gætulos & Garamantes usque ad Oceanum Æthiopicum pertendentes*: And, describing the *Cartbaginensis*, which he calls *Africa vera*, or *propria*, he says; *Et a meridie usque ad Getulorum regionem porrecta*. When he comes to speak of *Getulia*, or *Libya* itself, he says; *Getulia Africæ pars mediterranea est*. In ° another Place he affirms, that the *Goths* were of Opinion, that the *Getulians* were descended from the *Getes*; but this they seem to be led into rather by the Similitude of the Words, than by any Authority they could be able to produce. Such of these *Getulians* as bordered nearest the Kingdom of *Numidia* were apparently subject to those Kings; and assisted King *Juba I.* against *Julius Cæsar*, by whose Industry and Management they rebelled, and appeared in his Favour, as *A. Hirtius* at large relates, together with other Particulars concerning those People. That some of them were Vassals to the *Numidians*, is likewise confirmed by *P Dion Cassius*, who speaking of *P. Sittius*, has these Words; *Observato tempore, quo Juba è regno suo exercitum eduxisset, in Numidiam irrupit, eamque & Getuliam, quæ pars regni Jube est, vastavit*. Many Authorities are extant to prove, that the *Libyans*, or the ancient *Getulians*, extended, as they now do, from the Western Ocean upwards, even beyond the *Syrtes*, where *Virgil* places them, and from them, in two Places, calls those Quick-sands *Getulian Syrtes*.

*Hunc ego Gætulis agerem si Syrtibus exul.*

*Quibus in Gætulis Syrtibus usi.*

*Strabo* is very particular, saying; *Ad Ægyptum quidem Marmaridas usque ad Cyrenem, super hos & Syrtes, Psillos, Nasamones, & quosdam Gætulos, &c.* And again; *Syrtis & Cyrenaica superne incumbentem regionem Afri obtinent sterilem sanè & aridam, primi Nasamones, postea Psilli & Gætulorum pars.*

° L. 14. C. 5.

° L. 9. C. 2.

P L. 43.

This Region, he says, stretches along from West to East, between two Chains, or Ridges of Mountains, almost equally distant in all Places; and affirms the Inhabitants to be more numerous than any others of the African Nations. *Mons qui a Cotibus per mediam Mauritaniam tendit, & ipse & montes, qui cum eo pari porriguntur spatiorum distantia, commode habitantur, in initio quidem a Mauriis in ipso vero regionis intimo à maxima Libyæ natione qui Gætulæ appellantur.* And *P. Mela* calls them, *Natio frequens multiplexque Gætuli.* Of them *Festus Avicenus* says;

*Marmaridæ juxta procul hinc tamen ultima regni  
Egypto inclinant, tergo Gætulia glebam  
Porrigit, & patulis Nigretes finibus errant.*

Of the *Troglodytæ*, in latter Days, inhabiting between *Libya* and the *Cyrenaica* much is said: Among others <sup>1</sup> *Strabo* hints; *Troglodytas, quod est, qui cavernas intrent, appellant.* And *Pliny* says of them; *Troglodytæ specus excavant. Hæ illis domus, victus serpentum carnes, stridorque non vox, adeò sermonis commercio carent.* These were strange Savages indeed; nor could I ever hear of any so brutish as these, wanting even articulate Utterance. As for Caves, there are, I believe, many *Africans* who have no other Habitation; and to my own Knowledge many *Arabs*, and *Africans* eat Locusts, Foxes, Dogs, Leopards, Lions, and several other loathsome Meats; but I never heard of any that feed on Serpents; tho' even the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, having learned of the *Americans*, have, of late Years, found even Serpents of a most monstrous Size, to be a very dainty Dish. Of these People <sup>2</sup> *P. Mela* says; *Tum primum ab oriente Garamantes, post Augilas, & Troglodytas.* And <sup>3</sup> again; *Troglodytæ nullarum opum domini strident magis, quam loquuntur, specus subeunt, alunturque serpentibus.* They are spoken of by *Pliny* in several Places, <sup>4</sup> *Q. Curtius*, *P. Orosius*, and others. *Seneca* says; *Troglodytæ, quibus subterranea domus sunt.* <sup>5</sup> *Pliny*, quoting King *Juba* the *Historian*, says of their great Swiftnes; *Gentes Troglodytarum, idem Juba tradit Therothoas à venatu dictos miræ velocitatis:* And; *Troglodytas super Æthiopiam velociores equis.* <sup>6</sup> *Strabo*, from *Agatharchides*, gives the following Account of their Manners and Way of Life; *Troglodytarum vita pastoralis est; ii multos tyrannos habent, mulieres*

<sup>1</sup> L. 1.<sup>2</sup> L. 1. C. 4.<sup>3</sup> Ib. C. 8.<sup>4</sup> L. 6. C. 29. & L. 7. C. 2.<sup>5</sup> L. 16.

Et filii iis communes, nisi quæ tyrannorum sunt. Qui tyranni uxorem corru- perit, ove mulctatur. Eorum mulieres diligenter sibi cerusam inducunt. Con- chas adversus fascinoles collo appensas gestant. Viri de pascuis contendunt, primo rem manibus gerentes, mox lapidibus. Quodd si vulnus fiat, etiam sa- gittis Et gladiis: Et mulieres in medium prodeuntes, Et preces interponentes, pacem reparant. Vescuntur carnibus, Et ossibus simul contusis, Et in coria involutis, Et postea assatis, ac variis præterea modis, quos usurpant. Cocos immundos vocant, ipsi non solum carnes, sed etiam coria comedunt. Vescuntur etiam sanguine admixto lacte. Vulgus aquam bibit, in qua paliurus sit mace- ratus: tyranni mulsam potant melle è flore quodam expresso. Hyemem habent cum etesiæ flant, tunc enim et imbres, æstatem verò reliquum tempus. Nudi sunt Et pelliti; Et scuticas gestant: Et sunt non solum glande mutili, sed etiam circumcisi nonnulli quemadmodum Ægyptii. What is said above of their drinking Blood mixed with Milk, is now an Abomination. Again; At qui mu- tilos Græci nominant totam illam partem, quam reliqui circumcidunt, novacula infantibus amputare religione Et more sancitum habent. Unde cognomentum illi sibi ipsi consciverunt. Of these unaccountable People, whose bestial Customs so much differed from all the Africans I ever saw, or heard of, Herodotus makes frequent Mention; I shall only give this one Observation; Troglodytæ Æthiopes omnium, quos fando novimus, pernicissimis pedibus sunt; serpentibus, lacertisque, Et aliis id genus reptilibus vescentes, lingua nulli al- teri simili utentes, sed vespertilionum more stridentes. Perhaps it was these Brutes, whose Language resembled the Screeking of Bats, or Rear-mice, who so affronted the Ears of the Arabs, when they first came into the Country, as I observed before\*. All I can say to it, till I treat of the Languages of the Country, is, that of all the African Dialects ever spoken in my hearing, which I believe were most that are now in Use, none of them in the least deserve that Comparison.

Claudian, speaking of the Rebel Gildon, and of those Times, gives these Descriptions of the Africans:

Ut vino calefacta Venus, tunc sævior ardet  
Luxuries, mixtis redolent unguenta coromis,  
Criminos inter famulos, pubemque canoram  
Orbatas jubet ire nurus, nuperque peremptis

\* In Agath. L. 5. C. 30. De Mar. Rubr. \* Pag. 5. vide.

*Arridere viris. Phalarin, tormentaue flammæ  
 Profuit, & Siculi mugitus ferre juveni,  
 Quam tales audire choros, nec damna pudoris  
 Turpia sufficiunt: Mauris clarissima quæque  
 Fastidia datur, media Carthagine ductæ  
 Barbara Sidoniæ subeunt connubia matres:  
 Æthiopem nobis generum, Nasamona maritum  
 Ingerit, exterret cunabula discolor infans.  
 His fretus sociis, ipso jam principe major  
 Incedit, peditum præcurrunt agmine longe,  
 Circumdant equitum turmæ, regesque cientes  
 Quos nostris ditat spoliis, perturbat avita  
 Quemque domo, veteres detrudit rure colonos.*

This is all answerable to the Complexion, Manners and Disposition of some of these Nations, as described by other Authors. <sup>v</sup> *Livy* says; *Ut est genus Numidarum in Venerem præcept.* And <sup>z</sup> again; *Sunt ante omnes Barbaros Numidæ effusi in Venerem.* But, to borrow a few Lines more, upon the same Theme from *Claudian*:

*Gildonem domitura manus promissa minaque  
 Tempus agit, &c.  
 Nec vos, barbariem quamvis collegerit omnem,  
 Terreat, & nostros passuri cominus enses.  
 Non contra clypeis tectos, galeisque micantes  
 Ibitis; in solis longis fiducia telis.  
 Exarmatus erit, quum missile torserit hostis.  
 Dextra movet jaculum, prætentat pallia læva,  
 Cætera nudus eques, sonipes ignarus habena,  
 Virga regit, non ulla fides, non agminis ordo,  
 Arma oneri, fuga præsidio, connubia mille;  
 Non illis generis nexus, non pignora curæ,  
 Sed numero languet pietas, hæc copia vulgi,  
 Umbratus dux ipse rosis, & marcidus ibit  
 Unguentis, crudusque cibo, titubansque Lyæo,*



*Confectus senio, morbis, stuprisque solutus.  
Excitat incestos turmalis buccina somnos,  
Imploret cisbaras; cantatricesque choreas,  
Offensus stridore tubæ discatque coactus,  
Quas vigilat Veneri, castris impendere noctes.*

I have already hinted, that no *African*, for many Ages, has been known to ride unbridled Horses. <sup>a</sup> *Pliny*, treating of the *Africans*, says; *Carthago tamen tanta cum esset, capta est & deleta. Ditionem Carthaginensibus subditam Romani in provinciae formam redegerunt, nisi quoddam Masinissae partem tradiderunt, &c. Is Numidas civiles & agricolas reddidit, & loco latrociniorum eos militiam docuit, &c. Nam cum regionem uberem colerent, nisi quod feris abundabat, his omissis, & agri colendi tuto studio, in sese manus converterunt, agro feris dimisso. Itaque contigit eis, ut vagi & patriae expertes vitam egerunt, haud aliter quam qui ob inopiam & locorum sterilitatem, & aeris inclementiam ad ejusmodi vitae genus adiguntur. Hinc Massæsylii Nomadum nomen sunt adepti. Est vero necesse tales victu uti vili, plerum radices edere, & carne, & lacte, & caseo nutriri.*

The Prince of *Latin Poets*, <sup>b</sup> *Virgil*, thus elegantly sings;

*Quid tibi pastores Libyæ, quid pascua versu  
Prosequar? & raris habitata mapalia tectis?  
Sæpe diem, noctemque, & totum ex ordine mensem  
Pascitur, itque pecus longa in deserta sine ullis  
Hospitiis: tantum campi jacet omnia secum  
Armentarius Afer agit, tectumque, laremque,  
Armaque, Amyclæumque canem, Cressamque pharetram.  
Non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis  
Injusto sub fasce viam cum carpit, & hosti  
Ante expectatum positus stat in agmine castris.*

And *Lucan* says;

————— *populi tot castra sequuntur.*

This shews their Manner of encamping to have been the very same as it is now, since the *Arabs* are mixed with them. <sup>c</sup> *Pomponius Mela*, in

his Description of their Way of Life, in the more Easterly Province, is very exact and particular, and very well agrees with most of the poorer *Scenites* in general. *Cyrenaica provincia, &c. Ora sic habitantur ad nostrum maxime ritum moratis cultoribus, nisi quoddam linguis differunt, & cultu deorum, quos patrios servant, ac patrio more venerantur. Proximis quidem nullæ urbes stant, tamen domicilia sunt, quæ mapalia appellantur: victus asper & munditiis carens. Primores sages velantur: vulgus bestiarum, pecudumque pellibus: humi quies, epulæque capiuntur. Vasa ligno fiunt aut cortice. Potus est lac, succusque baccarum. Cibus est caro, plurimum ferina; nam gregibus (quia id solum optimum est) quoad potest, parcutur. Interiores etiam incultius. Sequuntur vagi pecora, utque à pabulo ducta sunt, ita se, ac tuguria sua promovent: atque ubi dies deficit ibi noctem agunt. Quamquam in familias passim, & sine lege dispersi, nihil in commune consultant: tamen quod singulis aliquot simul conjuges, & plures ob id liberi, agnatique sunt, nusquam pauci degunt.*

This is all well described; only I know of none, now-a-Days, who have their Women in common: But as for their beastly Nastiness, I cannot fancy it possible for any of those ancient *Numidians*, &c. to have had a greater Share of it than have the Generality of the present *Moors*, in every Part of *Barbary*, &c. except some of the better Sort of such as dwell in good Towns and Capitals, notwithstanding the over-nice Cleanliness enjoined by the Religion they now profess: On this Head I shall say more.

• *Dionysius* thus describes them, as delivered by his Interpreters: The ancient Translator has it thus;

*Sed summum Libyen habitant ad Tethyos undas  
 Alcidae quæ sunt statuae, Maurusia plebes.  
 Post hos immense Nomadum de semine gentes,  
 Atque Massæsylii, nec non Massylia proles.  
 Saltibus hos duris asper sylvisque vagantes  
 Victus alit seva quæsitus cæde ferarum,  
 Scilicet ignaros terras perfindere rastris,  
 Agricolasque boveis plaustris domitate sonoris:  
 Namque errant nemorum per dumos more ferarum.*

The other renders it;

*At vero præcul Herculeis vicina columnis,  
Progenies extrema colit Maurusidos oræ.  
Quæis Nomadum innumeræ succedunt ordine gentes,  
Atque Massæfyli passim, miserique Massylæ,  
Cum natis steriles sylvas saltusque peragrant,  
Victum infelicem dura conquirere præda.  
Quippe illis nec terra gravi sulcatur aratro,  
Nec gratos edunt gemitus volventia plaustra,  
Nec sua mugitu repetunt præcepta vaccæ:  
Sed pecudum in morem vastis in saltibus errant,  
Indociles jactare satius aut cogere messeis.*

° *Festus Avienus* speaks of those more savage Africans much to the same Purport;

*Propter proceras Zephyri regione columnas,  
Mauri habitant; his fluxa fides, & inhospita semper  
Corda rigent, trahitur duris vaga vita rapinis.  
Proxima se latè Numidarum pascua tendunt,  
Massyllique super populi, per aperta locorum,  
Palantes agitant, certi laris inscia gens est.  
Nunc in dumosas erepunt undique rupes,  
Nunc quatiant campos, nunc sylvas inter oberrant.  
Conjugibus natisque simul, cibus aspera glando,  
Omnibus haud ullis sulcatur cespes aratro.  
Non his mugitus pecudum strepit.*

The same Author, in ° another Place, speaking more particularly of the *Nasamones*, and other barbarous Nations, inhabiting about the two *Syrtes*, viz. *Major* and *Minor*, so much to be dreaded by Sea-faring People, says;

——— *Hanc rursum gens late prisca virorum  
Lotophagi includunt. Durosque Nasamonas inde  
Accipe, quæis quondam populorum examina multa*

° *A* versu 277.

° *A* versu 302.

*The HISTORY of BARBARY Epitomiz'd.*

*Verfaveræ solum, multæ sonuere per agros  
Balatu pecudes : nunc lati jugera campi  
Et grege nuda jacent, & sunt cultoribus orba.*

Of these People *Lucan* speaks, in these elegant Terms;

*Hoc tam segne solum raras tamen exserit herbas,  
Quas Nasamon gens dura legit, qui proxima Ponto  
Nudus rura tenet, quem mundi Barbara damnis  
Syrtis alit; nam littoreis populator arenis  
Imminet, & nulla portus tangente carina  
Novit opes. Sic cum toto commercia mundo  
Naufragiis Nasamones habent.*

*Regna videt pauper Nasamon errantia vento  
Discussasque domos. Volitant à culmine raptæ  
Detecto Garamante casæ.*

These noted Quick-lands lie on the Eastern Coasts of *Barbary*, beyond *Tripoly*. Of the *Syrtis Minor*, so called to distinguish it from the other, which is much greater, *Strabo* has these few Words; *His continua est minor Syrtis, quam Lotophagitin Syrtim etiam dicitur.* And of those savage *Lotophagi*, he adds; *Lotophagos dici, quod herba quadam, & radice loto vescantur: nihilque opus habeant potu, neque ob aquæ penuriam, &c. eosque usque ad loca Cyrenæ imminèntia pertinere:* And upon another Occasion, speaking of other *Africans*, he says; *Hi & in victu & ornatu frugales sunt, uxores multas, & multos filios habent, cætera Arabum Nomadibus per similes.* *Pliny*, of another brutish Tribe of these People, says; *Trogloditæ specus excavant. Hæ illis domus, victus serpentum carnes, stridorque non vox, aded sermonis commercio carent.* Speaking of the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians* in general, and of their Multiplicity of Wives, &c. *Sallust* says; *Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Boccho nupserat, verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosqque levis ducitur, qui singuli pro opibus, quisque quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent, sed reges eo amplius: ita animus multitudine distrabitur, nullam pro sua obtinet, pariter omnes viles sunt.* Of their Food *Theophanes* says; *Panis apud Maurusios non fit, neque vinum, neque oleum, sed far, & bordeum immaturum ut irrationabilia animalia comedunt.*

All this agrees very well with abundance of the baser Sort of the present *Moors*; as will appear when I come to treat of such as I have seen: And by what I have already quoted from ancient Writers, in several of the foregoing Sheets, and more particularly in these last preceding Pages, and what I may farther set down, as Occasion offers, if compared with the Account I design to give of the present Manners and Way of Life of those rustick *Africans* I have been among, during the Course of my several Journies thro' the Inland Parts of *Barbary*, the Alterations produced by the coming of the *Mabometans* among them have not been very material. Nay even as to their Habit (commonly nothing but coarse, white-woolen Garments, of their own weaving, whereof I shall give a Description) it seems to be the same as it was in the remotest Ages. The *Sybil* affirms this, by those two Verses:

*Verum quando super sordenti vestiet album*

*Barce vestitum, nolim nascive, vel esse.*

The Desert  $\bar{s}$  *Barca*, between *Egypt* and *Barbary*, seems to have given this People their Name. They are often mentioned by old Authors. *Virgil* says;

*Hinc deserta siti regio, lateque furentes*

*Barcæi.*

*Servius* to this adds; *Deserta inhabitabilis: dixit autem Xeralibyem, quæ est inter Tripolin & Pentapolin: Et bene terret, dicens, juxta esse aut bellicosas gentes, aut deserta loca, unde non speraretur auxilium. Barcæi. Hi proprie sunt à Caribagine, unde addidit, late furentes. Hi secundum Titianum, in Chorographia Phœnicem navali quondam superavere certamine. Barce autem civitas est Pentapoleos, quæ hodie Ptolemæis dicitur: nam Cyrene & Barce regine fuere, quæ singulis dedere civitatibus nomina.*

<sup>b</sup> *Silius Italicus* calls it; *Æternumque arida Barce.* And <sup>i</sup> again;

*Nec tereti dextras in pugnam armata dolent*

*Destituit Barce sitientibus arida venis.*

Those who would have a more ample Account of that Defart, may read it in *Leo Africanus*, and his Imitator *Luis del Marmol*, from whom most, if not all of the Moderns seem to have taken all they give us concerning the *Africans* and their Country. How great soever may have been the Reputation the *Libyans* once had, of being famous Musicians, and of having invented the Pipe, or Flute, called by *Greek Authors Hippophorbos*, I fancy few of them would be now much liked at our *Opera*. However, they have Numbers of Musicians in the great Towns and Cities, as I shall take Notice: But as for this *Tibicen*, Flute, or Pipe, it is certainly lost, except it be the *Gayta*, somewhat like the Hautbois, called *Zurna*, in *Turkish*, a martial Instrument. <sup>k</sup> *Julius Pollux*, in a Chapter intitled *De Tibiarum Specie*, says; *Hippophorbos quam quidem Libyes Scenetes invenerunt*. And again, shewing the Use and Quality thereof; *Hæc verò apud equorum pascua utuntur, ejusque materia decorticata laurus est, cor enim ligni extractum acutissimam dat sonum*. The Sound of the *Gayta* agrees well with this Description, tho' not the Make. Several Poets mention the *Tibicen Libycus*, and *Arabicus*: And *Athenæus* quotes *Duris*, and says; *Libycas tibia Poetæ appellant, ut inquit Duris, libro secundo de rebus gestis Agathoclis quòd Scirites, primus, ut credunt, tibicinum artis inventor, è gente Nomadum Libycorum fuerit, primusque tibia Cerealium bymnorum cantor*. The *Arabs* have the *Cussaba*, or Cane, which is only a Piece of large Cane, or Reed, with Stops, or Holes like a Flute, &c. and somewhat longer, which they adorn with Tossels of black Silk, and play upon like the *German Flute*: And the young Fellows, in several Towns, play prettily enough on Pipes made, and sounding very much like our Flagelet, of the Thigh Bones of Cranes, Storks, or such large Fowl. Neither of these Instruments being made of Laurel Wood, as it seems the ancient *Hippophorbos* was, sure that celebrated Pipe cannot have degenerated into the *Moorish Bou-Sbukua*, a most abominable Bag-Pipe, which sometimes accompanies their *Tubboul*, or lugubrious Drums, to the dismal Sound whereof the modern *Numidian* Mourners houl out their more dismal *Dirges*, as in due Place I shall relate.

The famous *Getulian Purple*, &c. spoken of by <sup>l</sup> *Pliny* and others, have long since disappeared; that Historian, in particular, says; *Cum ebore citroque sylvæ exquirantur, omnes scopuli Gætuli muricibus ac purpuris*: And

<sup>l</sup> L. 3. <sup>k</sup> He dedicated his Works to the Emperor *Commodus*. <sup>l</sup> L. 3. C. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Pomponius Mela says; *Nigritarum, Gætulorumque passim vagantium ne littora quidem infœcunda sunt purpura & murice.* He calls them a People, <sup>n</sup> *in familias passim, & sine lege dispersi.* Pliny relates several Particulars of the *Africans*: Some few of them may not be improper. Speaking of the *Garamantes*, a numerous, rude and warlike Nation, in, or on the Borders of *Libya*, he <sup>o</sup> says; *Garamantes matrimoniorum exortes passim cum fœminis degunt.* And <sup>p</sup> Pomponius Mela enlarges upon the same. Treating of their Country, <sup>q</sup> Pliny adds; *Matelge oppidum Garamantum, itemque Debris affuso fonte à medio die in mediam noctem aquis ferventibus, totidemque horis ad medium diem rigentibus. Clarissimum oppidum Garama caput Garamantum, omnia armis Romanis superata, & à Cornelio Balbo triumphata, &c.* In that Expedition *Balbus* conquered twenty Cities and Towns, and triumphed over five *African*, or rather *Libyan* Clans, or petty Tribes, and indeed the whole Region of the *Garamantes*. These People *Servius* calls *Populi inter Libyam & Africam, juxta Κεναυρῶνιν, Regionem exustam*; on which account *Lucan* says they go almost naked; as do many other *Africans*: His Words are;

*Misti Garamante perusto Marmaride,  
Qua nudi Garamantes arant.*

There are no People of that Name in *Africa*, that I could ever hear of. I have been told, indeed, of such a Sort of a Fountain as that above-mentioned, scalding hot for one twelve Hours, and extremely cold for the twelve succeeding Hours. This was related to me, very circumstantially, by a certain *Gademsi*, that is, a Native of *Gademmis*, far South of *Tunis*, within the *Sabara*, beyond the Confines of *Biled al-Jerid*, or <sup>r</sup> *Al-Jerid*, peculiarly so called, being that Part of *South-Numidia* belonging to *Tunis*; in which City are many of those *Libyans*, who speak one Dialect of the old *African* Language, and employ themselves in servile Offices, as do the Natives of *Biscara*, and other Parts of the Province of *Zeb*, as likewise the *Beni-Mezzab*, another *Libyan* People, at *Algiers*; of all which more hereafter. Perhaps, tho' the Names are little analogous, these *Gademsi* are the Posterity of the *Garamantes*, and the Inheriters of their Country.

<sup>m</sup> L. 3. C. 11.

<sup>n</sup> L. 1. C. 8.

<sup>o</sup> L. 5. C. 8.

<sup>p</sup> L. 1. C. 8.

<sup>q</sup> L. 5. C. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Vide P. 8, 9. 20.

The Relation that civilized *African* made me of his Country, as near as I can remember, agreed perfectly with the Account given of it by *Leo* and *Marmol: viz.* That it is a very extensive, and dry, barren Region, having many Towns and Villages, and the Ruins of several most ancient Forts and Castles; that the Northern Borders of its Territory are near twenty Days easy March from the *Mediterranean* (allowing, may be, about twenty Miles a Day for the Caravan of Camels, and those who go on foot) which makes good 100 *Spanish Leagues*; that Part abounds in Dates, and Scorpions, but wants Bread and Flesh, except Camels, some Goats, and Dogs (which last are common in the Shambles of every *South-Numidian* City and Town) and lastly, that the People have a good Trade with the *Blacks*, and are consequently wealthy. They are sometimes tributary to the State of *Tripoly*, but oftener to that of *Tunis*.

My saying these People may be the Descendants of the old *Garamantes*, is only bare Conjecture at the best, partly grounded on that *Moor's* affirming, that he had seen such a Fountain, and that near the Ruins of a stately Edifice, as so many ancient Authors assure us stood near the famous Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and at the same Time assert the *Garamantes* to have inhabited that Part of the *Libyan* Desert: But how to reconcile all this, in Point of Distance, and other Circumstances, I am utterly at a Loss, having never visited any of those Parts, nor made the same Scrutiny as I would now do, had I the Opportunities I have let slip. And, indeed, the old Writers, some of whose Words I shall presently cite, seem to fix that Fountain, &c. much nearer *Negroland* than are the *Gademsan* Regions, by what I can gather, or recollect: Nor am I certain whether the *Moor* told me, that the Spring he spoke of was in his own Country: So that I have Reason to fear, that some *Cynic* or other will be apt to snarl out and say, that I have given my self a great deal of Trouble to say nothing at all.

*Protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarham,  
Incenditque animum dictis, atque aggerat iras.  
Hic Ammone satius rapta Garamantide Nympha  
Templa Jovi, &c.*

Virg.



Lucan fixes them near the Temple:

*Ventum erat ad templum, Libycis quod gentibus unum  
Inculti Garamantes habent, stat corniger illic  
Jupiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmina vibrans,  
Aut similis nostro, sed tortis cornibus Ammon.  
Non illic Libycæ pesuere ditia gentes  
Templa, nec Eois splendent donaria gemmis,  
Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis  
Gentibus, atque Indis unus sit Jupiter Ammon.*

And Ptolemy fixes them, and their Metropolis *Garama*, and *Garamatica vallis*, in the Interior *Libya*. *Stephanus Byzantinus* rehearses several of the Particulars mentioned by *Herodotus*, concerning this considerable People: He, likewise, concisely sums up what *Pliny*, in divers Places, relates of their wonderful Fountain, their Cities, Wealth in precious Stones, &c. Triumph of *Balbus*, and other Matters. " *Claudian* of them and their Territory, says;

*Sternitur ignavus Nasamon, nec spicula supplex  
Intorquet Garamas, repetunt deserta fugaces.  
Autololes, pavidus projecit missile Masas.*

*Strabo* fixes their Region bordering on *Getulia*, towards the South; *Supra Getuliam Garamantum regio, quæcumque illa æqualibus spatiis porrigitur, unde Carchedonii lapilli afferuntur. Dicunt Garamantes ab Æthiopibus, & oceani vicinis, abesse novem aut decem dierum itinere, ab Ammone quindecim.* This is unaccountably different from the rest, no less than fifteen Days Journey; except there is some Mistake. \* *Dionysius* says;

*Mox & Marmaridæ Memphi prioribus arvis  
Getulique ultra, & finitimi Negretes,  
Pharusique colunt, quorum quæ proxima terris  
Innumeri Garamantes habent.*

† *Festus Avienus*;

*Marmaridæ juxta procul hic ultima regni*

† L. 9. A versu 514. † In laud. Stilicon. \* L. 17. † A versu 213. † A versu 320.

The HISTORY of BARBARY Epitomiz'd.

*Ægypto inclinant. Tergo Getulia glebam  
Porrigit, & patulis Nigretæ finibus errant.  
Protinus hinc Garamas lata confinia tendit,  
Trux Garamas, pedibus pernix, & arundinis usu  
Mobilis.*

<sup>a</sup> The ancient Interpreter of Dionysius has it;

*Marmaridæ post bos Ægypti ad flumina vertunt:  
Getulique supersunt, vicinique Negretes.  
Continuo post bos sequitur Pbarusia tellus.  
Hanc habitant juxta Garamantes Debride clari,  
Quæ superat cunctas urbs miro munere fontis,  
Frigore qui noctis fervet calefactus & umbris,  
At solis friget radiis glacialis & igni.*

<sup>a</sup> Pliny says; *Ad Garamantes iter inexplicable adhuc fuit latronibus gentis ejus puteos (qui sunt non aliè fodiendi, si locorum notitia adfit) arenis operientibus.* And <sup>b</sup> again he relates an odd Passage of one of their Princes; *Garamantum regem canes ducenti ab exilio reduxere præliati contra resistentes.* I never knew any Use that Dogs were put to, by any of the modern Africans, but to guard their Tents, &c. in the Night, only in South-Numidia and Libya, as I observed, they are eaten. Their Greyhounds, for Hunting, are in great Esteem.

I, perhaps, immethodically enough, dwell the longer upon these *Garamantes*, by Reason, that they were one of the most considerable Nations in those Regions, much dreaded by the Romans, who thought it a strange Sight to see their Deputies at Rome, as happened upon the Defeat of <sup>c</sup> *Tacfarinas*. However, I shall only recite a few more Quotations; out of the many to be met with, and then have done with the Subject. *Lucian*, in one of his Dialogues, treating of the venomous and dangerous Serpents, called *Dipsæ*, or *Dipsadæ* (which I believe is the same the African-Arabs call *Tbaaban*, and wherewith most Parts of the *Sabara* are reported to abound) naturally describes the Country and their Way of Life: He says; *Ea pars Libyæ, quæ ad austrum tendit, arena est profunda, & terra est exusta solis ardoribus, deserta ut plurimum, frugibus in totum infæcunda, campestris universa, &c. Præterea ipsa arena magnopere fervens,*

<sup>a</sup> *A versa* 199.

<sup>b</sup> L. 5. C. 5.

<sup>c</sup> L. 8. C. 4.

<sup>d</sup> *Vide* P. 41. 43.

regionem prorsus fecit inviam & inaccessibilem. Soli verò Garamantes iis locis finitimi, gens levis atque frugalis, vitam degentes in tentoriis, venationibus ut plurimum viventes, nonnunquam irrumpunt venantes juxta solstitium hibernum, sidere maxime pluvioso observato. Of those Serpents, which are the principal Theme of *Lucian's* whole Dialogue, <sup>d</sup> *Silius Italicus* says thus ;

*Quique atro rapidas effervescente veneno  
Dipsadas immensis borrent Garamantes arenis.*

*Lucian* very rightly observes, that in the Winter those Parts are abundantly fitter for Hunting, and every thing else, than when the Sands are light and moveable, there being then no Tract to be found. All those Southern Nations are great Hunters, and their chief Game is the Ostridge, which they eat with an Appetite. I once tasted it, but liked not such rank Food. The Flesh is hard, black and slimy, especially the Thigh. The Egg is well enough, but by much too strong. The Feathers of the Male are far better than those of the Female, which are of a rusty brown. The *Arabs*, *Moors*, and some of the *Turkish* Cavalry adorn their broad-brimmed Straw-Hats with them. The ancient *Africans* used to be very fond of those Ornaments; I am not sure whether they used them as they do now-a-Days. *Tertullian* says; *Debebunt & ipsi insignia defendere ut pennas e Garamantium, aut crobylos Barbarorum.* But <sup>f</sup> *Silius Italicus* gives them a very different Sort of a Head-Dress, in Imitation of their Deity *Jupiter Ammon*,

*Tu quoque fatidicis Garamanticus accola lucis  
Insignis flexo galeam per tempora cornu,  
Heu frustra reditum sortes tibi sepe locatas,  
Mentitumque Jovem increpitans occumbis Hyarba.*

*Strabo* thus describes some of the *African* Nations, and their Country; *Etsi Mauri adeo uberem regionem inhabitant, tamen ad hoc usque tempus magna ex parte incertis sedibus vagantur. Hi comas cincinnas exornant, & barbam comunt, aurumque gestant, &c. Raro dum una deambulant se contingunt, ut maneant compositi capilli, quod fieret [neutiquam] si se in vicem contingerent.* And again; *Ferè autem & hi sequentes Massæylii, & Libyes*

magis ex parte cultu eodem utantur, & in cæteris per similes sunt. Thus they were in Strabo's Days; and Procopius acquaints us how they were in his: In particular this following Relation of their miserable State in the Time of Giltmer, the last Vandal King, is extremely natural, and answers exactly to the present Condition of some of the poorer Peasants of Barbary.

At Maurusii (says & Procopius) contra duris assueti in parvis tuguriis (ma-palibus nempe) ubi vix respirare licet, degunt: hyemisque ac æstatis temporibus, neque nivibus, neque solibus, neque alio quocumque malo, necessario caventes. Dormiunt nuda humo, si qui beatiore inter eos, aliquid substernunt: vestes insuper secundum tempora variare ex lege prohibentur, sed taceram vestem atque crassam tunicamque asperam in omne tempus induunt. Pane vinoque & aliis bonis omnibus usui necessariis carent; sed & triticum, sive sili-ginem minime aut coquentes, aut in farinam terentes, sed more belluarum depascuntur. But to have done with these Testimonies, which some may think tedious, and even superfluous.

I left Africa full of Confusions, by the Rebellion of Gregory the Ex-arch, or Governor; the Pretence whereof was the professed Heresy of that misguided and impious Prince, the Emperor Constans II. Theophanes gives Account of those Troubles, which opened a Gate for the first Irruption of the Saracens into Africa: But first he says; Anno sexto imperis Constantis factus est in terra ventus vehemens, qui multa germina convulsit, arboref-que ingentes radicitus extirpavit, atque multos columnatorum deposuit monachorum. He goes on: Eodem item anno Saraceni hostiliter Africam adierunt, & conspectu agitato adversus tyrannum Gregorium, hunc in fugam vertunt, & ipsos qui cum ipso erant interimunt: & hunc ab Africa pellunt, atque tributis in Africa ordinatis & pactis reversi sunt.

This could not have been the first Expedition the Mussulman-Arabs made into Barbary; who, according to many Authors, came down from Alexandria, over the Desert of Barca, as far as Tripoly, which Place they took, A. H. 22. and no farther, in the Reign of the Kbalifa Omar, who was Mahomet's second Successor. Among others, this is in particular affirmed by D'Herbelot, who, certainly, had perused more Oriental Histories than any European whatever; and had that most learned, curious and indefatigable Traveller lived to have revised his laborious Collection

of Eastern Curiosities, it would have been a very complete Piece. The *Mussulman* Historians themselves do not agree either in the Years of their Prophet's Life, or in the Time of his Death. Some will have him to have lived but sixty three Years, others two or three more: And some assert he died in the ninth, some in the tenth, and others in the eleventh Year of the *Hejira*; tho' most fix his Death *A. H.* 10, which must be *A. D.* 632; of which *Theophanes* comes about two Years short: And by his making this first Irruption of the *Saracens* into *Barbary* in the sixth Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Constans II.* who, according to him, and many others, succeeded *Heracion A. D.* 641, this could not have happened in *Omar's* Days, who was killed by a *Persian* Captive, *A. H.* 24, or *A. D.* 645; whereas that Emperor's seventh Year was the second of *Omar's* Successor *Othoman*.

To reconcile this, I shall just hint the Length of the Reigns of *Mahomet's* four immediate Successors; as almost unanimously agreed by all his Disciples; and allowing the Prophet himself to have taken his final *Adieu* of them in the tenth Year of his *Hejira*. *Abou-Bekra*, who alone died a natural Death, reigned only two Years, three Months; and died *A. H.* 13. *A. D.* 634. *Omar* reigned ten Years, six Months, and was assassinated *A. H.* 24. *A. D.* 645. *Othoman* reigned eleven Years, six Months, or thereabouts, and was slain in an Insurrection *A. H.* 35. *A. D.* 655. *Ali* reigned four Years, and nine Months, and was likewise assassinated *A. H.* 40. *A. D.* 661. This is the most generally received Account of those Particulars.

But the first Visit the *Mahometan Arabs* made to this Country, with the View of making an intire Conquest of it, was under the Direction of a stout *Arab* Commander, named *Ucba*, or *Occuba aben Nafic*; sent, with upwards of 80000 of the Flower of the *Arabian* Cavalry, by the *Khalifa Othoman*. The Date of this most remarkable Invasion is variously related. *Leo Africanus* has strangely led abundance of later Writers into a most unaccountable Error by fixing it under *A. H.* 400. Tho' *Marmol*, his strict Adherer in many Respects, has corrected that Blunder so far as to leave out the last Cypher, and reduces it to 40: But even that Amendment is still deficient; since *Ali*, that *Khalifa's* Successor, lived till that very Year, as is observed above; and it is universally agreed, that *Africa* was conquered by the Arms of *Othoman*. Much is talked among the *Arabs* and *Africans* of the Conduct and Prowess of that General; but

what they say, and sing of a young Prince, who accompanied him, whose Name was *Sidi Abdallah aben Jiaffer*, of the Prophet's own Family, seems to surpass all Belief: Nor, indeed, are they without whole Volumes of the same Stamp as our Romances. This *Sidi Occuba*, whose coming, as I hinted, must needs have been some Years earlier than *Marmol*, and many others would insinuate, found the *Imperialists* so weak, and so involved in Civil Dissentions; so generally hated by the *Pagan Africans*, even by such of them as were sometimes in their Alliance, and by a great Part even of those who professed *Christianity*, all greedily waiting for Innovations, that he met with no very considerable Opposition. He soon reduced *Carthage* (which, in some of the *African Histories* of those Conquests, I have heard named *Al Maaalka*) and about 120 Miles from thence built, and strongly fortified, the City *Caerouan*. The same Histories affirm, that no one Place in the whole Region made so stout a Resistance as did *Satif*, or *S'tif*, the ancient *Sitifis*, a famous Colony, Capital of that more Easterly *Mauritania* to which it gave a Name. They acquaint us, that the Governor, whom they, after their Manner, corruptly call *Darje aben Hamamma*, had several terrible Encounters with the united Strength of the *Arabs* and new *African Mussulmans*, and put them hard to it, till they closely besieged him in his City, which they carried not without great Loss on both Sides.

I cannot forbear mentioning a fierce Contest, between two *Spaniards*, about this Name, upon the Inquiry made by an *Arab*, who was reading the History in our Hearing, Whether the *Christians* had any such Name among them? Tho' I am certain neither of them could make any more of it than my self could, which was just nothing at all, yet both, without Hesitation, answered, Yes. One positively maintained, that it was a Corruption of *Ambrosio*, and that the Transition was very easy and natural. The other, in Wrath at his Ignorance and Obstinacy, called him illiterate Blockhead, and told him, that tho' he knew he could not read, in order to inform himself from the Writings of learned Men, yet, at least, if he had not lost the Use of his Ears, he might have distinguished, that *Darje* was no other than *Gregorio*, tho' somewhat Barbarized; and then, to give us a Specimen of his Learning and Memory, with a *Valga el Demonio tales animales necios y ignorantes*, meaning that he wished such stupid and ignorant Animals at the Devil, "Any but such vulgar Beasts

" as you, said he, would have known, that when the Emperor of *Rome*,

“ the great *Constantine*, built this <sup>h</sup> City, and gave it his own Name, he  
 “ left *Gregory* as his Vice-Roy, or Governor, of all these Provinces; and  
 “ that before *Constantine* the Great was well got home to *Rome*, that  
 “ Traytor rebelled, and was for getting himself crowned King of *Bar-*  
 “ *bary*; without which the *Arabs* could never have set Foot in the  
 “ Country.” They were near coming to Blows; and we had much ado  
 to pacify them. The *Moors*, who understood them not, asked me, What  
 they quarrelled about, and which of them I thought in the right? A  
 Question which puzzled me very much: But in order to prevent farther  
 Mischiefs, I said, that he who had edified the Company with that mate-  
 rial Fragment of History, (for he told that in *Arabick*,) had a great Advan-  
 tage over his Antagonist, who, for Want of Reading, or at least of re-  
 membering what he might have heard, was incapable of producing such  
 authentick Testimonies to prove his Assertions. To return.

The *Arabs* easily became Masters of all the level Country, which they  
 over-ran like a Torrent; nor did the *Mussulman* General meet with any  
 considerable Stop, till he came to the Western Ocean; into which he is  
 reported proudly to have spurred his Horse, till the Waves covered his  
 Stirrups, saying; “ Farther would I pursue my Conquests, O Sea, didst  
 “ not thou, envious of my Glory, intercept my Paces!” As for the  
 Mountaineers, as I said <sup>i</sup> before, they, almost generally, agreed to profess  
 themselves *Mahometans*, most of them, till then, seeming to have had their  
 Religion to chuse, and this that was tendered them agreeing well enough  
 with their Disposition, as not debarring them from many of their darling  
 Vices. They thought it not adviseable to leave their Fastnesses on Pur-  
 pose to enter into a War with a martial and victorious People, who pro-  
 fessed, they demanded nothing of them but to relinquish their blind Wor-  
 ship of contemptible, inanimate Idols, and to acknowledge, that the ever-  
 living *Allah*, the omnipotent Creator of all Beings, was, alone, the true  
 God, and that *Mahomet*, their Prophet, was that great and only God’s  
 faithful Apostle and Messenger. This provided they complied with, they  
 were freely welcome to carry on with them a friendly Commerce and  
 Correspondence, and, under their Banners, partake of the Spoil of their an-

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<sup>h</sup> We were at *Costantina*, the Seat of the *Bey* of the *Algerine* Eastward Province, which,  
 as I have observed, is taken to be the ancient *Cirtba*, Capital of *North-Numidia*.

<sup>i</sup> Vide P. 63, & seq. ad. P. 73.

cient and mutual Enemies the *Christians*, and all their Abettors, whom they, equally with themselves, had Reason to hate and contemn, and by whom they never had been offered such favourable and advantageous Terms: Their *Papasses*, or Priests, will not, say they, be satisfied with a bare verbal Profession of Belief; they are for diving into Peoples very Thoughts: They will not grant a Divorce from the hated, ill-tempered Wife, even tho' the very Sight of her is become loathsome; and to attempt a Plurality, they make an unpardonable Sacrilege, and as such will punish it.

This, and much more to the same Tune, some of the Mountain *Moors*, when they are in a good Humour, will not scruple to tell a Stranger was the Method taken with their Ancestors, by the *Asiatick Mussulmans*, who came into *Barbary* with *Sidi Occuba aben Nafic*: When they are with rigid and precise *Mussulmans*, they are more reserved. But none of them, except a few miserable Wretches, whose Mountains are easy of Access, will ever own, that they were compelled to become *Mahometans*, as were most of those who had been *Christians*, and inhabited the Cities and Towns in the Low Countries. They never fail praising God for the Change.

The remote *Libyan* and *Numidian* Tribes, who were generally *Pagans*, are also reported to have swallowed the Bait without much Difficulty; as finding it answer their Ends to fall in with the then easy Measures of the *Arabs*, who, for many Years, made no Shew of aiming farther than to quell the Pride and Insolence of the tyrannick *Imperialists*, and instead of *Pagan* and *Christian* Idolatry, (thus blending them together) to establish *Al Islam*; for so they term their Religion, which Word some of our Writers Barbarize into *Islamism*, which Termination is, in Effect, *Barbarous* to the *Arabians*.

The Rapidity of the *Saracen* Conquests is not, therefore, so surprizing as some endeavour to render it, if one considers all these concurring Circumstances. *Kbondemir*, a celebrated *Persian* Chronologist, speaking of the latter Part of *Omar's* Reign, who lived but till *A. H.* 24, remarks, that, in that short Period of Time, the *Mussulmans* possessed themselves of no less than 36000 Cities and fortified Towns, destroyed 4000 *Christian* Churches and *Pagan* Temples, and erected 1400 *Mahometan* Mosques; and then *Africa*, I mean *Barbary*, except the East Part of it, down to *Tripoly*, as I said, was wholly untouched: And what Conquests they made in a few Years after, *Spain* and its Neighbourhood, Islands and *Terra firma*, sufficiently testify.



To enter into a Detail of these Wars would be too tiresome, and perhaps not very entertaining; since what has been advanced may suffice to give an Idea of what Defense the disunited *Christians* were able to make in a Country so often prostituted to the Pleasures of its relentless Invaders, and so lately left in a manner desolate by the cruelest of all Oppressors, the inexorable *Khosrou*; and wherein, besides their own incurable Disunion, on account of Difference in Tenets and Opinion, they were surrounded by, I may say, Millions of implacable Enemies, ready, with open Arms, to receive and side with any Invader whatever, who would but declare his Sentiments of the Name of *Christianity* to be conformable with their own: And how theirs were, and are, I need not repeat.

Many grave and zealous Writers, and particularly the learned *Aldrete*, upon whose Judgment I frequently depend, stick not to affirm, that the *Christians* of *Africa* owed their Ruin chiefly to their own insufferable Pride, Tyranny, Injustice and other impolitick and most *unchristian* Enormities; of which I shall elsewhere give some Instances. But before I enter upon that ungrateful Theme, I shall, to what has been already observed, in divers of the foregoing Pages, add some of the Sentiments of that curious, and seemingly sincere, *Spaniard*, concerning the Condition in which the *Saracens* found the *African* Provinces, when they attempted, and so easily accomplished, the intire Conquest of that noble Extent of Country. What he says is to this Effect: For the better understanding, says he, what is advanced by *Leo* and *Marmol*, I thus distinguish the Languages used in *Africa* when the *Saracens* came thither, which, besides the several different *African* Dialects, were the *Latin* and the *Punick*. [Of the *African* Languages something shall be said in particular.] Those who spoke the *Latin* Tongue, were a polite, civilized People, whose Abodes were at *Carthage*, and all the other principal Cities, never roaming the Country, or retiring to Mountains, like other unpolished *Africans*. The Majority of them were Orthodox *Christians*, some Idolaters, and many infected with divers Heresies. They had, successively, been subject to the *Romans*, *Greeks*, *Vandals*, &c. These opposed the *Mahometans*; and, their Sins both requiring and deserving such Calamities, were conquered, and left exposed to the Discretion of the cruel and barbarous Victors. Some fled, and others received the *Mahometan* Impiety, together with their Language, tho' it was 200 Years before either became universal. Being intirely reduced, they incorporated with the *Arabs*, and became one People; info-

much, that now they are not at all to be known, or distinguished, notwithstanding the vast Numbers there must have been to people such great and so many Cities, &c. This may plainly be gathered from the Words of those Authors.

As for those who used the *Punick* Tongue, continues he, they inhabited their own Towns and Villages, never quitting their ancient *Phœnician* Customs, &c. which the *Carthaginians* had all along observed and retained, dwelling in fixed Habitations. Of them there were both *Christians* and *Idolaters*; and they underwent a like Fate with the *Latins*; nor did they sooner generally receive the Language and Religion of the Conquerors who in order to compel them so to do, took away and destroyed all their Books, and exercised upon them great and unheard-of Tyrannies, whereby they forced them to embrace their impious and pernicious Sect. Such as refused, lost not only their Substance and Liberty, but, generally speaking, their Lives: And the rest, who would not hazard such Violences, conformed to the common Calamity of the Times and Country, and became one People with their Oppressors, nothing differing in either Manners, Language, or Religion.

Those People among whom the other more ancient *African* Languages were used, had different Success: For some of them had Cities and Towns of their own whither they had retired, and led civilized Lives. [I here presume he speaks of the unconquerable Mountaineers, and some of the *Libyan* and remotest *South-Numidian* Towns; tho' History acquaints us, that *Sidi Occuba* had no sooner over-ran *Barbary*, swift as a Thunderbolt, and left no Part of it unconquered (still excepting the Mountains and *Tangier*, *Centa*, with several other strong Places in the *Tingitana*, long after held by the *Gothish* Kings of *Spain*, as I shall observe) he, with like Success, did the same in *Numidia* and the *Libyan* Desarts, to the very Banks of the *Niger*.] These Cities, &c. did not all come into the Power of the *Mahometans*; in such as did they took the same Methods as they had done with those belonging to the *Romans*, &c. Thus far *Aldrete*; and most of what he has here laid down seems very rational.

That the *Christians* of *Africa* were intermixed with *Pagan-Idolaters*, even in the Towns, is not to be disputed. Two or three Instances shall suffice. <sup>k</sup> *S. Prosper* describes the Temple they had in *Carthage*, and the

Idol named *Dea Cælestis*, which Temple was held in the highest Veneration, not only by the *African Pagans*, but by those of several remote Parts of the World. He, likewise, gives Account of the many Idols, which were discovered and destroyed in several other Places, and in Woods, Caves and Mountains, where the *Idolaters*, for Fear of the severe Laws and Penalties, had concealed them, and whither they privately used to resort to hold their impious Assemblies, and exercise their ridiculous Rites and Ceremonies; affirming withal, that those were not the Practices of only such of the free *African Tribes and Nations*, who enjoyed their Liberty to do as they pleased, acknowledging no Superior, but even of great Numbers of those who lived in Subjection to the Imperial Laws, and which were rigorously put in Execution, against Delinquents, by the respective Governors, and their Substitutes. In *S. Augustine's* Time, the *Christian* Affairs seem to have been in their Zenith of Prosperity; and yet he gives several Examples of what I alledge: And I scarce believe Matters ever grew better, or *Paganism* suffered any Decay, upon the Invasion of the *Vandals*, and other succeeding Troubles. In the Epistle he writes, in Answer to *Nestarius*, he relates what happened at *Calama*, a City I know nothing of, having never heard of any such Name among the present People of that Country. The same Passage is, also, taken Notice of by *Possidius*, Bishop of that Place, in his Life of *S. Augustine*. The Sum of what that pious Father of the Church says, runs thus; 'That, notwithstanding the Laws newly made against *Paganism*, the impious *Idolaters*, without Opposition, and with an Insolence scarce to be equalled even in the Days of the Apostate *Julian*, had presumed publickly and solemnly to celebrate their sacrilegious Rites, and to march in Procession thro' the very Street where the *Christian* Cathedral stood. That, when the Priests, &c. belonging thereto endeavoured to interrupt their audacious Procedure, they, in a most tumultuous and outrageous Manner, stoned the Church, which they did thrice, with the utmost Rage, and began to plunder the *Christians* Houses, &c. Some lost their Lives; and the Bishop was forced to hide himself, great Search being made after him, in order to sacrifice him to their Fury.

If this was transacted in an Episcopal City, how must Affairs be in Places of less Consideration? I have given <sup>m</sup> two Quotations from the

same Author, which afford a farther Insight into these Matters, and shew upon what Footing the *Christians* stood with regard to their Neighbours, when they were in their most flourishing State; and shall conclude this Discourse with one short Quotation more from *S. Augustine*, in his own Words, extracted from a Letter he wrote to the *Idolaters* of a City he calls *Colonia Sufetana*, the *Gentiles* of which Place having, in a Tumult, killed sixty *Christians*, on account of their having pulled down a Statue of *Hercules*: His Words are; *Immanitatis vestre famosissimum scelus, & inopinata crudelitas terram contudit, & percutit cælum, ut in plateis, & delubris vestris eluceat sanguis, & resonet homicidium. Apud vos Romanæ se-pultæ sunt leges, judiciorum rectus calcatus est tenor, Imperatorum certè nulla veneratio nec timor. Apud vos sexaginta numero fratrum innocens effusus est sanguis, & si quis plures occidit, fundus est laudibus, & vestra curia tenuit principatum.*

All this evidently confirms what I so often intimate, that, notwithstanding the numerous Assemblies of *African* Prelates, whose Congregations must needs have been in some Measure proportionable, scarce one *African* in ten was ever a true *Christian* by Option; *Christianity*, in all its Branches, seeming to be utterly incompatible with their very Genius: Nor can I really believe, that they were so very much bigoted to their *Pagan* Rites, especially in the later Ages of *Paganism*, but merely in Opposition to the *Christian* Clergy, who took Measures to abolish it so directly contrary to an *African* Disposition. This, perhaps, is a Thought which never entered any Head but my own; neither have I any thing to back it with: But it is evidently demonstrable, that they liked the Measures taken by the *Saracens*, to make them relinquish their Idolatry, far better than all the Preachings, Exhortations, or any other Methods whatever, the *Christians* could invent; since such potent Nations of them, as the *Arabs* could never pretend to reduce by Force of Arms, and who, afterwards, expelled those very *Arabian* Conquerors themselves, forcing the far greater Part of them to the barren Desarts, where their Posterity still remain, so readily forsook their Idols. It is scarce credible what an irradicable Antipathy the *Moors*, even to a Man, have to all Resemblances of an Image, or Idol of any Sort, or Fashion whatever, even greater, if possible, than have the very *Arabs* themselves. They cannot bear the Mention of them without a visible Horror; but the Sight sets them a Shuddering, and they never want bitter Invectives on such Occasions. Many Times, as I have been

riding in Company with *Moors*, whom I have known to speak slightly enough of their own Religion, and very irreverently of several highly venerated *Marabotes*, or reputed *Mussulman* Saints, tho' we have all been pretty much tired with our Journey, and were still some Miles from our resting Place, they would dismount at Sight of some mangled Figure, not to be known what it had been designed for, and, with their Mouths full of Curses and Execrations against the *Christian Dog, Jew, Infidel*, what not? who had presumed to take the Creator's Work out of his Hand; and if they could meet with any Part of it that was not utterly defaced, would lay about them like Furies, sometimes to the spoiling of a good Lance, or Dagger, in order to pick out the Eyes, and deform as much as possible what they fillily call the God made by some vile *Papast*, or Priest, for the *Christians* to worship: This they do if a Stone will not so effectually answer the Dictates of their Zeal, Spleen, Malice, Caprice, or I know not what; for I am at a Loss how to define the Passion which agitates them, in those Intervals of Frenzy. Some have actually employed so much Time and Labour in this laudable Exercise, that, tho' in a dangerous Part of the Country, infested by Free-Booters, they have not been able to overtake us in more than an Hour after we had left them so hard at Work. I do not insinuate, that all the *Moors* are so zealous, spiteful, foolish, or what you please: Nor do I ever remember to have seen an *Arab* go such Lengths; they commonly contenting themselves with sticking the Points of their Lances in the Mouth, or Eyes of a Statue, or rather in the Parts where it should have had them, and spitting at it, with a few Curses, or, maybe, firing a Ball against it. One thing is remarkable enough in the *Moors*; and that is, their being far less partial and inveterate in respect of *Pagans* than of *Christians*. As I was always looked on as a great Reader, they would teaze me with abundance of Questions: And I have more than once prevented *Moors* from getting off their Horses, to vent their Fury upon some Remnant of a Stone which once bore a humane Figure, merely by affirming it never to have been the Workmanship of *Nasara*, or *Christians*, but of *Jehel*, or *Pagans*: Whereupon they only shook their Heads, and said; Alas! poor blind Wretches. This Partiality, perhaps, proceeds from their Consciousness, that their own Ancestors were such; For few of them care to own their being descended from *Christians*. As for the *Turks*, they seldom take any Notice at all; or if they do, it is only to divide the Folly and Superstition of the Statuary:

Nor,

Nor, indeed, are there many Statues, or even the Remains of them, to be met with in the whole Country.

But as, before I fell into these Digressions from the History, it was hinted, that two Centuries elapsed between the *Saracen* Conquest and the utter Abolition of *Christianity*, in the once flourishing, but never quiet *African* Provinces, doubtless many notable Transactions intervened, in so great a Period of Years, some of the most remarkable whereof, mentioned by Authors of the best Credit, shall be here inserted.

The Emperor *Constans* II. in whose inglorious Reign this irrecoverable Calamity befel *Africa*, having rendered himself odious to the whole World, was so far from being in a Condition to make a powerful Resistance, in order to prevent these Mischiefs, had he been so disposed, that he was worsted in every Encounter he had with the *Mussulmans* in *Asia*, while those in *Africa* were carrying all before them. *Theophanes*, having related many of that Tyrant's Enormities, among which are the Banishment of Pope *Martin* I. and Martyrdom of *S. Maximus*, with two of his Disciples, and many other Impieties, as the inhumane Murder of his own Brother *Theodosius*, having first forced him to become a Monk; of whom *Cedrenus* affirms, that he appeared to his Murderer several Times, in a Deacon's Habit, with a Cup full of Blood in his Hand, saying; *Bibe Frater; Drink Brother*. It is true this wicked Emperor, after all his Losses, brought the *Saracens* to desire a Peace, and for a while to allow him something of an annual Tribute: But that was only during the Time that *Moawia* the first *Khalifa* of the Family of *Beni Ommeyah* (corruptly called *Ommiades*) had his Hands full of domestick Disturbances, and a dangerous War carrying on against him by the contrary Faction, the Sons and Partisans of *Ali* his Predecessor; which Quarrel, among the *Mussulmans*, still subsists. But no sooner was *Moawia* established on his Throne, but the Scale turned, and *Constans* himself was obliged to become his Tributary, and under that Pretext most grievously spoiled his Subjects. The last six Years of his Life he passed in *Sicily*, and was smothered in a Bath, *A. D.* 668, which was *A. H.* 47, having reigned, or rather tyrannized, almost twenty seven Years.

His immediate Successor was his Son *Constantine* V. surnamed *Pogonatos*, i. e. *Barbatus*, or Bearded, by reason of his returning to *Constantinople* with a great Beard, and having left it before he had any. He put to Death *Mizizus*, an *Armenian*, who was concerned in his Father's Murder,

and whom the *Sicilian Army* had proclaimed Emperor. *Theophanes* says, that the same Year, viz. *A. H. 47. A. D. 668.* the *Saracens* sent another great Army into *Africa*, and carried away into Captivity 80000 Souls. *Marmol* relates the Matter very differently: And by what I could learn from the *Arabs* and *Africans*, it was not another Army, but the Return of good Part of that which came with *Sidi Occuba*, &c; they asserting, that the Conquerors stay'd no longer than till their Affairs were pretty well settled, and leaving their new City *Cairouan* strongly garrisoned, and some Numbers of *Arabs* peaceably allied with the principal Citizens of all the considerable Places in the whole Country (whose Posterity are still called *Hadâra*, as I shall observe) the rest, who were all the chief Nobility, returned to *Arabia*, loaded with the Riches of *Africa*, and many thousands of Captives of the best Account, most of them young Women and Children.

*A. D. 675*, in the eighth Year of this Emperor's Reign, was celebrated the eleventh Council of *Toledo*, in the Time of *Wamba* King of *Spain*. About this Time, according to *Don Lucas de Tuy*, and the Arch-Bishop *Don Rodrigo*, the Coasts of *Spain* were invaded by a great *Saracen* Fleet, consisting of 270 Ships of War, where they committed very great Disorders, but that they were in a manner utterly destroyed, both Men and Ships, by the *Spaniards*. This could not be effected without a strong Naval Power. Tho' *Morales* and *Mariana* seem absolutely positive, that this Fleet was fitted out in *Barbary*; it is far more probable, that it was sent down from *Alexandria*, whence came all the mighty Armadas set on Foot by the *Saracen Khalifas*, while their Empire flourished.

*Pogonatos* was very successful in the seven Years War he maintained against the *Saracens*, and even compelled them to pay him some Tribute. But, *A. D. 680*, having solicited, and prevailed with Pope *Agathon*, to convoke a General Council, he is said to have conceded to them the whole Province of *Mysia*, in order to prevent their disturbing the Empire while the Assembly were sitting. At this Synod the Corruption of Manners, &c. among the *Africans*, were complained of, in the following Terms; *Porro hoc quoque ad nostram cognitionem pervenit, quod in Africa, & Libya, & aliis locis, quidam ex iis qui illic sunt, religiosissimi Presules cum propriis uxoribus, etiam postquam ad eos processit ordinatio, una habitare non recusant, ex eo populis offendiculum, & scandalum afferentes. Cum itaque studium nostrum in eo magnopere laboret, ut omnia ad gregis in manus nostras traditi, nobisque*

*nobisque commiffi utilitatem fiant, nobis vifum est, ut nihil hujusmodi deinceps ullo modo fiat.* Thus, at the Time when the Ecclesiastical Discipline ought to have been most reformed, to appease the Divine Wrath, it seem'd to be as depraved as ever; but I shall give farther Instances of the Depravity of the *African* Morals, not of the *Hereticks* and *Pagans* only, but, likewise, of the Generality of those who profess'd themselves Members of the *Orthodox* Communion.

*A. D. 685, A. H. 64.* This Year died *Pogonatos*, and was succeeded by his Son *Justinian*, surnamed *Minor*, a Youth in his sixteenth Year. He afterwards was called *Rhinotmetos*, i. e. *Cui nasus precisus*, his Nose being cut off by the Usurper *Leontius*, and the rebellious Senate. In the first Years of his Reign, he is recorded to have recovered many of the Imperial Provinces, and among the rest those of *Africa*, from the *Saracens*, and obliged them to become his Tributaries, concluding a Peace with them, both by Sea and Land, for ten Years, but upon such Conditions, as produced very pernicious Consequences: *Theophanes* says; *Mittit Habdimelich [Abdalmalec] ad Justinianum, confirmare pacem, & convenit inter eos hujusmodi pax. Ut scilicet Imperator deponeret Mardaitarum agmen de Libano, & prohiberet incursiones eorum, & Habdimelich Romanis tribueret, per singulos dies, numismata mille, & equum, & servum;* with other Presents and Duties. He adds, that those People he expelled from *Libanus* were terrible Scourges to the *Arabians*. This so honourable and very considerable a Revenue he afterwards lost, thro' a foolish and obstinate Caprice, in refusing the Tribute-Money, because it was not his own Coin. I am not certain as to the Value of the 1000 Pieces, which were to be paid daily; but it is certain, that the *Khalifa* so far resented this Haughtiness, that the ill-advised Emperor soon had Cause to repent his Nicety: For his Army was utterly routed, and himself treated in the unworthy Manner I observed.

*Anastasius*, in the Life of Pope *John V.* takes Notice of the aforesaid Contract, and of the Recovery of the *African* Provinces from the *Mabometans*, his Words are; *His temporibus regnavit Dominus Justinianus Augustus, defuncto patre, &c. Qui clementissimus Princeps, Domino auxiliante, cum nec dicenda gente Saracenorum pacem constituit decennio, terrâ marique; sed & provincia Africa subjugata est, & restaurata.* And, speaking of this Emperor, *Paulus Diaconus* says; *Is Africam à Saracenis recepit, & cum iisdem pacem trans maria fecit.* Before he says this, he affirms, that *Carthage* had been laid level with the Ground by the *Arabs*. Our pious and learned



learned Compatriot, the Venerable *Bede*, who flourished so near those Times, has these Words; *Justinianus Minor, &c. Hic constituit pacem cum Saracenis decennio, terrâ marique, sed & provincia Africa subjugata est Romano Imperio; quæ fuerat tenta à Saracenis, ipsaque Carthagine ab iis capta atque destructa.* The same is affirmed by *Adon*, Arch-Bishop of *Vienna*, *A. D.* 686. But none of them particularize how this Province was recovered. They all seem to intimate, that it was only the East Part of *Barbary*, or *Africa Propria*.

*A. D.* 696. This Year happened all those Disgraces to the Emperor *Justinian*, and his Throne was usurped by *Leontius*, who banished him to *Pontus*. The *Saracens* were again gone into *Barbary*, with a great Force; and the new Emperor sent the whole Imperial Fleet to repulse them, under the Conduct of a prudent Patrician, named *John*; who, at first, was somewhat successful, tho' the *Christian* Affairs were in a most confused and deplorable Condition. However he wintered in *Africa*. *Leontius*, being as universally hated, as *Absmarus*, afterwards named *Tiberius*, was beloved, the Army proclaimed him Emperor, who seized on *Leontius*, cut off his Ears and Nose, and shut him up in a Monastery. This happened to him before he had reigned quite three Years. Nor was it quite seven Years before both he, and *Absmarus* himself, who had used him so cruelly, were ignominiously dragged about the Streets, and put to Death, by *Justinian Rhinotmetos*, when he recovered the Throne, which he held till *A. D.* 711. For every Drop of Water that issued from his amputated Nose, he is said to have sacrificed a Senator to his Vengeance and Repentment.

But we may date the total Reduction of *Barbary* (excepting the few Strong-Holds in Possession of the *Spanish Goths*) by the *Saracens*, from the first Years of the fortunate Reign of *Walid aben Abdalmalec*, the sixth *Khalifa* of the *Ommiade* Race, and *Mahomet's* tenth Successor. This is the Prince who is called *Ulit*, in some *Spanish* Histories. He succeeded his Father *Abdalmalec aben Marwan*, (who reigned but thirteen Months) *A. H.* 86, and most triumphantly swayed the *Saracen* Scepter till *A. H.* 96, almost ten Years, and died *A. D.* 715. His Generals made him absolute Lord not only of very near all *Barbary*, but also of the Islands *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Ivica*, &c. and lastly of almost all *Spain*, and a considerable Part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, or *East-France*. It is observed by *Khondemir*, that the *Mussulman* Historians differ much in their

Sentiments concerning this *Khalifa*; those of *Syria* reckon him the completest Prince of that whole Dynasty; while the Generality of the rest, I mean such as hate both him and all that Race, describe him as a Tyrant, of a cruel and violent Disposition, intirely imitating his Namesakes the *Faraonab*, or *Faraenab*, the *Pharoabs* of *Egypt*: For the *Alides*, and *Abbassides*, their sworn Enemies, always termed them so; and all *Mahometans* give the Surname of *Walid* to all the ancient *Egyptian* Monarchs, who bore the Name of *Pharaob*.

Besides the prodigious Success with which that Prince's Arms were attended, in those his Western Progresses, his Eastern Conquests were very considerable. A good Part of *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*, was rendered tributary to him; and he compelled the great Province of *Mauaralnabar* (or the *Transoxana*, as our Geographers call it) together with all *Turkestan*, to receive the *Mussulman* Faith: And *Katibah aben Moslem*, his Governor of *Khorosan*, scorning to suffer his Troops to lie idle, led them over the River *Gibon*, and laid Siege to the mighty City *Samarcand*, which he forced to capitulate. The chief Articles were, That the King, and all his Subjects, should become *Mussulmans*; and that he should pay to the *Khalifa* an annual Tribute of 2000000 *Dinars* of Gold, and 3000 Slaves. The *Saracen* General immediately destroyed all the Idols, and built in that City a stately Mosque.

This victorious *Khalifa* rebuilt and enlarged the Temple at *Medina*, where *Mahomet*, and some of his first Successors, are interred, and not at *Mecca*, as some have confidently affirmed; not to say any thing of the absurd Fable of the Load-Stone, said by many to hold the Prophet's Iron Coffin suspended in the Air. When this Work was in Hand, the Houses where *Mahomet's* Wives had lived, and which were then standing, and greatly venerated, were, by *Walid's* exprefs Order, pulled down, to make Room for the Additions made to the Mosque. This the Inhabitants of *Medina*, and many others, took most heinously; and reproached the *Khalifa* with having deprived the *Mussulmans*, who, in their Peregrinations from most Parts of the World, resorted to visit that Holy City, of the most beautiful Instance and Monument their Prophet had left them of his transcendent Modesty; since he, whose Power was so extensive, would afford them no better Mansions; they being low, mean and ill-contrived, little becoming his Rank and Character. This *Khalifa*, likewise, built the sumptuous Mosque at *Sbaum*, or *Damascus*, whereto he joined the stately

stately Cathedral of St. *John Baptist*, which, for several Centuries, the Greek Emperors had, with Emulation, enriched and embellished. He was the first who erected *Minarats* in the Mosques, which are those Towers from whence the *Muedhins*, *Mahometan Bells*, or Ecclesiastical Criers, call the *Mussulmans* to their Devotions, five Times every twenty four Hours.

I enlarge the more on the Character of this *Saracen Prince*, because many Parts of *Christendom* had so much Reason to remember his Successes; and shall close this Digression with a brief Account of that Dynasty, which gave Rise to the irreconcilable Enmity among the *Mussulmans*, having divided them into two opposite Factions; one, the *Persians*, and other less considerable People, declaring for *Ali*, Kinsman, Son-in-Law, and fourth Successor to *Mahomet*, the rest for his three Predecessors *Abou-Bekra*, *Omar* and *Othoman*, whom the others hold as Usurpers. The Princes of *Beni Ommeyah*, or the *Ommiades*, were in Number fourteen, in the following Order. 1. *Moawia aben Abou-Sofian*, who reigned, after the Death of *Ali*, 19 Years, 3 Months. 2. *Yezid aben Moawia*, his Son; 3 Years, 2 Months. 3. *Moawia II. aben Yezid*, his Son; only 40 Days. 4. *Marwan aben Hakem, aben Afs*, who was of the same Family, tho' not descended directly from *Moawia*: He reigned 1 Year, 9 Months. 5. *Abdalmalec aben Marwan*, his Son; 1 Year, 1 Month. 6. *Walid aben Abdalmalec*, his Son; 9 Years, 8 Months. 7. *Soliman aben Abdalmalec*, his Brother; 2 Years, 8 Months. 8. *Omar aben Abdalaziz*, Grandson to *Marwan*; 2 Years, 5 Months. 9. *Yezid II. aben Abdalmalec*, Brother to *Walid* and *Soliman*, before mentioned; 4 Years, 1 Month. 10. *Hajhem aben Abdalmalec*, Brother to the last and the other two Princes; 19 Years, 8 Months. 11. *Walid II. aben Yezid II. aben Abdalmalec*, Son to *Yezid II.* 1 Year, 2 Months. 12. *Yezid III. aben Walid II. aben Abdalmalec*, his Son; only 6 Months. 13. *Ibrahim aben Walid II. aben Abdalmalec*, Brother to *Yezid III.* only 2 Months. 14. *Marwan II. aben Mohammad, aben Marwan I. aben Hakem*, Grandson to *Marwan II.* This was the last *Khalifa* of the *Ommiade Race*, I mean in *Asia*, as I shall farther explain.

This Family reigned in *Syria* ninety two Years, viz. from *A. H.* 40, to *A. H.* 132. The Seat of the *Ommiade Khalifas* was *Damascus*. Concerning the Fall of this Dynasty I shall take Notice of two notable Particulars, as related by *Khondemir*, and the Author of the *Nighbiaristan*. The *Arabs* have a quaint Proverb, or Saying, which is; *Dbababat al Doulat Beni Ommeyah te-boulan*: q. d. The Sovereignty of the *Ommiades* vanished

in a Stream of Urine. The Story, which gave Rise to that Saying, is this. The Family of *Abbas*, called *Beni Abbas*, or the *Abbassides*, were avowed Enemies to the *Ommiades*, on account of the Murder of *Ali*, and his Sons, &c. In the fifth and last Year of this *Marwan II.* they had so far strengthened their Party, and were become so formidable, that *Abou'l Abbas Saffab*, the Chief of the *Abbassides*, was in a Condition to advance with an Army, to dispute with *Marwan* for the *Saracen* Empire. This bold Rebel was the Son of *Mohammad*, the Son of *Ali*, the Son of *Abdallab*, the Son of *Abbas*, Uncle to the Prophet *Mahomet*. The Armies being marching to meet and engage, *Marwan*, who, with a Party of Cavalry, was a-head of his Troops, in order to view the Enemy, who were really inferior in Numbers, but well disciplined and resolute, rode off a little from his Retinue, and dismounted to make Water. His Horse immediately ran away full Speed, and got back to the Gross of the Army, who in Consternation to see him without his Rider, concluded the *Khalifa* was slain, and betook themselves to a precipitate Flight, it not being in the Power of any of the Officers to stop them. *Marwan*, amazed to find himself so deserted, and his fine Army so scattered, without striking a Stroke, is said to have uttered these memorable Words; *Edha atmaat al Meddat, la m'enfa al Yeddat*; If the Measure is complete, Hands avail not: Meaning, that when the appointed Period is arrived, no Strength, Power, or Numbers can obstruct its Effect. He fled away, almost alone, to *Damascus*, where, by the Reception he met with, not thinking himself safe, he made a Shift to retire into *Egypt*, and there soon lost his Life, in an Engagement with a Party of the *Abbassides*.

The other Passage is, that *Abdallab*, the new *Khalifa's* Uncle, having put to Death all of the *Ommiade* Family that came in his Reach, there were about 80 of them still remaining with his Guards, who waited to know how those Prisoners should be disposed of. He had them brought before him, and knocked down with great wooden Maces; and then, still groveling and breathing as they were, he ordered them to be laid, close in Ranks, on the Floor, and large Carpets thrown over them, on which he sat down, with the Officers of his Army, and caused a magnificent Repast to be served in, making themselves very merry amidst the Groans and Complaints of those unhappy Victims. He stopped not there; for he commanded the Bodies of all the *Khalifas* of that Family, except that of *Omar aben Abdalaziz*, to be taken out of their Graves, exposed on Gibbets,

bets, and afterwards cast on Dunghills. *Abdalrahman aben Moawia*, Grandson to *Hashem*, the tenth *Khalifa* of this Race, alone had the good Fortune to escape, and, about seven Years after the Massacre, to erect an independent Monarchy in *Spain*, which flourished some Centuries. But to return to the Affairs of *Africa*.

A. D. 722. This was the fatal and disastrous Year, which put a Period to the very Name of *Christianity* throughout *Barbary*, and all its Neighbourhood. The *Saracens* had not attempted its total Extirpation, in *Africa*, till they had got firm Footing in *Spain*. But having reduced the far greater Part of that opulent Country, and enriched themselves with the Spoils of the vanquished *Goths*, their Tyranny and Pride increased with their Wealth and Power. The *African Christians*, of what Sect soever, who would not immediately become *Mahometans*, were either killed or banished. Vast Numbers of them, stripped of their whole Substance, passed into *Europe*. Pope *Gregory II.* anxious and vigilant, lest his Orthodox Flock should be infected with Heresies, and being informed, that many of those Fugitives, destitute of other Means, had betaken themselves to the Church, wrote circular Letters to his substitute Pastors; admonishing them to be on their Guard, and forbidding them to admit into Sacred Orders those *Africans*, as tainted with Heterodoxies. He seems not wholly to exclude the unhappy Exiles, but only such as might give Room for the least Suspicion. In one, he sent to the People of *Turingia*, in *Germany*, he says thus; *Fratrem & Coepiscopum nostrum Bonifacium vobis ordinavimus sacerdotem, cui dedimus in mandatis, ne unquam ordinationes præsumat illicitas, ne bigamum, aut qui virginem non est sortitus, &c. permittat ad sacras ordines accedere, &c. Afros passim ad Ecclesiasticas ordines prætendentes nulla ratione suscipiat, quia aliqui eorum Manichæi, aliqui re-baptizati sæpius sunt probati.* This Epistle bears Date December 1, 722: the seventh Year of that Pontiff.

Hence we may date the intire Reduction of *Barbary*: For tho' the *Gothish* Kings of *Spain* had possessed several Parts of the *Tingitanian* Coasts, under the Direction of a *Comes*, or Governor (which Title the *Spaniards* have corrupted into *Conde*, and we into Count, or Earl,) the last of which Governors was the Traytor *Don Julian*, who introduced the *African Arabs* and *Moors* into his native Country, to its utter Ruin, yet the Sovereignty of those *Spanish* Dominions in *Africa*, which was to have been the Reward of the too successful Treason, soon became incorporated in the rest of

the *Mussulman* Conquests. It is really surprizing to reflect, that, among the Offspring of such Multitudes of *Africans*, exclusive of those who are apparently *Arabs*, it is in no wise possible to distinguish which are of *Christian*, and which of *Pagan* Extraction. Indeed, the remote *Libyans*, and some indomable Mountaineers, may be presumed to owe their Origin to the latter; yet it is but bare Presumption, carrying with it a Face of Probability.

These memorable Exploits were all performed during the fortunate Administration of the famous *Moufa aben Nassir*, whom *Walid* the *Khalifa's* Uncle *Abdalaziz* (or rather *Ab'd-al-Aziz*) Vice-Roy of *Egypt*, sent Governor of *Cairouan*, and consequently of all the *Saracen* Conquests in *Barbary*, &c. that being the Seat of those Governors. He entered upon his Vice-Royalty *A. H.* 89. *A. D.* 708, by dispossessing a Grandson of the before-mentioned *Sidi Occuba*, who built that City, out of the Ruins of the ancient *Cyrene*, as some affirm. Before he had been there full three Years, his Arms, or other Methods were so successful, that *A. H.* 92. *A. D.* 711, he was in a Condition to listen to the Insinuations of the infamously famous Count *Julian*, Governor of the *Gothish* Dominions in *Hispania Transfretana*, or the ancient *Tingitana*, and to send over with him into *Spain* one of his Captains, named *Tharek aben Zeyad*. The first *Arabs* and *Moors* he carried over were so small a Number, that they are recorded not to have exceeded 500: But when *Moufa* perceived, that they had got firm Footing on the opposite Shore, he soon supplied them with a Reinforcement of 12000. This brave and fortunate *Moor*, said to have been *Moufa's* own Slave, has rendered his Name immortal to all Posterity. The Place of his landing was under Mount *Calpe*, that high Rock, at whose Foot now lies our *Gibraltar*, which Word is no other than an odd and uncooth Imitation of *Jibil Tharek*. In *Arabick* a Mountain is *Jibil*; and so *Tharek's* Mountain. The *Spaniards*, after their corrupt and abusive Manner, pronounce it *Khibraltar*. So the small Town *Algezira*, which some call *Old Gibraltar*, opposite to it in the Bay of that Name, is, by the *Arabs*, called *Al Fezeirat Tharek*, or the Island, or rather *Peninsula* of *Tharek*; for they use only that Word to express both. *Tarifa*, another little Town, not far from thence, takes, also, its Name from *Tarif*, or *T'rif*, an *Arab* Commander in the same Expedition.

This *Tharek* may justly be counted to have been the Conqueror of *Spain*: For tho' *Moufa*, emulous of his Servant's Glory, came over and compleated the

the Conquest; yet it was not till after he had, in eight successive Battles, against the whole Power of the *Goths* and *Spaniards*, gained the compleatest Victory that is to be met with in Story. To this *Moussa* some attribute that proud Speech I mentioned p. 145. *Marmol* erroneously dates this *African* Invasion of *Spain* *A. H.* 100, which he makes *A. D.* 710. Whereas, (according to that unerring Table, p. 115, 116,) *A. H.* 100. must infallibly be *A. D.* 718.

But, sooner or later, it proved a most inauspicious Expedition to *Spain*; since from the Defeat of *Don Rodrigo*, the last of the *Gothish* Kings of that Country, which was but a few Days from *Tharek's* first landing, till *A. D.* 1492, when *Granada* was reduced by *Don Ferdinand* the *Catholic*, the *Moors* maintained a sovereign Authority in *Spain*; tho', indeed, they latterly were only Masters of the Kingdom of that Name, in *Andaluzia*. Nor were they totally expelled till *A. D.* 1610. Nay, that impolitick, as well as not very equitable Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* produced Consequences not much less prejudicial to *Spain*, than did even the *Saracen* Invasion, and their 900 Years Cohabitation; those Regions, never over stocked, being thereby in a Manner depopulated, losing at that Time near a Million of their most industrious Inhabitants, and such as, notwithstanding all that is insinuated to the contrary, would have remained tolerable Subjects, had not those fiery Zealots, the Inquisitors, and the rest of the Bigots, been so very rigid, and borne so hard upon their Consciences. For plainer Demonstrations upon this Theme, read what I said concerning the CASE of the MORISCOES<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Vide Mahometism Explained, V. II.

Some TESTIMONIES of the Pride, Tyranny and Injustice of the ROMANS in general, and of the enormous Vices of the AFRICAN CHRISTIANS in particular; which much conduced to their Overthrow, and the Loss of those Provinces. Taken from ALDRETE.

AS I intimated, that something should be said on this Subject, I chuse this Place to insert it: And tho' much might be collected from other Authors, yet I pitch upon Part of what I find in *Aldrete*, rather than any other; he being a Writer of Repute, deemed a good *Catholick*, and was a *Spanish* Churchman. Surely, one of such a Character is to be depended on, and doubtless he approved of all he quoted. Out of the much he advances a few Instances only shall be remarked.

Having first given a particular Account of the Care taken by the Emperor *Justinian*, to supply the several Garrisons, throughout those Provinces, after the Expulsion of the *Vandals*, and to dispose Matters in the most advantageous Manner, in order to defend them against the Incursions of the *Barbarians*, he next exclaims very much against the Ambition, Avarice and insufferable Arrogance of the *Romans*, both in former and later Ages. Among many Examples he says might be produced, he cites, the Return made by the *Roman* Senate to *Simon*, who sent them that noble Shield of Gold, which weighed 1000 *Mine*, and which he translates *mil Libras*, 1000 Pounds. What answered the *Romans* to this? says he. Why it was decreed; *Quam gratiarum actionem reddemus Simoni, & filiis ejus, &c. Et statuerunt ei libertatem, & descripserunt in tabulis æreis, &c.* He wonders at the Insolence of the *Romans*, in presuming to affect a Superiority over a free People, and to pronounce, as it were graciously and generously, Liberty to a Person, who made them a Present merely to cultivate with them a friendly Alliance; and that Favour of Liberty was vouchsafed to only the Donor. He quotes *Trogus Pompeius*, laughing at the *Roman* Liberality, in distributing what was none of their own to give away: *A Demetrio cum descivissent [Judæi] amicitia Romanorum petita, primi omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus.*



He justly finds Fault with their Ingratitude towards their Allies, the Haughtiness with which they treated them, and how ill their promised<sup>o</sup> Stipends were paid, which occasioned much Bloodshed and Disorder; then quotes *Suidas* affirming it; and to conclude says, that the *Moors* would not be so served, nor wait their Leisure, but would be their own Pay-Masters; adding, that they did no more than what any others would have done on the like Occasion.

To back this, he repeats what <sup>p</sup> *Procopius* says of the military Exorbitances in *Italy*, where Discipline ought to have been in its Center. To say nothing of the Luxury and Debaucheries which reigned in the Camps, which he describes as the filthiest of Brothels; their Subjects and Allies were more grievously oppressed by those Armies, whose Duty it was to protect them, than they could have been by the most savage Enemy. The same Author before observes, that the Arrears were very great, and much neglected, which was one chief Cause of the People's Sufferings.

These, and many others, were the Calamities the harrassed Provinces underwent in War Time: But he makes them more insupportable in Times of Peace. *Salvianus*, (who wrote his *De Providentia*, in the fifth Century) after a Preamble, grievously lamenting the Misery of the Times, particularly the Licentiousness of the Great, is introduced saying, *Nam illud latrocinium, ac scelus, quis dignè eloqui possit? Quod cum Romana Respublica, vel jam mortua, vel certè extremum spiritum agens, in ea parte quæ adhuc vivere videtur, tributorum vinculis, quasi prædonum manibus strangulata moriatur.* He says well, (proceeds *Aldrete*) and specifies the Calamities and the miserable Inundation of Vice and Enormities, with a still greater Torrent of Injustice and Violence, the inseparable Companions of Immorality. Among other most pathetick Expressions, *Salvianus* uses these, *Interea vastantur pauperes, viduæ gemunt, orphani proculcantur in tantum, ut multi eorum, & non obscuris natalibus editi, & liberaliter instituti, ad hostes fugiant, ne persecutionis publicæ afflictione moriantur: querentes scilicet apud Barbaros Romanam humanitatem, quia apud Romanos Barbaram inhumanitatem ferre non possunt. Et quamvis ab his ad quos confugiunt, discrepent ritu, discrepent lingua, ipso etiam, ut ita dicam corporum, atque induviarum Barbaricarum fœtore dissentiant, malunt tamen in Barbaris pati cultum dissimilem, quàm in Romanis injustitiam servientem.* Again. <sup>r</sup> *Prætereo ava-*

<sup>o</sup> Vide P. 96, &c. 103, &c.    <sup>p</sup> L. 3. De Bel Gotb.    <sup>r</sup> L. 4.    <sup>s</sup> L. 7.

ritiæ inhumanitatem, quod proprium est Romanorum penè omnium malum: relinquatur ebrietas, nobilibus ignobilibusque communis: taceatur superbia, & tumor: tam peculiare hoc divitum regnum est, ut aliquid forsitan de jure suo se putent perdere, si hinc sibi alius quidquam voluerit vindicare. In another Place he says; *Quis æstimare rem hujus iniquitatis potest? Solutionem sustinent divitum, & indigentiam mendicorum: plus multo est, quod dicturus sum, indictiones tributarias ipsi interdum divites faciunt, pro quibus pauperes solvunt. Sed dicas cum ipsorum maximus census sit, & ipsorum maximæ pensiones, quomodo id fieri potest, ut ipsi sibi augeri debitum velint? Neque ego id dico, quod sibi augeant. Nam & ideo augent, quia non sibi augent. Dicam quomodo. Veniunt plerumque novi nuncii novarum epistolarum à summis sublimitatibus missi, qui commendantur illustribus paucis ad exitia plurimorum. Decernuntur bis nova munera, decernuntur novæ indictioes, decernunt potentes, quod solvant pauperes, decernit gratia divitum quod perdat turba miserorum. Ipsi enim in nullo sentiunt, quod decernunt, &c. Estote ergo vos divites primi in conferendo, qui estis primi in decernendo. Estote primi in largitate rerum, qui primi estis in liberalitate verborum. Qui das de meo, dà & de tuo: tametsi rectissimè quisquis ille est, qui solus vis capere gratiam, solus patereris expensam. Sed acquiescamus pauperes vestræ divites voluntati, quod pauci jubetis, solvamus omnes. Quid tam justum, quid tam humanum? Gravant nos novis debitis decreta vestra, facite saltem debitum ipsum vobiscum esse commune. Quid enim iniquius esse aut indignius potest, quàm ut soli sitis immunes à debito, quàm qui cunctos facitis debitores? Et quidem miserrimi pauperes, sic totum quod diximus solvunt: quod qua re, vel qua ratione solvant penitus ignorant.*

All this is a most lively Description of the Oppressions of the Roman Subjects, especially of those of the rich Provinces. Of all the Provinces in the whole Empire *Africa* was justly esteemed the most opulent. The same Author enlarges much on its great Trade, and immense Wealth, and adapts all the Prophet <sup>u</sup> *Ezekiel* says of *Tyre* to the *African* Cities; saying, with a seeming Emotion; *Quæ omnia nunquid non talia sunt, ut vel specialiter de Africanis dicta videantur? Ubi enim majores thesauri, ubi major negotiatio, ubi promptuaria pleniora? Auro, inquit, implesti thesaurus tuos à multitudine negotiationis tuæ. Ego puto adeo divitem quondam Africanam fuisse, ut mihi copia negotiationis suæ non suos tantum, sed etiam mundi videatur implese.*

This Wealth was what the *Romans* thirsted after, and what the *Vandals* took from them, and they again from the *Vandals*. Of these last this Author says, that when they subdued other Provinces, they only sucked the Blood from the Veins, but left some Life remaining; but from *Africa* they took the very Soul: *Africam ipsam, id est quasi animam cepere reipublicæ*. Again, he thus paints the Effects of the *Roman* Tyranny, the Consequence of their Pride and Avarice. *Itaque passim vel ad Gothos, vel Baogandas, vel ad alios ubique dominantes Barbaros commigrant, & commigrasse non pœnitent. Malunt enim sub specie captivitatis vivere liberi, quàm sub specie libertatis esse captivi. Itaque nomen civium Romanorum, aliquando non solum magno æstimatum, sed magno emptum, nunc ultro repudiatur ac fugitur, nec vile tantum, sed etiam abominabile pene habetur. Et quod esse majus testimonium iniquitatis Romanæ potest, quàm quod plerique & honesti, & quibus Romanus status summo & splendori esse debuit & honori, & hoc tamen Romanæ iniquitatis crudelitate compulsi sunt ut nolint esse Romani?*

Thus degenerated, the *Romans* needed no Enemies but themselves. When *Rome* was in its Glory, what greater Reward had it to bestow than that of the Honour and Immunity due to a *Roman* Citizen! *Salvianus* seems to have taken these Matters more to Heart than any other Writer, and speaks of them very feelingly. Having enlarged upon the Vices and Immoralities of other Provinces, he comes to those of the *Africans*, in these remarkable Sentences: *Omnes denique habent sicut peculiaria mala, etiam quædam bona. In Afris pene omnibus nescio quid non malum. Si accusanda est inhumanitas, inhumani sunt, si ebrietas ebrii sunt, si falsitas fallacissimi, si dolus fraudulentissimi, si cupiditas cupidissimi, si perfidia perfidissimi. Impuritas eorum, atque blasphemia his omnibus admiscenda non sunt, quia illis supra diximus malis aliarum gentium, his autem, etiam sua ipsorum vicerunt. Ac primum, ut de impuritate dicamus, quis nescit Africam totam obscænis libidinum tædis semper arsisse, non ut terram, ac sedem hominum, sed ut Ætneam impudicarum esse flammaram.*

This is really a strange Character of a People: And it evidently appears, that he means not the rude, unpolished, roving *Africans*, but the polite, civilized Citizens, who had *Orthodox* Pastors to set them better Examples. What he relates of the Metropolis of *Carthage*, when besieged and taken by the *Vandals*, sufficiently demonstrates the contrary: *Quis æstimare hoc malum possit? Circumsonabant armis muros Carthaginis populi Barbarorum, & Ecclesia Carthaginensis insaniebat in circis, luxuriabatur in theatris,*

*theatris, alii foras jugulabantur, alii intus fornicabantur: pars plebis erat foris captiva hominum, pars intus captiva vitiorum, &c. Fragor, ut ita dixerim, extra muros, & intra muros praeliorum & ludicrorum confundebatur, vox morientium, voxque bacchantium: vix forsitan discerni poterat plebis ejulatio, que cadebat in bello, & sonus populi qui clamabat in circo.* Farther on he says; *Denique prope omne fraudam, falsitatum, perjuriarum nefas: nulla unquam his malis Romana civitas caruit, sed specialius hoc scelus Afrorum omnium fuit. Nam sicut in sentinam profundæ colluviones omnium sordium, sic in mores eorum, quasi ex omni mundo vitia fluxerunt.* Again. *Unde & quod Vandali ad Africam transierunt, non est divinæ severitate, sed Afrorum scelere deputandum.* In another Place he compares the *Africans* to the People of *Sodom*, &c. but it cannot be supposed, that he speaks of the *Pagan Africans*, in the Mountains and Defarts, but he certainly means the Inhabitants of the great Cities, with whom he must needs have been most acquainted.

I have transcribed all these Testimonies in the Author's own Words, as *Aldrete* has done, with an Infinity of others, not much less to the Purpose, which I omit, these being sufficient to prove that the *Romans*, &c. were not so universally hated, by the natural *Africans*, without Cause, and that the *Grandees*, among the *Christians* of *Africa*, who were chiefly of *Roman* Extraction, had so far inherited the Pride, Haughtiness, and all the other Vices of their Fathers, and had even improved them to such a Degree, that had the *Saracens* never attacked them, they could not long have subsisted; so degenerate, so effeminate, and so disunanimous were they grown, and so contemptible had they rendered themselves. This Discourse I shall close with one more Quotation, from *Victor* of *Utica*, concerning the Hatred of the natural *Africans* to the *Romans*, and probably to all *Christians* for their Sakes: And I am apt to believe, that in the succeeding Times this Hatred rather increased than diminished: So that all Circumstances considered, I say, it is not at all to be wondered at, that the *Mahometan Saracens* found the *African Moors* so passive, and so ready to fall in with their Measures, since they apparently tended to the ridding them of their greatest Eyefore, the imperious, impiously vicious, insatiably avaricious, and consequently insufferably tyrannical *Christians*.

What *Victor* says is this. *Nonnulli qui barbaros diligitis, & eos in condemnationem vestram aliquando laudatis, discutite nomen, & intelligite mores.*

*Nunquid alio proprio nomine vocitari poterant, nisi ut Barbari dicerentur, ferocitatis utique, crudelitatis, & terroris vocabulum, possidentes? Quos quantiscumque muneribus foveris, quantiscumque delinieris obsequiis, illi aliud nesciunt, nisi invidere Romanis, & quantum ad eorum attinet voluntatem, semper cupiunt splendorem, & genus Romani nominis nebulare; nec ullum Romanorum omnino desiderat vivere. Et ubi adhuc noscuntur parcere subjectis, ad utendum illorum servitiis illorum parant: nam nullum dilexerunt aliquando Romanum.* Tho' the good Pastor utters this in such plaintive Terms, seeming to exclaim against the natural *Africans*, as perfidious and ungrateful *Barbarians*, not to be won by any good Offices, but hating the *Romans* merely because they were *Romans*, without mentioning any Reason they had for so doing; yet the foregoing Testimonies fully evidence, that the Motives of that Hatred were the same which cause the present *Moors* to hate the *Turks* of *Barbary*; their Pride, their Insolence, their rapacious Avarice, their Tyranny: But still, this I know, a *Turkish* Bridle, harsh as it is, will ever feel easier in the Mouth of an *African*, than will that of a *Christian*, for the Reasons I have advanced in other Places\*: More especially, if the Reins happen to be lodged in the Hands of such as assume to themselves the peculiar Title of *Good and Catholick Christians*. The *Turkish* Inquisitor searches the Depth of the Purses of all within his Reach; but as for their Morals he little concerns himself about them; and their Consciencés he leaves wholly unscrutinized.

*The History of BARBARY, &c. continued, to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century; when ALGIERS came into the Possession of the TURKS.*

**C**AIROUAN, as I observed, was the Capital of *Barbary*, after the Conquest of those Provinces, and was the chief Seat of the *Saracen* Vice-Roys; tho' they sometimes visited the *Tingitana*; in order to have an Eye upon their Affairs in *Spain*. The *Arabs* were indifferently numerous; but few in Comparison with their mercenary *Moorish* Allies; who,

\* Vide P. 68. 146. 147. 150. 151.

according to Custom, sided with them to curb such other *Africans* as began to be weary of those Interlopers; who, doubtless, were not so obliging as they seem'd to promise, when they wanted their Concurrence, or at least their Neutrality, the better to enable them to exterminate the *Christians*. The *Khalifas* reinforced their Garrisons in *Africa*; and the Vice-Roys of *Barbary* took Care to supply those of *Spain*, with a Mixture of *Arabs* and *Africans*. The *Arabs* were Lords of all the Cities, Towns, &c. throughout the level Country of *Barbary*, and great Part of *South-Numidia*: And few, or rather none of them dwelled in Tents, as they do now; nor did they till many Years after. Cruel and bloody Wars were carried on between those two haughty Rivals, the ancient *Africans*, and the *African Arabs*, assisted by Multitudes of Profelyte *Moors*. Of these Wars their Histories are full: But the *Khalifas* made Shift to maintain their Sovereignty, without any very material Interruption, till about the tenth Year of that great and magnificent *Saracen* Prince, *Haroun al Rashid*, the fifth *Khalifa* of the *Abbasside* Family.

A. H. 184. A. D. 800. This memorable Prince, on whom the Oriental Writers bestow such Encomiums, sent to govern *Africa* a certain ambitious *Arab* Captain, named *Ibrahim aben Aglab*, who soon shook off his Allegiance, and erected a Dynasty of Princes, in the Eastern Parts of *Barbary*, down to *Tunis*, known by the Title of *Al Aglabiah*, *Beni Aglab*, or the *Aglabites*, which lasted about 112 Years. Other Provinces were seized by another Captain, sent Governor by the *Abbassides*, whose Name was *Rostam*, and who founded a Dynasty, called *Al Rostamiah*, or *Beni Rostam*, which ended with the other, and by the same Means, both being rooted out by the *Fathimites*. They reckon eleven Princes of the *Aglabite* Family. The last, named *Ziadat Allah*, escaped to *Egypt*, from whence he removed to *Ramla* in *Palestine*, where he died. Some will have it, that these Princes returned to their Duty, and acknowledged the *Khalifas* for their Sovereigns.

Much about the Time of *Aben Aglab's* Revolt, *Edris aben Edris*, *aben Abdallah*, said to have descended, in a direct Line, from *Ali*, the fourth *Khalifa*, Kinsman and Son-in-Law to the *Mussulman* Prophet *Mahomet*, erected another Dynasty in the *Tingitana*, which usurped all the rest of the Country; so that between those three Rebels, who divided the whole Region, the *Khalifas* lost every Foot of their *African* Conquests, except *Egypt*. The Memory of this *Edris* is highly venerated by the *Africans*.

They

They call him *Moulei Edris*, and acknowledge him as the Founder of the famous City *Fez*, or rather *Fefs*; which is to be understood of that much larger Division of it, called *Old-Fez*: The other two Divisions are more modern. This Family, called *Al Adarassab*, had the same Fate with its Contemporaries, the *Aglabites*, &c. being extinguished in a bloody Massacre, by that cruel Incendiary, and *Mahometan* Schismatick *Khalifa* of *Africa*, who, in a Manner, laid the whole Region desolate; I mean *Al Mebedi*, who began his tyrannick Usurpation, *A. H.* 206. *A. D.* 909. I had almost forgot to insert another Dynasty, founded about the same Time with the other three, named *Bent Medrar*, and who met with the like Fate. Their Capital was *Segelmessa*.

This *Al Mebedi*, who was the Founder of the Dynasty of the *Fathimites*, was Son to *Obeid-Allah*. He had the same Name with his Prophet *Mahomet*, being called *Mohammad Aboul Cassem*, and surnamed *Al Mebedi*, which signifies, the Director; setting up himself for that fabulous *Al Mebedi*, the twelfth of those called the *Imaums*, or Teachers, who is expected by the *Mussulmans* as a *Messiah* is by the *Jews*. The Pseudo-Prophet left a prophetic Tradition to his Disciples; the Words are these; *Al laras thalatha miab tatbla al fimsb men magribba*: i. e. In the Year 300, the Sun will rise in the West: This Date is to be understood of the *Hejira*. But he anticipated that Date by four Years; tho' some say but two, and that he did not begin to appear till *A. H.* 298. His Residence was at *Segelmessa*, in the Western Part of *South-Numidia*; a great and ancient City. Tho' he, his Son and Grandson assumed the Titles of *Khalifa*, and *Amir al Mounentn*, yet most of the *Mussulman* Historians allow them only to his Great-Grandson, *Moez-al Din Allah*, who removed his Regal Seat from *Barbary* to *Grand Cairo*, in *Egypt*, where he established a powerful Empire, which lasted many Years. This Dynasty is known, in the Oriental Histories, under the Appellation of *Doulat al Fathimiab*, or *Fathimioun*: For to every Dynasty it must be observed, that *Doulat* is prefixed, as *Doulat al Aglabiab*, the Reign of the *Aglabites*, and so of the rest. These *Fathimites* are sometimes called *Alides* and *Ishmaelites*.

The *Shaites*, or the Partisans of *Ali*, as are the *Perfians* and some others, pretend that this Impostor *Al Mebedi* descended, in a direct Male Line, from *Ishmael*, the Son of *Jiaffer-Sadik*, the sixth *Imaumi*. But the *Sunnites* or Orthodox *Mussulmans*, as they call themselves, will never agree to it, reckoning all that Party as Hereticks, and the *Abbasside* Historians

produce authentick Testimonies to prove that Usurper's Origin from a mean Fellow in *Egypt*. However, he proved himself a Person of no mean Conduct and Resolution. He soon became absolute in all the Western Parts of *Barbary*, &c. and from thence made himself Master of all the rest. In the Year intimated by the Prophet *Mabomet*, for the *Mebedi*, or Grand Director to appear, viz. *A. H.* 300, he sent no less than three Armies into *Egypt*, in order to add that rich and important Region to the rest of his late Acquisitions: But they were all defeated by the Arms of *Möctader Billah*, the *Abbasside Khalifa* of *Bagdad*. Yet he lost not Courage at those Repulses; going in Person and laying Siege to *Scanderia*, or *Alexandria*, which Capital he took by Storm; but made no farther Advantage of that Success. Returning to *Cairovan*, he built the City *Mebedia*, on the nearest Coast, said to have risen out of the Ruins of the ancient *Aphrodisium*, or rather, according to many others, *Adrumetum*, more commonly called *Africa*. Thither he removed his Court, and it became the chief Residence both of him and his Successors. This City was taken from the famous *Dragut Rais*, and demolished by the Emperor *Charles V.* under the Conduct of his Admiral the brave *Andrea Doria*, *A. D.* 1551, as is, very particularly, related by *Marmol*. *Al Mebedi* died *A. H.* 322, *A. D.* 934; having tyrannized twenty six Years.

He was succeeded by his Son, *Gaiem-b'Emr' Allah*, who completed the Ruin of *Africa*. In the twelfth and last Year of his Reign, *Abou Yezid*, his ambitious and too powerful *Wizir*, or Prime Minister, revolted, and straitly besieged him, and his whole Family, in the Castle of *Mebedia*. He so repented the Insolence of that ungrateful Rebel, that he sickened and died, *A. H.* 334. *A. D.* 945. His Son and Successor, *Al Mansür Ismael*, concealed his Death, for some Time, when waiting an Opportunity, he found means to take a severe Vengeance. This Prince lived till *A. H.* 341. *A. D.* 952.

He was succeeded by his Son *Moez al Din Allah*, who kept his Court sometimes at *Cairovan*, and other times at *Mebedia*, till he quitted *Barbary*, for *Egypt*, which his brave and successful General *Jaubar* had conquered. The Historian *Nouairi* remarks of this Prince, that he passed over into the Island of *Sardinia*, where he continued almost a Year. This Island, *Malta* and *Sicily*, had been conquered long before. At his Return he touched at *Tripoly*, and soon after, sailing away for *Alexandria*, *A. H.* 362. *A. D.* 973; he utterly abandoned *Barbary*. He employed himself chiefly



in finishing the stately City of *Al Caberah*, (i. e. the Victorious or Triumphant) or *Grand-Cairo*, which his General *Jaubar* had founded, under the Horoscope of the Planet *Mars*, named *Caberah* by the *Arabs*. *Aben Shunab* writes, that, before this Prince left *Africa*, he caused all his Gold and Silver to be cast into Pieces, of the Shape and Bigness of Mill-Stones, one of which was a Camel's Load: Which Mill-Stones must have been of the smallest Size. He adds, that he ordered his own Name to be mentioned in the Mosques, suppressing that of the *Khalifa Motbi Lillah*; and that they admitted it not only in *Egypt*, but also in *Syria* and *Arabia*, even in the City *Medina*; and that *Mecca* alone refused to acknowledge him. The rest of the *Saraten* Empire in the East remained to the *Khalifa* of *Bagdad*.

This Schism of two *Khalifas* continued till *A. H.* 567. *A. D.* 1171, when *Saladin*, or *Salahadin* ruled in *Egypt*, under the Direction of *Sultan Nouredin*, Monarch of *Syria*, *Arabia*, &c. having put an End to the Dynasty of the *Fatimites*, and commanded that *Mostadbi*, the *Khalifa* of *Bagdad*, should alone be acknowledged for the legitimate Successor of *Mahomet*, and Sovereign *Imaum*, or Pontiff of all the *Mussulmans*. They count fourteen *Khalifas* of this Family, tho' only eleven of them can be properly so called; the three first reigning only in *Barbary*. *Moez* died *A. H.* 365. *A. D.* 975, aged forty five Years, of which he reigned twenty four. Of this Prince it is reported, that being asked, What particular Branch of *Ali's* Family he belonged to? He laid his Hand on his Sword, and said, *Hadda Jinsi*; This is my Genealogy: And then throwing Gold among his Guards, he added, *Hadda Nesbi*; This is my Family.

The Person he left in *Africa*, I mean *Barbary*, to govern in *Cairouan* during his Absence, namely *Yousouf aben Zeiri*, *aben Menad*, of the Tribe of *Sinbajia*, immediately set up for himself, tho' he pretended to seize the Country for the *Khalifa* of *Bagdad*, and founded a Dynasty, which, according to some, flourished, under nine Princes, till *A. H.* 543. *A. D.* 1148: Tho' others affirm, that it was dispossessed of all Sovereignty some Years earlier, as I shall observe. It is known by the Name of *Doulat al Zeiriat*, often spoken of in the *Spanisb* Histories, under the corrupt Name of *Zegrís*. Those of this Family made a great Figure among the Nobility of *Granada*, and were very remarkable for their Enmity with the noble

Family of the *Abencerrages*, rather *Beni Serrajah*, whose Posterity are still in *Spain*, and in great Repute, having become *Christians* before the City *Granada* was conquered. The Name of the last Prince of this Dynasty was *Hassan aben Ali*, said to have been killed in a Battle by the Forces of *Roger II.* King of *Sicily* and *Calabria*, and others, who were design'd for the *Holy Land*, but came upon the Coast of *Barbary*, A. D. 1148. *Roger II.* Great Uncle to this Prince, recovered *Sicily* from the *Saracens*. The Founder of this Dynasty built, or rather repaired several Cities, which the *Schismatics* had ruined; and among others *Bujeya*, which we call *Bugia*, famous for *Sir Edward Sprag's* notable Exploit in 1671, against the *Algerines*, when he destroyed twelve, tho' some say but nine of their best Ships, under the Canon of the Castle.

It must be observed, that this Family of the *Zeiriat* enjoyed only a Part of what their rebellious Founder had usurped; being obliged to content themselves with a Corner of *Barbary*, in Comparison with the whole, and which seems to have been only some of the Coast; and that, of the contiguous Mountaineers, some were actually their Vassals, but more their Allies. I cannot but fancy *Algiers* to have been their Seat, on Account of the Name; and shall, elsewhere, give my Reasons for being of that Opinion. As for the level Country, they were dispossessed of it, by an Inundation of *Arabs*, from *Asia*; which *Arabs* are reported to have been the first of that Nation in *Africa*, who had accustomed themselves to dwell in Tents, as they now do, since the Rise of *Mahometism*. Till then they inhabited all the principal Cities and Towns, intermixed with the ancient *Moorish* Citizens, and doubtless with many of *Christian* Extraction, tho' utterly undistinguishable. The best Account I find of this Revolution is as follows.

As the preceding *Khalifas* had been all very sensible what inveterate Enemies the *Scenite Arabs* were to Cities and walled Towns, and, indeed, to all fixed Habitations, they had all along supplied their *African Vice-Roys* only with such Reinforcements as they required, but strictly forbid their Governor of *Egypt* to suffer any *Arabian Tribes* to pass down into *Barbary*, which they had often sollicit'd; as well knowing they would ruin the Country. Nor did the *Saracens* there settled ever desist from preventing it, as much as possible, by Presents and Intercessions; and by this some of the greediest *Khalifas* replenished their Coffers; seeming to grant Leave to the *Arabs* to pass, with their Families, thro' *Egypt*, in

order to take Possession of such Lands, in *Barbary*, as, upon those Occasions, the crafty *Khalifas* would feign they were about to purchase. The *African Vice-Roys* rightly judging it would turn to far better Account to give Encouragement to some natural *Africans*, who, while they were well paid, would not fail to stand by them, and so keep up the Ballance, that their Authority might be maintained without having Recourse to such *Locusts*, as they knew the *Scenixes* to be. Thus they continued, I believe, till the *Fatimite* Family was established in *Egypt*; tho' Authors disagree as to the exact Time. <sup>2</sup> *Leo Africanus*, besides the Mistake, I mentioned, of above 360 Years, enough to breed the greatest Confusion imaginable, makes a long Story of this coming of *Arab Tribes* into *Barbary*; but is very much out in Point of Chronology: For he fixes the Time *A. H.* 400, (as, by the bye, he does the second Visit made by the *Mahometans* to this Country, in the Reign of <sup>2</sup> *Othoman*) and in the Reign of *Al Caiem*, whom he calls *Elcain*, Son of *Al Mebedi*, Founder of the Family of the *Fatimites*; whereas, as appears in the foregoing Pages (from the Testimony of *D'Herbelot*, in divers Places, who quotes the most celebrated *Mussulman* Historians) that Prince lived but till *A. H.* 534: Nor was he ever in *Egypt*.

What is mostly to be gathered from *D'Herbelot*, and from what I remember to have heard, read, and talked of in *Barbary*, and from whence neither *Leo* nor *Marmol*, much dissent as to Particulars, is, That when *Moez*, the *Khalifa* of *Egypt*, was informed that the *Khalifa* of *Bagdad* was coming to attack him, and that he had established the Rebel *Yousouf aben Zeiri*, &c. in the Vice-Royalty of all *Barbary*, which he feigned to hold in his Name, and finding his Treasury much drained by the prodigious Expence he had been at in carrying on the sumptuous Buildings he had erected at *Grand Cairo*, his new Metropolis, he was at a great *Non-plus*. He meditated some terrible Chastisement for his brave and successful General *Jaubar*, notwithstanding the many and important Services he had rendered him, during his prudent and faithful Administration; being thro' his Importunities that he abandoned his *Barbary* Dominions. One of his Counsellors, whose Name I find not mentioned, perceiving him to be extremely pensive and uneasy, told him, that if he would give Ear to his Advice, he should not fail of having a stout Army, which

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<sup>2</sup> Vide P. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

would afford more Employment to his Rebel than he was able to dispense with, and which, far from putting him to the least Expence, should supply him with a Sum of ready Money sufficient to enable him to face his other Adversaries. This was Musick to the Ears of the half-desponding *Moez*, who, in a Rapture of Joy and Impatience, told that Statesman, that, provided he made good his Promise, he had won his Heart for ever. "My Promise will be, infallibly, made good, in every Tittle, said he, if your Highness will but grant the long sollicitated for Permission to the *Arab Tribes* to pass Westward into *Barbary*. I will venture to engage for their giving you a Ducat *per Head*, for themselves and Families, and to take a solemn Oath of being irreconcilable Enemies to all that are in Rebellion against your Highness." Tho' this Proposal shocked the *Khalifa*, as well guessing at the Havock those Free-Booters would make in that his dear native Country; yet the Exigence of his Affairs, his all being at Stake, and the Desire of Revenge, prevailed with him to consent; and from *Arabia Deserta* and *Arabia Felix*, upon the aforesaid Conditions, there came down many Tribes of warlike *Arabs*, consisting of no less than 50000 Men fit for Battle, all Cavalry, with Multitudes of Women, Children and other useles People, and innumerable Drovers of Camels; but no other Cattle except Horses. Till this Time, few or no *Arabian Women* came into *Barbary*, as the Natives report. These *Arabs* are now dispersed all over the Country, few of them in the Mountains, but still fewer in any of the Towns, <sup>b</sup> they looking down, with the utmost Scorn and Contempt, upon all who conform to a fixed Mansion: And these are the *Arabs* who stocked *Barbary* with Camels, there not being any very considerable Numbers of those Creatures before the Arrival of those Tribes, as I have hinted <sup>c</sup>.

*Leo* quotes the *African Historian Ib'n al Rakik*, and says, that these *Arabs* first laid Siege to *Tripoly*, which Place they took, and put to the Sword all the Inhabitants who had not the good Fortune to escape by Flight: The like they did by *Capes*, now belonging to *Tunis*; as does, likewise, *Cairouan*, which was the then Metropolis of all the Country, and the next Place they attacked. In this noble City the *Arabs* committed unheard of Inhumanities, therein but too well observing their Oath of being cruel Enemies. *Yousouf aben Zeiri* is supposed there to

<sup>b</sup> Vide P. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Vide P. 87. 97, & seq.

have lost his Life, together with several of his Family: But it is certain that at least one of his Sons had the Happiness to escape, and found Sanctuary among the Mountaineers; soon gaining a Party sufficient to enable him to erect and to maintain a no inconsiderable Sovereignty, in the Name of the *Khalifa* of *Bagdad*, who qualified him his Vice-Roy of *Africa*. The *Arabs* over-ran and destroyed all the plain Country, and penetrated into many Parts of *South-Numidia*, and from thence even into *Libya*; in which Incursions they failed not of the Company and Assistance of some *Moorish* Tribes, ever ready to serve for Plunder, tho' against their own Kindred. In this Respect, as in many others, the *Moors* and *Arabs* so exactly agree, that they may well pass for the same People.

*Leo*, from *Ib'n al Rakik*, the *African* Chronologist, gives an ample Account of these *Arabs*. He says they were ten Tribes, or Families, from *Arabia Deserta*, and half the Inhabitants of that Region; with many from *Arabia Fœlix*; tho' to all he gives but three general Names: But the Subdivisions he makes 600, many of which he mentions by Names still in Being, and some I never heard of; tho' that is no Argument of their Non-Existence: And I believe, that had he swelled the Number of petty Divisions, including the *Moors*, or natural *Africans*, to 6000, he would not much have over-shot himself; they being almost innumerable.

*Barbary* being thus, in a manner, divided among a People without any supreme Head, the Chief of each Tribe disdaining to acknowledge a Superior; and the Natives of each *Arabia* claiming a peculiar Nobility of Descent, great Dissentions arose, and the whole Country was lamentably harassed, during those Days of Anarchy and Confusion.

The general Distinctions the *Arabs* make among them are these. The more ancient *Arabs*, who pretend a lineal Descent from *Jarab*, the Son of *Jostan*, the Son of *Heber*, who, after the Destruction of *Babel*, inhabited that *Asiatick Peninsula*, known to us under the Name of *Arabia*, and which is divided into three Regions, *Fœlix*, *Deserta*, and *Petrea*; tho' I think the Orientals themselves seldom make any other Distinction, than *Hajiaz* for the two last, and *Yeman* for the first. From this *Jarab* the whole is supposed to have derived its Name, *Arabia*; observing that the *I* is a Vowel, and not a Consonant. These pure and unmixed *Arabs* they term *Aârab-Aâraba*, *Aroab*, and *Arouba*. The next, who claim their Origin from *Ismael*, are termed *Aârab-Mostaâraba*, as it were, Accidental *Arabs*, as having introduced and incorporated themselves with some of

those more ancient Tribes. These can never rightly agree; each claiming a Superiority. The last, and more modern *Arabs*, are the *Aárab-Mofa-jema*, such as those of *Syria*, *Egypt*, &c. but more particularly of *Barbary* and its contiguous Desarts; being so-called for their having debased their Blood by mingling with strange Nations. But the *Arabs* have another general, and better known Distinction; and that is, the *Bil'dia*, or such as dwell in Cities, &c. and the *Bedouia*, or Itinerant *Scenites*. These are deemed much nobler, more witty, valiant and ingenious than the others: Tho' all the *Arabs* in general are quaint, bold, hospitable and generous, excessive Lovers of Eloquence and Poesy; but extremely jealous and vindictive.

Those *Mofaáaraba*, or *Mofaáarabín*, must not be confounded with the *Moçarabes*, corruptly so called by the *Spaniards*, who pretend to derive the Word from *Mixti Arabes*, as being *Christians* mixed with *Arabians*, and conforming with them in Language and most things else, except Belief; they retaining the Religion of their Ancestors. Their *Litúrgy*, with the old *Gothish* Ceremonies, is still used in seven Churches at *Toledo* in *Spain*, from whence they originally came, and were no other than the Inhabitants of that City, to whom the first *Mussulman* Conquerors allowed full Liberty of living after their own Manner, and exercising all their Religious Rites. Many others there, likewise, were in *Africa*, who descended from the Followers of the Sons of King *Witiza*, and of the Traytor *Don Julian*, who rebelled against *Don Rodrigo*, who lost *Spain*, after they had introduced the *Moors*. The *Mofaáarabín*, or naturalized *Christians*, were highly favoured and esteemed by the *African* Potentates; and the Emperor *Charles V.* when he took *Tunis*, found several hundreds of them there, called *Rabatín*, because they dwelled in the Suburbs; all gallant Cavaliers; most, if not all, of which he transported with him into *Spain*. In *Arabick* a Suburbs is *Rabat*. They had been settled there long before by the Great *Jacob al Mansúr*, of the *Almohade* Family, Emperor of *Spain* and *Barbary*, when he conquered those Eastern Provinces, as shall be observed.

In *Mahomet's* Days, and some Time after, before the *Arabs* were all *Mussulmans*, the Term of Distinction for the *Gentiles*, was *Aárab al Jebeliat*, and for the others, who embraced the new Doctrine, *Missilmín*, the Exempted, meaning from the Flames of Hell, or as the *Turks*, and we from them, have it *Mussulmanler*; their Plural Termination being *ler*, instead of ours. *Jebel* signifies Ignorant. It is true many of them were

*Jews and Christians*; but they confounded them all under the general Title *Jehelia*. For larger Accounts of the *Arab* Genealogy, read *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, by Dr. *Pocock*.

The three general Names I hinted, given by *Leo* and others, to the *Arabs*, who purchased Leave to pass into *Barbary*, were *Helel* and *Eskikîn*, from *Arabia Deserta*, and *Makil* from *Arabia Fœlix*; the two last of which are now seldom mentioned: But they have large Volumes of the long and furious Wars between *Helel* and *Zeneta*; this a powerful *African* Nation, which has given *Barbary* many Kings and Princes, the other a potent and numerous Tribe of warlike *Arabians*; of which I have heard much read out of two in particular. Tho' they have no Books written in any Dialects but *Arabick*, I mean the *African Arabick*, yet by the different manner of relating Facts, and an apparent Partiality, it is very obvious, that one of the Authors was a *Moor*, and the other an *Arab*. I do not remember either the Titles of those Chronicles, or the Names of the Writers: I only recollect, that much is said in Praise of *Al-Jezzia*, an *Arabian* Princess, of one *Aâmier aben Shadded*, and of *Khalifa*, Prince or Chief of the *Zeneta*. A few Miles towards the South of *Costantina*, I have often seen a Place, just by the Road, where the *Africans* say that notable *Amazon* lies interred; and accordingly call it *Kubbôr al-Jezzia*, that is *Jezzia's* Grave, or Sepulchre: And she is painted out as a very Masculine Lady, of uncommon Stature. Great Part of those Histories carry a romantick Strain; and are interspersed with abundance of quaint and elegant Pieces of Poetry.

The *African* Provinces being in such Confusion, under no Head, or, indeed, rather under many Heads, tho' none of much Consideration, the Occasion seemed favourable for any enterprizing Genius, who would undertake to found a Monarchy upon that Chaos of Anarchy. The Family of *Zeiri*, protected by Bands of sturdy Mountaineers, could easily stand their Ground, where they had fixed their Abode, against whatever Attacks the *Arabian* Cavalry could pretend to make against them; but were not in a Condition to enlarge their Territory; as wanting Horse, in which the main Strength of the *Arabs* always consists: And the Mountaineers are remarked, to be as much out of their Element in the Plains, as the *Arabs*, and most other *Scenites*, are in a mountainous Country.

The Cloke, or Pretence of Religion, has often destroyed some States, as it has erected others: And that was what, at this Juncture, erected a

mighty Empire in *Africa* and *Spain*; which Dynaſty is known to us, from the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, under the corrupt Name of *Almoravides*. The true Word is *Al Morabethab*, *Morabethien*, and *Morabethoun*; whoſe Singular is *Morabboth*, which ſignifies, a ſtrictly religious Perſon: They were, likewise, called *Molathemiab*, *Molathemin*, *Molathemab* and *Molathemoun*, that is, the Veiled; becauſe they were accuſtomed to keep their Faces generally covered with a certain Veil, called *Letham*. This Cuſtom was introduced among them, upon the following Occaſion, by *Sheikh Abdallah aben Jaſſin*, or *Baſſin*, a learned Doctor from *Mecca*, in great Eſteem for his reputed Sanctity. Being ready to engage an Enemy, more numerous than themſelves, the Women, who, according to their ancient Faſhion, went veiled up to the Eyes, took Arms, and ranked among their Huſbands and Relations: Whereupon the *Sheikh*, or Doctor, left the Adverſaries ſhould diſcover they had Women among them; ordered all his Troops to veil their Faces, after the ſame Manner. They got the Day; and that Faſhion was thenceforwards eſtabliſhed. *Nouari* relates of one of theſe People, that having ſtripped quite naked, by a Fountain, in order to waſh his Garment, he covered Part of his Face with his Left-Hand, while his Right was employed in waſhing. A Stranger paſſing by, bad him, for Shame, conceal his Nudities, ſince he had one Hand at Liberty. “Do not you ſee, replied he, that it is buſy in covering my Face.”

Whatever Notions thoſe People had, this I can affirm, that, at preſent, all the *Africans* in general, as likewise the *Turks*, *Arabs*, *Negroes*, &c. when once in their Years of Puberty, are extremely ſhy of being ſeen naked: And as for all large Garments, the *Moors* and *Arabs* waſh them with their Feet; and never without ſomething wrapped about them. This is carefully obſerved by even the moſt abandoned *Catamites*, if expoſed to publick View.

This Family has made too much Noiſe in the Weſtern World, (I mean not in *America*) for me to paſs it by in Silence. They claimed their Original from the Country of *Hemiar*, called by ancient Geographers the Land of the *Homerites*, in *Arabia*, and removed into *Syria* under the Admi niſtration of *Abou-Becra*, the firſt *Saracen Khalifa*, Father-in-Law to *Mahomet*, and his immediate Succeſſor. From *Syria* they, ſome Years after, paſſed into *Egypt*, and from thence into the Weſtern Parts of the *Sabara*, or *Libyan* Deſarts; chuſing that ſolitary Retreat, to be more at Liberty, when ſeparated from the reſt of the People of *Africa*, freely to exerciſe their



their Religion, in its Purity. They are reported to have been *Christians* in secret, but in Time, by communicating with the *Mussulmans*, became *Mahometans*. However they, at length, turned Robbers, and utterly degenerated from both, as to Practice, tho' in Name and outward Profession they passed for *Mussulmans*; which is the very Case of, I dare say, four Parts in five of the Country *Moors* throughout those Regions, as I have elsewhere intimated. About the Middle of the eleventh Century, one *Fauhar*, surnamed *Al Felali*, a principal Man among them, took the Opportunity of a *Caravan* going to *Mecca*, and went thither in Pilgrimage. At his Return, he brought with him the before-mentioned Doctor *Abdallah*, by whom he was well instructed in the *Mahometan* Law, and to whom he allotted a noble Pension to instruct his People, who were become perfect Reprobates, quite devoid of all Religion. This Teacher so deported himself, that he gained very great Authority among them all; and they listened to his Doctrine, with a favourable Ear, approving of all he taught, while he only dictated Fasting, Prayer, and the Distribution of the Tithes of their Substance among their necessitous Brethren: But when he came to pronounce Death to the Murderer, cutting off the Hand of him who Stole, stoning of such as meddled with other Mens Wives, and the like, the Majority absolutely refused to conform to Manners so different from those to which they had been so long inured; and it was only *Fauhar's* own Tribe that condescended to receive his Doctrine; which Tribe was far more powerful and numerous than any single one of the rest. I know of few Tribes in *Barbary* that would care for such Doctrine. *Sheikh Abdallah* applauded their Zeal; and gave them to understand, that since they had engaged themselves to a strict Observance of the Law of the *Alcoran*, they, by that Law, were enjoined and obliged to wage War against all who would not submit to its Ordinances. This Proposition was readily embraced by People who delighted in nothing so much as in Plunder and Rapine; and they immediately proceeded to the Election of a Chief to lead them to War against the *Infidels*, as they were taught to term their non-conforming Brethren. The Choice pitched upon one of their Elders, whose Name, according to *Aben Shunah* and *Nouari*, was *Abou-Beira*, *abèn Omar*, surnamed *Al Lamethouni*, both he and *Fauhar* being of the Tribe of *Lamethouna*, which by the Affinity of the Name, seems to be no other than <sup>d</sup> *Lumpta*, one of the five ancient *Libyan* Tribes.

<sup>d</sup> Vide P. 6.

For tho' my Authors inform me, as I observe, that the Original of these *Al Morabethab* was from *Arabia*; yet it somewhat confirms me in my Opinion, that they were become so intermixed with the ancient *Africans*, that they scarce were distinguishable, because the City *Marracsh*, which we corruptly call *Morocco*, was founded by this Family, where, and in all the circumjacent Provinces, they all along used the *African* Tongue, as they all do to this Day; nay the *Arabick* is scarce understood in any of those Parts: And I take it, that the Majority of their earliest Profelytes were real *Moors*.

To this Person, whom they declared their Prince and their Sovereign, they gave the lofty Title of *Amir al Moumenin*, and *Al Misselmin*, that is Prince, or Commander of the *Faithful*, and the *Exempted*: And so full were these new *Mussulmans* of their new Religion, that they breathed nothing but Ruin, nay Extermination to all who refused to accept it, or attempted to oppose its Propagation: And to shew how much they were in Earnest, the first Victim they sacrificed to their Zeal, was the very Person who had been at the Pains and Expence of fetching it from the distant *Arabian* Desarts: For *Jaubar*, resenting his being excluded at the late Election of a Sovereign, to head the *Mussulman* Troops, in the approaching, meritorious War, refused to be of the Party, and even was heard to say, that he would renounce the Principles he had introduced, since he met with so ungrateful a Return. For this he was sentenced to receive Death, and with his last Breath acknowledged he had his Desert.

It is somewhat remarkable, that in the very first Encounter the new *Amir al Moumenin* had with the Misbelievers, *Sbeikh Abdallab* himself, the chief Stirrer up of that religious War, was hurried into the other World, to receive a Gratification, for his zealous Endeavours, at the Hands of his Prophet, whose Institutions he so piously would have propagated. The Arms of these Restorers of *Mahometism* in *Africa*, met with Success every where, and their Number daily increased. *A. H.* 448: *A. D.* 1055, they were strong enough to lay Siege to, and carry by Assault, the great and ancient City *Segelmessa*, in the West Part of *South-Numidia*, from whence came *Obeid-Allah*, Father of the pretended *Al Mebedi*, Founder of the *Fatbimite* Dynasty; and which was formerly the Regal Seat of the Dynasty of *Beni Medrar*, as has been said. Having gained this important City, *Abou-Becra aben Omar* became very formidable. Leaving the fa-

mous *Yousouf aben Tefssin*, his Nephew and immediate Successor, Vice-Roy of that City, during his Absence, he marched, with a very numerous Train of Profelytes, to enlarge his Conquests. All this happened in the Year aforesaid, under the Reign of *Caiem Be-emvillab*, the twenty sixth *Abbasside Khalifa* of *Bagdad*, and of *Mostanser Billah*, the fifth *Fathomite Khalifa* of *Egypt*. The Princes of this sanctified Race, who governed the greatest Part of *West-Africa* and *Spain*, were only four, viz.

1. This *Abou-Becra aben Omar*.
2. His Nephew, the great *Yousouf aben Tefssin*, (or, as *Aben Shunab* has it, *Bashkebin*) who compleated the Reduction of all *Barbary*, &c. built *Morocco* (removing the Imperial Seat thither from *Segelmessa* where his Uncle and himself had till then kept their Courts) and conquered *Spain*, expelling the *Ommiade* Family, which had reigned there in great Splendor, and had only a short Interruption from one of the *Alides*, who found Means to intrude himself into the Throne. This fortunate and triumphant Prince, after a long and glorious Reign, died *A. H.* 500. *A. D.* 1079, and was succeeded by his Son.
3. *Ali aben Yousouf*.
4. *Ishac*, or *Isaac aben Ali*, Son to the former, and Grandson to *Yousouf* the Victorious, was the last Prince of this Family. He was put to Death, at *Morocco*, as I shall presently observe, *A. H.* 543. *A. D.* 1148: So that this Dynasty lasted not quite a Century.

I omit farther particularizing upon the noble Exploits of some of these Princes, they being so largely treated of by *Marmol*, and other *Spanish* Writers: And for the same Reason I, also, omit all Description of those celebrated Capitals of *West-Africa*, viz. *Morocco* and *Fez*, their Histories, together with those of *Tremixan*, *Tunis*, and all the other chief Cities of those Parts of the World, being to be met with in *Leo*, *Marmol*, and abundance of other more modern Authors of sundry Nations; among which *Mouette's* Account of *West-Barbary* is well worth Perusal.

I said, that the *Ommiade* Family, in *Spain*, was extirpated by *Yousouf aben Tefssin*. This brings to my Remembrance a Saying of *Yousouf Hojia*, the late Envoy from the *Bey* of *Tunis* at our Court, with whom I had some Intimacy. One Day he was railing against a certain Domestick of his, originally a *Spanish Moor*, with whom I had been acquainted in *Barbary*; and I took the Liberty to let fall a few Words in his Favour.

“What Good (saith his *Carthaginian* Excellency, with some Warmth) can be expected from that Heretick, whose Veins are filled with the Blood of the execrable *Beni Ommeyab*, whose impious Hands were im-

“brued in the precious Gore of the Children of our matchless Cham-  
 pion *Ali*, that invincible Destroyer of *Christian* and *Heathen* Idolatry?”  
 But I made him almost quite angry, by unadvisedly asking him, presently  
 after, Whether he was a *Sheite*, or of the Sect of the *Persians*? “What!”  
 “said he; Cannot I venerate the Memory of *God’s Lyon*, who sent ten  
 “times more *Infidels* to Hell than your paltry Island contains; but, pre-  
 “sently, I must be a misbelieving *Kizil-Bash*? That Word is *Turkish*,  
 signifying *Red-Head*; and so the *Turks*, who are of the Sect of *Hanifah*,  
 in Contempt, call the *Persians*, on account of their fine Caps and Tur-  
 bants, shining with Gold. To appease his Excellency’s Choler; I told  
 him, my Meaning, however I might have misplaced my Words, was  
 only to inquire of him, if he was descended, maternally, from the *Abbas-  
 sides*: Which was doing him as great an Honour as he, tho’ not design-  
 edly, had before done to the Fellow, by saying he came from so noble a  
 Stock as the *Ommiades*: Yet all I could alledge would scarce prevail with  
 him to believe, but that I had made a wilful Mistake, while I was  
 endeavouring to persuade him, that, at the very Worst, it was but a  
 Blunder.

To return. Referring my inquisitive Reader to the above-mentioned  
 Authors, for farther Particulars concerning the remarkable Dynasty of  
 the *Morabbotbs*, which was in its utmost Glory, *A. H.* 462. *A. D.* 1069.  
 I shall only remark of them another Instance, or two, which induces me  
 to fancy the Bulk of their first and most favoured Followers, to have been  
 rather *Moors*, or natural *Africans*, than *Arabs*, whatever Pretensions their  
 Founder might have made to a Descent from *Ali*. Tho’ some intimate,  
 that *Yousouf aben Tessifin* expelled the Family of the *Zeiriat*, who, as I  
 observed, were *Sinbajians*, it is certain, that they were so far from being  
 expelled by either him, his Son, or Grandson, that those Princes most  
 strenuously protected them, tho’ having rendered themselves so absolute  
 in the whole Country, it was very much in the Power of at least *Yousouf*,  
 to have ruined them: This Prince is reported, with that Design, to have  
 attacked their Territory, with a huge Army, in his Way to the Eastern  
 Provinces, in order to drive the *Arabs* from *Cairouan*, who there tyrann-  
 ized, and had destroyed the whole Country: But finding those *Moorish*  
 Princes submissive, he established them in their Sovereignty of those Coasts  
 and Mountains, promising them his utmost Protection. Another Reason  
 for my surmising this Dynasty of Zealots to have been merely *Moorish*, is

their Inveteracy to the *Arabs*, never resting till the Generality of them were forced to the Desarts; as I learn from several Places in *D'Herbelot's Bibliothéque Orientale*, where the Authorities of the most authentick *Musulman* Historians are produced.

The next Dynasty was that of the *Almobades*, as the *Spaniards* call them: The true Name is *Al Moâbedoun*. This Family, tho' actually *Moorish*, of the Tribe of *Musamouda* (called, likewise, *Mossamedoun*) with the very same View and Pretence of a sanctified Origin, as not only their immediate Predecessors but several others had done, would needs affirm themselves the direct Offspring of *Ali* and his Wife *Fathima*, Daughter to their Grand Prophet *Mahomet*. The *Spanish* Writers say so much of these Princes, that I shall be very brief in my Narrative, just taking Notice of their Rise, and some few Particulars on these Subjects, by them not mentioned. Their Founder was one *Abdalmoumen aben Tomrut*. His first Appearance was among his own Tribe, near the *Atlas* in the West, in the Reign of *Ali* the Son of *Yousouf*, the Conqueror of *Spain* and *Africa*. Being an aspiring Genius, he travelled into *Arabia*, in his younger Days, and there closely applied himself to the Study of the *Mahometan* Law, and all the Sciences of the *Arabians*. At his Return, he set himself to teach a new Sort of more refined Doctrine; and had many Disciples. But the Person with whom he contracted the strictest Friendship was a learned *African* Doctor, who expressed great Admiration of our Traveller's profound Erudition, and would needs put it into his Head, that he must, unavoidably, be no other than the real, and long-wished-for *Al-Mehabi*, or Director, as I have observed the Founder of the *Fathimites* pretended to have been. This agreeably flattered *Abdalmoumen's* Ambition; and whether he really imagined himself such, or not, certain it is, that he spared no Pains, nor omitted any Artifice to palm upon the *African* World, that he was that very individual twelfth and last *Imaum*, concerning whom the Partisans of *Ali*, especially the *Persians*, and all other *Sbeites*, have whimsical and fabulous Traditions. On this Head I shall expatiate.

The *Arabick* Word *Imaum* has properly the same Signification as the *Latin* Word *Antistes*, one who precedes, or goes before: But the *Mahometans* adapt it, peculiarly, to those who precede their Assemblies at the Mosques. The Word *Mosque* is, by us, corrupted from *Miskite*, as the

*Arabs*, from *Ecclesia*, have formed *Kinnisa*, as they call all *Christian* Churches: This Hint, *en passant*. When a *Mussulman* says, absolutely, *Al Imaum. Al Missilmin*, he always speaks of *Mahomet's* true and legitimate Successor, who in his own Person possesses the Source of the one and the other Jurisdiction; because in him resides the intire Authority, as well in Affairs Temporal and Civil, as in Matters Religious and Spiritual. This induces the *Mahometans* to maintain, that their Legislator built upon the Model of *Moses*, and not upon that of the *Messiah*, who always declared, that his Kingdom was not of *this World*. All the *Khalifas* assumed this absolute Title of *Imaum*. However, *Mahomet's* Disciples have very great Contests upon this Subject, too tedious to enumerate. But as for the *Sheites* in general, the most considerable of which Sect are the *Persians*, tho' they are not unanimous in several Points about the Succession of these *Imaums*, yet they agree in preserving that Succession in the Family of *Ali*, preferable to any other whatever, they obstinately insisting upon his being the first and rightful *Imaum*, thereby excluding his three Predecessors *Abou-Becra*, *Omar* and *Othoman*. Not to make any Mention of the furious Debates these dissenting Opinions still produce, even among the Partisans of *Ali*, I shall set down the Names of the twelve *Imaums* allowed and accepted by the Majority of those *Sheites*, in Opposition to the four other great Sects, the *Malikites*, *Shesites*, *Hambelites* and *Hanifites*, who agree in all the chief Points of their Creed, and hold each other for *Orthodox*. 1. *Ali*. 2. and 3. His two eldest Sons, successively, named *Hassan* and *Housain*. 4. *Ali*, surnamed *Zin-al-abadin*, eldest Son of *Housain*. 5. His Son, named *Mohammad Bakir*. 6. *Giafer Sadik*, his Son. 7. His Son, *Moufa Al Kiadbem*. 8. *Ali Ridha*, his Son. 9. His Son, *Abou Giafer Mohammad*, surnamed *Al Giouad*. 10. *Ali Askeri*, his Son, surnamed *Al Zek*. 11. His Son, *Hassan Askeri*. 12, and last. His Son, named after the Prophet *Aboucaffem Mohammad*, surnamed *Al Mebedi*.

The Lives of all those *Imaums* are written at large, by one *Aben al Sabbagh*, or the Son of the *Dyer*: But it is of this last that so many strange Fables are reported, the Heads whereof are as follow. He was eldest Son to the eleventh *Imaum*, and consequently his rightful Successor. Being born at *Sermentai*, *A. H.* 255. *A. D.* 869, the contrary Faction prevailing strongly, when the young *Imaum* was in his ninth Year, his Mother, to preserve her beloved Son, and the Darling of all the *Faithful*,  
(this

(this is as the *Persians*, &c. tell the Story) removed him to a certain Subterraneous Cave, or Cistern, known to no Mortal but herself, where she most carefully preserves him, even to this Day, till the appointed Time shall arrive, for him to make his Appearance, in Company with *Jesus Christ*, and the Prophet *Elias*, to combat and destroy *Dagjial*, or *Antichrist*, with all his impious Abettors, and to reduce *Christianity* and *Mussulmanism* to one and the same Religion and Belief. Much more is said of this wonderful Personage by his impatient Expecters: And as for the Notions all the *Mussulmans* have of the *Antichrist*, of whom the good Prophets are to make so terrible an Example, are really merry. In *Chaldea* is a Place, which the *Arabs* call *Abwaz*, where stands an ancient Castle, named *He's n Mebedi*, near which all the Waters thereabout uniting form a Lake, which disgorge itself into the Sea, at some Distance! That is the Spot, they affirm, where *Al Mebedi*, when he comes to execute his allotted Functions, is, infallibly, to make his first personal Appearance.

Among a strange Heap of most unaccountable Fables, some of the most ignorant, and consequently bigotted *Mussulmans*, with grave Countenances and respectable Beards, are very apt to tell such as they deem under a Necessity of their Instructions, concerning the future Affairs of the World, at that mighty and stupendous Revolution, which is to be the Consequence of the dreaded Approach of their imaginary *Anti-Mahometan Antichrist*, whom they, also, call *Al Massih al Dagjial*, that is the False *Messiah*; among many other odd Stories, I say, they tell us of that wonderful Impostor, that rebellious Infidel, that sacrilegious Tyrant, that impious Enemy to God, the Angels, the Saints, and Prophets, nay to all Goodness, that Devil Incarnate, that What not! one Particular I must needs take Notice of (tho' it will scarce bear relating) merely because I have heard it perhaps, from more than a hundred reverend Teachers, and yet never met with the least Mention of any thing like it, in all the Multitude of Authors I have rummaged: Nay, another main Reason for my mentioning it, is, that, thereby, one who is not over-stocked with Credulity, would be almost induced to call in Question the Veracity of our celebrated Country-man, that renowned Traveller, Captain *Gulhvet*, and to fancy he from thence took the Hint of his *Lilliputians*.

But before-hand, you must take along with you, gentle and curious Reader, that the *Mussulmans*, I believe, in general are mighty Sticklers for the enormous Size and Stature of our primitive Fore-Fathers; being

immutably prepossessed, that as the Earth approaches its Dissolution, its Sons and Daughters gradually decrease in their Dimensions. As for *Dagjal*, they say, he will find the Race of Mankind dwindled into such diminutive Pigmies, that their Habitations in Cities, and all the best Towns, will be of no other Fabrick than the Shoes and Slippers made in these present Ages, placed in Rank and File, in seemly and regular Order; allowing one Pair for two round Families: Tho', indeed, they seem to intimate, that they mean not Cities, &c. after the Manner of real Cities, but after the Nature of Tents, such as the *Scenites* inhabit: And yet so superlatively vicious are these Pigmy Vermin to grow, so infamously wicked, so degenerate from all Sense of Piety and Religion, nay so devoid of even Humanity it self, and withal so formidable, that the few remaining *Faithful* will stand in need of Leaders of no lower a Class to head them, in order to quell the *Infidels*, and reform the World, than those First-Rate Prophets (as they term them) *Isa*, *Khedber* and *Al Mebedi*. It is only the grosser *Mahometans* who talk at this Rate, and confound this *Khedber* with the Prophet *Elias*; whom, however, they all affirm to be still living: But, were I to enter into their Chaos of Notions, I should not only run quite away from my Subject, but, likewise, not be able easily to extricate my self from so pathless, as well as so endless a Labyrinth.

I shall, therefore, just give one Specimen of their Way of talking upon this copious Theme, and no more; I being positively determined to be very sparing of my Discourse, concerning the People of *Barbary*, on every Topick wherein nothing is to be started which they have not in common with all other *Mahometans*: And therefore, as to their Religion, in particular, I shall say little or nothing at all; that being a Subject which has already blunted the Pens of a whole Army of Travellers, many of them more inquisitive and curious in those Affairs than my self. But in regard to the Argument in Question, take the following Fragment of an elaborate Lecture, as near as I can remember, delivered in my hearing, on the Side of a Mountain, and in the open Air, by a wandering *Derwish*, a devout *Moor*, with Tears in his Eyes, to his gaping Audience, to their unspeakable Satisfaction, and no small Edification.

“ Alas! my Children! said he, after a deal of Preaching: You say you  
“ are *True Believers*: But your Works bespeak you the Disciples of the

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† So they call *Jesus Christ* and *Elias*.



“accursed *Daggial!* Pray, *Sidi*, (said aloud a serious-looking Fellow, thirsting after Knowledge) “tell us, a little, who this *Daggial* is; let us know his Story; for tho’ here was a certain *Marabboth* once, who made a long Preamble to us about him, yet my Uncle *Bou-Dhiaf* assures us, he has heard it related in quite different Terms; tho’ he had more Manners, and Respect to the *Saint*, than to say any such Thing till after he was gone away.” “Ay, my Son, replied the good *Derwish*, “I will inform you, with all my Heart: Listen attentively. He is just what his vile Name bespeaks him; a Lyar, an Impostor; has but one Eye and Eyebrow. In all this he exactly answers his Name. Towards the Approach of the *Day of Judgment*, (when that is to be God alone knoweth,) the Traitor is to appear, riding on an *As*, in Imitation of the Immaculate *Sidina Aisa*, *Rob Allah*, (Adorations and Salutations be offered unto him,) who, in Token of Meekness and Humility, ever rode on one of those Animals, which very Creature is now feeding in the delightful Pastures of Paradise, waiting for his Lord’s second Appearance upon Earth. This sanctified Prophet of the Most High, that Rebel, that Servant of *Satan*, will, most audaciously, presume to personate; and will so delude the Sons of *Adam*, by his pernicious and deceitful Insinuations, that his Followers will be more numerous than the Sands of the Ocean, or than *So. So.* But; alas, my dear Brethren! How wilfully blind and infatuated must those miserable and hardened Wretches be, not to distinguish Truth from Error, Light from Darkness, Beauty from Deformity! Would any, who had the Use of his Eyes and Faculties, mistake the beautiful *Aisa* for that deformed Monster *Daggial*, created after the detested Image of the very Devil himself? And all that only because, like that beatified Prophet, he is to ride on an *As*! But that accursed *As* will burn, eternally, in the Flames of Hell, as well as his perfidious Rider. I hope there is none here present, but would distinguish which was the right. The World, indeed, is even now, (sorry I am that I have so much Cause to say it) but too vicious and perverse: But; alas! we are Angels, in Comparison to the execrable Mortals of those dismal Days: And yet, it is amazing to comprehend with what Possibility those little, creeping,

§ A pretended *Saint*.      <sup>h</sup> Our Lord *AISA* (or *JESUS*) the *Soul* or *Spirit of God*: so they have it.

“diminutive *Insects* can be capable of such monstrous and inconceivable Villanies, as our most learned Doctors assure us they are to commit. “Ay, *Sidi*;” (interrupted the serious *Moor*, who had requested this Lecture). “the *Sahn* I spoke of told us, that when *Dagjial* came, he would find the People not much bigger than Rats.” “Rats!” returned the Lecturer, with great Emotion; “What could the poor ignorant Soul mean by Rats? Do you behold this Shoe of mine?” With that he hastily plucked off one of his cobbled Pumps, and exposing it to View, went on thus: “This Shoe, in those Times, would serve to the very same Purpose as now does your *Kbaima*: (pointing to the *Sbeikh*'s Tent, which was very large) Pray how many Persons has your *Sbeikh* in Family?” “About fourteen, *Sidi*, including Children; replied another *Moor*.” “Well!” continued the *Derwisch*: “And would this Shoe contain fourteen Rats, and all Furniture proportionable? Yet, I tell you, nothing is more true, than that this very Shoe of mine will be, individually, the same, in Proportion, in the Days of that Traytor *Dagjial*, as that Tent is now.” A *Moor*, whose Pumps were in very bad Order at the Sides, with some Discontinuations in the Upper-Leathers, pleasantly said, “My Grandchildren cannot, very conveniently, dwell in these same *Tents*, upon my Feet, without great Repairs: And how the poor Girls will do, to darn up these Holes, I know not.” This, and other such Jokes, set most of the Assembly a sniggering: The graver Sort looked mighty serious, and displeas'd at it: The *Derwisch* frowned, and desired that their Mirth might cease; he thinking it very unseasonable.

Tho, were it worth while, I could relate some hundreds of such silly Tales, yet this shall serve for a Taste; it being certain, that the *Mussulmans* have no manner of Reason to yield one Inch of Prerogative to those of any Persuasion whatever, in Point of a voluminous Legend; in which Respect I dare venture to say, that they can vie with even the *Vatican* itself. But I had like to have left out the very merriest Passage in the whole Story. Almost at the latter End of the Discourse, three or four of the *Turkish Spahis*, who were gathering in the Tribute from those *Moors*, came from the Tents, to see why the People were all crouding there, and with them a *Jerbin* Merchant, who was going to *Cofantina*, The Natives of the Island *Jerba*, belonging to *Tunis*, are all *Sbeittes*, of the Sect of the *Persians*, and consequently, by the *Sunnites*, or Orthodox

<sup>1</sup> So their Black Tents are called, as shall be farther explained.

*Mussulmans*, deemed most incorrigible Hereticks. To pass away their idle Time, they sat down among the rest, Room being made for them to come near the Expositor, who was holding-forth so learnedly. The *Serbin*, who had looked sneeringly all the Time, but spake not a Word, at last brake Silence in these Terms: "Would it not be a meritorious Deed, and  
"whereby we should draw down upon our Heads the Prayers and Benedictions of our Posterity, if we saved them the Labour of making  
"Tents, by carrying, or sending all our old Shoes, to be laid up for them, in the Temple at *Mecca*, before they are too much worn? We can do  
"no less than leave them so small a Legacy. I chuse *Mecca* for the Repository, before any other Place, because that most holy City is endowed  
"with so peculiar an Efficacy to preserve Things uncorrupted for many  
"Ages; witness our *Grandfire Adam's* own Shoes, which, as we all know, are there to be seen, as fresh as when they came out of the Workman's  
"Hands." "You talk like a *Kharji* (or Heretick) as you are, retorted the choleric *Derwishi*, with Fire in his Eyes. "None but such as you would  
"ever be for promoting the Interest, or consulting the Ease and Convenience of the worst of *Infidels*, such as will be the Followers of the  
"detestable *Dagjal!* If I could have my Will, you should be stoned to  
"Death upon the Spot." "Ay but, *Bobba Derwishi*, said one of the *Turks* smiling, "be not so angry, without knowing what Cause you may have  
"for being so: The Gentleman, to be sure, intends this good Office only for our *Believing* Children, who are to stand firm about *Mecca*  
"and *Medina*, to defend those sacred Mansions from the Insults of the *Unfaithful*: For them, indeed, our half-worn Shoes would do extremely  
"well; and we really ought to take this Proposition into Consideration, since we know not what Occasion they may have for them; and besides, upon a March, a single Cow will serve very well to carry the  
"Tents and Baggage of a whole *Dowar* (or itinerant Village) of those little *Mussulmans*." This sage Discourse of the *Spahi* somewhat appeased the zealous *Derwishi* (who seemed not to surmise, that the *Turk* was bantering him, as he really was) and the Conclusion of all was his saying, very seriously; "You cannot, Sir, be in Earnest, when you talk of a  
"Cow's carrying so many Peoples Luggage: Lack-a-Day, Sir, every  
"thing will be dwindled away to just nothing; the very Horses will  
"be mere Weasels, mere Weasels, I assure you; and the largest Camel  
"will be abundantly less than one of our smallest Hedge-Hogs."

Tho' this *Turk* was in Jest, yet I have often heard some of their grave *Seniors* discourse to the same Purpose, and very much in Earnest, to my no small Surprize; because, generally speaking, they are not so very superstitiously credulous. Concerning the poor *Asis*, that is to undergo such a severe Punishment, in the next World, much Mention is made. They say, Proverbially, "The hungry Hound, when he finds a Bone, examines not, whether it belongs to *Daggial's* *Asis*, or *Saleb's* Camel." Of this Prophet *Saleb*, Son of *Arphaxad* and Father of *Heber*, goes a long and most romantick Story, of his preaching to the People of *Themud*, and other *Unbelievers*, and (in order to convince them by Miracle) of his causing a beautiful She-Camel to issue out of a solid Rock, which miraculous Creature those Wretches impiously slew, whereupon the Arch-Angel *Gabriel*, or *Jibrael*, assuming a prodigious Form, descended, and pronounced Condemnation upon them all, with so hideous a Voice, that with the stupendous Out-cry he made, their Cities, &c. all fell down about their Ears, and the *Infidels* were every one buried in the Ruins. Thus, the Camel is mentioned with as much Veneration as the *Asis* is with Detestation. Many I have heard say, they were so hungry they could eat a Piece of *Daggial's* *Asis*: But enough of this Legendary Nonsense.

We are told, indeed, of an old Pair of Slippers, exhibited at *Mecca*, as a most rare and sacred Relict; but the Pilgrims seem to disagree very much in their Accounts of the real, original Proprietor thereof. Some say they belonged to *Adam*, others to *Abraham* and his Son *Ishmael*, and again others will not allow them ever to have been upon the Feet of any, but of the Prophet himself; whereas some, resolving, if possible, to be in the right, will needs have them to have been worn, successively, by almost all the Prophets and Patriarchs, and to have fitted every one of them as exactly, as if made on Purpose. But I would not much care to be the Person who should assert such a Matter, in the Presence of the *Derwisch* I have been speaking of; especially if he had his Congregation about him: For nothing of less Dimension than the Hull of a *Venetian* Gallies, or that of one of our largest Hulks, would, by his Calculation, have fitted the Foot of our Fore-Father *Adam*, or the other primitive Patriarchs, his Successors. What I have to say on this Head is, that the Mendicant Pilgrims carry about with them ill-contrived Draughts of the Sacred Things and Places, at and about *Mecca* and *Medina*, among which they have something, clumsily drawn and painted, to represent a Pair of Shoes,

or Slippers: But all vary, as I said, in the Account they give of the true Owner. All this, silly and ridiculous as it is, need not shock a Reader; since we may daily meet with enough, not a Jot less silly, fullsome and ridiculous, among the politest, wisest and brightest Nations, much nearer Home, in some Measure to extenuate our Wonder at finding People so foolishly superstitious and credulous in *Asia* and *Africa*.

As to their idle Notions concerning Gyants, in the preceding Ages, I always lent them the same Ear as I do to most of those strange and incredible Relations, of the monstrous Products of Nature, with which the Works of so many of our serious *European* Writers abound. Among other Sightings and Stories of that Nature, I have both seen and heard, there are to be viewed, by any who go that Way, as well as my self, two Ribs, affirmed to be of Gyants; the one hanging over the Portico of the *Casabba*, or Citadel, at *Tunis*, and the other in that of *Costantina*: The Size of which, tho' they are not intire, good Part of them being wanting, I ever looked upon to be too immoderate to have belonged to any terrestrial Animal, even to an Elephant. This I advance not by Way of disputing the Existence of People of gygantick Bulk and Stature; we being assured by Writ both sacred and prophane, that there were, and still are in the World, People of a very uncommon Size and Dimension. Near and among old ruinous Places in *Africa*, I have met with several Fragments of very large Stone Coffins, and which apparently were designed for nothing else, it being plainly visible that they were closed up with Covers of Stone neatly fitted to those Receptacles. Two I saw of exquisite Workmanship, tho' without any Figures, one of them intire; but the Cover was wanting; the other was in three Pieces. The *Moors* who accompanied us, asserted, that, many Years since, as they had it by Tradition, the Rib I spoke of, at *Costantina*, was found in that whole Coffin, together with all the Bones appertaining to a human Body. But, in my humble Opinion, that could not possibly be true; since that Chest, or Coffin, is not full twelve Foot long, and in Breadth proportionable, whereas, tho' I could not come at the said Piece of Rib to measure it, the Party who owned it (whether Man, Beast or Fish) must have required a Place every Way abundantly more capacious. I cannot now recollect where those remarkable Pieces of Antiquity are; but certain I am, it was somewhere about the Neighbourhood of *Auras*, or *Oress*, that I saw them: That famous Mountain I have mentioned Page 103, and shall say more

of it elsewhere. Now I am upon this Subject, the Graves dug out of solid Rocks, may deserve a Place, many of which are to be met with in several Parts of *Barbary*; tho' they seldom exceed the Size of common Sepulchres. Particularly at the Bottom of the rocky Mountain on which *Cosantina* stands, on the Bank of the River, near where it runs in between the two Mountains, are to be seen, I believe, eight or nine such, dug into the hard, blackish Rock, not above two Feet deep; with the Places to receive their respective Covers very plain and intire. None of them are, as near as I remember, above seven Feet in Length. The Rock where they are is indifferently smooth and flat, not made so by Art. Near them, on the Sides of other Rocks, likewise smooth, but seemingly made so, are the Remains of several Inscriptions; but so defaced that they are not legible, tho' the Characters plainly appear to have been *Roman*. I could make no more of the whole than I could of some sorry Remnants of something like an Apartment, hewed out of a firm hard Rock, very near the same Place, which I take to be all that is left of what *Leo*, *Marmol*, and others from them, inform us, was a fine House, the Roofs, Floors, Pillars, &c. whereof were all, most artificially, fashioned out of the very Stone itself. Whatever it has been, the *Moors* themselves all agree with me in their Opinion of it, that it could never have been worth the fiftieth Part of the Pains and Labour it must have cost: Nor could I any where meet with one who remembred to have heard of its ever being in a better Condition than it now is, which is barely enough to give one an Idea, that some Persons, of uncommon Patience, had resolv'd to hew themselves a Habitation, tho' an ungainly one, which should last their whole Lives. What is now left is only Part of two Sides of the Rock which served for Walls, and a Bit of what was the Roof; what can have befallen the rest is not easily to be imagined. But we forget the new Director, *Abdalmoumen*, who caus'd such mighty Revolutions.

That pretended *Al Mebedi*, of whose Function I treated before I entered upon these Digressions, did not presently give himself out for such, only among some few of his Disciples. Before their Number became very considerable, he took a Journey to *Morocco*, accompanied by his chief Counsellor, and inseparable Companion, the Doctor. There they began, publickly, to preach their new Doctrine, with wonderful Success, being followed by great Multitudes. Tho' the Innovations, in Points of Creed, &c. they introduc'd were not very material, yet *Mulei Ali aben Yousof*, the King,

King, or Emperor of *Barbary*, began to be alarmed, and ordered his own Doctors to assemble, and summon these Preachers to a Grand Synod. *Abdalmoumen*, with his Second, used their Tongues so effectually, that the rest were all dumfounded, and had nothing left to alledge in Contradiction to those whom they imagined to have confuted by mere Dint of solid Argument. The King and his *Wizir* were present, and could not but approve of what the two Doctors had advanced: Yet *Mulei Ali* thought it not Prudence to encourage Innovations, and presently banished *Abdalmoumen* his City and Dominions. Finding he could do nothing farther in those Parts, he withdrew into *Libya*, where he openly proclaimed himself for the *Mehedi*, and gained innumerable Profelytes. Nor was it long before he had an Army sufficient to master the whole Country, and to send out of the World *Ishac*, or *Isaac aben Ali*, whose Father had obliged him to quit *Morocco*; which City he never durst approach, till he entered it as Conqueror. When *Abdalmoumen* had thus exterminated the Family of the *Morabboths*, subjected the Princes their Allies, and settled himself firmly upon the Imperial Throne of *Africa*, he passed over to *Spain*, where he was no less Successful than he had been in *Barbary*, by the utter Ruin of his Rivals. He is said to have used great Cruelty to all who opposed him.

Authors disagree about the Time of the Establishment and Fall of this Dynasty. *Nouari* the Historian gives it seventeen Princes, and says it lasted from the Year 514, to 666, of the *Hejira*. But the Author of the *Nigbiaristan* allows it but thirteen Princes, which flourished till *A. D.* 1267, when, according to him, their Family became extinct. The Order he gives them is as follows. 1. *Abdalmoumen*: 34 Years. 2. His Son *Mohammad aben Abdalmoumen*: Not many Days. 3. *Yousouf aben Abdalmoumen*, another Son of his: 30 Years. 4. His Son, *Yacoub aben Yousouf*: 15 Years. This most triumphant Prince was surnamed *Al Mansor*. 5. and 6. Two Anonymous Princes: 4 Years. 7. *Abdalwahad aben Yousouf*; another Son of *Yousouf*: 9 Months. 8. *Yabia aben Mohammad, aben Yacoub*: Time of Reign not mentioned. 9. *Edris aben Yacoub*: 10 Years. 10. *Al Rashid aben Edris*: 10 Years. 11. *Ali aben Edris*: 6 Years. 12. *Abou Hafeddh aben Ibrahim, aben Edris*: 20 Years. 13, and last: His Nephew *Edris*: 3 Years.

The Reason why that Author allows to this Dynasty only thirteen Princes, whereas *Nouari* reckons four more, is because these four last are

by some counted among the Family of the *Adarassab*, or *Beni Edris*, being a particular Dynasty, a Branch of the former House of the same Name, and related to those Princes above mentioned. This Family of *Edris* pretend to be *Shurfa*, or *Sherifs*, so they call such as descended from the Prophet *Mahomet*; by his Daughter *Fathima*. The famous Astrologer and Mathematician *Sherif al Edrisi*, who made that fine terrestrial Globe of Silver, for *Roger II.* King of *Sicily*, &c. was a Prince of this Family, and fled thither for Sanctuary.

The next great Dynasty which appeared in the *Tingitana*, to the Destruction of this, and most of the petty Principalities in those Quarters, was the *Merins*, or *Beni Merin*, of the Tribe of *Zeneta*. But the Race of the *Almohades* was not suddainly ruined, as was that of their Predecessors; but had long and cruel Wars before their Enemies could carry their Point, and may, indeed, be said to have lost their Ground Inch by Inch. They, as well as the Dynasty which preceded them, might justly be called absolute Monarchs of both *Spain* and *Africa*; ever excepting some particular Mountains. The *Almohades*, more especially, may be counted so; since they drove out the *Zeirites*, whom the others, as I observed, had protected, and suffered to maintain a Sovereignty at *Bujeya*, &c. I should have taken Notice, that a Branch of that same Family, at the same Time, settled at *Tunis*, and were indulged upon the like Conditions with their Kinsmen the *Zeirites*, and underwent the same Fate: But of that Dynasty of Kings of *Tunis*, something shall be said particularly. The *Almohade* Family flourished, in the utmost Splendor (as may be seen in the *Spanish* Chronicles) till it received that terrible Blow at the memorable Battle, known in History by the Name of *Las Navas de Tolosa*, where *Mariana*, very gravely assures us, that upwards of 200000 *Moors* were cut in Pieces, with the Loss of only about twenty five *Christians*: And I remember to have read, in the same Author, of much such another miraculous Victory the *Spaniards* gained over the *Infidels*; at both which he scruples not to vouch, that the never-failing Champion, *St. Jago*, was seen, mounted on a fine white Steed, laying about him most furiously. Such Assistance, indeed, may go a great Way towards winning a Battle. But even *Bleda* himself, the most partial and most fiery Zealor of them all, and who was an indefatigable Stickler for the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, from *Spain* (having made several Journies to *Rome*, to solicit the Concurrence of his Holiness, and, notwithstanding the many Repulses he



met with, would never desist, till he carried his Point) ever allows the *Moors* to have been too hard for the *Spaniards*, Man to Man; nay, he sticks not to acknowledge, very little to the Credit and Reputation of his Country-men, that in the last Wars of *Granada*, sixty *Moorish* Horse gallantly maintained a Pass, somewhere about *Malaga*, against more than 2000 of the best *Spanish* Cavalry, and made great Slaughter. Now, as I am far from being unacquainted with the Genius and Partiality of the *Spaniards*, and am no Stranger to the *Moors*, who, I am certain, no more care to stand still, with *Finger* in *Mouth*, while their Enemies *slice* them to *Atoms*, than any other People whatever, I am much more inclinable to credit *Bleda*, as good a *Spaniard*, nay as zealous a *Catholick* as any of them, who wrote of what happened so near his own Time, than I ever can be to believe *Father Mariana* (otherwise reputed a good Historian) writing of what was transacted some Ages before he was born. Were I at Leisure, and would give my self the Trouble to examine the *Spanish* Chronicles, which were written before his Time, (one by no less a Person than a King, and others by most reverend Prelates) I doubt not but he had his Authority from some of them: Nay, I am much mistaken if I have not met with those very Passages, in other grave Authors of that Nation.

Notwithstanding all I have already said, concerning the several Dynasties of *African* Princes, of which I have only mentioned such as were most considerable, without taking much Notice of the many independent Communities, most of them very miserable, which have, probably, been in all Ages, and still are in Being, tho' few of them worth speaking of; having little or nothing to value themselves upon, but their adored Independency: So that, when I say of any Prince, that he was King, or Emperor of *Barbary*, &c. it must be understood, that I mean only of the level Country, and some few of the least rugged Mountains. I have good Reason to believe, that the late Tyrant *Mulei Ismael* went far greater Lengths, towards the total Reduction of all those Parts of *Africa*, than any of his Predecessors had ever been able to bring about, tho' some of them were exceeding powerful, and carried their Arms, triumphantly, to the utmost Bounds of *Barbary*, *South-Numidia*, and even the remotest *Libyan* Desarts; and were, in a manner, absolute Sovereigns in *Spain*, &c. yet had always Measures to observe with the petty Sovereigns who surrounded them. Indeed, the vigorous *Mulei Rasid*, his Brother and Predecessor, laid the Foundation of that Absoluteness; but was cut off in the Height of his Vigour, his Horse running away with him, in so violent a Manner, that he

dash'd out his Brains against a Tree. But this more vigorous, more obstinate, more fortunate, and far more inhumane *Sherif* (tho' *Rashid* had a notable Portion of all the said Qualities, as may be gathered from *Mouette*, *Buſnot*, and others) who, without much Exaggeration, may be said, during his tedious and arbitrary Reign, to have destroyed Millions, is well known to have beleaguered Mountains, till then unconquered, and never suffered his Armies to remove from thence, till either they have submitted or perished, Man, Woman and Child: Nay, he brought Multitudes of sturdy *Arabs* and *Africans*, who used to be courted by the Kings of *Morecco*, *Fez*, &c. to such a Pass, that it was as much as all their Lives were worth to have any Weapon, in a whole *Dowar*, moveable Village, or small Community, than one Knife, and that without a Point, wherewith to cut the Throat of any Sheep, or other Creature, when in Danger of dying, lest it should *Jif*, as they call it, that is die with the Blood in it, which, according to the *Mabometan* and *Jewish* Laws, renders the Flesh of such Animals *Haram*, q. d. abominable, and consequently, not by any Means lawful to be eaten: Infomuch, that very frequently, upon such Cases of Exigence, they have been known to baul out amain, Where is *the* Knife? For the Lord's Sake, make Hastē with *it*! Who has got *the* Knife? Such are the Effects of a despotick Government. Yet, by those violent Methods, he made it very safe travelling throughout his Dominions, which used to be quite otherwise. He has made terrible Examples of several, only for inquiring of certain Women, whom he would, purposely, send out, alone, to pass from one Part of the Country to another, Whence they came? or Whither going?

But among the remarkable Dynasties, I must not omit that of the Kings of *Tremizan*, properly *Tlemisan*, of which I have not, hitherto, made any Mention, and which, if the *African* Chronicles, and from them *Leo*, *Marmol*, and others, are to be depended on, is far more ancient than any of the rest, and which continued reigning almost to the Times of our Grand-Fathers: And, because what they advance agrees with what the *Moors* have by Tradition, I chuse to take the Words of *Marmol*, who, generally speaking, is a careful and exact Historian. The Account he gives is to this Purport.

Several Princes, who were Foreigners, have, at different Times, governed the Kingdom of *Tremizan*: But the natural and more ancient Proprietors of that State, before the Time that the *Romans* possessed them-

selves of *Mauritania Cæsariensis* (of which this Kingdom is a very considerable Part) were real *Africans*, of the Tribe of *Zeneta*, and of that Branch of it called *Magaroua*, who were called *Beni Abdalwahad*. These were expelled by the *Romans*; but they remained not many Years dispossessed of their Dominions, for they submitted to become their Tributaries. In after Times the *Goths* made themselves Masters of some of those Provinces, who, in Conjunction with the Tribe of the *Zeneta*, and this *Magaroua* Family in particular, carried on long and bloody Wars against the *Romans*, and *Beni Abdalwahad* were re-instated in the Kingdom of *Tremizan*, with a certain tributary Acknowledgment, which they, annually, paid to the *Gothish* Kings of *Spain*; and under those Circumstances they reigned at the Time when the *Mahometan Arabs* entered *Africa*. And when, afterwards, they passed over into *Spain*, and conquered it, all the Provinces of *Africa* became subject to the *Arabian*, or *Saracen Khalifas*, and so remained till such Time as their Power began to decline, thro' the Schisms and Dissentions which arose among themselves, when the proud and haughty *Africans*, who had fled to the Desarts of *Libya*, began to approach nearer to their ancient Abodes: At which Juncture *Beni Abdalwahad*, who were waiting for some Opportunity to recover their State, returned to the City of *Tremizan*, where they met with a favourable Reception, as Sovereigns, and reigned upwards of 300 Years. After this arose the Dynasty of the *Almoravides*, (*Al Morabethab*) and to them succeeded the *Almohades* (*Al Moahedoun*) who conquered that Kingdom; insomuch, that *Beni Abdalwahad* were sometimes in Exile, and at other times Tributaries to the Princes of those Families, till, in the Decline of the *Almohades*, one *Gamarazan* (*Kamar Hassan*) *aben Zeyan* (a Prince of the same Family) seized on the Kingdom of *Tremizan*, and so established himself on that Throne, that he was in a Condition to transmit it to his Posterity; injoining them to relinquish the Title, or Appellation of *Beni Abdalwahad*, and that they should assume the Name of *Beni Zeyan*. [This Word *Beni* signifies the Sons, or Children; thus *Beni Zeyan*, is the Sons of *Zeyan*, and so of all others: This I here mention, once for all.] These Princes had, afterwards, great Wars with the Kings of *Fez*, of the *Merin* Family; and according to the *African* Historians, three of these *Merin* Princes took *Tremizan* by Force of Arms, and of the *Zeyan* Kings some lost their Lives in those Encounters, some were carried Prisoners to *Fez*, and others fled to the Desarts, seeking Refuge and Assistance among the *South-Numidians*  
and

and *Arabs*, their Neighbours. They were, also, sometimes dispossessed of their Territories by the Kings of *Tunis*; but, notwithstanding all these Adversities, the *Zeyan* Family was always restored to the Sovereignty of *Tremizan*, and enjoyed the same more than 120 Years, without any Interruption, or Molestation, from foreign Princes, except from *Abou-Ferez*, King of *Tunis*, and his Son *Osboman*; during whose Lives and Reigns *Beni Zeyan* were their Tributaries. Lastly, when *Arouj Barba-rossa* (of whom much more anon) possessed himself of *Tremizan*, they had reigned, by Way of regular Succession, 180 Years complete; tho' not with the same Splendor as formerly. True it is, that when the Power of the *Beni Merins* began to decline, in *Spain* and in *Africa*, there were some of the Kings of *Tremizan* who sent their Troops to war upon the *Christians*, and enlarged their Dominions, upon divers Occasions; and when Cardinal *Ximenez* (*A. D.* 1509) had won the City of <sup>k</sup>*Oran* (properly *Wabaran*: It stands in that Territory, as shall be observed) the then King, named *Abou-Hammou Abou-Abdallah*, rendered himself Tributary to the King of *Spain*, (*Don Ferdinand the Catholick*) in order that he might favour him against the [rightful] Pretensions of his Nephew *Abou-Zeyan*, whom he kept Prisoner a considerable Time, till he was set at Liberty by the said *Barba-rossa*. Thus far *Marmol*: And he says nothing but what I have often heard from very intelligent *Moors* and *Arabs*, with many minute Circumstances. I shall treat somewhat largely of *Tremizan*, and the Particulars attending the Catastrophe of that ancient Family.

I shall next, and for the very same Reasons, have Recourse to this Author, for an Account of another notable Dynasty of Princes, which became extinct presently after, and by almost the same Means; I mean that of the Kings of *Tunis*: But here I shall deviate from him in several Points, without troubling my self with taking Notice when and where I dissent.

<sup>1</sup> It has been remarked, that when *Moez*, &c. the *Fathimite* King of *Cairouan*, &c. removed into *Egypt*, he left a Vice-Roy to supply his Absence, who rebelled, and who was killed by the *Arabs*, to whom the said *Khalifa* of *Egypt* had granted Permission to pass into *Barbary*. Two of his Sons escaped the Fury of those *Barbarians*, one of which took Sanctuary in *Tunis*, the other in *Bujeya*, where they reigned for some Years,

<sup>k</sup> *Oran* was taken from the *Spaniards*, by the *Algerines*, *A. D.* 1708.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide P.* 171. under

under the Protection of the Monarchs of *Africa*, the Emperors of *Morocco*, as their Tributary Allies; by Reason that *Yousouf aben Tessim*, the second Prince of the *Morabboth* Family, having intirely reduced to his Obedience all the Western Provinces (including many to the South) marched against them, as has been observed; when finding them so humble, that they attempted not to resist him, he left them in Possession of their respective States, exacting from them only a moderate Acknowledgment; and while that Family flourished, those Kingdoms remained to those *Beni Zeiri*, (called *Zegris* by the *Spaniards*) and their Heirs. Next succeeded the Family of *Al Moabedoun*, or the *Almohades*; the fourth Prince of which Dynasty, the mighty *Mulei Yacoub al Mansor*, (his Grand-Father *Abdalmoumen* having before taken from the *Christians* the City *Africa*, which the *Moors* call *Al Mebedia*, and whereof they had been long possessed) took a Journey to the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and made himself Master both of that, and of the Kingdom of *Bujeya*: And all the while this Family bore Rule those Realms were wholly subject to the Emperors of *Morocco*. But when the *Almohades* were in their Decline, after the Loss of the great Battle, in *Spain*, I spoke of, the *Arabs*, of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, had a favourable Occasion of possessing themselves of all the level Country thereabouts, and frequently besieged the Governors, sent to *Tunis* by the Emperors of *Morocco*, and drove the last of them to such Straits, that he was forced to solicit for Succour. A valiant Captain, named *Abdalbedi*, was sent to that Intent, with twenty stout Ships of War, and a considerable Number of Forces, who set out from *Carthagera*, in *Spain*. This Commander is recorded to have been a Native of *Sevil*, or *Sevilla*, called by the *Mussulmans* of most Nations *Ashibilia*, as, likewise, *Medinat Hemz*, or *Hems*. (*Medina* is City, and *Hems* a Man's Name.) He was, originally, of the ancient *African* Tribe of <sup>m</sup>*Musamouda*, or *Al Mossamedoun*, of that Branch of them called *Henteta*, and was the real Founder of this Dynasty of Kings of *Tunis*, still much talked of, under the Appellation of *Beni-Hafs*, or *Al Hafasa*. At his Arrival there, notwithstanding he found the *Arabs* had half ruined the City, he managed Matters with such Prudence, that he brought them to listen to Terms of Accommodation, making them a Grant of Part of the Revenue of the whole State, upon Condition that they should not molest the Cities and Towns; which

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<sup>m</sup>Vide P. 6.

Agreement is actually <sup>n</sup> still in Force between the *Arabs* of those Quarters and the Sovereigns of *Tunis*: And certain it is, that in no Part of all *Barbary* the *Arabs* bear so great a Sway, at present, as they do in the Kingdom of *Tunis*. Indeed, they bully the *South-Numidian* and some of the *Libyan* Princes, whose Habitations are fixed: But that is not *Barbary*, of which I now speak. Of all this more, perhaps, may be advanced, on a proper Occasion.

*Abdalbedi* governed with Wisdom and Caution, punctually observing his Agreement with the *Arabs*, and never deviating from his Fidelity to his Prince; and when he died, left the Government to his Son *Abou-Sukbari*, which Name is commonly corrupted to *Zachary*. This *Zachary*, then, who wanted nothing of his Father's Courage and Prudence, had a fair Opportunity, by Reason of the furious War which was carrying on between the *Almohade* and *Merin* Families, to enjoy that State, left him in Charge by his Father, as an independent Prince; and, in order the better to maintain that Character and Dignity, he built the Citadel of *Tunis*, now to be seen, in good Repair, at the Western and most elevated Part of that City, and the present Residence of the *Aga* of the *Turkish* Militia, with a stout Garrison. His Arms were attended with Victory in all the Oriental Parts of *Barbary*, higher up than *Tripoly*; from whence returning thro' the *Numidian* and *Libyan* Defarts, he forced Tribute from all those Places, even to the Borders of *Negroland*; and, when he died, left an immense Treasure to his Son *Abou-Ferez*, whom I lately mentioned: Which Prince, finding his Riches answerable to his Ambition, aspired to no less than the Monarchy of all *Africa*; which he imagined not very difficult to compass, since the other Potentates were all involved in dangerous and destructive Wars. The *Beni Merins* had seized the Kingdom of *Fez*; the *Beni-Zeyans* that of *Tremizan*; while the *Almohades* were confined to that of *Morocco* alone; and even that they could scarce maintain; the other Princes using their utmost Efforts to dispossess them. These turbulent Times opened a Passage for *Abou-Ferez* to attempt and accomplish great Things: And he had no sooner made all secure in the East, but he set out, at the Head of a formidable Army, and attacked the Kingdom of *Tremizan*, which he soon reduced to his Obedience; and was preparing to advance towards the King of *Fez*; which Prince was then beleaguer-

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<sup>n</sup> Vide P. 108.

ing *Morocco*; and, to prevent the Approach of that victorious Army, sent a most splendid Embassy, with rich Presents, to the triumphant *Abou-Ferez*, acknowledging him his Superior, and requesting his Friendship and Alliance; which he obtained. *Abou-Ferez* returned to *Tunis*, loaded with Wealth and Renown, where he assumed the proud Epithet of *Sultan*, or Monarch of *Tunis* and all *Barbary*, to which he had some Sort of Title, being the most powerful of all the *African* Potentates, having near all the *Arabs* at his Devotion, and was wise enough to keep them so, by paying them well, and with Punctuality. His Court was regulated, with all imaginable Splendor and Magnificence, after the Model of the former stately Emperors of *Morocco*, when in their Glory. He was succeeded by his Son *Othoman*, who followed his Father's Footsteps, and enlarged his Dominions, very considerably. But after his Decease, the Kings of *Fez*, of the *Merin* Family, grew so powerful, that all the Potentates of *Africa* paid them Obedience, and their Empire extended even to the Altars of the *Philieni*, in the utmost Eastern Boundary of *Barbary*, and Southward to the very Banks of the *Niger*; and they had long and successful Wars with all the contemporary Dynasties of Princes, particularly with the Successors of *Othoman*, the abovementioned King of *Tunis*: And, according to the *African* Historians, one of these *Merin* Kings of *Fez*, named *Abou-Hassan*, held the City of *Tunis* long besieged, and the King thereof left the Country to his Discretion, and fled to the *Arabs* in the Desert, from whence soon returning, with a great Body of Forces, he fought and routed the Enemy, who retired in a very tattered Condition; whereupon the City of *Tripoly* revolted, and continued five Years in Rebellion. Then came the succeeding King of *Fez*, whose Name was *Abou-Henoun*, to attack those Eastern Realms; with whom *Moulei Abou'l Abbas*, King of *Tunis*, had a bloody Encounter, in which he was defeated, and got away to the City of *Constantina*, whither the King of *Fez* pursued, and straitly besieged him; where being forced to surrender, he was carried Prisoner to *Fez*, and from thence removed to the Castle of *Sibia*, or *Ceuta*.

*N. B.* To all the Names of these Princes *Mulei*, or *Moulei* should be prefixed, which Word has a very extensive Signification, the Person using it acknowledging himself, in a manner, the Slave and very Creature of him on whom he bestows that pompous Title; it implying no less than Absolute

Lord, Owner, or Proprietor. As there is not now any very considerable *African* Monarchy, on this Side the *Niger*, where the Government is, absolutely, *Arabian* or *Moorish*, except that of the *Tingitana*, or the Empire of *Morocco*, *Fez*, &c. that Title is in Use only there: For in the States of *Algiers*, *Tunis* and *Tripoly*, where the *Turks* are Masters, that Word is utterly disused: But I ought not to have said, that the *Turks* are now Masters at *Tunis*; it being quite otherwise, as I may farther observe.

Much about the Time I was speaking of, the City of *Tripoly* was attacked and carried, by a Fleet of twenty *Genoese* Men of War, and twelve Gallies, who took Captives all the Inhabitants: Of which when the King of *Fez* had Intelligence, he sent to compound with the *Genoese* Admiral, who, for 50000 Ducats, agreed to release them all, and to quit the City. Half of that Money was, afterwards, found to be false. *Moulei Abou-Salem*, succeeding in the Throne of *Fez*, contracted certain Inter-marriages with the Captive King of *Tunis*, viz. *Moulei Abou'l Abbas*, and restored him to his Dominions; which were peaceably enjoyed by him and his Successors, till the Time of one of them, named *Moulei Abou-Ambaric*, Son to *Othoman II.* who was treacherously assassinated in the Citadel at *Tripoly*, together with one of his Sons, by the Order and Contrivance of his Nephew *Yabiba*, who had usurped the Throne of *Tunis*. This *Yabiba* was, afterwards, slain in an Engagement against a Kinsman of his, Grandson to the said *Moulei Othoman*, who seized the Kingdom, and held it till carried off by a Fit of Sickness: His Name was *Abdalmoumen*. To him succeeded *Abou Sukbari*, Son to *Yabiba*, commonly called *Zachary II.* He died of the Plague. His Successor was a Tyrant, and for his insufferable Irregularities was soon deposed. To him succeeded *Moulei Mabammed*, Father to that *Moulei Hassan*, King of *Tunis*, whom the Emperor *Charles V.* restored to his Kingdom, having been dispossessed by *Barba-rossa*, as I shall farther observe. This *Moulei Hassan*, says *Marmol*, affirmed, that, in the Space of 450 Years, there had reigned in *Tunis* thirty five Kings of that Family, whose Origin, in a direct Line, came from *Melchior*, one of the three *Magi* Kings; and bore for Arms, on their Shields, a Lance with a two-edged Sword, Point upwards, on each Side, over which were three Half-Moons, over them a Diadem, and above that a Star. His Son *Moulei Mabammed*, continues that Author, shewed us this Devise, at *Palermo*,



engraven on a Sabre. The Kings of *Tunis* were, for a long Time, Masters of *Sicily*; till that Island was taken from them by the *Normans*, who in Process of Years, viz. in the Reign of *Roger II.* about *A. D.* 1145, rendered those Princes their Tributaries; tho' that Subjection was of no long Continuance. Likewise, in the Year 1270, the Kingdom of *Tunis* was forced to a Dependency on the Kings of *France*; after *Carthage* had been taken, and *Tunis* itself besieged by *Lewis IX.* commonly called *St. Lewis*, who died, at that Siege, of the Pestilence, which had got into his Army. However *Charles* King of *Sicily*, Brother to that Monarch, arrived there very seasonably, and obliged the then King of *Tunis*, named *Moulei Omar*, to agree to pay an annual Tribute; which continued some Years. This short Account of the Dynasty of *Beni Hafsa*, or the *Hafasa*, shall suffice: But more shall be said of the modern Sovereigns of that State, who assumed not the stately Name of *Moulei*, contenting themselves with that of *Bey*, a Title, throughout *Turkey*, even below that of *Basha*, and which belongs to every petty subordinate Governor, and to all Captains of the Grand Signor's Gallies. Of this Family of the *Hafasa*, the *Arabs* and *Africans* relate something remarkable enough, if true; but I know not what to say as to that Part of the Story: They affirm them all to have had such peculiar long Arms, that, standing upright, the Tops of their Fingers would reach their Knees; and nothing is more common than to hear this averred by the People of *Costantina*, and all that Province, which was always a Part of their Territory, and belonged to *Tunis*, till within these two last Centuries, that it was conquered by the *Algerines*. But I admire, that if this Particular was really Fact, why not one Writer ever takes the least Notice of such a Peculiarity.

While the *Almohade* Family could stand their Ground in *Morocco*, and the Provinces appertaining properly to that once famous Capital, which they did for several Years, after having lost all the rest of their mighty Empire, the *Beni Merins*, their implacable Enemies, Kings of *Fez*, and the *Beni Zeyans*, Kings of *Tremizan*, (both which, as I observed, were of the same Tribe of *Zeneta*, tho' of different Branches) thought it their Interest to keep up an Alliance, at least not to fall out, the better to complete the Ruin of the *Almohades*, and to prevent themselves from being ruined by the powerful Kings of *Tunis*; for between those four great Families (not to take Notice of less considerable independent Communities) the whole Region continued long divided. As for *Spain*, which the *Almo-*

*Abades* had long held, as it were, in an absolute Subjection, during their flourishing Condition, the *Saracen's* vast Acquisitions there, instead of one formidable Monarchy, soon became eight or nine feeble States, yet with Regal Titles, erected by the ambitious Governors of the chief Provinces, who made Advantage of the domestick Broils in *Africa*, and set up for themselves, which, by Degrees, furnished the *Spaniards* (who were themselves divided into several petty Kingdoms) with favourable Opportunities of gaining Ground upon the *Moors*, and recovering their Country; which they had little Prospect of ever accomplishing, had the *Moors* continued unanimous, under one Head: But Disunion and Ruin are inseparable Companions. However, the Kingdom of *Granada* flourished, and made a notable Figure in the World, for two Centuries and a half, long after all the rest had been swallowed up by the Kings of *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Portugal*, *Navarre*, &c. In *Africa*, the Kings of *Tunis* had, latterly, enough to do to keep their turbulent *Arabs* in any tolerable Order: And the *Merin* Family no sooner grew great, by the Destruction of their Rivals the *Almohades*, but they turned their Arms against their contiguous Neighbours, the Kings of *Tremizan*, who had much Difficulty to maintain their Sovereignty against those their ambitious and over-grown Kinsmen: Nor could they well have withstood them, had not the *Merins* been frequently diverted by their own rebellious Subjects, and, at last, by the very considerable Progresses the *Portuguese* began to make upon the *Tingitanian* Coasts, and, assisted by several Tribes of Warlike *Arabs*, into the very Heart of their Dominions. To complete all, another sanctified Family began to appear, under the specious Cloke of Religion, a most successful Method, in many Parts of the World, more especially in *Africa*, of which I have already given some Instances. The Family I speak of, is that of the *Sherifs*, a Branch of which now reigns, or, properly speaking, rather tyrannizes, in the *Tingitana*. By this sanctified Race (whose Surname is *Al Housainin*, pretending to be descended from *Housain*, the second Son of *Ali* and *Fatima*, Daughter to *Mahomet*, the Pseudo-Prophet) the *Beni Merins* were exterminated; but not till after long and cruel Wars, attended with notable Incidents, and strange Vicissitudes of Fortune. But as the Histories of all the Dynasties I have mentioned have been largely handled by that careful Writer *Luis del Marmol*, who, likewise, is very particular in his Relation of the *Portuguese* Conquests in *Africa*, and of their Affairs with the *Sherifs*, whose History is written

both by him and *Diego de Torres*, I shall not enlarge thereon, but refer the Curious to those Authors, and only advance a few Words concerning the Original of this *Sherifian* Family, according to all the Accounts I have heard from the sincerest, least partial, and most intelligent Natives: It not being my Design to expatiate much more on the Affairs of this Country, only wherein the *Algerines*, whose History I have undertaken to write, have been more immediately concerned.

About the Beginning of the sixteenth Century, when the *Christian* Arms were victorious in *Africa*, and when that brave and fortunate Prince *Don Manuel*, King of *Portugal*, vigorously resolv'd to pursue the glorious Conquests his Father *Don Juan* had begun, in those Parts, by the Reduction of several Maritime Places, namely *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, *Alcassar*, *Arzilla*, *Azambr*, *Mazagan*, *Agadir*, &c. This last is, by the *Europeans*, commonly called *Santa-Cruz*. In the Province of *Dara*, or *D'ra*, in the Kingdom of *Morocco*, to the South of the *Atlas*, in a certain Town called *Tigumedet*, lived a *Sherif*, of no small Reputation for Sanctity. He was, likewise, looked on to be very learned in the Law, in the natural Sciences, and, more particularly, in the Study of Magick. His Name was *Sheikh Mahammed aben Hamed*, *Sherif*. How those *Sherifs* first came into that Western Part of *South-Numidia*, where they grew very numerous, and miserably poor, is thus related, by such as seem most inclined to Truth and Impartiality.

When the *Arabs* obtained Permission to pass into *Barbary*, as has been said, such as had not Camels enough to proceed farther, remained in the Desarts of *Barca*, and other Eastern Parts of *Barbary*, &c. where they pass'd a most wretched Life, in those barren Wilds, betaking themselves to Brigandage and Rapine for mere Sustenance; and were often driven to such Extremities, that they sold, or pawn'd their very Children, for Bread, to the *Sicilian* and other *Christian* Traders. Among other miserable *Arab* Tribes, was one that assumed the Name and Title of *Sherifs*, of the Family of *Housain*, as had been hinted, who in Time grew very formidable; and for a long while plundered all the Western *Caravans* of Pilgrims, in their Passage to and from *Mecca*. Their chief Abode was in the *Numidian* Desarts, contiguous to the State, or Kingdom of *Tripoly*. Many Attempts were made, by the Powers of *Barbary*, to prevent those Dif-

¶ Vide P. 172 & seq.

¶ Vide P. 4, & 5.

orders; all which proved ineffectual, till one of the most powerful and determined Emperors of *Morocco*. (if I mistake not *Moulei Yacoub al Mansor*, of the *Almobade* Family) resolv'd to make the Passage free to their *Holy-Land*, and with a mighty Army, unawares, surrounded those Free-Booters. Their Chief, named *Meberex*, to whom they gave the proud Epithet *Moulei*, fell, unhurt, into the Emperor's Hands, who spared the Lives of him and his Kindred, in regard to their Extraction, but transplanted them into those remote Western Provinces of *Dara*, *Sous*, &c. which soon swarmed with beggarly, yet proud and insolent *Sherifs*, as they still do, tho' the Emperors of *Morocco*, *Fez*, &c. disdain not to call the vilest of them Cousin.

The *Sherif Mahammad*, &c. I mentioned above, had three Sons, namely *Abdalkebir*, *Mohammad* and *Hamed*. In order to forward his aspiring Views, he sent the two last on Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, &c. *A. D.* 1506. To their ordinary Title of *Sherifs* they, as directed by their Father, annexed that of *Morabboths*, or *Saints*; a Name in high Esteem and Veneration among all the *Africans* in general: Indeed, the *African Turks*, particularly the *Algerines*, shew those Impostors no very great Regard; whereas the proudest *Arab*, or *Moor*, throughout the whole Region, never disdains to kiss the dirty Fist, and lousy, tattered Garments, of any squalid Scoundrel, if a Natural Drivler, or a reputed *Morabboth*, tho' ever so infamous; of which more shall be said. The young Pilgrims, being apt Scholars, acted their Parts to Admiration. At and before their Return, they seem'd new Men: Nothing in their Mouths but the Names and Attributes of GOD, and his beloved *Messenger*: They would not eat a Morfel but what was given them in Alms; and the greatest Part of what they got by those humble Means, they would piously distribute among the Neecessitous, with the utmost Humility and Devotion. The subtle old Fox, their Father, had given them their Lesson; and they were politick and tractable enough to be most obedient Children. Nor had he ceased, during their Absence, to prognosticate the future Greatness, as well as the Sanctity of those consummate Hypocrites; as they soon appear'd to be, by their Actions: And not only so, but most ungrateful and perfidious; not only to their Benefactors, the Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez*, both which Princes they basely and treacherously murdered, but, likewise, to each other; as appears in their Histories, written at large, as I said, by *Marmol*, *Diego de Torres*, and, from them, by others.

But this tedious and troublesome Preamble, which may serve as an *Introduction* to my *History of Algiers*, being, as it were, insensibly spun out to a far greater Length than was, at first, intended, it his high Time to bring it to a Conclusion, in order to pursue my original Design: And, by Way of Animadversion on the foregoing, Miscellaneous Discourse (which, in Spite of my frequent *Interlardations*, I fear some nice *Epicureans* may think *dry Feeding*; and without making any extraordinary Merit of the Trouble I have been at, in *dishing* it out for the Palates of a few, who were of Opinion it would render the Work more acceptable, and whose Stomachs I know are not so very squeamish) I shall only add, that particular Care has been taken, not to expatiate too much on any Subjects touched by modern Writers; Truth, or, at least, plausible Probability, has been, even superstitiously, regarded; and a very considerable Number of Errors, of the grossest Nature, have, most impartially, been rectified, without my having deemed it worth while always to specify Particulars, or to nominate the Persons who have been either so ignorant, so careless, or, which is much less excusable, so insincere, and withal so void of Shame as to presume to impose their Absurdities upon the Publick, to the great Disappointment of all such as are curious in History, but cannot relish what is not genuine. In what is yet behind, my Intent is to adhere to the very same Method; and am far from despairing of, at least, a no very unfavourable Reception, from all those real Lovers of true History, who shall be at the Pains of perusing my Narrative.

*The End of the EPITOME of the History of BARBARY,  
&c. in general.*



A COMPLETE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ALGIERS,  
AND ITS  
TERRITORY;

FROM

The Time of its being possessed by the  
*TURKS.*

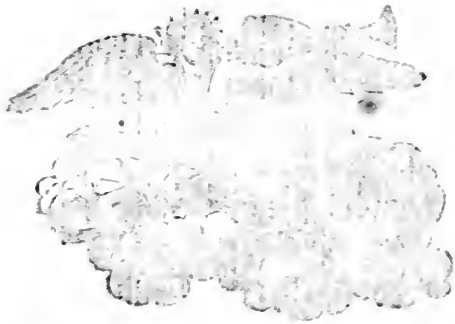
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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
A L G I E R S.



C H A P. I.

*The Antiquity, Names, Revolutions and Situations, of  
the City of ALGIERS.*



MOST certain it is, that if the City, known to us under the spurious Name of *Algiers*, that dreaded Retreat of lawless Free-Booters, the Terror of their Neighbours, the avowed Enemies to the *Christian* Common-Weal, and the incessant Interrupters of its Commerce, if this Nest of Wasps, this Den of Thieves, (as many call it,) I say, arose from the Ashes of that celebrated Capital of one of the *Mauritaniae*, (an Honour allowed it by the Generality of Geographers) I mean *Cæsaria*, it has, both for Antiquity and Nobility, a just Title to claim Place among most of the noblest Cities in the Universe. Some, indeed, think fit to be Dissenters; assuring

assuring us, that *Cæsaria* stood elsewhere, specifying several different decayed, or decaying, Towns on that Coast: But those who dissent so far from Truth, or even Probability, as to make it to have been an inland City, apparently expose their Ignorance; since its Situation was, indisputably, maritime; as all, who are worthy of any Credit, or Regard, unanimously affirm. But, to view *Algiers* in its modern Garb, I my self, were it not for what is observed by so many First-Rate Historians, should be very inclinable to come into *Marmol's* Opinion; viz. that the old City, some few Miles West of *Algiers*, whose *African* Name is *Tegedemt*, is all that is now left of the once illustrious *Cæsaria*, the Place selected by King <sup>a</sup> *Juba II.* to be rebuilt, ennobled and new-named, in Honour of his munificent Patron *Cæsar Augustus*, preferable to any Spot of Ground throughout his extensive Realm. *Ib'nal Rakik*, the most reputable of all the *African* Chronologists, positively affirms its former Name to have been *Cæsara*: Tho' I could never hear of any others making that Remark. [I cannot help observing here, that we and others, who pronounce the C, like S, are in the wrong, and that it is crept in like other vulgar Errors; since it is obvious, that most of the Northern Nations, and, I believe, all the Orientals, pronounce *Cæsar* like *Kaisar*: But this I submit to the Criticks.] The Ruins of that ancient City are very noble, and scarce less than twelve Miles in Circumference.

In Page 59, I just hinted some of my Sentiments concerning *Algiers*; which, by its present Aspect, none would ever judge to be the Offspring of the favourite Seat of a mighty Monarch, the Metropolis of his vast Regions, and to have, afterwards, continued some Centuries a *Roman* Colony, Head of a most noble Province, to which it had given a Name, and, to conclude, a City in as flourishing a Condition, and of almost as great Note, as any throughout the whole Empire, while in the Zenith of its Glory. But, notwithstanding *Algiers* has now fewer Monuments of Antiquity, to boast of, than any ancient Place I ever came near, and (formidable and redoubted as it renders itself to many of the Coasts and most Traders of *Europe*) measures barely one League about, if *Cæsaria* stood on any other Ground than where *Algiers* now is, How can we account for what an Author of such undoubted Credit as <sup>b</sup> *Strabo* so plainly advances, when he positively says, that King *Juba II.* Son of *Juba I.* and Father of

<sup>a</sup> Vide P. 35. & seq.

<sup>b</sup> L. 17.

*Ptolemy*, re-edified the ancient City *Jol*, and named it *Cæsaria*, which City had just before it a small Island? Not to enlarge, or dwell upon what might be produced from other Writers of Repute, I shall, implicitly, acquiesce to this single Authority, and take no farther Notice of other concurring Circumstances, which might serve to corroborate it; only observing, that *Algiers* has, in Front of it, just such an Island, whereas neither *Tegedemt*, nor any other Place on the Coast, intimated by Geographers to have been *Jol* (or, as some have it, *Julia*) *Cæsaria*, can produce the least Appearance of any such Rock, or Island.

And, yet it is wonderful, that not one Inscription, one Statue, or even a Fragment of any Triumphal Arch, or any thing like it, that I could ever see or hear of, by digging Foundations, Cellars, Cisterns, Wells, &c. is to be met with, in the whole Neighbourhood. This is *perire ruinae*, with a Vengeance!

The learned Criticks will, certainly, condemn me for again invading their Province: Yet I must needs take Notice, that the Initials in the Proper Names *Jol* and *Juba* are Vowels and not Consonants, which by another vulgar Error, like the former I hinted, we, absurdly enough, confound, and use irregularly and promiscuously, as we do *C* and *S*; *K* and *C*; *G* and *J* Consonant; and as the *Spaniards*, most corruptly and most abusively, murder and confound several Letters. Those Names, I am almost positive, should be pronounced *Jol* and *Juba*, or rather only *Youb*, which, according to our Idiom, is the same with *Job*. Had I no other Inducement to be of that Opinion, what one sometimes hears the *Africans* themselves say would be sufficient: For they seem to retain something of a traditional Idea, or Remembrance of their King *Juba*, when, speaking of Things transacted, or said, in *Days of Yore*, they deliver themselves in these Words; *Fe Doult Sultan Youb*: q. d. In King *Youb's* Reign: Yet, when asked, they tell one, they mean not *Job* the Patriarch, but an ancient and powerful King of their own. Farther they know nothing. This inclines me to fancy, that those two memorable Persons were really Name-sakes, and that the Monosyllable *Youb*, or *Aiub*, was altered into *Juba* (with a Vowel *I*) by the *Romans*, as more sonorous to their Ears, and better agreeing with their Language.

It has been the Unhappiness of *Barbary*, to be often afflicted with Tyrants, who seem to have even delighted in destroying all the stately Edifices of those fine Provinces. *Algiers* has undergone as great a share in the frequently.

frequently repeated Desolations as any; nay, seemingly greater; since I know of no Place at all, even among such as have never again reared their Heads, but has something or other to shew, as a Token of its pristine Splendor, or at least of its Antiquity; whereas this still proud City has an Aspect actually modern: And yet, by what is to be gathered from History, it appears not to have continued any considerable Time wholly depopulated.

Allowing it, therefore, the Honour of being the legitimate Daughter of the most illustrious *Casaria*, which it would be a very difficult Matter, with any Appearance of Justice, to disprove, it must be an unpardonable Partiality to dispute its being noble by Descent: I, for my Part, am intirely for fighting an Enemy generously, *en bonne Guerre*, and fulfilling our old Proverb, *Give the Devil his Due*. And the same Authority we have for that, proves *Casaria* to have been erected on the ruinous Foundations of the most ancient *Jol*. Thus much for the Nobility and Antiquity of *Algiers*.

The Name it bears in the *African* Chronicles is *Muzgunna*; and nothing is more common than to hear *Moors* so calling it, with a seeming Reluctance that its Name is changed to one less sonorous. *Leo* and *Marmol* observe the same, tho' they write the Word differently; and several others have taken the Hint, still varying as each thinks fit. The *Africans* assert that City to have belonged originally to *Beni Muzgunna*, an ancient *Libyan* People, they know not of what Tribe, who founded and inhabited it, they say, long before the *Romans* came thither: The *Arabs* in their Histories call it *Al Jezeirat Beni Muzgunna*; which signifies, the *Island* of those People. At present, its real modern Name *Al Jezeirat*, or *The Island*, is corrupted even by those who gave it that Appellation; for the *Moors* and *Arabs* call it *Tzeir*, the *Turks* change the *Arabick* Singular into Plural, and name it *Jezeir*, while the *Western Africans*, almost in general (in a corrupt Manner, peculiar to themselves, of always using G for J Consonant) call it *Gezeir*. The *Europeans*, from some one, or all of these, have formed *Alger*, *Algieri*, *Argier*, &c. the *Spaniards* in particular, have it *Argel*, sometimes *Arjel*, both which, not to part with their dear Gutterals, (tho' they lose three or four Letters out of their Alphabet by that aukward Imitation of the *Arabians*) they think proper to pronounce *Arkbel*. But, only We and the *Netherlanders*, that I know of, call it *Algiers*. The *Turks*, besides the common Appellation of *Ma-*

*gribli*, q. d. *Westerling*, they give to all such as inhabit West of *Egypt*, call an *Algerine*, in particular, *Jezairli*; whereas the *Tingitanians*, as I hinted above, say *Gezeiri*, and all the rest of the *Moors* and *African Arabs*, in general, *Tzeiri*, or *Zeiri*, which being the same Word with that Title borne by the Dynasty of *Al Zeiriat*, it induces me to fancy, that the City partly borrowed its present corrupt Name from that Family, rather than from the small rocky Island fronting it: Or, perhaps, after all, it is only a Corruption of *Cæsaria*. As for that silly Notion, some run away with, of its being called so on account of its lying almost opposite to the *Balearic Islands*, I look on it to be wholly groundless, ridiculous and absurd.

These being all the Names I could ever hear *Algiers* to have gone by I next proceed to the best Account I find of its Revolutions. It has been observed, <sup>d</sup> that *Cæsaria* was intirely destroyed by the Arch-Rebel *Firmus*, Brother to the Tyrant *Gildon*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Valentinian II.* but presently rebuilt, probably by the *Romans*, tho' it came far short of its former Beauty and Magnificence. The savage *Vandals*, the schismatick *Fathimites*, the *Scenite Arabs*, the *Morabboths*, *Almobades*, the Family of *Edris*, and, indeed, almost all the tyrannical Dynasties, successively, some thro' Bigotry, tho' Ambition never failed of lurking at the Bottom, have seemed to imagine they could not by any Means immortalize their Memories better, or more effectually, than by ruining what they could conquer: Tho' I cannot help surmising, but that the Passions which agitated the Breasts of some of those *Locusts*, were *Hatred* to the *Roman*<sup>e</sup>, or rather *Christian* Name, and *Envy* of what they were incapable of imitating to Perfection: Why, else, should they, so apparently, have taken Pleasure in bestowing both Labour and Expence to destroy beautiful Edifices, and lay waste flourishing Provinces, which the Sword had made their own, and which, so adorned, would have rendered their Conquests so superlatively more advantageous and estimable?

In all those almost general, Desolations, it is very likely *Algiers* bore a Part; but I no where find it to have remained long uninhabited: Nor, ever since it ceased to be called *Cæsaria*, or, at least, since it flourished, as a Colony, under the *Romans*, has it enjoyed the Honour of being a Metropolis of any Kingdom, or very considerable Province, but still fol-

<sup>e</sup> Vide P. 171. & seq.

<sup>d</sup> Vide P. 59. ut supra.

<sup>e</sup> Vide P. 172. & seq.

<sup>f</sup> Vide P. 15.

lowed the Fortune of *Tremizan*; except that short Interruption of which I shall presently take Notice: For, what I seemed to fancy (in Page 172) that *Algiers* was the Seat of the *Zeirites*, who rebuilt *Bujeya*, was only bare Conjecture, from the Similitude of the Name, as is above observed, and for which I have not the least Authority.

Not to enlarge any farther on the ancient State of these *African* Provinces, but hastening to more modern Occurrences, I shall only premise, that *Algiers*, very probably, underwent many notable Revolutions, amidst those universal Alterations. What most relates to the Purpose in Agitation, is to look back on the Country some Time before the last grand Revolution, brought about by that bold Corsair *Arouje*, commonly called *Barba-rossa*, or *Red-Beard*, A. D. 1516.

Saying little or nothing of either *Libya*, *South-Numidia*, or the petty Principalities, Communities and independent Mountains, we must observe, that in the Century which preceded that memorable *Epocha*, I mean the *Turks* settling in the West, *Barbary* was divided between the following powerful Sovereigns, viz. the Kings of *Tunis* in the East; of *Tremizan* in the Middle; and of the *Tingitana* in the West. The Kings of *Tunis* governed from near the Desert of *Barca* down to the Borders of the Province of *Algiers*, (properly so called) where it bounds with the Territory of *Bujeya*. Those of *Tremizan* from thence, Westward, to the River *Mulwia*, which separates the Territories of *Fez* and *Tremizan*. The next, and last, included the Empires, or Kingdoms of *Fez*, *Morocco*, &c. sometimes under one mighty Prince, and other times under several less considerable contending Powers, till swallowed up by the present *Sherifian* Family: Of this more Western Part of *Barbary* no farther Notice needs here be taken.

The then extensive Kingdom of *Tunis* consisted of these principal Provinces, viz. *Tripoly* in the East; *Costantina* to the West of *Tunis*; and West of that *Bujeya*; which States, or Principalities, were governed by Vice-Roys, generally the Sons, near Relations, or chief Favourites of the Kings of *Tunis*. The usual Residence of the Kings was in that Capital. They had great Dominions in *South-Numidia*; but had Measures to observe with their *Arabian* Auxiliaries. The Kings of *Tremizan* stood upon much the same Footing, tho' they were far less potent than those of *Tunis*; and their Provinces of *Algiers* and *Tenez* were often bestowed on their Sons, or Kindred, who there acted as Vice-Roys.

*Abdalaziz,*

*Abdalaziz*, a younger Son to *Moulei Abou-Ferez*, one of the most triumphant among the *Hafasa*, Kings of *Tunis*, had the State of *Bujeya*, with a Regal Title, left him in Appennage. By his Prudence and Lenity, he so gained the Affections of his rugged *Higbland* Subjects, and became, consequently, so powerful, that he durst attack the King of *Tremizan*, cruelly persecuted by his Western Neighbour (the King of *Fez*) and miserably harassed the Province of *Algiers*. The oppressed *Algerines*, finding their natural Sovereign grown too feeble to protect them, submitted to pay the moderate Tribute demanded of them by the King of *Bujeya*, and so remained obedient and contented Vassals to those Princes, in a State nearly resembling absolute Liberty, till *A. D.* 1509, when *Bujeya* was conquered, for *Don Ferdinand*, the *Catholick* King of *Spain*, by the Count *Don Pedro Navarro*, whom all, or most of the *French* Writers erroneously call *Count of Navarre*, whereby several of our best Translators have been led into the like Error. Ought not a *Frenchman* to know that *Navarre* is not a County?

*Granada* being reduced by that Monarch's Arms, *A. D.* 1492, such of the vanquished *Moors* as disdained to live abject Vassals to People whose Creed they abhorred, in a Country where, for so many Ages, they had Lorded as Sovereigns, under Princes of their own Belief, swarmed over in Sholes, with their Families, into *Africa*, chusing for their future Abodes those Parts of the Coasts which they thought proper; bearing rancoured Hearts against the successful *Spaniards*, who had usurped their ancient Patrimonies, and fully bent to omit no Opportunity of Vengeance. To say nothing of those who settled elsewhere, I shall only trace some of the Proceedings of such as resorted to the Places of which I am treating. Fifteen Leagues West of *Algiers*, lies an ancient maritime City, once very great, and which had lain long in Ruins: It is called *Sbershel*. This one Party of *Moorish* Exiles begged of the King of *Tremizan*, not forgetting to obtain the Concurrence of the *Algerines*, and soon put that ruinous Place in a Condition to receive 1000 Families, breathing nothing but Desolation to the *Spanish* Coasts in particular: Not that they bore any good Will to the rest of *Christendom*; but their chief Aim was against their Persecutors. All the others were, doubtless, in the very same Humour. As for *Algiers*, whither, also, repaired a considerable Number of these Fugitives (if People forcibly stripped of their All may, properly, be so termed) its very name was scarce ever known in *Spain* before

this Time: But, now nothing is heard, upon the Southern Coasts of that Country, and in all its Islands, but Lamentations of People whose Towns, Villages and Farms have been pillaged of their whole Substance of any Value, and their Kindred, Friends and Acquaintance hurried away into Captivity by Hundreds and by Thousands; and all this by their own Natives, Men born and educated among them, perfect in their Language, and knowing every Inch of Ground there as well as themselves, coming on them unawares, appavelled like those they lie in wait for, and, in a Word, mere *Spaniards* in every respect, except in an unconceivable Detestation in which they held a *Spaniard's* Religion and Principles, and an irradicable Hatred they bore to the *Spaniards* purely on account of their being *Spaniards*: And Woe to the *Spanish* Priest who had the Unhappiness to fall into any of their Clutches! And how to redress these hourly Calamities! The Enemy is a Neighbour, daring, determined, incensed, artful, insidious, indefatigable, vindictive, disguised to perfection, the Coasts abounding with well-known and often frequented Creeks, which serve now to conceal their Brigantines and Row-Boats, as they had heretofore done to shelter from Storms their Fishing-Boats: Moreover, the *Spaniards* (at which the *Moors* were not very angry) are lofty, secure, they despise a few beggarly Out-Laws, whom their Prowess has obliged to seek Sanctuary among the *Infidels* and *Barbarians*, nothing less contemptible than those Fugitives themselves. Several *Moriscoes*, or *Spanish-Moors*, have told me, this was the *Spaniards* usual way of talking, for some Years; during all which Interval of Lethargy, their Grand-Fathers, they say, were continually ravaging the Coasts and Islands of *Spain*, while the *Spanish* Gallies lay loitering and rotting in the Ports; the *Dons* deeming it beneath them to keep out at Sea merely to cruise upon a few pilfering Brigantines, and such Small-Craft; whereby they were insulted at Pleasure. Nay, they had, then, few or no Watch-Towers; nor were there any Troops in Readiness to deter an Enemy, or receive them at their Landing. Some of the Relations, indeed, I have heard of *Morisco* Boldness and *Spanish* Passiveness and Supinity, seem scarce credible: All which they aver to be handed down to them, from Father to Son. But, certain it is, that *Algiers* became more known than it had been for many Ages; nay was grown even formidable; and yet no Care was taken to put a Stop to the growing Evil. Nor is it less certain, that the *Moriscoes* of *Africa* held a constant Correspondence with their persecuted Brethren in *Spain*, were often



forwarded and assisted by them in their nocturnal Expeditions, and, at different Times, transported many thousands of them, with their Families and Effects.

*Don Ferdinand*, the *Catholick King of Spain*, at length began to be alarmed, in good Earnest. In 1509 the Cities of *Oran* and *Bujeya*, on the *Barbary Coast*, were conquered by his Fleets. Those Exploits were no sooner atchieved, but he sent a great Naval Force to reduce *Algiers*, in order to rid the Seas, or rather his own House, of those audacious Cruisers. The *Algerines* were in Hopes of maintaining their present Condition of Independency; they being, actually, become a Free People; their Sovereign, the King of *Bujeya*, having been lately sent a grazing in the Mountains. But beholding the same Power, which had been able to dispossess their Protector, just ready to serve them so, or worse, they thought it Prudence to submit; and, without suffering their Invaders to proceed to Hostilities, instantly agreed to acknowledge themselves Subjects to his *Catholick Majesty*, and to pay him a yearly Tribute. But as his said Majesty's main Design was to keep those insolent Corsairs *at home*, since they were so very troublesome when they got *abroad*, a Fort was erected, with all imaginable Expedition, upon the little rocky Island, standing before their Town, which was well supplied with all Necessaries, and a Garrison of 200 *Spaniards*, under the Command of a stout and experienced Governor. This Method was so effectual, that the *Algerines* paid their Tribute Money very punctually, and the *Spanish Coasts* heard no more of their Depredations: For, over-awed by the Cannon of the Fort (and they having none of that Sort of *Musick* to bear a *Chorus* with their new Neighbours, or to answer them in the same *Key*) they continued very honest Men, and obedient Subjects, till News came of *Don Ferdinand's* Decease; which happened in the Beginning of 1516.

This State of Servitude and Restraint agreed little with their Constitution. The Occasion seemed favourable for them to make a Push to recover their Liberty. An *Arab Tribe*, named *Beni Tatische*, was then very powerful in the fine neighbouring Plain, called *Metēja*, and some of the circumjacent Mountains. Their *Sheikh*, or Chief, was *Salem aben Toumi*. To him the *Algerines* offered the Sovereignty of their City, which he accepted, was joyfully received as their Prince, and promised them his best Protection. No more Refreshments and Provisions must be carried to the *Spanish Fort*, as customary; for which Neglect the *Spaniards*

fail not to cannonade their Houses. *Algiers*, as near as I can learn, had then almost the same Walls round the City as at present: Of the modern Additions and Alterations I shall elsewhere take Notice. It has now no Suburbs at all; but there were then very considerable ones. The *Casabba*, or Citadel, seems pretty ancient, and was built by the Kings of *Tremizan*, for the Residence of their Vice-Roys; and Prince *Salem* made it his Palace; tho' he did not long enjoy his new Dignity. But of these Particulars, and the succeeding memorable Revolution which happened in *Algiers*, I shall treat somewhat largely in the ensuing Chapters.

Till I enter upon the particular Topography of this City, and some transient Description of its Dominions, I shall, here, only observe, as to the Situation of this noted Prison of thousands of *Christians*, from most Corners of the Universe, That it lies in a spacious Bay, partly on even Ground, close by the Sea, at the Bottom of a steep Hill, and partly on the Declivity thereof, in 21 Degrees, 20 Minutes of Longitude, and 36 Degrees, 30 Minutes of North Latitude. This is according to the latest Observations: For some Geographers and Historians vary in their Accounts, about one Degree, some more some less, of which I think it needless to take any farther Notice.

## C H A P. II.

*Some Account of the famous Corsair BARBA-ROSSA, before  
he possessed himself of ALGIERS.*

**L**ESBOS, now *Meteline*, an Island in the *Egean* Sea, gave Birth to this bold and enterprizing Corsair. His Father's Name was *Jacob*, a *Christian* of the *Greek* Church by Principle, and by Profession a Potter. Large was his Family, considering the Smalness of his Means and Circumstances; having three Sons and four Daughters, and nothing for their Maintenance but what accrued from daily Labour, at that poor Calling. Of all those Children He I treat of was the eldest; and as soon as able helped to nourish the rest, by working with his Father at that his only Occupation:

Occupation: And tho' he passed his Life in that poor and slavish Manner, so repugnant to his aspiring Genius, yet he persevered till his Brothers grew capable of supplying his Absence.

Arrived at his twentieth Year, he resolved to attempt the bettering his Fortune, upon the first Opportunity that should present itself. It was not long before a *Turkish* Half-Galley, armed for the Cruise, touched at a small Port in the Island, whose Name is not mentioned, distant about a League from his own Habitation, which was in a Village, on the North Side of *Meteline*, now called *Mola*. Without imparting his Design to any, thither he repaired; and accosting the *Rais*, or Captain of the Privateer, he expressed his Willingness to become a *Mussulman*, and to follow his Fortunes. The Captain, seeing him a proper, sprightly and promising Youth, readily embraced the Offer, and received him into his Service. His Name when a *Christian* is not known; but that given him, with his new Religion, was *Arouje*. For some Years he followed the Trade of scouring the Seas, and soon became much noted and highly esteemed, for his Intrepidity, among his Associates, and failed not of signaling himself on all Occasions. He was naturally vigilant, daring, courageous, and withal haughty and ambitious. Some *Turkish* Merchants of *Constantinople*, being no Strangers to his Character, having built and armed out a *Galeot*, or Light-Gally, intending to try their Fortunes at Sea, against all *Christians* not in League with the *Ottoman* Port, made our Adventurer a Proffer of its Command; which Employ, being too honourable, advantageous and conformable to his Disposition for him to reject, he promptly accepted and commenced *Rais*, or Captain; and must henceforth, for some Time at least, be called *Arouje Rais*.

Being so well acquainted and beloved among the Corsairs, it was easy for him to man his *Galeot* with such as would answer his Views; which proved very different from the Intentions of his Owners, who spared not any Cost to fit him out to the best Advantage, and just as himself desired. When got to Sea, he opened his Mind to the Chiefs of his Equipage, laying before them the vast Advantages would infallibly accrue to them all, if, instead of confining themselves to the *Archipelago*, and those Parts, (where they must be awed by the Grand Signor, and punished with Severity when complained of by any of his Vassals, or Allies) they bent their Course towards *Barbary*, which Coasts swarmed with rich trading Vessels, and in which Seas a *Turkish* Galley would be a Novelty. There they need

not doubt of a welcome Reception, and from thence rife all the *Christians* they met with, at Discretion. A stout, well-appointed Galley, like that which Providence had put into his Hands, manned with such dreadful *Lyons* as, by long Experience, he knew them all to be, might ravage the *Italian* and *Spanish* Shores and Seas, without Controul: And, having amassed a Store of Wealth suitable to their Merits, and answerable to their Ambition, such he knew to be the crazy Condition, such the Disunion of the *African* Princes, perpetually harassed with intestine Jars, that it would be no difficult Matter for them to seize a noble Territory, and of simple Corsairs to become independent and formidable Sovereigns.

His Harangue met with the wished-for Success: Every one readily came into his Measures; and it was unanimously agreed, to direct their Course for *Tunis*.

In his Way thither *Arouje Rais* put into *Meteline*. His Father was dead, and the Condition of his Family rather worse than better. He relieved their Wants, and invited his Brothers to partake of his Fortune; which Invitation, together with *Mussulmanism*, they embraced without much hesitating. The Elder he named *Heyradin*, the other *Isaac*; and as the Name of their common Father was *Jacob*, they were all surnamed *Yacoub Oglou*, which answers to what an *Arab* would express by *Aben Yacoub*, equivalent to our *Jacobson*, or the Son of *Jacob*. This may serve as a Rule on all such Occasions. It should be farther observed, that where the *Arabs* use the harsh Guttural *Kba*, the *Turks* soften it into the Aspiration *Ha*, which is exactly our *H*: So that the true *Arabian* Name of the middlemost of these Brothers is *Kheyradin*. He was the redoubted *Barba-rossa* II. of whom I shall treat very particularly.

Soon after his Departure from *Meteline*, he overtook a *Galeot*, belonging to some of his Friends and Acquaintance; to whom communicating his Designs, those Corsairs not only gave into them, but consented to acknowledge him as their Principal, and to follow his Directions. Thus, increased in Strength, and meeting with a favourable Passage, *Arouje Rais*, with his two *Galeots*, in a few Days, cast Anchor before the *Goleta*, where was then only a small Fort, and a *Douana*, or Custom-House, at which the *European* and other Traders used to unload their Merchandizes. This is the Port of *Tunis*, distant from thence about a Dozen Miles, and is defended by two no inconsiderable Castles. His Arrival there was in 1504, in the Reign of *Moulei Mahammad*, Father of that *Moulei Hassan*, whom

*Barba-rossa*

*Barba-rossa* II. dispossessed, and the Emperor *Charles V.* restored, as will be observed. They were kindly received by the King of *Tunis*, who granted them free Entrance and Protection in his Ports, with Liberty to buy whatever they wanted; in Return to which Favour, the Corsairs agreed to give him the Tythe of all their Purchase, or Booty. *Arouje Rais* was then about thirty, and had used the Sea full ten Years.

*Marmol* relates the first Adventures of these Corsairs somewhat differently; and, among other Matters, affirms, that they ran away with a considerable Sum of the Grand Signor's Money, put on Board them, to pay the *Turkish* Garrisons at *Coron* and *Modon*, in the *Morea*, or the ancient *Peloponnesus*: But as *F. Diego de Haedo*, (seemingly much better informed, and on whom I more depend, for Reasons I shall give in my *Preface*) is wholly silent on that Head, I am rather inclined to doubt than credit a Passage which carries with it a Face of Detraction and Partiality, without much Appearance of Probability: It being obvious, that the *Ottoman* Monarchs are not, with Impunity, to be so treated by their Subjects, who ever again intend to set Foot in their Dominions, or to venture within Reach. Indeed, *Marmol*, every where, allows both the Brothers to have been Men of most consummate Valour, and, in many Instances, not devoid of Greatness of Soul, Generosity and Humanity.

*Arouje Rais* stayed not long at the *Goletta*; but, manning one of his *Galeots* (the other wanting to be cleaned and repaired) with his best Rowers, and stoutest Soldiers, he departed in Quest of Prey; in which Cruise he met with an Adventure, attended with a Success scarce to be equalled in Story. I find it related both by *Marmol* and *Haedo*, tho' with some Variations, of which Notice shall be taken; since either of the Accounts given of it by those stanch *Spaniards* (who can never be suspected of Partiality, in Favour of so terrible and so inveterate an Enemy to their Country and Principles) are shining Arguments of the uncommon Bravery and Resolution of a Person, whose very Name and Memory great Part of *Christendom* had so much Reason to detest and execrate. What *Haedo* says of this Exploit, is to the following Purport.

*S. Peter's* Chair being filled by Pope *Julius II.* two Gallies, belonging to his Holiness, richly laden, from *Genoa*, for *Civita Vecchia*, pursued their Voyage, and were within Sight of the small Island *Elba*, not far from *Piombino*, in *Tuscany*; when *Arouje Rais*, who was close by the said Island, discovered them,

them, as they came, negligently, rowing along, no less than ten Leagues asunder, careless, indolently supine, and, according to Custom, in very indifferent Order. [Here the Disproportion between a *Galley-Royal* and a *Galeot* ought not to pass unconsidered: I scarce believe, that there is much more between some of our Third and Fifth-Rate Ships-of-War.] No sooner had this bold *Renegado* got Sight of them, but he vigorously made towards the nearest, and exhorted his Men to prepare for the Engagement. The *Turks*, weighing the Bulk of the *Galley* against the Feebleness of their *Galeot* (which had but eighteen *Banks* on a Side) utterly condemned the Madness of the Proposal, and plainly told their Captain, that he reflected not, that the other *Galley* might, easily enough, for their Destruction, come up to its Consort's Assistance; adding, that, instead of offering to be so rash as to attack an Enemy so far above their Match, and who had Succour, of equal Force, within Sight, they thought it their Business to make off with Speed, in order to escape such evident Danger. "God forbid, replied the determined Corsair, that I should ever live to be branded with such Infamy!" And then, his Eyes glowing with Indignation and Resentment, he fiercely commanded almost all the Oars to be thrown over-board. He was instantly obeyed; and thereby, as he intended, no Hopes left to his cautious *Turks* of putting in Execution the Dictates of what he termed Cowardice. Mean while the *Galley* approached, not imagining the *Galeot* to be *Turkish*, (a Sight till then unknown in those Seas, the *Barbary* Cruisers, as has been said, being only Brigantines, and small Row-Boats) and tho' curious to know why it lay waiting, yet far from dreaming of an Enemy. But being arrived near enough to take a full View of the Make of the Vessel, and to distinguish the *Turkish* Habits, in the utmost Hurry and apparent Consternation, they began to make ready for an Encounter. The *Turks*, encouraged by the Confusion in which they perceived those on board the *Galley*, got as near the Enemy as they could, and pouring in their Shot and Arrows very smartly, killed some *Christians*, wounded many, and terrified all the rest; so that, with small Opposition and less Damage, they immediately boarded, and forced her to a Surrendry.

No sooner were the *Christians* secured under Hatches, but *Arouje Rais* signified to his People, that he must, and would have the other *Galley*, which was leisurely advancing towards them, and seemed to know nothing of the Matter. In a brief Exhortation, he put them in Mind of the

of the fresh Instance they had of the little Difficulty resolute and courageous Men meet withal, in the Accomplishment of their Undertakings; telling them, that, in order to render themselves Masters of that other *Galley*, which approached them wearing a Face of Security, nothing was required at their Hands, but to resolve she should be their Prize, and to put on a determined Countenance. Tho' some of the *Turks* disapproved the Motion as too temerarious, yet it was agreed to by the Majority. *Arouje Rais* then ordered the new Captives to be stripped of their Cloaths, &c. in which his Equipage dressed themselves; and, the better to deceive and surprize the *Christians*, made all his Soldiers pass into the conquered *Galley*, and take in Tow the *Galleot*, that it might seem as if the *Galley* had taken a Prize. The Stratagem failed not of its desired Effect. They were now pretty near, and no Appearance of Mistrust: And when close enough, a little-expected Shower of Arrows and Small-Shot, sent among the *Christians*, killed and wounded several, and the *Galley* was instantly boarded and carried, with very little farther Blood-shed, or Resistance. Many *Moors*, and a few *Turks*, whom they found chained to the Oar, were set at Liberty, a like Number of the robustest *Christians* supplied their Places, and our fortunate Adventurer hastened away to the *Goletta*, where he soon arrived, with his two Prizes.

“ The Wonder and Amazement, says *Haedo*, that this notable Exploit caused in *Tunis*, and even in *Christendom*, is not to be expressed; nor how celebrated the Name of *Arouje Rais* was become from that very Moment; he being held and accounted, by all the World, as a most valiant and enterprizing Commander: And by reason his Beard was extremely red, or carotty, from thenceforwards he was, generally, called *Barba-rossa*, which, in *Italian*, signifies *Red-Beard*.”

*Marmol* delivers this Story in different Terms. But as *Haedo* wrote some Years later, and avers, that he had most of what he relates from ancient *Christians*, *Turks* and *Renegadoes*, who had been Domesticks to *Barba-rossa* II. I look on him to have been better qualified to give an exact Account of those Passages. However, take the Substance of what I find in *Marmol*.

The Brothers, in two Brigantines, (which the *Turks* and *Africans* call *Fregatta*) one small, and the other considerably larger, as they were making off with the Grand Signor's Money, took, from a *Sicilian* Corsair, a *Galleot* of sixteen *Banks*, which they armed, and let go their little *Brigantine*.

time. With these they came upon the Coasts of *Italy*, then free from Pyracies; where, having taken several Barks and Vessels, they, at last, met with two of the Pope's Gallies, under Command of *Paulo Victor*. This Cavalier, who came a-head in the *Admiral-Galley*, discovering the Enemy, gave them Chace, without waiting for his Consort. *Arouje Rais*, perceiving he was chased by only a single *Galley*, resolutely attacked it with his two Vessels, which were well armed and manned. But after a long Fight, the *Turks*, unable to sustain the Inequality of Strength, the *Galley* being very large, were forced to surrender, and ordered to pass into the *Galley*. As they were conducting towards the Prow, in order to be ironed, *Arouje Rais* said, in *Turkish*, to his Companions; "Do as I do, Boys; follow my Example:" And, drawing a Dagger he had concealed, stabbed the *Comitre*, or Boatswain, and then nimbly running up to the Poop, seized some Swords, wherewith he and his Followers stoutly fell upon the *Christians*, and were vigorously seconded by the Slaves at the Oar, who failed not making Use of what Weapons came first to Hand. Great Part of the *Galley's* Equipage were on board the Prizes, busied in ransacking for Plunder: So that the rest were easily mastered; and were either slain, or forced over-board. The Captain was made Prisoner. Nor did this bold Corfair stop here; for with the same Expedition as he won the *Galley* he got it put in Order, and having freed the Slaves from their Fetters, he distributed among them the Arms taken from the *Christians*, and lay by, waiting for the other *Galley*, which no sooner came up but he boarded and took her, with the greatest Ease imaginable. This is the Sum of what is related by *Marmol*, concerning this daring Action. I have been the more particular, because from hence his Fame began to be published, and this Adventure was the first Occasion of his being surnamed *Barba-rossa*; or, as the *Spaniards* have it, *Barbaroxa* and *roja*, both which they pronounce *Barvarokba*.

*Barba-rossa* (so I shall henceforth call him) had some Reason to value himself upon that Action; it being a Spectacle, I believe, never seen, either before or since, for one *Galeot* to carry off two *Royal Gallies*. In the ensuing Autumn, he armed out both the *Galeots* and one *Galley*; which he might easily do, having taken such rich Prizes, which had so well supplied him with Necessaries and Rowers: Nor was the King of *Tunis* backward in granting him all the Favour, or Assistance he required. With these he scoured the Coasts of *Sicily* and *Calabria*, taking several Vessels,



and a considerable Number of Slaves; all which served to increase his Strength, and rendered him still more renowned and formidable.

A. D. 1505, being the ensuing Year, going on Cruise with one *Galley* and two *Galeots*, he had the good Fortune to take, without striking a stroke, a very large Ship, on which were 500 *Spanish* Soldiers, and a great Quantity of Pieces of Eight, sent from the *Catholick* King to recruit and pay his Army in the Kingdom of *Naples*. What occasioned that easy Conquest, was the Ship's being very leaky, and the Soldiers either Sea-Sick, or spent with continual Pumping. Returning to the *Goletta*, he brake up his *Gallies*, and some other Prizes, and built two stout *Galeots*; which Vessels, being light and nimble, he found more to his Purpose than heavy *Gallies*. These, with the two others, he equipped out to the best Advantage; and being already possessed of many Hundreds of *Christians*, he culled such as were fittest for the Oar. In less than five Years he grew immensely rich; being Master of eight good *Galeots*, two of which were commanded by his Brothers *Heyradin* and *Isaac*; or, as the Orientals pronounce it, *Isbac*.

A. D. 1510. *Don Garcia de Toledo*, Son to the Duke of *Alva*, having, this Year, received that notable Overthrow, and lost his Life in the Island <sup>a</sup> *Jerba*, the King of *Tunis*, apprehending that the *Christians*, in Revenge, would make a second Attempt on the Island, made *Barba-rossa* an Offer of that Government; as presuming on his Valour, Reputation and growing Power. He readily accepted the Proffer; and the rather, because, since the Augmentation of his Followers and Equipage, his Lodging, at the *Goletta*, was become too narrow, and less commodious than he could have desired. From *Jerba* he continued his Excursions, miserably ravaging all the *Italian* Coasts; not any trading Vessel being able to stir out without imminent Peril, infomuch that all *Europe* began to ring of his Depredations.

In 1512, his Force consisted of twelve great *Galeots*, eight of which were his own; the rest belonging to his chief Officers, who had built them of the Timber of their many Prizes; *Jerba* affording none fit for that Use, there growing only Vines, Olive and Date-Trees. Early this Year,

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<sup>a</sup> A small Island belonging to *Tunis*. The *Spaniards*, I know not for what Reason, call it *Los Gelves*. A very particular History of the remarkable Transactions there, between the *Christians* and *Moors*, &c. may be read in *Marmol*. L. 6.

the dispossessed King of *Bujeya*, sent an Embassy to *Barba-rossa*, soliciting the Assistance of so brave a Champion, to recover his Estate from the *Spaniards*, by whom he had been turned out of Doors, and, for near three Years, been forced to wander in the Mountains; assuring him, that he should not only be nobly rewarded for his Trouble, but the City and commodious Port of *Bujeya* should be wholly at his Devotion; not forgetting to put him in Mind of its Nearness to *Spain* and the Islands, where he might expect sufficient Encouragement briskly to follow his usual Employ.

This Message was far from sounding ill in the Ears of *Barba-rossa*, who aspired to something greater than always to remain a simple *Corsair*. His Thoughts ran on nothing so much as erecting a Sovereignty in *Barbary*, and fancied it would be no bad Introduction if he was in Possession of such a maritime Place as *Bujeya*. He very courteously dismissed the Deputies, with repeated Promises of a speedy Compliance with all their Prince's Demands. At this Time he had upwards of 1000 *Turkish* Soldiers, "Whom, says *Haedo*, his great Reputation, and the Desire of "partaking of the Western Riches, had inticed down from the *Levant*, "with a Thirst not unlike that which hurries us *Spaniards* to the Mines "of *America*."

Nor was he worse than his Word: For, with all possible Dispatch, the twelve *Galeots* (well provided, having on board 1000 *Turks*, some *Moors* Adventurers, and sufficient Cannon) set out, and in *August* 1512, arrived before *Bujeya*, where he was welcomed by his impatient Majesty, with more than 3000 sturdy *Higlanders*. Landing his Troops and Artillery, *Barba-rossa* began a furious Battery upon the Fort, or Bastion, near the Sea, in which the Place's main Strength consisted. The Count *Don Pedro Navarro*, who made that Conquest, had erected this Fortress from the Ruins of an ancient Castle. After eight Days smart cannonading, which opened a considerable Breach, just as *Barba-rossa* was leading on his Men to the Attack, a Shot took away his Left Arm, above the Elbow. This Disaster so damped the Courage of the Assailants, that they instantly withdrew, and *Bujeya*, for that Time, escaped a sore Scouring. What our ambitious Corsair now most stood in need of was a good Surgeon; wherefore the *Galeots* made the best of their Way to *Tunis*, the likeliest Place for him to be supplied with what he so much wanted: And the poor disappointed King had the bare Satisfaction of having visited the  
Out-Side

Out-Side of his *quondam* Abode; but must forthwith repair to his Sanctuary, till a more favourable Occasion of gaining Admittance should present itself. Near <sup>b</sup> *Tabarca* the *Turkish* Squadron fell in with a *Genoese* Galeot, which was easily carried off without Opposition. *Barba-rossa*, accompanied by a select Party of *Turks*, thus obliged to continue for some Time at *Tunis*, being unwilling his Brothers and Friends should go far from him, got Leave of the King to permit his Brother *Heyradin* (to whose Care he committed all things) with Part of his Soldiery, to lodge within the Fort of *Goletta*, to have an Eye upon his *Christians* (all fettered) and Vessels, which he had ordered to be disarmed and brought within the Canal, leading to the spacious Lake near which *Tunis* lies situate. All this being soon rumoured in *Genoa*, and the Senate highly incensed at the Capture of their Galeot, *Andrea Doria* was dispatched, with twelve stout *Gallies*; who landing, with a Body of Forces, within Gun-Shot of the *Goletta*, marched towards the Enemy's *Galeots*, his *Gallies* following close along Shore. *Heyradin* instantly caused the six *Galeots*, he had already got in, to be sunk, and sallied out, with about 400 *Turks*, to engage the *Genoese*. But, being inferior in Number, and the *Gallies* plying their Shot apace; his Men soon betook themselves to their Heels; and all Retreat to the *Goletta* being intercepted, many were killed and the rest fled towards *Tunis*; so that the *Christians* had Opportunity to rifle and set Fire to the said Fort, and carry off their own *Galeot*, with six others, and some Prizes, which the *Turks* had not Leisure to secure by sinking.

*Heyradin Rais* (tho' he had lost scarce any thing besides the bare Hulls of the Vessels, and some no very considerable Plunder, having saved all his *Christians* and what he had of most Value) durst not even approach *Tunis*, much less appear in the Presence of his Brother, who was vehemently enraged against him, attributing that whole Disgrace to his Cowardice and bad Conduct; notwithstanding, according to my Author *Hædo*, he did all that was humanly possible for Man to do. In this Perplexity, extremely dreading his Brother's Wrath, with all imaginable Diligence he got his own *Galeot* weighed; and fitting it out as best he could, went to *Jerba*. There, hoping to appease the fiery *Barba-rossa*, out of the great

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<sup>b</sup> This little Island, very near Land, is held of the *Tunisines*, in Fief, by the *Genoese* Family of the *Lomellini*. They maintain a Fort and Garrison, for the Coral Fishery, and traffick with the *Moors*.

Quantities of Timber and other Materials reposed there by them, with incredible Expedition he built and equipped three fine *Galeots*; whereupon his Brother gave him to understand, that he was intirely reconciled.

A. D. 1513. *Barba-rossa*, being not yet quite recovered of his great Wound, gave Leave to *Heyradin* to take Command of all the nine *Galeots*, and to go out upon the Cruise. The younger Brother *Isaac* was left Governor of *Jerba*, with Orders from *Barba-rossa* to use the utmost Diligence to build more *Galeots*; he intending, as soon as able, he said, to undertake an important Expedition. By *May* he was in a Condition to be himself at *Jerba*, and employed all the remaining Part of that Year and Beginning of the next in getting ready his new *Galeots*, in making Powder, and the like Exercises.

A. D. 1514. In *August*, this Year, without staying for any Invitation, he embarked upwards of 1100 *Turks*, together with all Necessaries, on twelve *Galeots*, and came again before *Bujeya*, where he was soon waited on by the Exile King, with a Body of *Moors* and great abundance of Provision. The Battery against that unlucky Fort was instantly erected, and carried on incessantly with the utmost Fury. In a very few Days he almost levelled it with the Ground, and the *Spaniards*, forced to dislodge, retired to the City. Next a Battery was raised against another Bastion, or Fortrefs, built quite new by the said *Don Pedro Navarro* (who conquered *Bujeya*, *Oran*, *Tripoly* and other maritime Places on the *Barbary* Coast) and which stood very near the Sea, whose Strand and Shore is very beautiful. The *Turks*, having made a good Breach, gave several Assaults, but met with more Opposition than they expected; losing in the very first Attack 100 of their own Men, and at least as many of the most forward *Moors*. However, *Barba-rossa* would, certainly, have carried it, had not a *Spanish* Captain, named *Martin de Renteria*, by express Orders from the *Catholick* King of *Spain*, arrived, very opportunely, with five large Men-of-War, on board which were some Companies of Land-Forces; who entering the Haven, with a prosperous Gale, and without any Opposition, obliged *Barba-rossa* to raise the Siege and draw off. “ Tho’, says *Haedo* positively, several very old *Turks* have told me, that “ the principal Reason of his withdrawing, was because, when he con- “ sulted with the King of *Bujeya* and his *Moors*, putting it to them, whe- “ ther they were determined to assist and stand by him in case he should “ pursue

“pursue the Enterprize, he found most of the *Moors* firmly disposed to desist, in order to plow and sow their Lands, there having lately fallen plentiful Store of Rain, and the best Sowing-time in *Barbary* is presently after the first Showers: And that they immediately began to sink away.” Whatever was the Impediment, *Barba-rossa*, notwithstanding his mighty Inclination, was not the Person destined to reduce *Bujeya*, and he is said to have departed like one frantick, tearing his Beard for mere Madness, to find himself so baffled and disappointed.

There cannot be a greater Instance of his being most sensibly affected at this second Repulse, than the Resolution he took never again to shew his Face either at *Tunis*, or *Ferba*. East of *Bujeya* twenty Leagues is a small but convenient Harbour, belonging to a strongly situated and defensible Town called *Fijel*, metamorphosed by the *Europeans*, after their laudable Manner, into *Gigil*, *Gigeri*, and what not. The Inhabitants thereof, a Free-People, consisting of about 1000 Families, being no Strangers to his Fame, gave him a very favourable Reception, assuring him their Port and all they could command were much at his Service.

*Barba-rossa* there continued, that whole Autumn, and the ensuing Winter: And as those People had a very indifferent Harvest, they underwent great Necessity; nor had the *Turks* themselves any Superfluity. The Weather proving extremely calm in *November*, our Corsair went on Cruise, with all his twelve *Galeots*, towards *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, to try if he could pick up any Barks laden with Corn, or other Provisions. In a few Days he brought in three large Vessels bound to *Spain* with Wheat from *Sicily*. Of this seasonable Supply he made such liberal Distributions among the hungry *Fijelians*, and the neighbouring Mountaineers, who were in the like Plight, that he won their Affections to such a Degree that his Word became a Law and an Oracle: Nay, (says my Author *Haedo*, from whom I extract the Bulk of this Narrative) the Reputation and Authority he gained among them surpasses Belief. *Barba-rossa*, as a Man of Prudence; and one who always aspired to great Things, took Care to cultivate and improve this mighty Opinion they had conceived of him; and had the Address so well to manage Matters, that those indomable Mountain *Africans*, who all along had preserved their Liberty against the powerful Kings of *Tunis*, and others, without ever acknowledging any Superior, as *Leo*, *Marmal*, &c. affirm, by common Consent submitted to this brave Corsair, and proclaimed him their Sovereign, with the Royal Title of *Sultan*.

Being

Being thus advanced to a Regal State, *Sultan Barba-rossa*, as he must now be called, was sollicitated by his new Subjects the *Fijelians* and their contiguous *Highland* Neighbours, to lead them to Battle against their ancient Foes, the *Zwouwa*. This was in the Beginning of 1515. His *Fijelian* Majesty, who really never appeared better pleased than when playing at Loggerheads, provided there was a Prospect of his being a Gainer, willingly took the Field, in Hopes of extending the Bounds of his Dominion. *Aben al Cadi*, King of *Cucco*, with a stout Army of his *c Zwouwa*, Horse and Foot, had already advanced Half-Way, and they met in a great Mountain, near fifty Miles from *Fijel*, called *Jibil Beni Kbeyar*, inhabited by an *African* People of that Appellation. I was once in that Mountain, and was very glad when we left it, and got out, as I may observe: It is not many Miles from *Bujeja*. The Result of their Encounter was, that the King of *Cucco* lost his Life, as did many of his Followers, and the rest discouraged betook themselves to a precipitate Flight, and King *Barba-rossa* returned in Triumph, with the slain King's Head carried before him on a Lance. The Reputation of this Victory was such, that several Mountains came into his Obedience. I shall only here animadvert, that except <sup>d</sup> *Beni Abbas* and the *Zwouwa* were in League, as they seldom are, the King of *Cucco* could not easily have penetrated so far among those frightful Mountains, which swarm with most martial and unconquerable *Africans*.

A. D. 1516. This Year, *January 22. N. S.* died *Don Ferdinand*, surnamed the *Catholick*, aged sixty two Years. The People of *Algiers*, whom, for near seven Years, he had held in such Subjection, by the Fort he built on the little Island, that they not only paid him Tribute, but even durst not peep their Heads out of the Harbour, nor repair their decaying Row-Boats, much less build new ones: And if they had, to what Purpose? They had early News of the Death of his *Catholick* Majesty, and thought then, or never, to free themselves. *Sheikh Salem aben Toumi* was their near Neighbour, his *Arabs* valiant and numerous, and could, certainly, defend them from Land Enemies. To him they sent immediately; who undertook their Protection, that is to be understood as far as lay in his Power, and became their Prince; and to make it worth his Acceptance they intitled him *Sultan*. Thus they secured themselves from Land At-

<sup>c</sup> Vide P. 69. & seq.

<sup>d</sup> Vide P. 70, 71.

tacks. But, what are they to do with the 200 petulant and vexatious *Spaniards*, in the Fort, who incessantly pepper the Town with their Cannon, and make their Houses too hot to hold them; especially when they are hungry? Little would the gallant *Arab* Cavalry, with their fine *Libyan* Mares and Horses, rich Coats-of-Mail, tough Targets, well-tempered Sabres and long supple Lances avail them against the *Spaniards* Vollics. And who so proper to redress this Grievance as the invincible *Barba-rossa*, who was Master of a Naval Force, and wanted not Artillery? Had he not been twice to re-instate the unfortunate King of *Bujeya*, and had lost a Limb in his Service? Without the least Deliberation Prince *Salem* dispatched a solemn Embassy to *Fijel*, intreating *Barba-rossa*, in whom he and his People reposed their whole Confidence, to hasten to their Assistance. No Message whatever could have been more welcome to the ambitious *Barba-rossa* than one of this Nature. His new acquired Realm brought him in but a very scanty Revenue; nor was he absolute. It is true his Subjects loved him; but neither they nor their Fore-Fathers had been ever taught to fear, or stand in Awe; and consequently if they had Money in their Purses (which I cannot fancy they were much troubled with) it was not at his Devotion. He had been wretchedly baffled at *Bujeya*; but hoped for better Success at *Algiers*; which, likewise, is a Place of much greater Consequence, and far more convenient for his Purpose, which, as has been said, was to erect a great Monarchy of his own in *Barbary*.

Prince *Salem*'s Envoies were civilly dismissed, with Assurances of his following them close at their Heels, with all his *Turks*, and whatever else People he could raise, in order to render their Master and City the best Services that should lie in his Power: And he was so good as his Word; as to the first Part of his Promise: "For (says *Haedo* precisely) this Man had the particular Virtue, among others which were the Effects of his great Courage, to be most prompt and diligent in executing all he took in Hand." Sixteen *Galeots*, most of them his own, with 500 *Turks*, some Artillery, and all Necessaries, were immediately sent before; himself setting out by Land, with 800 *Turks*, all bearing Fire-Arms, 3000 of his own Subjects, and 2000 other *Moorish* Volunteers. He was met, a good Days Journey from *Algiers*, by Prince *Salem*, and all the chief Citizens. Notwithstanding their Joy for his Arrival, and the Congratulations they bestowed upon the redoubted Champion who, they said, was to deliver them from the Tyranny and Insults of the *Infidels*, they had the Mortifi-

cation to learn from that their Deliverer's own Mouth, that he could not possibly, just then, attempt to work their intended Deliverance; being, unavoidably, necessitated to defer it till his Return from *Sbershel*, which should be very speedy.

This Place, I said, lies about fifteen Leagues, on the Coast, West of *Algiers*, called in *Spanish* History *Sargel*, *Sarjel*, and sometimes *Sarxel*, all which, according to their intolerable Pronunciation of the Letters *g*, *j*, and *x*, must be read *Sarkhel*: How either of these agree with the true, easy Name I leave to proper Judges: Every Nation has its Peculiarities; nor has Ours abundance of Reason to brag of its super-abundant Regularity in these Affairs. But, *Quod semel est, &c.*

*Barba-rossa's* Business at *Sbershel* was this: As his affable Behaviour and Liberality were equal to his Fame and Reputation, many Corsairs of Note flocked down, from the *Levant*, to lift under his successful Banners; nor did any miss of Encouragement. *Kara Hassan*, a bold Man, Captain and Owner of a stout *Galeot*, perceiving how easily *Barba-rossa* had acquired a Sort of Sovereignty at *Fijel*, could not but envy his Success (for Envy and Ambition are inseparable) as fancying himself no less deserving of that Dignity than *Barba-rossa*, whose Original he knew, and that he was but of late Standing in their common Vocation. Agitated with those insuperable Passions, Envy and Ambition, as natural to the *Turks* as to any other People whatever, he withdrew his *Galeot* and Equipage, in Search of some farther Reward equal to his Merit, soon after the more fortunate *Barba-rossa's* Promotion. The People of *Sbershel*, who were of his own Trade, and, as has been hinted, all *Spanish-Moors*, received him well, as imagining they could not do better than to range themselves under so stanch and so experienced a Corsair as *Kara Hassan*. As for *Barba-rossa*, notwithstanding this aspiring *quondam* Consort of his grew apace, and had even decoyed away many of his best *Turks*, all which gave him great Jealousy and Uneasiness, he had dissembled till now, as not being at Leisure to call him to Account. But, at this favourable Juncture, he determined to nip in the Bud this dangerous Rival, before he took too firm Rooting. In order, therefore, to surprize him unawares, he made precipitate Marches towards *Sbershel*; and being pretty neat, and apprehensive lest from other Hands, he should have Information of his so apparently hostile Ap-



proach, (the *Galeots* having Orders to take the same *Route* along the Coast, and to make all possible Haste) he sent him Notice of his designed Visit; assuring him; that he came so far purely to terminate whatever Disputes and Misunderstandings might have arisen between them, in an amicable Manner; giving him, however; to understand, that he intended to repair and fortify the Port of *Sbersbel*, and to take up his Abode there, and should be glad to renew and cultivate their former Friendship and Intimacy. *Kara Hassan*, tho' sufficiently alarmed, had so little Time to consider, that he determined to fall in with Measures which he could not obviate, notwithstanding their Disagreeableness: And so, still placing some Confidence in an Intimacy of several Years Continuance, he went out to meet and receive that old Friend; on whom bestowing abundance of Compliments, and using the best Excuses he could, made a formal Surrendry of his Person, *Galeot*, *Turks*, *Slaves*, &c. and, in a Word, of the whole Place, and all he had, into the Hands of him who, I am apt to fancy, he wished at the Devil, or any where else but in his Company. This might, perhaps, have satisfied some more moderate Person, or less refined Politician: But *Barba-rossa*, like all ambitious Upstarts and Tyrants, jealous of Rivals, immediately ordered his Head to be taken off in his Presence. This Execution done, he hastened to take Possession of his late *Legacy*; and without more Ado forced all the *Turks* he found there to list into his Service, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Sultan*, or King of *Sbersbel*, and its small Dominion.

### CH A P. III.

*The History of BARBA-ROSSA continued till his Death. When, and by what Means ALGIERS fell into the Hands of its present Possessors, the TURKS.*

**S**ULTAN *Barba-rossa*, already King of *Fijel* and *Sbersbel*, having settled his Affairs at the last of those Places, where he had committed that barbarous Cruelty, as *Hædo* terms it, and which some would call

State-Policy, left there, as in Garrison, about 100 of his most trusty *Turks*, and, without the least needless Delay, directed his Course for *Algiers*. Prince *Salem* and the Citizens received him with all possible Honour and Applause; and the Joy at his Arrival seemed universal. Little did the *Algerines* dream what a Fire they took into their Bosoms; more particularly their hospitable Prince, who conducted the dangerous Guest to his own Palace, with loud Acclamations of Satisfaction and Content, where his Apartments were sumptuous, and his Entertainment truly noble; nor did this good-natured credulous Prince ever think himself obliging enough. The chief Citizens followed his Example; and generously lodged and entertained all the *Turks*, as did the rest of the People those of *Fijel* and other Parts; so that none remained either unhoused or unprovided for: And those on board the *Galeots* were plentifully supplied with all necessary Provisions.

Early the very next Morning, *Barba-rossa* (in order to convince his liberal and obliging Hosts, that he came with a Design to serve them, in what they most wanted, which was to rid them of that grievous Eye-sore, the *Spanish* Fort) began, with much Noise and Bustle, to raise a Trench and plant a Battery against it, loudly menacing the *Christians*, that not one of them should escape having his Throat cut, or being worse served. However, to proceed somewhat methodically, he first sent the Governor a Summons; offering to conduct him and the Garrison, with their Baggage, over to *Spain*, provided they surrendered before Hostilities began. In Answer to this, the *Spanish* Captain gave him to understand, That neither his Threats, nor proffered Courtesies, were prevalent with Men of his Kidney: On Cowards they might, probably, work some Effect: Withal advising him to take Heed, lest he came off here even worse than he had done at *Bujeya*.

I admire that a Monsieur *Laugier de Tassy* should place the Fort, on the Island, at 500 Geometrical Paces from the Town; whereas few others allow its Distance to be more than 300 common Paces; nor can I think it more; having gone it some thousands of times, yet had never the Curiosity either to measure it, or to make Inquiry. Most of the *Spaniards* affirm it to be a Cross-Bow Shot; and so I leave the Curious to Calculation, or Guess; or, if they please, to inform themselves from such as have

been at the Pains of making exact Mensuration of the present Peer, or Mole, which joins that Island to the City: All that Part of a Traveller's Duty being an Exercise in which I never did nor shall amuse my self.

For twenty Days, successively, *Barba-rossa* played his Cannon most furiously; in all which Time, notwithstanding the small Distance, as his Artillery was only slight Field-Pieces, he did no very considerable Damage. The *Algerines* perceiving the little Good their Guests did them, or the little Harm done to their Enemies, and withal quite sick of the Haughtiness and Insolence they treated them with, in their own Houses, began heartily to repent their sending for such saucy and troublesome Inmates. But none had so much Reason to be uneasy as Prince *Salem*, who had filled his Palace with such as would neither be satisfied with all he did to serve and oblige them in Private, nor deport themselves with any tolerable Civility, or Decorum, towards him in Publick.

No longer able to endure a Treatment so little expected, and apprehensive of what afterwards came to pass, as having been cautioned to look about, lest his Life paid for his Hospitality, the too-late repenting *Salem* gave his imperious Guests the Slip, and retired among his *Arabs* in the Country. *Barba-rossa*, vexed at his Retreat, wrote a Letter, fraught with Dissimulation; insinuating his Surprise and Concern at the small Confidence he seemed to repose in him, who was his real and unfeigned Friend; importuning him to return and take Care of his Affairs, since he was sitting out for the Sea with all his Forces, and, anxious lest any Misfortune might befall in his Absence, he could not possibly depart with an easy Mind, except he left so much esteemed and so obliging a Prince peaceably settled in his Family, and his Affairs in a better and more prosperous Disposition than he had found them; all which to effect should be his sole Care and Business: Adding, that his coming from the *Levant* was not, in any wise, to wage War, or commit Hostilities upon *True-Believers*, Professors of the same *Creed* with his own, but to exert his utmost Efforts against the *Christians*, their common Enemy, out of whose Hands he pretended to wrest some Place of Strength, wherein to fortify himself, and from thence to prosecute his Designs. This was conveyed to him by a *Morabboth*, or *Santon*; who joining his own Persuasions to the artful Contents of the Letter, so prevailed with that over-credulous Prince, that he brought him to *Algiers*; where, instantly at his Arrival, the Tyrant caused him to be hanged, in his own Turbant, at the Eastern Gate

of

of the City, called *Beb-Azun*: And then, seizing the Citadel, took Possession of the whole, in the Grand Signor's Name. To this Purport says *Marmol*.

*Haedo* makes not the least Mention either of *Salem's* withdrawing himself, or this Letter; and the Account he gives of his Death is much more agreeable to what the Natives report, and consequently rather to be depended on; nor do I find *Marmol* ever to have been at *Algiers*, whereas *Haedo* was there many Years: Farther Notice shall be taken of this in my *Preface*. Besides, *Marmol* affirms this to have happened in 1515, when it is notorious, that *Barba-rossa* never came there till after the Decease of *Don Ferdinand*, which was not till the Year after. From these two Authors all who have treated of those Matters seem to have borrowed, every one according to his Fancy, without examining which of them was right, or most capable of giving Information.

What my Author *Haedo* advances is to this Effect. As *Barba-rossa's* Thoughts were Day and Night employed in contriving how to make himself Master of the Place, he at length resolved to put his Project in Execution. The better to bring it about without Noise, or Tumult, one Day, about Noon, as *Sheikh Salem* was bathing alone, in order to prepare himself for the Mosque, he slyly entered the Prince's Bath, or Bagnio, within the Palace, accompanied by only one *Turk*, where the poor Prince, who, naked and defenseless, mistrusting no Treachery, was by them easily surpris'd and strangled with a wet Towel, or Napkin.

Having committed this Inhumanity, they slipped out unobserved; and presently returning, with several others, *Barba-rossa* feigned great Astonishment at finding the unhappy *Salem* stretched breathless on the Floor, and ran out calling again for the Prince's Domesticks, telling them, with Signs of Concern, that their Master was smothered with the Heat of the Bagnio; blaming them extremely for leaving him unattended. This was instantly blazed throughout the City and Neighbourhood; and as there were few who did not suspect *Barba-rossa* for the sole Author of that Perfidy, every one, in great Consternation, retired home, and barricaded up his Doors, waiting the Event. *Barba-rossa*, having thus sullied all the manly Actions of his former Life by so perfidious a Breach of Hospitality, lost not a Moment's Time; but ordered his *Turks* and *Jijelians* to arm themselves immediately, and mounting his Horse, followed by all his Troops, was loudly proclaimed *Sultan*, or King of *Algiers*, as he rode

along thro' the principal Streets of the City, not one Citizen daring to oppose, or even to open his Lips in Contradiction.

Monfieur *Laugier de Tassy* entertains us with a long History of the Amours of *Barba-rossa* and the beautiful *Zaphira*, Widow to the unfortunate *Salem*. This Gentleman is certainly right in saying, that very few People in that Country know any thing of those Matters; and he owns he delivers it as he found it, translated from a *Manuscript* on Vellom, in Possession of a certain *Morabboth*, or reputed *Saint*, somewhere about *Constantina*, whose Name is *Sidi Hamed aben Haraam*; a Person I never remember to have heard of, tho' I was long enough conversant in that Province to have at least heard of him, had he been of any Note. Indeed, he does not offer to vouch for the Truth of it; neither shall I offer to be at the Pains of translating it, or contaminating History with what carries with it such an Air of Romance, as all who know any thing of the *Mussulmans*, in their Love-Affairs especially, must acknowledge: And the Style of the Letters is such as never, I am positive, flowed from any *African* Pen. However I have heard the whole much commended by good Readers; but those Readers are not so well acquainted with the *African* Manner of making Love as I am; so may, if they please, recommend their Friends to the Perusal of it in the Original. What I can assure *my* Readers is, that how courteous, how hospitable and how obliging soever the *Africans* may be to their Guests, even the meanest among them never furnish their Visitors with such Opportunities of gallantizing their Wives, as the *French* and other Novelists, I mean Novel-Writers, would insinuate: And as to the rest, there is not one *African* Female, of whatsoever Degree, or Quality, among ten thousand at the very least, who is able to write her own Name. All this may be depended on as an indisputable Certainty: So let none run away with idle Notions, that any of the *Mahometan* Ladies, as *adroit* as they are at *Le Jeu d'Amour*, manage it by way of Love-Letter.

Ambition, and not either Love or Lust, it was that agitated the Soul of the aspiring *Barba-rossa*, when he perpetrated a Deed so infamous and of such Ingratitude. But Sovereignty is a Bait that, we know, has allured many, who were neither so meanly extracted nor so basely educated as was this lawless Corsair: Nor is he the only brave Man who has sullied a Multitude of heroick Actions by a single Act of Perfidy. But he had no other Way to make himself King of *Algiers*; and that was what he wanted.

wanted. Black as the Deed essentially is, he cannot be said to have enslaved his own native Country, for the sordid Advantages of private Life, as thousands have done, or have endeavoured to do; nor can he be called a Traytor to his natural Prince.

*Salem* left a Son scarce past his Childhood; whom some faithful Domessticks of his Father conveyed away, to prevent his falling into the Usurper's Hands, and conducted him to the Marquis *De Comares*, Governor and Captain-General of *Oran*; by whom, being kindly received, he was sent into *Spain* to the then Regent, Cardinal *Ximenes*. This alarmed the new King of *Algiers*; who, having put his Affairs in the best Order he was able, summoned all the chief Citizens, on whom, what with Promises of Exemption from all Tribute, with other advantageous Offers, and such-like his artful and pathetick Arguments, or, more likely, with his Guards and Troops, he so prevailed, that they publickly acknowledged him for their Sovereign, and confirmed it by a solemn Proclamation.

He then began to make some Repairs and Fortifications in the *Casabba*, or Citadel, which was then the only Fortrefs belonging to the City, and there planted some small Cannon. He stamped Money, as well Gold as *Aspers*, in his own Name, and not, as some say, in the Grand Signor's; nor did he, (tho' some will need have it so) ever pretend to acknowledge himself even under the Protection of the *Ottoman* Emperor. On his Coin was, in *Turkish* Characters, *Sultan Arouje*: I have often heard talk of it, but could never see any. Before his Time the *Algiers* current Money was all coined at *Tremizan*, as I may observe, except such foreign Coins as passed among them from other *Mahometan* Countries, or *Spanish* Dollars, Doblons, &c.

However, notwithstanding the *Algerines* had, seemingly, submitted to his Government without Compulsion, yet the *Turks*, according to their Custom, deported themselves so imperiously to them as if they had been Slaves, conquered with the Sword; infomuch, that finding their Condition far worse than ever, they began, seriously, to think of getting rid of such insufferable Tyrants. The *Spanish* Fort, they said, forced them to stay at home, and to be, as it were, honest Men, contrary to their Inclination, which was to be troublesome to their Neighbours; and they were obliged to maintain that Curb out of their own Purfes: But provided they were quiet, and stood to their Bargain, then the *Spaniards* were the same, and they walked the Streets unmolested, could call themselves Masters in their own

Houfes,

Houses, and their Families might build upon being free from Insults: Whereas now, unhappy they! not only the Fort grew more outrageous than ever, incessantly battering about their Ears all that the Shot could reach of their Houses, but their Purfes were drained, their Wives and Children, of both Sexes, not safe from Beastialities, even in their most retired Apartments, (as for the Streets they were no safer than the Stews) and Woe to the Bones of that Wretch who durst presume to reprehend the Lordly *Turk* in his most irregular Proceedings. This is positively all Fact, and must infallibly have been the very Case of the deceived *Algerines* with their new Protectors, Sovereigns, or what you please to call them: For by what I have read of the *Lord-Danes* of our Ancestors, and what I actually know of the *Western-Turks*, where they get the Upper-Hand, the former must have been very civil, manageable Gentry, if compared with the *Lord-Turks*, when not under a severe Restraint. I may, perhaps, enlarge upon their licentious Doings.

Of two Evils the least is ever most eligible. To this the *Algerines* were no Strangers; and formed against the tyrannical, insolent *Turks*, had it taken Effect, a most dangerous Conspiracy. They knew it to be full as much the *Spaniards* Interest as it was their own, to dislodge those Corsairs; and if they had not known it, they had Reason to imagine *Spain* would willingly lend a Hand, by the Civilities there shewn to the Son of their late Prince *Salem*: Nay, that very Article was sufficient to have set the Town's People upon hatching Plots against them, lest, if they seemed to favour those tempestuous Sea-Rovers, the young Prince might accuse them, to his *Spanish* Allies, when they should arrive with the threatened *Armada*, of being Accessaries to his Father's Murder, and Parties concerned in all the Ravages and Disorders they did or should commit. All these Calamities, and even utter Desolation, were, daily and hourly, prognosticated to them, from the Fort, in loud Menaces. Terrified on one Side and justly incensed on the other, private Messages began to pass between the Chiefs of *Algiers*, and the Captain of the *Spanish* Garrison, who was sollicit to send them Assistance, when Time should serve, in order to expel the *Turks*, which would be no very difficult Matter, they said, since all the *Fijelians*, &c. were returned home, and none but *Turks* remained with *Barba-rossa*; assuring that Governor, at least telling him so, that if they must be reduced to Vassalage, they chose for their Masters Men of Reason, Justice and Modesty, such as they

knew the *Christians* to be, rather than such lawless Harpies as those *Varlets* sent them as a Scourge for their Immoralities.

The *Spaniards* readily coming into these Overtures, the next Step taken by the Citizens of *Algiers*, was to treat, very secretly, with the *Arabs* in their Neighbourhood, who wanted not much Instigation to revenge their own Wrongs and the Death of their beloved and deserving Prince. For even they had not been exempted from tasting the Harshness of a *Turkish* Government, having been visited by *Barba-rossa*, who omitted nothing he thought would prevail with them to accept him for their Sovereign and Protector. Inticed by his fair Speeches, they agreed to allow him their usual Tribute; to collect which, he sent out Parties of 300 and 400 *Turks*, all Fire-Arms, who used insufferable Rigour and committed a thousand Enormities, driving away the Cattle and even the Children of such as pleaded Insolvency, or seemed backward in their Disbursements.

Thus the People of *Algiers*, the Country *Arabs*, and *Spaniards* of the Fort, were all combined in a strong League to exterminate the Tyrant *Barba-rossa* and his insolent *Turks*. It was agreed, that, on a certain prefixed Day, a considerable Number of *Arabs*, privately armed, should enter the City, under Pretext of selling their Wares, and buying Necessaries, as accustomary; and that, watching an Opportunity, some of them should set Fire to twenty two *Galeots* (for so many *Barba-rossa* had then, most of them his own) which lay a-ground, out of the Fort's Reach, in two different Places, some in the Town-Ditch, in the Part where now stands *Ramadam Basba's* Bastion, not far from the Westerly Gate, called *Beb al Weyd*, and the rest farther on toward the West, where is now to be seen the dry Channel of that River, which descending from the neighbouring Mountain, traversed a small Plain, and emptied itself into the *Mediterranean*. It was that River, or rather Rivulet, that gave Name to that Gate of the City: *Beb* is Gate, and *Weyd* is River; so the *River-Gate*. That Source, if I mistake not, is one of the Streams which supply the City with Water, by subterraneous Passages, being the Contrivance of a *Spanish-Moor*: But of these Matters more in the Topography. The Scheme was really well laid and contrived; that when *Barba-rossa*, with other *Turks*, as they apparently would have done, should hasten out at that Gate, in order to save the *Galeots*, their Return was to have been intercepted by shutting it immediately; and at the same Time those in the Fort were to have crossed over to the Town (in certain Barks and Boats, ready



ready provided) and join the Towns-men, in order to fall upon the remaining *Turks*, whom when they had maimed, or destroyed, they should fall out in a Body to encounter *Barba-rossa* and the rest, there being, likewise, a numerous Band of *Arabian Cavalry* in Ambush to second the *Algerines* and their *Spanish Confederates*.

Of all this, none knows how, *Barba-rossa* had circumstantial Information. He artfully dissembled, making not the least Shew of Distrust; but so ordered Matters, that when the Day came the *Moors* and *Arabs* appointed to fire the *Galeots* found them so well guarded, under Pretext of being apprehensive of the *Spaniards*, that they durst not attempt putting their Design in Execution. On the ensuing *Friday* (which is the *Mahometan Sabbath*) *Barba-rossa* going to perform his Devotions at the Grand Mosque, accompanied by the chief Citizens, and attended by his Guards, the Mosque was no sooner full than some *Turks*, ordered to do so, shut all the Gates, and the, till then, dissembling *Barba-rossa*, instead of addressing his Prophet, by Prayer, addressed his *Algerine Audience* with home Reproaches, giving them to understand, that he was not unacquainted with their Practices, then ordered them all to be bound, with their own *Turbants*; when selecting twenty of the most culpable, he instantly caused their Throats to be cut and Heads struck off, at the Mosque-Door, which with their Bodies were thrown into the Streets; and extorting a round Sum of Money from the rest, advised them to behave otherwise for the future. And for a greater Terror, he, soon after, ordered those slaughtered Bodies, &c. to be buried in certain great Dunghills, then in the very Heart of the City, in the same Place which was afterwards the *Basha's Garden*.

With this prompt and rigorous Execution, the *Algerines* were so terrified, that ever after they patiently bore their Burden, without openly attempting farther Innovations; at least not any worth mentioning; and to this Day, they continue good and obedient Vassals; yet, generally speaking, their present Condition is none of the most intolerable, tho' they must put up with a little *Turkish* Insolence, as will appear when I treat of those Matters more particularly.

A. D. 1517. This Year, in *May*, arrived a *Spanish Fleet*, before *Algiers*, under the Conduct of *Don Diego de Vera*: Some call him *Don Francisco de Vera*. His Fleet, or Squadron, consisted chiefly of *Gallies*; but had, likewise, some *Men-of-War* and many great and small *Transports*;

having on board upwards of 10000 Land-Forces. This Armament was fitted out by Cardinal *Ximenes*, at the earnest Sollicitation of the young Prince, Son to *Salem*, who accompanied the *Spanish* Admiral, and was much indebted to the Governor of *Oran*, who had negotiated, at the Court of *Spain*, very warmly in his Behalf. *Marmol* says, that *Don Diego*, having landed about 7000 of his Men, was briskly attacked by *Barba-rossa* from the City, and by some Troops of the *Moors* and *Arabs* from without, who in great Numbers covered the adjacent Hill; in which Encounter the greatest Part of the *Christians* were either slain or captivated. And to complete the Misfortune, before those who might otherwise have escaped could recover the Ships a furious Tempest arose, towards Evening, infomuch that many Vessels were driven ashore and stranded, to the almost total Destruction of the whole *Armada*: So that this Expedition, instead of restoring the Place into the Hands of a Prince, who was under a solemn Engagement to remain a peaceable Vassal, under Protection of *Spain*, all which was to have been brought about by the Destruction, or at least the Expulsion of the *Turks*; instead thereof, I say, if *Barba-rossa* before was an Eye-fore, he now became insupportable: Nor did he fail sending out his *Galeots* to return the Visit.

It appears not, that any of the Natives, tho' they lately seemed so very sanguine and cordial in the Cause, attempted to make one Step in Favour of the *Armada*; but, probably, according to Custom, both those without and within waited to see which would be uppermost, in order to fall upon him who was down: But weighing all Circumstances, the undaunted Resolution of this brave Corsair is very remarkable; as are, likewise, the great Things he durst undertake, and was capable of effecting, with so trifling a Number of Men, among whom little Order and less Discipline is practised.

*Haedo* says, that the good Fortune which attended him, on this Occasion, enhanced his Credit exceedingly, and firmly established him in his Station; infomuch that he was looked on as a Prodigy. However the oppressed *Arabs* and *Moors* of that Neighbourhood, and even the *Algerines* themselves cautiously, began again to study some Method of freeing themselves from the heavy Bondage in which they were held by the Tyrants.

*Tenez*, an ancient and once very considerable City, near the Sea, forty Leagues West of *Algiers*, and about as much East of *Oran*, was then,

with a Regal Title, together with a pretty large Territory, in Possession of a certain *Mulatto* Prince, named *Hamida*. His Surname was *Al Aâbd*, on account of his Swarthinens; his Mother being a *Black*, which, among other Denominations, in the *Arabick* Tongue, is *Aâbd*; Plural *Aâbid*. This City and Province, as has been observed, always followed the Fortunes of *Tremizan*, and if this Prince, or King, as many intitle him, was not of the ancient *Zeyan* Family, which, for so many Centuries, had reigned in *Tremizan*; (for *Haedo* and others say he was an *Arab*,<sup>b</sup> whereas the *Beni Zeyans* were *Africans*) all I can venture to affirm of the Matter is, that in that Neighbourhood wanders a Tribe of warlike *Arabs*, called *Suede*, who are still in good Repute for their Valour and Expertness in Horsemanship, and who, I am almost positive, I have heard the Natives of those Quarters aver to have formerly been Lords of *Tenez*. They are mentioned by *Leo* and others his Copiers. Certain it is, that the Kings of *Tremizan* were much decayed, having been continually persecuted by the *Tingitanian* Princes: But how, or when the Province of *Tenez* was wrested from them, I meet not with any satisfactory Account.

This Prince was of himself indifferently powerful; but the great Credit he had among the *Arabs* rendered him still more considerable. To him those who groaned under the Tyranny and insufferable Oppression of *Barba-rossa* and his *Turks*, who had not yet forgot the late good Office they designed them, had immediate Recourse, offering to become obedient Subjects to him and his Posterity.

He already began to think the *Turks* dangerous Neighbours, and hesitated not much in complying with what was required at their Hands, which was, that he would wage War with those imperious Inmates. Raising 10000 of his own Troops, all Cavalry, in *June* 1517, presently after the Defeat of the *Spaniards*, at *Algiers*, he set out, directing his March towards that City. By the Way, his Army increased hourly; the *Arabs* and *Moors*, both Horse and Foot, flocking to his Camp; as deeming that War to be common to them all. Of all this *Barba-rossa* had timely Notice, and put himself into the best Posture of Defence he was able: Not that he designed to barely stand on the Defensive, but in the open Field determined, in Person, to meet his approaching Enemy. This Man's uncommon Boldness is really surprizing. Messengers arrived

<sup>b</sup> Vide P. 196. & seq. 203.

thick on each other's Heels; acquainting him, that the whole Country was up in Arms, and that the Hills and Plains were covered with *Moors* and *Arabs*, all unanimously breathing nothing but Slaughter and Desolation to him and all his Abettors. It is true, in those Days, the native *Africans* had very few, if any, Fire-Arms, and he had Reason to place good Confidence in the often-experienced Valour and Fidelity of his *Turks*, in Number about 1200, all Fuziliers. He, likewise, had some hundreds of *Spanish-Moors*, good Soldiers and expert Marksmen, in constant Pay, who upon the Encouragement and gentle Treatment he gave them, resorted to *Algiers* from several Parts of *Barbary*: And the Character he bears for Affability, Gentleness and Good-Nature, towards his own People especially, leaves me no Room to credit the idle Story, picked up by *De Taffy* out of that romancing *Manuscript*, of his perfidiously putting to Death his brave and faithful Friend, *Ramadam Choulac*, with thirty other *Turks*, purely to ingratiate himself with his adored *Zaphira*. Had he taken such Steps as those, so well I know the Temper of the *Turks*, he would never by them have been so dearly beloved and faithfully served, to the very last, while living, nor his Death so bitterly lamented.

Recommending his Affairs at *Algiers* to his Brother *Heyradin*, whom he could leave but feebly guarded, this intrepid *Renegado* durst take the Fields with a Handful of Men, and advance fifty Miles into the Country in Quest of numberless Enemies, his whole Camp consisting of no more than 1500 Fuziliers, of which 1000 were *Turks*, the rest *Moriscoes*, or *Spanish-Moors*: Nor took he with him one Field-Piece. But the better to secure Matters in *Algiers*, he obliged most of the principal and best-beloved Citizens to accompany him in his Expedition. The Enemy lay incamped at the River *Sbilif*, whom the successful *Barba-rossa* immediately dislodged and forced to a shameful Flight; and all with very inconsiderable Damage, tho' the *African* Foot were great Sufferers, being soon deserted by the Cavalry, whom a few brisk Vollies of Shot set a scampering, tho' not till they beheld the Plain strowed with the Bodies of many of their forwardest Cavaliers. *Hamida*, their Prince and Leader, got away to *Tenez*; where, being informed, that the *Turks* followed him close in the Rear, he durst not stay, but, hastily, retired to the *Atlas*; and not thinking himself secure even there, soon withdrew among his *Arab* Confederates in the *Sahara*, or Desert, South of that Mountain. It must be observed, that tho' *Old-Numidia*, which is the now Eastern Province of

the *Algerines*, is of a considerable Breadth, between the *Mediterranean* and the *Atlas*, perhaps 100 Miles or more in many Parts, yet their Western Province, where these Occurrences were transacted, is scarce a third Part so wide.

Without Opposition *Barba-rossa* entered *Tenez*, which Place he permitted his Soldiery to plunder, as a Reward for their Labour and Courage, reserving only to himself what small Treasure and good Moveables *Hamida* had left in his Palace: And recalling the affrighted Inhabitants, he made himself be proclaimed their Sovereign.

Here *Barba-rossa* reposed himself, and harassed Troops, for several Days; when a Deputation, of some principal Citizens of *Tremizan* (distant from thence about 200 Miles) arrived, with Offers of much Advantage, and even the Sovereignty of their noble City, and fine Territory, provided he hastened to their Assistance. The Occasion of this Embassy, from the *Tremizansians*, was their being highly irritated against their present King, who was a tyrannical Usurper, having expelled the rightful Prince, his Nephew, and who, escaping the Tyrant's Clutches, had taken Sanctuary in *Oran*. To this Nephew, *Haedo*, my Author (from whom I pick and chuse just what I like, rejecting much Cant, Rubbish and tedious Tautology) gives a most heathenish Name, of which I can make nothing at all: He calls him *Abuchem Men*, and leads many others into the like Absurdity. But I find it is far from being a Rarity to meet with, in Authors, Copiers, Abridgers, Commentators and Translators of all Nations, whose Idioms and Languages I in any wise understand, many Things, particularly Proper-Names, of which one may justly say; *'Tis so like Nothing, that there's Nothing like it.* But, now I recollect, and examine *Leo*, I perceive that I have wrongfully slandered *Haedo* (a Person, to whom, with all his Faults, I am like to be much obliged) since he actually and fairly, in his Margin, quotes *Leo*, who, upon Examination, I say, calls one of his own Country Princes, and his Cotemporary, by a Name that, I dare affirm, never existed. I am to blame thus to descend to trifling Particulars, especially since almost every Book one lays Hand on abounds with the like, and even more material Blunders: Yet I cannot but say, it gives me the Vapours to find People miscalled in such guise that they could not possibly know their own Names if they were to hear them so mangled. *Marmol*, indeed, gives that Prince a Name which really is a Name; he calls him *Bu Hamu*, meaning *Abou-Hammou*: The Usurper he calls *Bu Zeyen*,

*Zeyen*, meaning (or at least ought to have so done) *Abou-Zeyan*. This Author writes largely of these Affairs, as almost every one may read, in *French*; and, which is more, well translated; while I return, from this not-very-necessary Digression, to cull what I deem sufficient from my greater Favourite, in many Cases, *Haedo*.

What could have been sweeter Musick to the Ears of the aspiring *Barba-rossa*, (already possessed of three Provinces, with a Royal Title tacked to each of them,) than a Message of this Nature and Purport? Without Deliberation, or Delay, he wrote to his Brother *Heyradin*, speedily to send away, by Sea, ten light Field-Pieces, with Store of Ammunition and other Necessaries. *Tenez* lies about half a League from the Shore. Soon arrived five *Galeots*, from the punctual and diligent *Heyradin*, with all that the no less diligent *Barba-rossa* had required; who instantly set out, and, by hasty Marches, made towards *Tremizan*, distant from *Tenez* about 200 Miles, as I observed.

I cannot, while it is fresh in my Memory, forbear mentioning a strange Blunder one often meets with, in reading Tracts concerning this Country; I mean the confounding, or promiscuously using the Words, or rather Proper-Names, *Tenez* and *Tunis*; tho' they are Places more than 600 Miles asunder: Nor must I forget the unaccountable Criticism of a certain merry Translator, of our own Nation; who in a Performance of his, in that Capacity, having Occasion to mention the first of those Cities about a score times, in a very few Pages, never once fails of calling it *Tunis*, thinking to correct his Author, who never once calls it out of the true Name. But we abound in such Helps towards the true understanding of foreign History.

*Barba-rossa* arriving within forty Miles of *Oran*, at a Place named *Al-Cala de Beni Rasbid* (called by the European Writers *Beniaraxe*, and the Lord knows how many other uncouth and preposterous Names) was there quietly received and acknowledged: And his Fame flying before him, whole Drovers of *Moors* and *Arabs*, People greedy of Spoil and Novelties, and, in a Word, such as I have and farther shall describe them, flocked amain to his Camp, offering him their best Service. All Comers had courteous Treatment and his Thanks; but he entertained only about 1600 of the best mounted. Of his own People he had not hitherto lost full sixty. Apprehensive lest the *Spanish* Governor of *Oran* might attack him in the Rear, or intercept his Return, which must necessarily be by that

very Pass, he left his youngest Brother *Isaac* at that Town of *Al Cala*, belonging to *Beni Rashid* (who are natural *Africans* of that Branch of the *Zeneta* named *Magaroua*, from which the Kings of *Tremizan* descended) with 200 *Turks* and some trusty *Moors*, and among them the Citizens he had brought from *Algiers*.

About seventy Miles short of *Tremizan*, in a spacious Plain called *Agobel*, he met King *Abou-Zeyan*; who, ignorant of the Treason his Subjects, the *Tremizians*, were hatching against him, yet having no very great Opinion of their Affection, or Fidelity, deemed it safer to face his Invaders in the Field than to suffer himself to be attacked in his Capital, where he was conscious he must be environed with Malecontents. The Force he brought with him was only 6000 Horse; which were strengthened by about 3000 Foot from the *Atlas*, with some Cavalry, who were picked up by *Hamida*, late King of *Tenez*. The Encounter was smart, and both Sides disputed with consummate Bravery: But the Cannon and Small-Arms made such lamentable Havock among the defenceless Troops of those confederate Princes, wholly unprovided of wherewithal to make their Enemies a suitable Return to their Hostilities, that, with a very considerable Loss, they were forced to abandon the Ground to the victorious *Barbarossa*. As for *Hamida*, he made the best of his Way to Mount *Atlas*, and from thence to his *Arab* Friends in the Desert. The usurping King of *Tremizan* got home; but before the Conqueror could make him the intended Visit in his own House, the *Tremizians* had struck off his Head, and sent it to *Barbarossa*, on a Lance's Point, to convince that their Deliverer how much they were in Earnest when they had invited him to take Possession of their City; which Invitation was again renewed by the same Messengers. This was in *September, A. D. 1517*.

Tho' the *Tremizians* had heard much of the *Turks*, yet few of them having ever seen any of those terrible *Man-Eaters*, as some of the most ignorant called them, they, great and small, advanced several Miles to meet the triumphant *Barbarossa*; who, answerable to his usual Industry, was not, upon so important an Occasion, very tedious in gratifying their Curiosity. As he was not sparing of fair Speeches, and mighty Promises of good Usage, to the Crouds of gaping Admirers who surrounded him, so he was far from neglecting (at his Arrival in their City, which was to be

the Reward of his Labour) by fair or foul Means, to compel all, who had been concerned in rifling the Palace of their late Sovereign, to make ample Restitution, of every individual Particular, to him their present Sovereign: And rather than lose a Tittle of his *rightful Inheritance*, the Plunderers must find, wherever they could meet with it, or wherever it was to be had, all Sums of Money, all Moveables, and, in short, every thing that, upon nice Scrutiny, he had been informed his Predecessor was possessed of, or that he fancied, or, perhaps, that he had a Mind to say he had been possessed of.

Thus, right or wrong, *Barba-rossa* amassed, among his new Subjects, a prodigious Treasure; Part of which, however, was employed to no bad Uses: For, with a liberal Hand, he distributed it among those who, in any wise, had been instrumental to his Success; infomuch that not one, even the meanest *Moor*, remained unsatisfied. Another good Sum went in repairing and fortifying the Citadel, called *Al Mesbuar*; he expecting a Visit from the Governor of *Oran*, and that being the only defensible Place in the City, which was then much larger than it is at present, and the Walls, tho' noble, very ancient and crazy. Nor was this careful and vigilant Conqueror satisfied with having used these Precautions; for, the better to capacitate himself to hold his Acquisitions, he entered into a Treaty with the King of *Fez*, offering him all possible Assistance against his capital Enemy the King of *Morocco*, and all his other Adversaries whatever, provided his *Fezzan* Majesty would help him in defending *Tremizan* and its Dominion against their common Enemy, the *Christians*, who were for re-instating the former King, *Abou Hammou*; assuring him withal, that it was only them he feared; as not in the least apprehensive of all the Force the *Moors* were able to bring against him. This you will say was but an odd Compliment to a *Moorish* Prince: Yet it passed Muster; and the King of *Fez* promised to succour him, in Person, whensoever there was Occasion.

*Barba-rossa's* Affairs being settled in this promising Situation, he spent the Remainder of that Year, and Beginning of the next, in enjoying the Fruits of his Valour and Address. I must here observe, that *Marmol*, to whom I refer every curious Scrutinizer, relates this whole Story very differently, and, with apparent Partiality, paints out *Barba-rossa* in very black Colours. For Reasons specified in some of the foregoing Pages, I take *Haedo's* Narrative to be more genuine; who in Effect is *Marmol's*

Corrector;



Corrector; as, in many respects, I could make appear, were it material, or I in the Humour.

One Circumstance occurred which exceedingly damped *Barba-rossa*, amidst his late Successes. The *Turks* he had left in Garrison with his Brother *Isaac*, at *Al Cala de Beni Rasbid*, played the *Turk* so much, that is, were so excessively insolent, that those *Mountain-Africans*, unable to endure such Treatment, took Occasion to fall upon and destroy them every Man, together with their Governor. Forty of those *Turks*, indeed, breaking out of the Fortrefs, at the Beginning of the Fray, kept in a Body and took the Road towards *Tremizan*: But being pursued and overtaken, were, likewise, cut in Pieces. This News greatly affected *Barba-rossa*, more particularly for his Brother, whom he dearly loved, and whose Death he would, probably, have revenged, at the first Opportunity. "At this Day, says *Haedo*, is to be read on a Stone, at that Place, the Epitaph of this *Isaac*, Brother to *Barba-rossa*, which any of the Inhabitants will shew to the Curious." I was once in that Town, for some Hours; but had then little Thought of inquiring after either *Isaac* or *Jacob*: But very well remember I have, since, heard some Talk of this Affair.

Tho' it would be intolerable for me to discant on every Difference one meets with in Authors, who tell the same Story; yet I must needs here say something of the Variation between *Marmol* and this other *Spaniard*, from whom I pick most of these Facts, dressing them up as I think proper, and generally according to the Discourses I recollect to have had on these Heads; I mean *Haedo*, an honest and zealous Abbot, seemingly very sincere, and to whom I must acknowledge my self extremely obliged, not only for often refreshing my Memory, but, also, for acquainting me with many Matters of which I was utterly ignorant.

The Sum, in few Words, of what the loquacious *Marmol* gives us, is this: But I must first observe, that he is wholly dumb concerning the said *Isaac*; and affirms *Barba-rossa* to have set out on this Expedition in 1516, which he makes *A. H.* 930. For this, consult my *Table*, Page 116. The General of his Troops, under him, was, he says, *Escander* (rather *Scander*, i. e. *Alexander*) a *Renegado* of *Corfica*, who was his Companion, when they ran away with the Grand *Turk's* Money, and who had never since left his Company: That, *Abou Hammou* was the Usurper, and kept in Prison his Nephew, the rightful King, *Abou Zeyan*: That, *Barba-rossa's*

Army increased daily, on the Rumour of his going to release that Prince, and settle him on the Throne: That, arriving at *Tremizan* (without any Encounter) the Majority of the Citizens, who knew nothing of his being invited by a certain Party of them, refused him Entrance, more particularly those of the Usurper's Faction. But they who sent for him, crying out *Abou Zeyan! Abou Zeyan!* soon got him introduced; not forgetting first to make him swear on the *Alcoran*, not to molest any one, and to make the imprisoned Prince their King. The Usurper fled, by a false Postern in the Palace, carrying off, to the Desert, his Women, Children and the best of his Treasure. *Barba-rossa*, indeed, set the Prisoner at Liberty, and gave him Possession of the Palace, &c. But in a very few Days after, perceiving all calm and quiet, he feigned to take Leave of him, as if setting out for *Algiers*, and perfidiously seized him and seven of his Sons, all whom he instantly hung up in their own Turbants: And, not content with this, he caused to be brought before him all the Male Infants of that Family, and, with his own Hands, cast them into a large Cistern, laughing heartily to behold them flounce about and struggle for Life in the Water. After this, putting to cruel Deaths all those who had invited him thither, and all the rest of the chief Citizens, lest they should, likewise, prove as great Traytors to him, he seized the Kingdom, and caused himself to be proclaimed King, in the Name of the Grand Signor; continuing so till dispossessed and slain by *Don Martin de Argote*. This may be Fact, for ought I know, of a Certainty.

Had *Marmol* been in *English*, I should never give my self this Trouble. And, tho' I could advance several Reasons for my dissenting from all this, and what still follows, and abundance more, of which I shall not take any Notice; yet to avoid Prolixity, and, which I like still less, Controversy, I only say, that it is ungenerous to express such manifest Virulency, especially without Foundation, and while all others are silent, or to go about to represent the Devil blacker than he really is: For notwithstanding this Author wrote some Years nearer those Times, yet he certainly had not the Opportunity of informing himself as *Haedo* professes to have had; neither do several of his Accounts agree half so well with the Tradition of the Natives, as do those of *Haedo*. But, a little more of *Marmol*.

*Barba-rossa* having thus got Possession of *Tremizan*, and committed those Barbarities, he sent away his old Crony *Scander*, with 500 *Turks*, and

and many *Moors* in League with him, against the other *Arabs* and *Africans*, who refused to submit; as not caring to trust, they said, a Tyrant who, in one Day, had destroyed so many Princes, &c. This Man and his Followers proceeded with such Outrage, that the *Tremizians* soon repented their introducing that insolent and barbarous Nation; especially since his very Introdutors fared no better than those who had been his open Enemies. A Conspiracy was formed against him: But it took Vent; and he made cruel Examples of many of the Contrivers. King *Abou Hammou*, whom they designed to have brought in, finding all had miscarried, fled to *Oran*, to solicit Succours from the *Spaniards*; having been formerly their Ally, and paid Tribute to *Don Ferdinand*. He obtained 2000 Foot and some Horse, giving Hostages for their Security, and his own Fidelity. These *Spanish* Troops were commanded by *Don Martin de Argote*; who, joined by a good Body of *Arabs* and *Africans*, attacked *Al Cala de Beni Rashid*, whither *Scander*, with the 500 *Turks*, had retired; it being a Place of Importance, &c. since, being Masters thereof, they might intercept all Recruits from *Algiers*. This was a good Thought: For the Place must either be lost, or *Barba-rossa* must leave *Tremizan* very weakly garrisoned if he came to its Assistance; either of which would answer *Don Martin's* Designs. The *Turks* made a good Defense, and killed many *Christians* and *Moors*: And, one Night, making a Sally, cut off an Out-Guard of 300 *Spaniards*. Flushed with this Success, they durst even attempt the *Spanish* Trenches; but came not off so well as before: For the *Spaniards* being ready to receive them, they were repulsed with Loss; and *Scander* himself shot in the Leg. During this, *Barba-rossa* was deserted by the major Part of his *Moors* and *Arabs*, who all passed to *Abou Hammou's* Camp. This obliged *Scander* to treat of surrendering the Fortrefs; and it was agreed, that he and his *Turks*, with their Baggage, &c. should march off whither they thought fit, unmolested. But these Conditions were very ill observed: For *Scander* being known to the Son of a certain noted *Arab Sheikb*, by a fine Target he bore, which had been by him taken from his Father, whose Women he had, likewise, violated, the young Cavalier, not able to contain his Resentment, seized the Target, and seconded by thirty of his Brethren, all Sons of the same *Sheikb*, (neither the King of *Tremizan* nor the *Spanish* General being able to prevent it) they lanced the Ravisher and every one of the *Turks*, except sixteen, who held by the Stirrups of *Abou Hammou* and *Don Martin de Argote*. Thus

*Marmol*; tho' in more Words. I have already hinted my Opinion of the Matter. Now, could any two Antagonists have related one Fact with more discording Circumstances, had they been doing it for a Wager? But, courteous Reader, *utrum horum*, &c. I am not able to vouch for either: But certain it is, *Barba-rossa* had a Brother named *Isaac*, who was killed, with all his Company, not long before *Barba-rossa* himself met with the like Fate, and at the very same Place where *Haedo* affixes it, who, by the bye, does not once mention this *Scander*, this Associate of *Barba-rossa* in his daring, imaginary Robbery, of all which, as I said, *Haedo* takes as little Notice as does *Marmol* of the aforefaid *Isaac*, whom the *Moors* of those Parts have still in Memory, by Tradition from their Grand-Fathers! *Marmol* is, in many Cases, a good Author; but often *misinformed*; particularly in what relates to the *Algerine* Affairs; this I speak to my own certain Knowledge. So much for Criticism.

About the Time when *Barba-rossa* got Possession of *Tremizan*, viz. September, A. D. 1517. arrived, from *Flanders*, the new King of *Spain*, in order to take Charge of those his Realms. This was *Don Carlos*, afterwards *Charles V.* Emperor, &c. The Marquis *De Comares*, Governor of *Oran*, hearing of his landing in *Biscay*, immediately set out to wait on his Majesty; but more particularly to give him Information of the Progresses of *Barba-rossa*, whose Neighbourhood began to make him very uneasy. "He laid before the young Monarch, says *Haedo*, how important it was for him to put a Stop to the farther Growth of that Tyrant: Wisely, and like a Man of most consummate Prudence as he was, judging, that in case this Fire was not instantly extinguished, it would, in Time, increase to a Conflagration in great Part of *Christendom*; as we now find by Experience." And, the better to carry on his Negotiation, he took with him *Abou Hammou*, King of *Tremizan*, who had repaired, for Sanctuary, to *Oran*, that, by casting himself at his *Catholick* Majesty's Feet, imploring Protection, he might move his Compassion. This, together with the strenuous Sollicitation of the Marquis, wrought so far, that he obtained a Re-inforcement of 10000 Veterans, in order to restore him to his Realm, and to wage vigorous War with *Barba-rossa* and his *Turks*. With these Forces they arrived at *Oran*, in the Beginning of 1518.

*Barba-rossa*, who, says my Author, slept not, having Information of all these Proceedings, sent away to his Confederate the King of *Fez*, and siled not to put himself in the best Posture he was able. But, finding the

the King of *Fez* made no great Haste, and being certified, that the Marquis was already set out from *Oran*, he apparently seemed determined to meet him in the Field, with his 1500 *Turks* and *Moriscoes*, all Fuziliers, and about 5000 *Moors* and *Arabs*, all Cavalry, partly those who at first came with him, and partly *Tremizians*, who all promised him their utmost Service and Fidelity. But, being crafty, cautious and diffident, he reposed very little Confidence in those Promises and Protestations, and withal sensible how few in Number his own People were, in Comparison with the *Christian* Troops, and his other Enemies, he resolved to remain in the City, expecting the Succours from *Fez*, which, according to his Intelligence, were already on their March. But, when he perceived the Enemy almost at the Gates of *Tremizan*, he altered his Mind, as deeming it Madness to attend a numerous and well-appointed Enemy with such a Handful of Men, in so defenseless a Place; and in whose Inhabitants he had no great Reason to flatter himself that he might safely confide; as having been so often Traytors to their own natural Sovereigns: And, as to the rest, a gloomy Discontent appeared on every Countenance.

Affairs being in this critical Position, *Barba-rossa*, without imparting his Resolution to any of the *Moors*, took Advantage of the Night, which was very dark, and mounting all his 1500 Men on such Horses as he had prepared, stole privately away, by a Back Gate, carrying with him the greatest Part of his best Effects, and all his Treasure. His Intent was to get out of Reach with all Speed, and then to make the best of his Way to *Algiers*. But he had scarce left the Place, when the Marquis, who lay incamped not far off, had News of his Flight: Whereupon, with the utmost Caution and Silence, mounting his Infantry on the *Moors* Horses, he set out after him; resolving, if possible, to have him alive: And such Diligence did the Marquis use, that notwithstanding the *Turks* posted away with incredible Speed, and were advanced thirty Miles on their Way, he got Wind of them a good while before Day-Break. *Barba-rossa* finding himself pursued so close, used a Stratagem, “Which, says my *Spanish* Author, “was a very neat one, and might have passed, had it been practised upon “any others but *Spaniards*.” He was not far from a considerable River, somewhat more than ten Leagues East of *Tremizan*, and, apparently, had they passed it, might have escaped: To facilitate which, he ordered all his Riches to be strewed about as they fled, that the Pursuers busying themselves in amassing such valuable Spoil, he and his People might get

over the River, which is somewhat difficult for a Body of Troops to do expeditiously; the Banks being very steep, except just in the Forging-Places. Tho' I could never learn, that the *Spaniards* were less greedy after such Sort of Plunder than other Folks, yet sure enough it is, unhappily for *Barba-rossa* and his Party, that the Bait did not take: For the Marquis *De Comares* (Governor of *Oran*, and General in that Expedition, and not *Don Martin de Argote*, as *Marmol* will have it) used such Arguments with his *Spaniards*, that, contrary to all Example, they trampled under Foot that for which all the World goes together by the Ears, and soon fell in with the Enemy's Rear. *Barba-rossa*, with many of the foremost, had already crossed the River; when, hearing his faithful *Mirmydons* slaughtered under his Nose, while they piteously called for their Father and Leader to succour them, he generously repassed the fatal Stream, and gathering up all he could meet with of his terrified Associates, led them to an Eminence, where making a resolute Stand, "turning their Faces and Breasts to the Enemy, says *Haedo*, like Men determined to die bravely," there began a most obstinate Dispute, which ended not while a single *Turk* or *Morisco* remained alive: "*Barba-rossa* (say both *Haedo* and *Marmol*, in express Terms) tho' he had but one Arm, fought, to the very last Gasps, like a Lyon." A small Number, whom Self-Preservation taught a Way of thinking directly opposite to that of their gallanter and more generous Leader (whose great Soul disdained to save his own Life, when past Danger, while his brave Friends were in such Extremity) fought their Way, with much Difficulty, thro' that large Tract of Country, and, in a very distressed Condition, got to *Algiers*.

This Catastrophe had the brave *Arouje Barba-rossa*, and all his vast Designs. The Loss of his Arm he supplied, as well as possible, by one of Steel, made by an excellent *Christian* Artist; tho' some say it was of Silver. *Marmol* affirms, that, of the rich Garment he wore when slain, which was of Crimson Brocade, a Cloke was made for *S. Jeronimo's* Image at *Cordua*, where it was publickly to be seen, in the Monastery dedicated to that *Saint*, and was called *La Capa de Barvaroxa*. The Tribute, he says, that the re-instated King of *Tremizan* agreed to pay the King of *Spain*, and which he actually did pay as long as he lived, in Token of Vassalage, was 12000 Ducats of Gold, twelve Horses and six Falcons.

On the fifteenth Day after his Death arrived the King of *Fez*, to his Assistance, with 20000 Men; but hearing of what had happened, hastened away for fear of the *Spaniards* and their Allies.

Concerning this brave Man, who first brought the *Turks* into *Barbary*, and taught them to taste the Sweets of the Western Riches, *Haedo* thus concludes. “*Arouje Barba-rossa*, according to Testimony of those who remember him, was, when he died, about forty four Years of Age. He was not very tall of Stature, but extremely well-set and robust. His Hair and Beard perfectly red; his Eyes quick, sparkling and lively; his Nose Aquiline, or *Roman*; and his Complexion between brown and fair. He was a Man excessively bold, resolute, daring, magnanimous, enterprising, profusely liberal, and in no wise blood-thirsty, except in the Heat of Battle, nor rigorously cruel but when disobeyed. He was highly beloved, feared and respected by his Soldiers and Domesticks, and when dead was by them all in general most bitterly regretted and lamented. He left neither Son nor Daughter. He resided in *Barbary* fourteen Years; during which the Harms he did to the *Christians* are inexpressible. Of this Time he was King of *Fijel*, and its Mountains, four Years, of *Algiers*, &c. two, and of *Tremizan* not one complete.”

Notwithstanding all that may have been advanced by some Writers, it is certain, as I hinted, that he made all these Conquests intirely on his own Account, without the least Assistance from or Dependance on the Grand Signor, whose Protection, or any thing that way tending, he never once fought, or even desired. So that he cannot properly be included among the following Series of *Bashas*, &c. who governed these States, as Vice-Roys, depending immediately on the *Ottoman* Emperors.

## C H A P. IV.

HEYRADÎN BASHA, or BARBA-ROSSA II. *second* TURKISH Sovereign, and *first* Vice-Roy of ALGIERS, for the Grand Signor.

UNIVERSAL was the Consternation among the *Turks* at *Algiers*, on account of the disastrous Fate of *Arouje Barba-rossa*, and so many of their brave Comilitants. Amidst the general Dread, lest the victorious Marquis *De Comares* should follow his Blow, and attack them at *Algiers*, in that defenseless Condition, they seemed never tired with bewailing the Loss of such a Leader; nor was *Heyradin* to be comforted for the Loss of such a Brother. Conscious they all were, that few of the Natives had much Reason to bear them any Good-Will; and they could not but be sensible of their being environed by Multitudes, who apparently wished and sought their Destruction. However, to omit nothing within their Power, they unanimously chose *Heyradin* for their Prince; a Person dear to them, as well on his own as on his deceased Brother's Account: Nor was he, either in Bravery, Mérit, or any other respect, a whit inferior to that his gallant Predecessor; as his Actions sufficiently testify: He was, indeed, somewhat more disposed to Cruelty.

At a general Consultation, it was carried by a great Majority, that they should instantly embark, with all their Effects, on the twenty two large *Galeots*, and some other Small-Craft (the then Naval Force of *Algiers*) abandoning that Place which they deemed impracticable to maintain. Their new King was in the same Mind, and, having got every thing ready, was upon Departure, had he not been prevailed on, by some of the Corsairs, who insisted on his waiting yet a few Days, for Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions.

The Marquis, having settled his Affairs at *Tremizan*, withdrew all his *Spaniards* to *Oran*, and soon shipped away, for *Spain*, all except his own proper Garrison; and, thro' that false Step, (all Circumstances, and the Disposition wherein the Natives then seemed to be, duly considered) missed such an Opportunity of ruining the *Western Turks* as it is very unlikely will



will ever again offer; except several of the *European* Potentates (of which there is no very great Appearance) should combine, determinately bent on their Extirpation; and even then, I am strongly persuaded, it would be found an Enterprize of less Difficulty for the *Imperialists* alone to remove the *Ottoman* Seat from *Europe* to *Asia*, than it would be for such a united Power to dislodge the Corsairs of *Algiers*; tho', in effect, they are only the mere Dregs of the *Ottomans* and of *Christendom*.

*Heyradin*, finding himself freed from those terrible Apprehensions, at least for the present, got a *Galeot* instantly fitted out for *Constantinople*, with a Letter for his *Ottoman* Highness, accompanied with rich Presents for that Monarch, and his chief Ministers and Favourites: All this he intrusted to the Care and Direction of his *Kayia*, or Lieutenant, a faithful and prudent Person, his own *Renegado*. The Purport of the Letter and Message was, to inform the Grand Signor of the Situation of Affairs in those Parts of *Africa*, to intreat his Assistance, Favour and Protection; assuring him, that both himself and all his People desired nothing more than to be intitled his loyal Subjects; adding, that, if supplied with Men, he would not only pay and encourage them to Satisfaction, but would reduce, to the Obedience of the Sublime *Porte*; all, or the greatest Part of *Barbary*.

*Heyradin's* Request met with all the Success he could either have desired or expected. His Deputy returned with a kind Letter, assuring him of the *Porte's* Protection, as its *Basha*, or Vice-Roy, and a Recruit of 2000 *Janizaries*: And as a farther Encouragement, and Token of the Grand Signor's Favour, special Leave was granted, by publick Proclamation, throughout the *Ottoman* Empire, that whoever was disposed to pass down to *Algiers* should be entered into immediate Pay, and should enjoy all Privileges and Immunities enjoyed by *Janizaries*. This happened in the Beginning of 1519.

Instead of despairing of being able to stand his Ground, our new *Basha*, whom I shall call by his Name, *Heyradin*, began not only to re-inforce the Western Garrisons at *Meliana*, *Sbershel*, *Tenez* and *Mostaganem*, all which were in great Danger of being lost, but also began to entertain Thoughts of still greater Matters. The better to ingratiate himself with the incensed *Arabs* of those Quarters, he struck up an Agreement with *Hamida*, the dispossessed *Mulatto* King of *Tenez*, restoring him to his Estate, for his own Life only, on Consideration of a certain moderate annual

annual Tribute. By this politick Method, perceiving he had little to apprehend from the *Christians* of *Oran*, he ordered all the *Galeots*, &c. to be got ready for the Cruise, as heretofore; himself remaining at *Algiers*, well guarded with resolute Troops, and sufficiently provided of all requisite Entertainment for at least a Twelve-month.

A. D. 1519. Towards Summer an Affair happened at *Algiers*, which very much contributed to his taking firm Root, and redounded not a little to his Reputation. *Don Hugo de Moncada*, a *Spanish* Admiral, with upwards of thirty large Ships, eight *Royal Gallies*, and many Transports, on board of which were several thousands of Veteran Troops, entered the Bay of *Algiers*. His *Catholick* Majesty (not yet elected Emperor) sent this *Armada* expressly to drive the *Turks* from that Country; which he presumed might easily be effected since the Defeat and Death of the *Arch-Corfair Barba-rossa*. At Sight of this Fleet, the Inhabitants began to fly the City, with their Families, while many were busied in hiding their Wealth under Ground, and in Wells, Cisterns and the like, till *Heyradin* commanded, on Pain of Death, that they should desist from all such Attempts; assuring them, that with the few *Turks* he had, he would not fail protecting them to the last Man. *Paulus Jovius* and *Marmol* affirm *Don Hugo* to have landed his Army, in good Order, and that, as he was marching to attack the City, he was met by the *Turks*; and so routed, that the *Christians* were forced back in great Disorder, and could not recover their Brigantines, &c. without much Loss and great Difficulty. To the same Purpose writes *Marmol*; tho' most others assert, that the *Spaniards* did not land at all, being prevented by the suddain Storm that arose: But all agree that the far greater Part of the whole Fleet perished, and abundance of *Christians* were slain and captivated. Of one Particular, related by *Marmol*, I shall take Notice; which is, that it had been concerted at *Oran*, that the King of *Tremizan* and even the King, or Prince of *Tenez*, were to have come by Land, in Favour of the *Armada*; and that *Don Hugo*, having for ten Days waited their Arrival, with the great Army they promised, he determined to re-embark, when immediately a most furious East Wind drove ashore and otherwise dispersed almost the whole Navy: The *Gallies*, not without extreme Difficulty, got Shelter in a Creek upon the Coast. This was the second *Spanish* Fleet that had miscarried before *Algiers*: But both those Misfortunes were nothing in Comparison to the Damage this same *Don Carlos*, Emperor and King of *Spain*, sustained in 1541, when he attempted this Place in Person. Among

Among many other Ships that ran a-ground, several of which were lost, there was one of a very considerable Burden, full of Soldiers, and Officers, and on board which, by reason of her great Bulk, Strength and Number of Cannon, many Persons of Distinction had removed themselves, for their better Safety, upon the first Appearance of the Tempest. This huge Carrack made a notable Defense against all Attacks; and her Equipage might have been all saved had they held out till the Storm abated, when the Gallies returned to pick up what they could of the late lamentable Wreck. But, the Day before that, *Heyradin* came out in Person, and sent a Flag of Truce to propose their Surrendry of the Ship, &c. promising them Life and Liberty, both which were, otherwise, in apparent Danger. At their Landing, the *Moors* were for lancing them; which the *Turks* effectually prevented. When they came before *Heyradin*, he asked the Chiefs, Whether or no it was just and reasonable for Persons of Rank and Distinction to stand to their Words and Agreements? No Doubt is to be made but they all answered affirmatively. "Well then; replied *Heyradin*, "Why did your General break his Word with the *Turks*, at "—— (naming a certain Place somewhere about *Tremizan*) to whom "he promised Life and Liberty, and, with all their Baggage, free Leave "to go where they pleased, and yet they were all killed?" "By *Arabs*, "my Lord, replied they, but not by *Spaniards*." "So would my *Moors*, "infallibly, have served every Mother's Son of you, said *Heyradin*, had "not I given positive Orders to the contrary. But to convince you, that "I am more a Gentleman and Man of Honour than your faithless General, "and mind my Word somewhat better, I also promised you Life and Liberty: The first you actually do enjoy; and the other you may, likewise, enjoy whensoever you think fit to purchase it, every one according to his Abilities; whereas all the Wealth in *Africa* would not restore to me one of my slaughtered Friends: Let your present Servitude and future Ransoms make some small Atonement for their Loss; and from henceforwards let this be a Warning for every one to have a greater Regard to his Word of Honour."

A. D. 1520. "What with Threats," and other Methods, says *Haedo*, the *Turks* of *Algiers* forced to their Obedience the Inhabitants of *Col*, a maritime Place, some what East of *Jijel*, formerly a Sea-Port of great Note, built, as some say, by the *Romans*, who called it *Colossus*. This Town had, for many Years, maintained its Liberty, against the Kings of *Tunis*, and

and Vice-Roys of *Costantina*, from which last inland City it lies almost due North about a good Day's Riding. Tho', in it self, it is now a wretched Place to look on, like most of the rest, yet it was so protected by Multitudes of its neighbouring Mountaineers, whom it supplied with many Necessaries, brought thither by *Christian* Traders, that they would never suffer it to be insulted, or molested. My Opinion is, that the *Turks* got it rather thro' their good Usage to the *Fijelians*, than by any other Means whatever: For certain it is, that, if the *Algerine Turks* are grateful to none else, they are so to those of *Fijel*, their first Subjects, to whom they ever were and still are uncommonly civil and favourable.

Tho' this *Col* is of no very great Importance to the *Turks*, in other Respects, yet their being Masters of it conduced much to their obtaining Footing in *Costantina*, and all that noble Province, (which I look on to be the finest Part of all *Barbary*) as they did the very Year following. This famous <sup>a</sup> Capital of *Old North-Numidia* (of which I already have spoken, and shall say more) as the Power of the Kings of *Tunis* declined, had, for some Years, been independent of that Throne, tho' was much kept under by the powerful *Arab* Tribes, who ranged that Province at Pleasure: Nor was it till within these few Years, that the *Turks* could boast of being, in any wise, Sovereigns of any Part of that Province; and even now they maintain what they have by mere Dint of Sabre. On this Head I may be somewhat particular. However, *Heyradin*, in 1521, got himself acknowledged Lord of *Constantina*, and the rest of the level Country, tho' he and several of his Successors have been forced to fight lustily for every Morsel they got. *Col*, and another maritime Place, a few Miles East of it (called by the *Europeans* *Porta Stora*, and *Skikida* by the *Africans*, from a large Village, of that Name, above it, on the Mountain) are the nearest Ports of *Constantina*, and were much frequented by trading Vessels from *Provence*, *Genoa* and other Parts of the *Christian* Side of the *Mediterranean*, with whom the People of *Costantina* used to carry on a considerable Commerce, which was wholly interrupted by the *Turks* being possessed of *Col*: For tho' they, even to this Day, never durst attempt settling at *Stora*, (where there is not now any one Building on Foot, but the Ruins of several) yet their having Possession of one of those Harbours deterred the *Christian* Traders from offering to approach either: And, on

<sup>a</sup> Vide P. 24, 191, 192.

this Account, rather than by downright Conquest, I take it, the *Turks* gained Admittance at *Costantina*, to whose Inhabitants they promised not only to defend them from the Insults of the *Arabs*, but also, to keep open their foreign Traffick, by encouraging the *European* Merchants.

*A. D. 1522.* Early this Year, *Heyradin*, with twenty two large *Galeots*, arrived before the ancient City of *Bona*; and so terrified those People (who had lived free for a considerable while) with threatening to destroy them, great and small, that they submitted: Tho' *Marmol* says this happened not till some few Years after, when the Emperor *Charles V.* expelled him and his *Turks* from *Tunis*. I may, perhaps, advance some Reasons for my being of a different Opinion: And of these and other Places and Occurrences, more may be said in the Topography. It must, also, be observed, that *Heyradin*, notwithstanding his being Sovereign, as it were, of so many States, never failed, once, or oftener in a Year, going out on Cruise, with his *Galeots*, to the infinite Detriment of such *Christians* as he could surprize, or master; for he was not in League with any except the *French*, who were joined in strict Alliance with the *Ottomans*. Only I am apt to fancy, that he sometimes supplied the *Spaniards* in the Fort, on the aforesaid little Island, with a few Refreshments, to keep them quiet; tho' I have no Authority for any such Conjecture, and only hint it as probable, merely because I hear not of any Disturbances from that Quarter.

“ Thus, says *Haedo*, he continued scouring the Seas and Coasts; and in the Year 1529, was actually Master of no less than eighteen stout *Galeots*, extremely well armed and appointed, and was become nothing less dreaded and renowned than had been his Brother *Arouje Barba-rossa*, on account of his strange Successes, and the inconceivable Harms he did to *Christendom*, increasing daily in Riches and Power, having under his Command, besides his own, many other *Galeots*, &c. belonging to Corsairs, who flocked down to him from the *Levant*.”

*A. D. 1529.* This Year he concluded a Sort of Alliance with the <sup>b</sup>*Zwouwa* of *Cucco*, and *Beni Abbas*, whose unmanageable Princes would never, till then, listen to any manner of Accommodation; but, on the contrary, tho' mortal Enemies to each other, agreed in this Article, of

<sup>b</sup> *V. de P. 69. 2; 2.*

doing the *Turks* all the Mischief they were able. While he was buſied in theſe Negotiations, he ſent out fourteen *Galeots* to make a Deſcent on the *Baleatic* Iſlands, which are *Mayorca*, *Minorca*, *Iviza*, *Formentera*, and others leſs conſiderable. The Conduct of this Squadron he gave to a notable *Turkiſh* Corſair, by the *Spaniards* nick-named *Cacha-Diablo*, i. e. *Drub-Devil*; and, among other Captains, one of the chief was *Salba Rais*, afterwards *Baſha*, or Vice-Roy of *Algiers*, a gallant Perſonage, as will appear in the Detail of his Life.

Theſe Corſairs, having taken ſeveral Prizes, and committed many Diſorders on thoſe Iſlands, and the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, captivating abundance of *Chriſtians*, had, at length, Notice of ſome *Moriſco* Families, Vaſſals to the Count *De Oliva*, a *Valencian* Nobleman, who were deſirous of paſſing over to *Barbary*, to live undiſturbed in the Religion of their Anceſtors, and who would diſburſe a good Sum for their Transportation. This was a Sort of Buſineſs very well liked of by *Drub-Devil* and his Associates; and, accordingly, taking Advantage of the Night's Obſcurity, they landed, in a conſiderable Body, near *Oliva*, and brought off upwards of 200 Families, with whom they retired under the ſmall Iſland *Formentera*.

Juſt when this was tranſacted, General *Portundo*, with eight *Spaniſh* Gallies (wherewith he had convoyed *Charles V.* as far as *Genoa*, when he went in order to be crowned Emperor at *Bologna*, by Pope *Clement VII.*) was come down beyond *Barcelona*, in his Way to *Valencia*. The Count *De Oliva* hearing of his Approach, inſtantly wrote him a preſſing Letter, intreating him to ſeek out and attack thoſe Free-Booters, who had carried away ſuch a Number of his Vaſſals, with an immense Treafure in Caſh and Jewels; promiſing him, in caſe he recovered his *Moriſcoes*, with their Effects, a Preſent of 10000 Ducats. On Receipt whereof, the *Spaniſh* General, partly to gain the agreed on Sum, and partly, perhaps, with View of acquiring Honour, immediately bore away for the *Baleares*, whither he rightly judged the Corſairs might have retired. *Drub-Devil* was actually retreated to *Formentera*, and diſcovered the Gallies as ſoon as they came in Sight. Somewhat alarmed at the Approach of ſuch a Squadron, and ſenſible he muſt, unavoidably, either hazard a bloody Encounter, or truſt to his Heels, in order to be in a better Poſture for either, he landed all the *Moriſcoes* on that Iſland. On the other Hand, General *Portundo* (whether it was, as ſome hold, that he was ignorant of the Enemy's

Enemy's Number, or, as others assert, that he concluded himself sure of the Victory, though he caught a *Tartar*) had given express Orders not to offer to fire at them, whereby they might be sunk, and himself deprived of the promised Reward for recovering the fugitive *Moriscoes*, with all their rich Effects, whom he might well suppose to be still on board the *Galeots*. Howsoever that was, certain it is, that *Don Juan de Portundo*, the General's Son, who, with four *Gallies*, advanced considerably a-head of his Father, notwithstanding he came up within Gun-Shot of the Enemy, who were got out to Sea, durst not let go one Shot, tho' he might have done great Damage with his heavy Artillery; but lay-by upon his Oars, waiting for the rest. The *Turks*, observing this Behaviour, which they imputed to Fear and Cowardice, took Heart; determining to stay and see the Motions of the *Spaniards*, when their Squadron should be joined. The *Gallies* being all together, the *Turks* perceived so little Appearance of their being attacked, that they soon came to a Resolution of becoming themselves the Attackers: And bearing down upon the *Christians*, rowing with the utmost Fury, they swooped upon them like Eagles, and had surrounded the eight *Gallies* before the amazed *Spaniards* well knew what they were about. However, tho' considerably inferior in Number (for many of the Officers and Soldiers had remained in *Italy*, to be present at the Solemnity of the Coronation) the Corsairs met with a brisk Reception, and were warmly entertained for a good Spell, not without Bloodshed. But, fortunately for *Drub-Devil* (or *Drub-Spaniard*, as the *French* and *Turks* are said to have named him afterwards) and his Party, who, with his own and another *Galeot*, had set upon the Admiral-Galley, General *Portundo*, who commanded her, was shot in the Breast with a Musket-Ball, and instantly died; whereupon the *Galley* surrendered: And the rest, dispirited, without farther Resistance, followed her Example; except one, which, by mere Dint of strenuous Rowing, got to *Iviça*, near the Salt-Pits, and so escaped, almost miraculously. The *Turks*, with their seven great *Gallies*, and their valuable Equipages (among whom, besides the slain General's Son, and the other six Captains, were many Officers of Note) releasing from their Chains several hundreds of captive *Mussulmans*, and constituting in the Vacancies as many of their new Slaves, returned triumphantly to *Formentera*, in order to take in the dubious *Moriscoes*; who, we may well suppose, were mightily satisfied with that Opportunity of bilking the Count *De Oliva*, their Lord, and the more dreaded *Inquisitors*.

The tragical End of this *Don Juan de Portundo*, the six Captains, and some other Gentlemen, for having formed a Conspiracy to surprize *Algiers*, shall be mentioned in some of the succeeding Pages. Notwithstanding it caused great Rejoicings at *Algiers*, to behold seven *Royal-Gallies*, and among them the *Capitana*, or Admiral-Galley, of *Spain*, brought in at once, yet *Heyradin* is reported to have envied his old Crony *Drub-Devil* the Honour and Reputation he had acquired, by having the sole Direction of that so-much-talked-of Exploit.

A. D. 1530. *Heyradin Basha*, more desirous than ever to remove so uneasy a Bridle as that *Spanish Fort* was to his Mouth, since, besides other Inconveniencies, it utterly prevented his making a Mole, or Harbour, for the securer Reception as well of the *Algerine Cruisers* as the *European Traders* (mostly *French*) was now fully bent to give a vigorous Push at what his Brother and Predecessor had missed of, and himself, hitherto, had not been at Leisure to undertake. While the *Spaniards* held that Fort, all the *Galeots*, &c. were obliged to lie about a Mile West of the Town, near the aforesaid Rivulet, upon an open Coast, to keep out of the *Spaniards* Reach, and with infinite Toil were drawn on and off the Sands by the poor Slaves. As for the trading Vessels, which brought considerable Advantage to the Town, they had no Anchoring-Place but at the Eastern Part, not far from *Beb Azoun*, where they had no Shelter, but, much to their Discouragement, lay exposed to all Weathers. *Heyradin* knew the *Spaniards* dreaded him almost every where, and was quite scandalized to find himself driven, by them, to so many Incommodities, by a scurvy Fort, which they needs would maintain, just in his Teeth. Something occurred that hastened his putting in Execution what he had already determined: The Passage was this.

Two young Lads, *Moors* of *Algiers*, got over to the Fort, telling the Captain, or Governor, that their Desire was to become *Christians*. Some assert them to have been purposely sent thither by the *Basha*; which Assertion I am not able to disprove, tho' *Haedo* seems dubious. That courageous Gentleman, named *Don Martin de Vargas*, received them kindly; entertaining them in his own Family, while they were Catechizing by his Chaplain, in order to prepare them for Baptism. *Resurrection-Day* falling out soon after, as the *Christians* were all at *High-Mass*, those young Fel-



lows, mounting the Rampart which faced the Town, then without Guards, where (“whether out of Wantonness, or maliciously,” says *Haedo*) they hoisted a Flag, making Signals to those in the City. These Motions being observed by one of the Governor’s Maid-Servants, she instantly ran and acquainted her Master; who, leaving his Devotions, hasted thither, well attended; and seeing what Sport his intended Converts were at, without more ado hanged them up, over that very Rampart, in Sight of their Country-men, the *Algerines*, many of whom presently knew them, and posted to acquaint the *Basha*.

*Heyradin* would not be persuaded but that this was done purely with a Design to affront and insult him; and vowed immediate Revenge; issuing out Orders to get all Things in Readiness. By way of Formality, he sent a *Renegado* of his to summon the *Spanish* Captain and Garrison; offering them safe Conduct and all reasonable Conditions, provided they gave him no farther Trouble, since, he told them, their Dislodgement was resolved on, and if they resisted, he had sworn, inviolably, that they should every one of them be cut in Pieces. At this peremptory Summons and Message, *Don Martin* having laughed very heartily, stoutly and haughtily replied, “That he was really astonished to hear a Person of such Worth, and so good a Soldier as was the *Basha* of *Algiers*, make such inglorious and scandalous Proposals to one of no less Worth, and no worse a Soldier than himself: That he ought to make Application to those who less valued their Honour: Adding, that he would do well to recollect, that he had to deal with SPANIARDS, in whose Breasts those his so vain and fruitless Menaces could never infuse the least Shadow of Dread, or Apprehension.”

Tho’ *Heyradin Basha* imagined he should gain little by his Embassy, and had made Preparations accordingly, yet this bold and surly Reply rendered him quite impatient. Raging with Fury, he sent immediately for a very large Piece of Brass Ordinance, from on board a huge *French* Galeon, wherewith, and several other great Cannon, lately cast for this very Purpose, he began a terrible Battery, May 6, 1530, which was obstinately pursued, Day and Night, for fifteen Days, without a Moment’s Respite. Such was the Fury of this incessant Cannonading, that, by then the far greatest Part of the 200 *Spaniards* in Garrison were knocked on the Head, and that Side of their Fort in a manner laid level with the Rock on which it stood. Only fifty-three Men remained alive with their Captain, and

they wholly spent with continual Labour; and, as for great Part of the Time, while the Battery endured, they had been exposed not only to the Great-Shot, but to incessant Showers of Arrows and Small-Shot, not one of those few Survivers escaped unhurt; and *Don Martin* himself, with several others were grievously wounded. By the feeble Resistance the *Christians* made for the last four or five Days, *Heyradin* thought he might safely venture an Assault; and accordingly got about 1200 of his best Men on board fourteen of the largest *Galeots*, before Day-break, on the sixteenth Day from the Beginning of Hostilities. They landed just under the Breach, and carried the Fort with very little Opposition: *Don Martin de Vargas*, with the rest of his Garrison, and three Women only, being made Captives, May 22, N. S. 1530.

Immediately *Heyradin* caused the Remainder of that Fort to be razed to the Foundation, and set to work many thousands of *Christian* Slaves to make the Mole, or Peer, which joins the Island to the City, of which something may be said elsewhere.

To give an Instance of the Temper and Disposition of this *Basba*, take the following Relation, abridged from *Haedo*, of the unhappy Fate of that brave Gentleman, *Don Martin de Vargas*.——Of the Captives taken in the Fort, *Heyradin* reserved to himself only the Captain, and two or three more, (perhaps the Women) distributing the rest among the principal *Corfairs*, and others of his chief *Turks*, who had been most serviceable in his obtaining that important Victory. Far from taking any Notice of a Person of such Merit as *Don Martin*, he sent him to his *Bagnio*, among the rest of his Slaves, and, wounded as he was, gave him nothing for Subsistence but the ordinary daily Allowance, for publick Slaves, of three small Loaves of very coarse Bread. However several well-disposed Captives took great Care of him, and he was soon pretty well recovered. About three Months from his Capture, the *Basba* sent for him; when fiercely accosting him, he said: “How came it to pass, that, when I “summoned you to quit my Territory, and depart in Peace, as I offered “you, my Request was so little regarded?” *Don Martin*, with some Freedom, excused himself, by alledging the Obligation Persons of his Figure and Quality lay under, when intrusted by their Prince, which Confidence reposed in them obliged them rather to lose their Lives than deviate from their Duty. The choleric *Basba*, nothing satisfied with so reasonable a Reply, grew quite outrageous; and raising his Voice to a  
thundering

thundering and menacing Tone, commanded him to desist from assuming such unbecoming Liberties in his Presence; which Command he accompanied with Scurrilities; asking him, if he knew, how many brave *Turks*, far better Men than himself, his insolent Obstinacy had destroyed? Adding, with an Oath, that he had a great Mind to burn him alive. To this the too resolute *Don Martin* imprudently returned, (for he certainly ought to have considered his present Condition, and answerable to the Oriental Saying, *have thrust his Finger first into the Ground, and then to his Nose*) that he had acted nothing contrary to the Rules of War, where every one ought to do his utmost, both defensively and offensively. The inhumane *Basba*, enraged, and quite devoid of Patience, to hear him still answer with such Boldness, after he had so positively enjoined him Silence, bellowing like a Bull, commanded that *Dog*, that *Infidel*, as he called him, to be laid down and drubbed to Death upon the Spot. This barbarous Sentence was instantly put in Execution, (I shall elsewhere fully describe the Manner) and, with an Infinity of cruel Blows, and surprizing Magnanimity and Constancy, the unfortunate Gentleman expired, in the Tyrant's Presence, under that exquisite Torture, the *Bastonado*.

*Haedo* affixes this Tragedy in the Front of his Catalogue of Martyrs, whose direful Catastrophes he relates most circumstantially, and much in the Tone of a *Predicator*: From the most remarkable, I design some occasional Extracts.

*Marmol's* Account of all this Affair is in a different Strain: Of which take the Heads: *Viz.* The Fort being in great Distress, for want of Provisions, the Captain sent his Brother to sollicite a Supply from the Emperor. In the mean while, a Soldier from the Garrison swam ashore, and acquainted the *Basba* of their Necessity, and told him, how easily he might make himself Master of the Place, if he attacked it before Succour arrived. *Heyradin* sent to summon *Don Martin de Vargas*; giving him to understand, That he was no Stranger to his Wants, and withal, that particular Care should be taken to intercept all Relief; so that his Ruin was inevitable, except he complied; which, if he did, he might depend upon his utmost Favour and Friendship. To this the courageous *Don Martin* replied, That it was an Indignity for a Captain of a mighty Emperor, to think of delivering so important a Fortres into the Hands of a Corsair: Adding, that if the *Renegado Dog*, who had deserted, might have informed him, that he wanted Necessaries, both for Sustainance and Defense,

fence, his only way of being satisfied, as to those Points, was to make his Approach. After a furious Battery, considerable Breaches being opened, a general Assault ensued. The few remaining *Spaniards*, tho' quite worn out with Hunger and Weariness, sold their Lives and Liberties at a dear Rate. The valiant Captain defended a Postern with a two-handed Sword; and having received many sore Wounds, and being at length maimed in the Right-Hand, and thereby disabled from any longer wielding his Weapon, he was seiz'd by four *Turks*; the *Basha* having given strict Orders for taking him alive. Being conducted into his Presence, in that Plight, *Heyradin Basha* comforted him with very kind Words, bidding him not to be dismayed, assuring him of good Usage, and withal, that provided he would oblige him in one Particular, he might depend on many singular Marks of his Favour. Returning abundance of Thanks, *Don Martin* hesitated not to promise a ready Obedience to his Command in every Thing, within his Power, that might be of Service to him, in case his Excellency would, first, condescend so far as to oblige him in rewarding, according to his Demerits, that perfidious *Dog* of a *Renegado*, by whom he had been so basely betrayed. To please him, the *Basha* immediately sent for the Traytor, whom, before his Face, he ordered to be cruelly beaten; and, not content with that, caused his Head to be taken off. After this, turning to the Captain, he said; "Now, *Martin*; you see I have done what you desired. It next behoves you to fulfill your Promise to me, by complying with my Request: It is, that you become a *Mussulman*; and take on you the Post of Captain of my Guards." Here *Don Martin* was at a Stand: But in Answer to the *Pagan's* Demand, returned: "Sir! What you require at my Hands, as the Consequence of a Promise you say I made you, is a Thing utterly out of my Power to promise, much less to perform. If you can think of any other Matter, wherein I can serve, or oblige you, I am ready to comply: But I cannot help saying, you are to blame in imagining, or expecting, that I should leave the true Religion for a Sect false and ridiculous." The Tyrant enraged at this Reply, had him put to a cruel Death, in his Presence: And thus died this valorous Cavalier, for his Faith and for his Prince, as is the Obligation of every Gentleman of Honour and Character. To this Effect *Marmol* delivers the Story.

Either this Way, or the other, this Gentleman was certainly too forgetful of his present Condition, and the haughty, impatient Humour of

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the *Turks*, when Masters; with whom Humility and nothing else is prevalent. But I cannot easily reconcile my self to the Belief, that this notable *Basha*, tho' sometimes tyrannical and cruel, was so bad a Politician, as thus in publick; to sacrifice a *Renegado*, who had rendered him such essential Services; to the revengeful Caprice of a Person, who had given the *Turks*, who are none of the most generous Enemies, such recent Causes not to look on him with a very good Eye; and who, if either of the foregoing Accounts is Fact, may be said to have departed himself rather resolutely than prudently: His Behaviour brings to my Mind that of a certain proud beggarly *Spaniard*, of the *Austrian* Faction, who, being taken Slave by the *Algerines*, came to our Consul *Cole*, who had an Order, from his Correspondent at *Barcelona*, to endeavour to redeem him. The State and Gravity with which he traversed our Court-Yard, was well worth seeing. Had a Stake been driven thro' him, he could not have walked stiffer. "Sir! said he, accosting the Consul, and twirling his starched Mustachio, I am the *Cavallero*, for whose Ransom you lately received an Order, as by this Letter I am informed." "What is your Name, Friend?" said the Consul.—"My Name is *Don Alfonso de Penalta*," "Sir: Does not your Letter tell you as much?" Consul *Cole*, who was a rough Gentleman sometimes, and mortally hated those *Spanish* Vanities, with a snarling Tone, replied; "Don—Don—Don—Don, *Don Cuerno!*" "Let your fantastical *Don-ship* recollect and know what and where you are. The Badge of Slavery about your Ankle (meaning the Iron Ring worn by the *Beylic*, or publick Slaves) ill suits with a *Don*. When you have any thing to say to me, especially, the *Don* must be left behind; For you may depend on it, I shall never treat of the Redemption of any who are such vain Fools and Asses as to term themselves *Dons*." And certain it is, that many of that Nation have paid more than treble the Ransom, which would otherwise have served their Turn, had they not affected to have retained that empty Monosyllable.

During our last *Spanish* War, the Slaves at *Algiers*, of the *Burbonian* and *Austrian* Factions, would proclaim open War against each other, and frequently fall together by the Ears. Whenever their Guardians caught them at that Sport, they never failed belabouring their Sides very handsomely; saying; "You Scoundrels: It will be time enough for you to decide Party-Quarrels, when you are your own Masters." I shall treat somewhat largely, in due Place, concerning the Slaves of *Algiers*; and may

may have Occasion to speak farther of Consul *Cole*, whom I served some Years, in Quality of his *Cancellera*, &c.

A. D. 1531. Presently after the Mole of *Algiers* was began, (which was full two Years in completing) *Heyradin Basba*, resolving to improve and fortify <sup>†</sup> *Sbershel*, repaired and enlarged the Castle of that important Place, and withal employed upwards of 700 *Christians* in the Construction of a Peer, which towards the Spring, this Year, was in good Forwardness. Prince *Andrea D'Oria*, General of the Imperial Gallies, very sensible of the Inconveniencies would accrue to *Christendom*, if that Work was not interrupted, (it being but a short Cut from *Sbershel* to the *Baleares*) thought he could not render his Prince and Country better Service than, at one and the same Time, to set at Liberty so many hundreds of Captives, and destroy that Harbour. Some affirm him to have undertaken that Expedition at the Instigation of the said Slaves themselves, who assured him how easily it might be accomplished: Tho' *Marmol* says, that the Emperor sent him, expressly, with the Gallies of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Genoa*, in Quest of the *Algerine* Galeots, who designed an Attempt upon *Cadiz*; and that several of them were sunk and fired, by him, at *Sbershel*; tho' he was, afterwards, repulsed with the Loss of many hundreds of *Christians*.

What *Haedo* says is to this Effect. In *July*, that General set out from *Genoa*, with twenty Gallies. In few Days he got near *Sbershel* undiscovered; and before Day-break landed 1500 Soldiers. The Orders he had given were, That, the first thing they did should be to break into the Castle and release all the Slaves: That, upon no Pretext whatever, any of them should offer to quit their Colours: And that, when he fired a great Gun, every Man should forthwith repair to the Sea-Side, in order to re-imbark. The first Part of these Orders was executed to Admiration: For the Prince's Soldiers got into the Castle, and every Captive obtained his Liberty before the few *Turks* there in Garrison were aware of their Approach. Those 700 and odd *Christians*, having thus happily recovered their Freedom, wisely chose not to tempt their Fortune any farther, and immediately hastened on board the Gallies. Their Deliverers, having other Sentiments, unmindful of the Injunctions laid on them, dispersed, in Search of Plunder. It was now Day; when the *Turks* and Townsmen, who are, as I observed, all *Moriscoes*, from *Spain*, and good Soldiers, get-

† *Vide P. 234.*

ting together in Parties, fell upon the covetous *Christians*, whom they found all laden with Spoil; and making great Slaughter, the rest hurried towards the Landing-Place, in all imaginable Disorder and Confusion. The Signal Gun had been fired over and over; but being so employed, they either could not hear, or would not heed. The Gallies were put off to Sea; which some say the Prince had purposely done, to punish those disobedient Troops; tho' others will have it, that he only drew off a little, lest the Emperor's Gallies should be sunk or damaged by the Shot from the Castle, which the *Turks* began to ply very smartly. However it was, when the Prince again drew near the Shore, it was too late to do any good; for of all those 1500, they who came best off were chained in the Room of those they had so lately set at Liberty. *Heyradin Basba*, when he heard of this, was not a little concerned at the Loss of so many of his stoutest Rowers, and other serviceable *Christians*. But he was somewhat comforted to learn, that near 900 of such impertinent Visitors had been cut in pieces, and that he had more than 600 new Captives.

Previous to this, a few Months, the same Author, among his Martyrs, relates a Story that denotes this *Basba* to have been of a most inexorable and cruel Disposition, and in which he very much acted the *Inquisitor*: This is the Substance.—Early this Year, 1531. Two Galeots, sent by *Heyradin* to *Sbershel*, being upon their Return, among many other Letters, wrote by the Slaves at *Sbershel*, to their Friends in the like Circumstance at *Algiers*, one was delivered to a Countryman of theirs at the Oar, by two *Spaniards*, who jointly wrote it, for one *Sotomayor*, their Intimate, a brave *Spanish* Soldier, and the *Basba's* own Slave, at his *Bagnio*. He who had Charge of it was enjoined to keep it very private, and to have a particular Care in the Delivery. Till he had Leisure to secure it better, he had put it in his Bosom; and it dropped under the Bank on which he sat rowing, unperceived by himself or any else but a *Spanish Renegado*, who being near the Place, took it up slyly. Taking an Opportunity to read it, he was amazed at the Contents; yet dissembled till his Arrival at *Algiers*; and then carried it to the *Basba*. The whole was a very minute and particular Account of an intended Insurrection of those *Christians*, employed in building the Mole at *Sbershel*. The furious *Heyradin*, perceiving to whom the Letter was addressed, immediately caused the probably very innocent *Sotomayor* to be dragged before him, and to be most cruelly bastonadoed on the Shoulders, Buttocks, Belly and Feet,

with more than 600 terrible Blows, after the Manner of those *Barbarians*. As the Tormentors examined him all the while, and to no Purpose, since he could not well confess that of which he was utterly ignorant, the enraged Tyrant, in whose Presence this inhuman Scene was acted, ordered him to undergo the Torture of Fire. A large Pan of Charcoal was brought in; and the Soles of his Feet, already grievously swelled with the merciless Strokes, were daubed with Butter, and held close to a fierce Fire, for several Hours; all which Time they ceased not their Examinations. The unhappy Sufferer pleaded his Innocence, calling Heaven to witness, that they butchered him unjustly. All this the remorseless *Basha* imputed to Obstinacy and Guilt; and instead of relenting, commanded the poor Man's more than roasted Feet to be thrust into the Coals, till they became in a Manner a perfect Cinder. Thinking him dead, the Tyrant called another *Spaniard*, named *Francisco del Puerto*, (from whom, says *Haedo*, I learned the whole Relation) commanding him to carry away that *Infidel*, and throw him into the Sea: For, till several Years after, in the Time of *Hassan Basha*, Son to this *Heyradin Barba-rossa*, the *Christians* were not allowed any other Burial. The *Christian*, who was making towards the Sea-Gate, with the wretched *Sotomayor* on his Shoulders, perceiving his Burden to be still living, repaired to the *Basha's Bagnio*, where his Slaves were kept. Extraordinary Care being taken of him, in hopes of his Recovery, it was found impracticable: And having undergone unspeakable Torments, he died, with great Signs of Piety and Devotion, on the tenth Day of his Sufferings. The very Marrow of his Bones was found to be quite dried up and consumed. He was aged forty-five Years; tall, lean, and red-haired.

It is very likely this poor Man was ignorant of what was hatching at *Sherfbel*, and certainly had little Cause to thank his two Friends, for their Officiousness, in endeavouring to make him their Confident. The *Basha* instantly sent a Re-inforcement of *Turks*, to take Care of their Affairs at *Sherfbel*; and yet we see they were soon after surpris'd by *Andrea D'Oria*; who might have come off with much greater Honour, had his Soldiers been less greedy, and as observant of Discipline, as were the Troops of the Marquis *De Comares*, in their Expedition against *Barba-rossa I.*

The same Summer, viz. 1531, some *Algerine Corsairs*, commanded by the *Basha* in Person, took and brought in two *Neapolitan Gallies*, laden with Silk, from *Messina*, under the Direction of a bold Cavalier, named *Don*



*Luis de Sevilla*. Being lodged in the *Basha's Bagnio*, together with the other Captain, his Companion, where they met with *Don Juan de Portundo*, and the other six Captains of *Spanish Gallies*, who, as I observed, were taken by *Drub-Devil* and his Squadron, he began to inquire of them concerning the State and Number of the *Christians* then in Captivity at *Algiers*; and they all seemed to be of Opinion, that it was not impossible, nor even very difficult, for a Body of so many thousands to make themselves Masters of the City. These nine confederate Gentlemen, being fully determined, communicated their Scheme to several others, and found hem all ready to come into their Measures: *Don Juan de Portundo* wrote to his particular Friend, the *Spanish Governor of Bujeya*, that, among the Presents and Regales he was to send him and his Companions, against *Christmas*, he should not forget a But filled with Swords. This Request was punctually complied with, and that But was conveyed to the *Bagnio*, without Suspicion. It must here be noted, that there was then only the *Beylic*, or Publick *Bagnio* for the Slaves, which may contain about 2000 Men; the rest being dispersed in the City, or at the Farm and Pleasure-Houses: This *Bagnio* is open, for all to enter, till the Evening; as are those since built; of which something may be said in the Topography. One *Maestre Francisco*, a *Spaniard*, and the *Basha's* Smith, willingly made them a Set of false Keys, to open the *Bagnio* Gates, when there should be Occasion; as did likewise, another *Spaniard*, named *Marroquin*, the *Basha's* Artillery-Founder, cast for them a huge Iron Mace with its Chain, wherewith to break thro' barred and bolted Doors, &c. Matters were thus concerted, and in a tolerable Readiness, when *Christmas* arrived: And the *Christians* in the *Bagnio*, as usual at such Festivities, were making merry, and diverting themselves, each according to his Humour. Some of them happened to fall out at Cards, and a hot Dispute arose between one *Secundo*, a *Genoese*, and *Francisco de Almanza*, a *Spaniard*, who, according to *Haedo*, my Author, had been twice a *Renegado* among the *Mahometans*, in other Parts, and then passed for a *Christian* in the *Bagnio* at *Algiers*. This Quarrel being in Presence of the *Spanish Captains*, the contending Parties referred the Difference to their Decision; and they unanimously gave Judgment in Favour of the *Genoese*. His Antagonist the *Spaniard* resented this so far, that he perfidiously took an Opportunity to acquaint the *Basha* with the whole Conspiracy: And the better to convince him, he gave exact Directions where the Swords sent from *Bujeya*

lay conceal'd, in the *Bagnio*, and the Keys, Mace, &c. buried under a large Cask, in the Smith's Shop.

Tho' in the Affair of poor unhappy *Sotomayor*, this *Basba* may be said to have proceeded like a *Dominican*; yet in the Punishment of the Chiefs of this dangerous Conspiracy, he acted nothing but what would have been done, on the like Occasion, under the mildest and best constituted Government; tho', perhaps, with more Formalities, terminating in Breaking alive on the Wheel, after severe Tortures.

Astonished at the imminent Danger in which himself and the whole State had been, and from which he was not yet sure of escaping, the foaming *Basba* would not confide in any, but went in Person to the said Smith's Working-Place, and there found every Thing exactly answerable to the Description. The revengeful Traytor amply discovered who were Ring Leaders of the Plot, being seventeen in Number; not forgetting the nine *Spanish* Captains, his *Judges*, the Smith and the Founder.

December 27, 1531. N. S. About eight in the Morning, while the *Christians* were enjoying themselves, as little dreaming of any such Discovery, a Party of *Turks* came armed into the *Bagnio*; and two of them seizing each prescribed Criminal, dragged them all seventeen, with their Hands tied behind them, thro' the principal Street, to the Western Gate, called *Beb al Weyd*, and instantly hack'd them in Pieces with their Sabres. Nor durst any one, upon Pain of Death, presume to touch those mangled Carcasses, but there they remained, on Dughils, to be devoured by Dogs and Birds of Prey.

Thus miscarried a well-concerted Project, which, had it taken Effect, would have caused great Rejoicings in many Parts of *Christendom*. But I must not forget taking Notice of the Revealer of this notable Conspiracy. He, for the third Time, became a *Mussulman*, in Expectation of making his Fortune: But his Rewards falling far short of his Hopes, about six Months after, associating himself with a Slave of *Mayoreca*, named *Gabriel*, they set out, in order to escape by Land to *Oran*. In their Way thither, being suspected and seized by some *Arabs*, they were brought back to *Algiers*, where *Heyradin* ordered *Gabriel's* Punishment to be 200 Bastonades; but as Payment of the other's noted Inconstancy, he caused him to be cast alive into the Sea, just at the Mole-Head, with a Stone at his Neck. Such was the deserved Reward of an infamous, vindictive Villain.

A. D.

‡ The Inquisitors are of that Order.

A. D. 1532. *Mulei Hassan*, (corruptly named *Muleaffes*, &c.) King of *Tunis*, a tyrannical and avaricious Prince, being abhorred by great Part of his Subjects, more particularly by the Citizens of *Tunis*, whom he most oppressed, having sacrificed to his revengeful Humour many of the wealthiest and best esteemed among them, their surviving Friends, under hourly Apprehensions of being the next Victims, wrote secretly, and with the utmost Caution, to *Heyradn Basba*, at *Algiers*; intreating him to raise the greatest Force he conveniently could, and to free them from their Tyrant; promising him the Sovereignty of their City and the whole Realm. As *Heyradn*, in his younger Days, had contracted much Friendship and Intimacy at *Tunis*, while he resided there with his Brother *Barba-rossa*, he was very well acquainted with all those who had signed that Invitation. This being a Proposal not in any wise to be rejected, he returned in Answer, That they might absolutely depend on his Friendship: And that he would not attempt to succour them without a Power sufficient to render them effectual Service.

“ *Paulus Jovius*, and others, says *Haedo*, affirm, that he went in Person to *Constantinople*, to solicit Assistance from the Grand Signor: But several *Turks* and *Renegadoes*, then his Servants, have assured me, that he went not, but wrote to that Monarch, very pressingly, for a competent Number of Men, to enable him to leave *Algiers* and its Territories in Security, and to undertake this Expedition against *Tunis*; since, with very little Trouble and Expence, he hoped soon to make an intire Conquest of all *Barbary*, which he desired with no other View than that of annexing the same to the *Ottoman* Empire.”

This Letter, accompanied with many rich Presents for the Emperor *Suliman*, surnamed the *Magnificent*, and his chief Favourites, was committed to the Care of a faithful *Renegado*, having under his Direction two Gallies. That powerful and ambitious Prince liked the Message so well, that he instantly gave Orders for the fitting up forty large Gallies. At the Beginning of the succeeding Summer, A. D. 1533, this Fleet, extremely well appointed, having on board more than 8000 *Janizaries*, and a good Number of Artillery, with all other warlike Stores, set out, under the Direction of the said *Renegado*; with express Command not to approach *Tunis*, or any other Part of *Barbary*, till positive Instructions came from his Master, the *Basba* of *Algiers*, how to proceed. In Obedience to these Orders, the *Renegado* passed the *Phare* of *Messina*, plundering several Pla-

ces on the *Calabrian Coast*; which News reaching *Mulei Hassan*, he thought himself very secure; as little imagining that Armament to be designed against him, or his Dominions. *Heyradin Basba* had early Notice of all the Steps taken by his *Renegado*, from Time to Time; and the first of *May*, many Days before the Departure of that Fleet from the *Porte*, he had got to Sea, as if on Cruise, as usual, with eighteen very large Galeots, several of them little inferior to Royal Gallies, together with four others of a smaller Size, and fourteen Brigantines; for the Naval Force of *Algiers* was then considerable. Imparting his Designs to very few, he left his Favourite, *Hassan Aga* (of whom more anon) sole Regent, during his Absence, with the Title of his *Kayia*, or Lieutenant, and a competent Garrison, well supplied with all Necessaries. The vigilant *Basba*, having dispatched a Galeot in Quest of the *Turkish Gallies*, was, in few Days, joined by them off *Cape Bona*, near *Tunis*. Without Loss of Time the whole Fleet bore away for the *Goletta*, where, with wonderful Promptness and Diligence, the Land-Forces, Artillery, &c. were put on Shore very unexpectedly. Leaving a good Body to guard the Vessels and Provisions, he instantly began his March for *Tunis*, (distant about twelve Miles) with 10000 Fuziliers, and a few Field-Pieces. *Mulei Hassan*, amazed at this so sudden Approach of a resolute and dreaded Enemy, and having very little Time allowed him to put himself into a defensible Posture, and withal, conscious of the Detestation in which the Majority of his Subjects held him, rightly judging the whole Affair to be no other than a Thing concerted between them and the *Turks*, he deemed himself in no wise safe at *Tunis*; and so, with all possible Hastè, assisted by some Domesticks, and a few trusty Friends, he packed up as much of his Treasure as he could, and, with his Women, Children, &c. got away to his *Arab Allies*, in the Country, and from thence to <sup>h</sup> *Cairouan*.

Thus, without unsheathing his Sabre, or the least Opposition, *Heyradin Basba* got Admittance into *Tunis*, and, with loud and joyful Acclamations, was saluted Sovereign of all those States; insomuch that, in a very few Days, Deputations, with Offers and Vows of Allegiance, arrived from every Part of the whole Realm, except *Cairouan*, whither the Fugitive *Mulei Hassan* had retired. Unwilling to detain the Grand Signor's Gallies, at a vast Expence, when there seemed to be so little farther Oc-

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<sup>h</sup> Vide P. 144. 167.

caſion for their Service, he diſmiſſed them, together with moſt of the Land-Forces; every one very well ſatiſfied at his Liberality. What with ſuch *Janifaries* as he had culled from the Gallies, and his own *Algerines*, he kept with him 8000 *Turks* and *Renegadoes* incluſively. The next Step he took was to enlarge the Fort at the *Goletta*, which, from a Place of very ſmall Note, he ſoon rendered a conſiderable Fortrefs, mounted with a good Number of Cannon, and garrifoned with 500 Soldiers; in carrying on which Work, he employed many thouſands of *Moors* and *Arabs* from all Parts of the Country; which they undertook with the greater Alacrity, by reaſon that *Mulei Haſſan*, their diſpoſſeſſed Prince, whom they hated, was then actually treating with the Emperor *Charles V.* offering to become his Vaſſal, if he would vouchſafe to aſſiſt him in expelling thoſe Uſurpers, who, apparently, would prove troubleſome Neighbours to his Imperial Maſteſty's Subjects in the Kingdoms of *Sicily*, *Naples*, &c. and, indeed, to all the *Mediterraneans*.

Among Father *Haedo's* Martyrs, I meet with two, which may be properly mentioned on this Occaſion, tho' their Martyrdom happened a Year or two later. *Charles* the Emperor, being determined to aſſiſt *Mulei Haſſan* againſt the *Turks*, whoſe Neighbourhood to *Sicily*, &c. he liked not, pitched on an *Italian Cavalier*, of his Retinue, named *Luigi di Pazenza*, to convey a Letter to that Prince, at *Cairouan*; giving him, for a Guide and Interpreter, a certain *Malteſe*, who was well acquainted with the Country and Language.

It muſt be obſerved, that all the Natives of the Iſland *Malta* ſpeak the *Arabic* Tongue naturally: having, for many Ages, retained the Language of their Anceſtors, who were real *Arabs*; and, as is affirmed by *Aſiatics*, in the ſame Purity in which it was then ſpoken; at leaſt much more elegantly than the *Arabs* of *Africa*. What I know of the Matter is, that when a *Malteſe* firſt comes into *Barbary*, he is better underſtood by the Eaſtern than *Western Arabs*; but in a very little Time is not, by his Tongue, to be diſtinguiſhed from the People among whom he reſides. This to the Curious, by way of *Innuendo*.

The *Felucca*, on which they embarked in *Sicily*, landed them privately at Cape *Zafran*; from whence, as they purſued their Journey towards *Cairouan*, and had got more than two Days March on their Way, they unhappily fell in with ſome ſtragglng *Arab Cavalry*; who, upon Search, found the Letter, and ſuſpecting their Buſineſs, took them to *Tunis*, and, with

with their Credentials, delivered them to *Heyradin*. The poor *Maltese* (probably for his Expertness in the *Arabic*, and his Readiness to conduct thither an Enemy intrusted with such a Message) was immediately impaled alive; than which I believe no Death is crueller. As for the Envoy himself, he was shut up in the Citadel with some of the *Basha's* Slaves; who reported, that he expected his inevitable Fate with exemplary Constancy; and the next Morning was dragged about the Streets alive, till his Flesh was almost all torn away from the Bones: All which Inhumanity the unfortunate Gentleman, for the Service of his Prince, underwent with extraordinary Courage and Patience. This happened four Months before *Charles V.* took the *Goletta*, *A. D.* 1535.

These terrible Executions are not very frequent in *Barbary*, tho' there are others not much better, as may be hinted. All the Time of my being there, I never heard of above three Persons impaled, all which I saw, and shall mention: I, likewise, saw one Man and one young Woman dragged to Death, at Mules Tails, of which I shall elsewhere take Notice. Had these unhappy Persons gone any where else, in the whole World, on such an Errand, and been taken in the Fact, I fancy they would not have been thanked for their Officiousness: But were all who have lost their Lives as *Spies*, and the like, to be inserted in the *Martyrology*, it would be swelled to a most enormous, unweildy Volume.—*Paulus Jovius* mentions a certain *Genoese*, whom he names *Luigi di Profenda*, captivated by *Heyradin Barba-rossa*, near *Mabametta*, in the Kingdom of *Tunis*, as he was taking much such another Journey, and that he afterwards put him to Death, for giving him false Intelligence, and concealing the Emperor's Designs, while the Fleet was getting ready: But as the Circumstances, both in Time, Place, &c. are very different, I look on them to have been different Persons.

Tho' the prosperous *Heyradin Basha* found himself peaceable Possessor of this noble and opulent Realm, yet, as he had abundance of Reason to expect a Visit from *Europe*, he omitted nothing requisite for his Defense: And, as Money is the Nerve of War, by fair or foul Means, he pretty well squeezed his Subjects Purfes into his own Coffers. “Nay, not satisfied, says *Hacdo*, with all this, his own and the other Corsairs Galeots were perpetually scouring the Seas and Coasts of *Italy*, where, during whole Remainder Part of 1533, all 1534, and Part of 1535, they committed most unaccountable Outrages, without seeing any who offered to oppose their Progresses, or who even durst look them in the Face: Being in Effect absolute Masters in those Quarters.” Of

Of all these Disorders tho' his Imperial Majesty had due Intelligence, yet he was not presently able to apply any Remedy: But having concerted Matters with his Ally, *Mulei Hassan*, while a mighty *Armada* was preparing for the *Tunis* Expedition, now no longer a Secret, our wakeful *Basha* thought it high Time to provide against all Extremities. Accordingly, as he did not repose his whole Confidence in Fortune, he sent away to *Bona* (a maritime Town in the Mid-Way between *Tunis* and *Algiers*, about 300 Miles distant from each of those Cities) fifteen of his largest Galeots, (some say fourteen) in order to secure his Retreat, upon any Exigence.

This Expedition of *Charles* the Emperor to *Tunis*, and the Expulsion of the *Turks*, is minutely related by *Marmol*, and some others, to whom I refer every curious Reader. When *Heyradin Basha* found that all was lost, he, in good Order, drew off his *Turks*, of whom few were missing, and, with much Treasure, marched away by Land, and arrived safe at *Bona*. In some Measure to return the Visit, he immediately got fitted out his fifteen Galeots, with three others, and two Brigantines there before, and put to Sea. Several of his Captains proposed to him, that it was advisable for them to make the best of their Way to the *Levant*, in order to solicit the Grand Signor's Aid, to recover what they had lost; since they could not think it in any wise safe for them to pretend to abide in those Western Seas, where, sooner or later, the Emperor would not fail working their Destruction. At this Discourse *Heyradin*, being highly incensed, angrily replied: "To the *Levant* did you say? Am I a Man to shew my Back? Must I fly for Refuge to *Constantinople*? Depend on it, I am far more inclinable to go to <sup>1</sup> *Flanders*." And so, without communicating his Intention to any, he commanded them all to follow his Galeot, without troubling themselves to ask Questions.

In three Days he got under *Minorca*: And as it was universally known, that the Emperor was at *Tunis*, making War against the *Turkish* Corsairs, who had usurped that State, there was none who were under the least Apprehension of being attacked or molested by the very People, whose utter Extirpation the Flower of *Europe* had so heartily undertaken, and of whose daily Successes such mighty Things were rumoured, that their Ruin seemed inevitable: Insomuch, that those Islanders, as the Galeots approached, took them for no other than a Squadron detached from the *Armada*.

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<sup>1</sup> Alluding to that Emperor's being born in Flanders, and his frequent Residence in those Parts.

All this was no more than what the insidious *Heyradin* had projected ; for the better to beguile and confirm them in their Error, he hoisted *Spanish, Italian, &c.* Colours, and all or most of his Corsairs, who came in Sight, were dressed *a la Christianesca*. In this Equipage the eighteen Galeots and two Brigantines advanced, very orderly, rowing into the Harbour of *Mabon*, near whose Entrance lay at Anchor a rich *Portuguese*, by whom they were saluted as Friends ; but they instantly convinced them how far they were from being such ; for in Return to the Civility, they received a Tempest of Shot and Arrows. The Ship being large, and extremely well manned, tho' so unexpectedly attacked, was no very easy Prize ; for the *Portuguese* made a brave Defense, and few of them remained alive. Losing no Time, the Corsairs made up to the Town ; which, after a feeble Resistance, was entered, intirely sacked, fired and laid desolate. Upwards of 6000 Persons were made Captives, some Artillery, and much valuable Booty was carried off, and *Heyradin* departed well satisfied with his Adventure ; asking his timorous Counsellors ; Whether this was not better than going up to the *Levani* ?

Making all possible Haste over to *Algiers*, he soon arrived. The Joy and Satisfaction of his faithful *Hassan Aga*, and all the *Turks*, is not to be expressed. They had been informed of his being driven from *Tunis*, but knew not what was become of him ; and had ever since been in a terrible Fright, lest the victorious *Imperialists* should have followed their Blow, and set upon them while their Affairs were in none of the best Postures.

In a few Days, News came, that the Emperor had delivered the whole Kingdom of *Tunis* to *Mulei Hassan*, in Quality of his Tributary, on the Conditions I shall presently specify, reserving the *Goletta*, which he ordered to be well fortified, and another Castle to be built ; both which, being strongly garrisoned with Veterans, were, by the said King of *Tunis*, to be duly supplied with all Necessaries, both as to Money and Provisions : The *Armada* was all dispersed, and the Army disbanded. This made them easy.

But I must take Notice of a Passage, or two, which occurred at *Heyradin's* quitting *Tunis*. When he perceived the *Christian* Army likely to prevail in the Field, and his *Turks* utterly averse to stand the Brunt of another Engagement, tho' their Losses had been inconsiderable, his Design was to retreat into the *Casabba*, or Citadel, which is large, and there make a vigorous Resistance. But his Army as little relishing that Proposal as

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the other, and the Emperor being already on a full March, in order to incamp nearer the City, he sent speedy Orders to his chief Officer in the Citadel, a *Renegado* of his own, that, with the rest of his Associates, he should load his Mules with the best of his Effects, and throw Quantities of Powder down the Grates of the subterraneous Vaults, where near 7000 *Christian* Captives were confined, inhumanely to destroy them; and, when all was ready, march out, with the *Turks*, &c. in an orderly Body, and come to him at a certain Place, a few Miles distant. The *Turks*, beholding these Preparations, judged that the *Basha* was about to give them the Slip; and without farther Inquiry, snatched up their Arms, &c. and confusedly fled away, towards the *Turkish* Camp, which they found in Motion. When *Heyradin* saw their disorderly Approach, he concluded all was lost; and tearing his Beard, cried; Ruined! Undone! My Castle! My Treasure! Ah! Perfidious Villains! My Slaves are broke loose! Ah! *Infidels!* I am coming! And clapping Spurs to his Horse, without bidding any to follow, he ran furiously, without either stopping, or looking back, till he arrived at the Castle Gate; which finding shut, his Fury surpasses all Description. Some Officers, and a few of the *Turkish* Cavalry followed him, tho' he made such Speed, that none could keep Pace with him; so that he came thither quite alone. Conscious, however, that Rage would do him little good, "tho' his Eyes glowed and sparkled more than "burning Coals;" (says *Marmol* my Author) with most dolorous Sighs, he began to call by their Names some of his favourite *Renegadoes*, who had the greatest Share of his Benevolence, intreating them to give Admittance to him, their kind Benefactor, their indulgent Father. All these Ablandishments little availed; for the Scale was turned. The *Turks* had no sooner left the Castle, but those *Renegadoes*, (more particularly two of them) who were enjoined to set Fire to the Powder, compassionating the Condition of those Wretches, broke open their Dungeons, and gave them Liberty; exhorting them to defend themselves. When the principal Officer, named *Ramadam*, a *Renegado Spaniard*, while he was busied in loading his Master's Treasure, heard the Bustle and Noise the *Christians* made, in searching for Clubs, Staves, or what else came to Hand, with a few Followers he posted thither, killing some and wounding others: But unable to cope with such a Multitude, he hastily mounted his own Wife and young Daughter, and driving away the loaded Mules, repaired to the *Basha*; who missed him as he came, having taken another Way.

Notwithstanding the signal Piece of Service this *Renegado* rendered our desponding *Basba*, by saving an immense Mass of Wealth, yet his having neglected to bring off his Master's Women, as he had done by Part of his own Family, cost him his Life, upon their Arrival at *Bona*.

It was upon the Departure of this *Renegado*, with his Charge, that the *Christians*, and their Deliverers, then Masters of themselves, shut the Castle-Gate; and when *Heyradin* began to wheedle, they answered him with a Volley of Stones and Execrations; whereupon, finding how Matters went, and perceiving a *Spanish* Ensign hoisted instead of his own, and that they were making Signals to the *Christian* Army with Blasts of Powder, firing the great Guns, and the like, he thought fit to withdraw; his Beard faring very scurvily all the Way. Nor did he draw off from the Eminence where he had halted his Army, till he beheld the Emperor enter *Tunis*; and then, sighing and weeping, he departed.

Miserable was the State of that noble City; the licentious Soldiery, particularly the *Germans*, committing abominable Outrages, by the Confession of *Marmol*, a zealous *Catholic*, who, as I said, treats largely of all these Affairs. As the re-instated King, *Mulei Hassan*, judged he had little Reason to love, or wish well to its Inhabitants, he gave himself very little Trouble to intercede, or interpose in their Behalf; so that only some few came off tolerably, whom he had a Mind to favour: Infomuch, that if before he was hated by some whom he had injured, he from thenceforwards became univerfally detested: Nor did he escape unrewarded, as will appear. Besides the many thousands of the Citizens of *Tunis*, Men, Women and Children, who were slaughter'd and captivated at home, *Mulei Hassan* himself acknowledged, that of those numberless Families who endeavoured to escape to the Mountains, there perished in one Day more than 70000 Souls, chiefly Women and young Children, thro' mere Thirst and Weariness, exclusive of those who were made Slaves, and above 40000 who died by the Weapons of their merciless Pursuers, the *Spanish* Cavalry, and others.

Of the *Christians* few were slain by the Enemy: But, for the sake of Plunder, they butchered each other by thousands. The poor Slaves, who had seized the Castle, and were marching out with what Share they got of the Spoil left behind by the *Turks*, were the greatest Sufferers; being cut in Pieces by those insatiable *Catholics*, notwithstanding they had the pillaging of one of the finest and most opulent Cities in all *Africa*. As

*Marmol*, from whom, I say, I extract this, seems much better acquainted with these than with many other Affairs, I shall still add a few Particulars more of this notable Piece of History, tho' in Reality, somewhat foreign to my Purpose : Neither was it my first Intent. The Emperor was much displeas'd at *Heyradin's* Escape, being extremely ambitious of having in his Power so redoubted and so dangerous an Enemy. He wrote expressly to Prince *Andrea D'Oria*, that he should leave no Stone unturned to get him, dead or alive. Twelve Gallies went instantly upon the Hunt; but returned, *re infectâ*. But when the Prince had positive Information, that the *Turks* had taken the Road towards *Bona* by Land, to recover their Galeots, he hasted thither with thirty Royal Gallies, well provided: But the Birds were flown. As his Appearance frighted away all the Inhabitants, he easily made himself Master of the empty Nest; wherein finding little he liked, he left it: Tho' afterwards, another Imperial General, thinking better of the Matter, garrisoned it with 1000 *Spaniards*, 600 in the Town, and 400 in the Castle, under the Conduct and Direction of one *Don Alvaro Gomez Zagal*. This Place with some others on the *Barbary* Coast, taken much about the same Time, the *Spaniards* kept as long as the *Turks* would let them; which was not very long, as may, perhaps, be intimated.

But the Capitulations between his Imperial Majesty and his new Ally, or rather Vassal, the restored King of *Tunis*, are, to me, who know the Nature of the People, whose History I, partly, write, too particularly remarkable to be pass'd by in Silence.—I have already hinted, that in this Part of the Story, my Author is *Marmol*.

I. That all *Christians*, of what Nation soever, who, at any Time, or by any Means, shall be brought as Captives into that Realm, shall forthwith be set at Liberty, without paying the least Ransom.

II. That the Commerce, or Trade of *Tunis*, and its whole Territory, shall, to all sorts of *Christians*, be intirely free and secure; and that they may there settle, or reside, at Pleasure, erecting, if they so please, *Churches*, *Monasteries*, &c. and have uninterrupted Liberty publicly to exercise all the Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion.

III. That at no Time, nor on any whatsoever Pretext, the Kings of *Tunis* shall harbour, admit into his Ports, furnish with Necessaries, or otherwise favour and countenance any *Turkish*, or *African* Corfairs, to what Part soever appertaining.

IV. That

IV. That the *Goletta* shall remain to the Emperor, annexed for-ever more to the Crown of *Castile*, in such wise, that the *Moors* shall never once entertain the least Idea of attempting against it: And that, for the Maintenance of its Garrisons, the King of *Tunis*, and his Successors, shall, annually, disburse twelve thousand Golden Ducats; since those Troops are for the better Security of them and their Dominions.

V. That the whole Coral-Fishery shall perpetually remain to the Emperor and his Successors, Kings of *Spain*.

VI. Finally, that in Consideration of Favours and Obligations received, and in Token of Vassalage, the Kings of *Tunis* shall pay to the Kings of *Spain* an irremissible annual Tribute of six Horses and twelve Falcons: With which Articles, if they comply, duly and punctually, in such Case the Kings of *Spain* shall protect and defend them, and their Realm, against all Enemies whatever.

Had *Mulei Hassan* been the mildest, the best qualified, the most disinterested, the least rapacious, and the most open-handed Prince that ever existed, such Articles, such an Agreement, settled and concluded with *Christians*, particularly those sort of *Christians*, whom all *Mussulmans* and, I believe, more than any of the rest, the *Africans*, will needs deem no other than downright *Idolaters*; such Articles, I say, would, infallibly, have rendered him the Object of universal Abhorrence. A like Step ruined the King of *Tremizan*, as I may probably intimate; and this Prince I am treating of fared still worse: Nor was it long in their Protector's Power to protect either of those his Vassals.

That aspiring Emperor was, certainly, what the *Spaniards* call *Un Hombre de Altos Pensamientos*, A Man of High Thoughts. His History is well known; and worth Perusal. I never met with that *Spaniard* in my whole Life, who, I am persuaded, would not have bestowed on me at least forty *Boto a Christo's*, had I pretended to assert *Charles V.* not to have held this whole Universal Globe in a String, for four and twenty Hours, and then it broke: Tho' none had ever the Good-Nature, or Manners to inform, or correct my Ignorance in genuine History, by letting me into the Secret, when that critical and slippery Period of Time was. A very Great Prince he, positively, was; and, in many Particulars, remarkably brave

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<sup>s</sup> Vide P. 68. 76. 77. 83. 150. 151. 166. 167. & alibi.

and fortunate: But, reflecting on some Part of his Life, one would be apt to fancy, a somewhat distempered Brain to have been transmitted to him by his <sup>h</sup> Mother. Abundance of People in the World would scarce believe, the celebrated *Cervantes* to have drawn *Carlos Quinto's* Picture, in his inimitable *Don Quixote de la Mancha*; and yet (from very good Hands I have it) he, throughout, characterizes Him, or No-Body. In *Spain* they say; *De los Muertos, Bueno, o Nada*: Of the Dead, speak well, or say Nothing——But I digress most abominably.

*Heyradin Basba*, somewhat at Ease from his first Apprehensions, and feelingly, regretting the Loss of so fine a State as that of *Tunis*, determined, personally, to solicit *Sultan Suliman* for a powerful Re-inforcement, in order to its Recovery. Twelve of his largest Galeots, little inferior to Gallies, were got ready; the which loading with a great Number of choice Slaves, much Wealth, and several rare Curiosities, as Presents for his *Ottoman* Highness, and those in Power at that Court, and, having committed the whole Administration of his Affairs, public and private to his trusty Eunuch, *Hassan Aga*, he set out for *Constantinople*, about the Middle of *October*, 1535, and never more returned to *Algiers*: And tho' from thence forwards, nothing farther is to be said of him, as an *Algerine*, yet, as he lived several Years after, and was a Person so memorable, I ought not to drop him thus abruptly; especially, since, next to his Brother *Arouje Barba-rossa*, he was, indisputably, the Founder of all the *Ottoman* Acquisitions West of *Egypt*.

Near the *Morea*, in his Way to the *Porte*, his Squadron met with a *Venetian* Ship, which he rifled: Telling the complaining *Venetians*, that the Corsairs of *Algiers* were not obliged to regard Treaties set on Foot by the Grand Signor. Among the Plunder, certain Letters fell into his Hand, whereof he made good Use soon after. *Sultan Suliman* was extremely well satisfied at the Sight of, and highly caressed a Person, concerning whom tho' he had heard so much, yet he had never once beheld: Nor, indeed, had this successful *Renegado* ever set Foot in any Part of the *Levant*, since he first left it, in 1504.

Communicating the Letters to the *Sultan*, one was found to be from *Ibrahim Basba*, his beloved and much-regarded Grand *Wizir*, to the *Doge*

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<sup>h</sup> *Donna Juána*, Daughter to their *Catholic* Majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. In 1506 she ran distracted, upon the Death of that beautiful Prince her Husband, *Philip II*, this Emperor's Father.

and Senate of *Venice*, containing Matters and Discoveries highly prejudicial to the *Ottomans*, and most advantageous to *Chriftendom*. By the fame, it evidently appeared, that this great Prime Minifter had long carried on a Correspondence with the *Chriftian* Potentates, and more particularly with *Charles* the Emperor: But as he was a Man univerfally as it were idolized by the Soldiery, for his unparalleled Generofity, and great Affability, and confequently a formidable Perfon, the *Sultan* fcarce durft openly call him to Account, but had him privately ftrangled, and by Night caft into the *Bosphorus*. If I miftake not, this was the fame *Ibrahim*, whose Magnificence furnifhed the celebrated *De Scudery*, with a Theme for that famed Romance, intituled *The Illuftrious Bafha*. But I am not now at Leifure to examine into thofe Particulars; leaving that to be done by any who have fuch a Curiofity: Not but I believe my felf right in my Conjecture. Never had the *Turks* fuch an Emperor, nor had any *Turkifh* Emperor fuch a *Wizir*.

For this important Piece of Service, and on Account of fome Difguft *Sultan Suliman* had taken againft his *Captain-Bafha*, for his cowardly Behaviour in an Engagement with *Don Juan de Austria*, (Natural Son to *Charles V*, whom that Monarch fent with a Fleet of 100 Gallies to divert the *Ottomans*) but rather ftill to be ferved by a Perfon fo noted for Courage, Conduct, Succels and Experience in maritime Affairs, he foon after beftowed on *Barba-roffa II*. (fo the *Turks* all called him) that honourable Employ, which is High-Admiral of the Sea, with a moft extenfive Power; the which he generously refused to accept, till a Commiffion for Life was figned for his faithful *Renegado*, the Eunuch *Haffan Aga*, to be *Bafha*, or Vice-Roy of *Algiers*.

The *Sultan* foon found the Advantage of having committed the Care of his Fleets to the Management of that brave and fortunate *Renegado*. To enter upon a Detail of what was tranfacted under his Adminiftration, in that high Capacity, would not be fo agreeable to my Subject; befides other Hiftories will inform fuch as are defirous of being acquainted therewith: Nor, indeed, have I Room for fuch copious Digreffions; being my felf too apt to fall into others, which, tho' I may fancy them more pertinent, I know not whether fome of my-Readers may not be of a contrary Opinion.

But before I bid this Arch-Corfsair a final *Adieu*, the following Paflages may not be improper to infert. Thirfting to enlarge his Empire, and mightily

mightily desirous of the Kingdom of *Naples*; instigated by some *Neapolitan* Exiles, the ambitious *Suliman* designed perfidiously to break with the *Venetians*, chiefly encouraged therein by the treacherous Governor of <sup>1</sup> *Brindisi*, who had agreed with his Correspondent *Heyradin Barbarossa*, to deliver up that important Frontier, at his first Appearance with the *Ottoman* Fleet. Accordingly the *Sultan* took the Field, in Person, with an Army 200000 strong; while his *Captain-Basha* was making towards the *Dalmatian* Coast, at the Head of a powerful *Armada* of Ships and Gallies. This Admiral arriving at *Valona*, lay there some Days, waiting for Expresses from his Friend at *Brindisi*. Finding they came not, and hating Inactivity, he went to *Castia*, in the Territory of *Otranto*, and besieging it by Sea and Land, after a smart Battery forced it to capitulate. Mean while *Andrea D'Oria*, at the first Rumour of the *Turkish* Fleet, put to Sea with one and thirty Gallies; being all he had Leisure to get ready. Near *Corfou*, in the *Adriatic*, he surpris'd and took a Galeot belonging to *Barbarossa*. By Tortures he extorted from the Commander of that Galeot most of what the insidious *Captain-Basha* was projecting; at least as much as he, probably, knew of his Machinations. However the Treason of the Governor of *Brindisi* was laid open, and that Traytor had his deserved Reward.

Had this dangerous Scheme continued undiscovered a few Days longer, the *Ottomans* would have bid pretty fair for the best Part of *Italy*. This I fancy was the Time of which I have heard some *Turks* boasting, That they were once very near having a *Pope* of their own chusing. *Guicciardin*, near the Conclusion of his *History* of the *Wars* of *Italy*, affirms, this bold *Turkish* Admiral to have committed such Outrages on the Coasts of *Calabria*, coming up as high as *Caietta*, and totally sacking *Fundi*, which caused so terrible a Confusion and Consternation at *Rome*, that had he advanced one Pace farther, the City would have been utterly abandoned. All those Disorders were carefully concealed from the Ears of his Holiness, who was then much indisposed. This Author, indeed, seems to have misdated those Occurrences; fixing them in 1532. If so, all that Dread which seized the *Vatican*, must have been the Effect of only some Pranks of a Squadron of *Algerines*, who had the Impudence to exert

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<sup>1</sup> An ancient Maritime Town, strongly fortified, at the Extremity of Italy, where it borders on Dalmatia, near Valona and Durazzo. Of this Place Silius Italicus says;  
Nec non Brundisium quo desinit Itala tellus

themselves so near *St. Peter's* Neighbourhood. Nay, be it this Way or that, he is certainly wrong; since he says the Pontiff died that same Year, when it is obvious, that the famous *Clement VII*, formerly Cardinal *Julio de Medicis*, sat very near eleven Years in the Chair, died in *September 1534*, and was succeeded by Cardinal *Alexander Farnese*, or *Paul III*, who lived till 1549. So that, tho' *Guicciardin* mistakes in those Points, we may safely venture to depend on all the rest of the Circumstances as true History: Why else should they be mentioned by a Historiographer of such Gravity? Especially since it is no Boasting-Matter.

*A. D. 1538.* *Heyradin Barba-rossa* gained much Honour and Reputation, by challenging to an Engagement the united and very powerful Naval Armaments of the Emperor *Charles V*, Pope *Paul III*, and the *Venetians*, under the Direction of Prince *Andrea D'Oria*: But that renowned General, for Reasons best known to himself, thought proper to decline the Encounter. The ensuing Summer, he took *Castelnuovo* in *Dalmatia*, after a furious Battery, and the Destruction of 4000 *Spanish* Veterans, who all perished, with their Captain, *Don Francisco Sarmiento*, making a desperate Defense: And soon after he reduced *Catara*, *Napoli di Malvasia*, and *Napoli di Romania*, all which important Places he took from the *Venetians*; who, terrified at these severe Blows, which shook their State, menacing its Ruin, purchased a Pacification. A Disciple of this dreaded *Captain-Basha*, among many others, was the famous *Dragut Rais*, who became a most noted Corfair, as may be observed.

Peace thus concluded, *Heyradin* had nothing to do but enjoy the Regales of *Constantinople*, till 1543, when, at the pressing Instances of *Francis I.* King of *France*, to the Magnificent *Suliman*, Emperor of the *Ottomans*, he was again seen at the Head of 100 Gallies, in Conjunction with the *Gallie* Naval Forces, endeavouring to crush and suppress the exorbitant, growing Power of that active and restless Monarch, *Charles V*. In his Way to *Provence*, he pillaged and intirely desolated many Places on the Coast of *Calabria*. Passing by *Caietta*, the Governor *Don Diego Gaitan* imprudently fired a single Shot at him, as if in Defiance. This so exasperated the choleric *Captain-Basha*, that, tho' he had no such Design, he immediately landed 12000 *Turks*, and battered the Town, so much in Earnest, that he soon got Entrance. Among the Captives there taken, was the Governor's Daughter, a most beautiful Damsel, of eighteen; with whom he became so enamoured, that he married her; and in regard



to his new Spouse, releas'd both her Parents, and, without Delay, hasted away with her to *Marseilles*. Having there continued idle some Time, Orders came from his *Gallic* Majesty, that *Nice* (belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, one of his Opponents, as the Emperor's Ally and Father-in-Law) should be attacked. The *Captain-Basha*, a dear Lover of Action, instantly weigh'd, and enter'd the fine Harbour of *Villa-Franca*, East of *Nice*, about two Musket Shot by Sea, and by Land scarce more than two Miles distant. So feeble were the Fortifications of *Villa-Franca* in those Days, that the *Turks* carried it with all imaginable Ease, and laid it level with the Ground; but the Inhabitants, with most of their Effects, got away. From thence the *Turkish* Admiral march'd his Land Forces over some very rugged and difficult Mountains, for more than two Miles upon a Stretch, causing his *Janizaries*, &c. by mere Dint of Strength, to lug along all the heavy Artillery, in Slings, on their Shoulders. Descending to the Plain, he began a fierce and terrible Battery against *Nice*, ruining the Walls, with good Part of the City, killing abundance of Citizens, and utterly destroying all that delightful Neighbourhood: But, thro' the Mediation of some *French* Officers, who accompanied the *Captain-Basha*, upon Surrendry, the Survivors were spared and set at Liberty. But as the *Turks* were battering the Castle, tho' to very little Purpose, on account of its great Strength and advantageous Situation, on a very high Eminence, the *Captain-Basha* understood, that the Marquis *Del Gasco*, the Emperor's Vice-Roy, or Governor of the *Milanese*, was advancing, by long Marches, to succour the Place, with a great Army, he drew off in a Hurry, and repassing the Mountains, in the same troublesome Manner, got to *Villa-Franca*, and from thence, in his Gallies, to *Toulon*: There he was kept some Months, perpetually exclaiming against all that Loss of Time, which he judg'd might have been so much better employ'd. Autumn being come, and no Prospect of Action, he sent his old Friend, the brave *Salba Rais* (afterwards Vice-Roy of *Algiers*) with twenty two well-appointed Gallies, to do what Mischief he could to the Emperor's *Spanish* Dominions. This experienced Corsair, bearing down upon the Coast of *Catalonia*, plundered and ruin'd *Palamos*; after which he fell upon *Rosas*, where he did considerable Damage. This was the Cause why those Places were, afterwards, so well fortified. *Salba Rais*, having done his worst in those Quarters, retir'd to winter at *Algiers*, according to his Instructions from *Heyradin Barba-rossa*, who could never forget

the Place where he had made his Fortune, but continued its constant Benefactor and Protector.

A. D. 1544, Matters tending towards an Accommodation, between Charles the Emperor and King Francis, and the Squadron being returned from Algiers, the Captain-Basha departed from Toulon. Passing by the small Island *Elba*, near *Piombino*, in *Tuscany*, he sent a courteous Message to Signor *Apiano*, Lord of that Place, intreating him to dismiss a young Slave, Son to a certain old Corsair, named *Sinan Rais*, and surnamed, or nick-named *Chefout*, or *The Jew*; which quondam Intimate of his was then at *Sues*, in the *Red-Sea*, getting ready a great Fleet of Gallies, which the Grand Signor was sending against the Eastern *Portuguese*. For Answer, the Sovereign of *Piombino* sent Word, that he could not oblige him, by reason the said Youth was a *Christian*. To this the Captain-Basha told the Messenger, that in Default of an immediate Compliance, the whole Country should be ruined with Fire and Sword. Without much waiting, some Troops were landed on the Island *Elba*, much Mischief done, and most of the Inhabitants made Captives: So to prevent farther Calamities, the *Mussulman-Christian* was set on board the Admiral Galley. It is reported, that his Father no sooner saw him, but he dropped down dead, thro' Excess of Joy and Surprize. Soon after the Captain-Basha ransomed *Dragut Rais*, from the *Genoese*, as shall be observed when I treat of that notable Corsair, which Ransom-Money cost *Christendom* very dear; since *Dragut* repaid himself with Interest. Next he landed a Body of *Turks*, who took, rified and desolated *Telamon* and *Port-Hercules*, with several inland Towns and Villages, dragging away into a wretched Captivity great Numbers of *Christians*, of all Ages and Conditions. From thence he advanced to the Coast of *Naples*, plundering the Islands *Ischia* and *Prochita*; and farther on did the same to *Lipari*, near *Sicily*; from which three Islands he carried off several thousands of Souls. Then, returning home, at the End of 1545, he thus bad Farewel to the fluid Element; this being his ultimate Expedition.

The Years 1546, 1547, and Part of 1548, he employed in Building. He erected and nobly endowed a most magnificent Mosque, and near it a stately Dome, for his own Sepulcher, about five Miles from that large Suburb of *Constantinople*, called *Galata*, not far from the Coast, a little before the Mouth, or Entrance of *Kara-Dengis*, or the *Black-Sea*: All which Shore is adorned with most beautiful and delicious Gardens, Vineyards.

yards and Pleasure-Houses, not unlike the fine *River* of *Genoa*. At *Constantinople* he, likewise, built a very large and commodious *Bagnio*, or Public Bath, which brought in a considerable Revenue; and which was highly coveted by some *Turkish* Grandees; as, upon one Occasion, I shall instance.

May 1548, this great Man was seized with a violent Fever, which in fourteen Days carried him off, to the general Regret of the whole *Turkish* Nation, by whom he was highly beloved, esteemed and revered: But his great Master, *Sultan Suliman*, was inconsolable. The *Turks* report, as a certain Truth, (believe them who will, for me) that his Corps was found, four or five Times, out of the Ground, lying by the said Sepulcher, after he had been there inhumed: Nor could they, possibly, make him lie quiet in his Grave; till a *Greek* Wizzard counselled them to bury a black Dog together with the Body; which done, he lay still, and gave them no farther Trouble.

What is Matter of Fact is, that the Memory of this famous *Renegado* is yet held in such Veneration among the *Turks*, particularly the Seafaring People, that no Voyage is undertaken from *Constantinople*, by either public or private Persons, without their first visiting his Tomb, whereat they say a *Fedha*, or formulary sort of Prayer for Success, being the first Chapter of the *Al-Coran*; saluting the Remains of so efficacious an Intercessor with repeated Volleys of great and small Fire-Arms, both at their Arrival and Departure: All which is done with much Ceremony and singular Solemnity.

He lived to see one of those critical and reputed dangerous Periods of Human Life, called the *Gran Climacterias*, dying in his sixty third Year. His Stature was advantageous; his Mien portly and majestick; well proportioned and robust; very hairy, with a Beard extremely bushy; his Brows and Eye-lashes remarkably long and thick: Before his Hair turned grey and hoary, it was a bright Auburn; so that the Surname *Barba-rossa*, or *Red-Beard*, was conferred on him, rather to preserve the Memory of his Brother *Arouje*, than from any Title he had to that Appellation. Towards the *Christians* he was very cruel; but to the *Turks* exceeding humane: Not but that they much dreaded and revered him; since, being once incensed, he was not to be appeased. He left only one Son, named *Hassan*, born of an *Algerine* Woman; which Son inherited all his vast Wealth, and was, as will be observed, thrice *Basha*, or Vice-Roy of *Algiers*.

## C H A P. V.

## BASHA II. HASSAN AGA, SARDO.

**H**ASSAN AGA (as I exclude *Arouje Barba-rossa*) is to be reckoned the second *Basha*, or Vice-Roy of *Algiers*. As the Surname *Sardo* implies, he was a Native of the Island *Sardinia*; taken thence, when just past his Infancy, by *Heyradin Basha*, among other Captives, at the ransacking of a Village. His Patron took a singular Liking to him, on account of his promising Aspect and uncommon Vivacity; and soon caused him to be castrated: Which Mark of Affection, perhaps, the Patient would willingly have excused: But who such Favourites among the Grandees of the East, as their Eunuchs? On that Account he was always called *Aga*, as are generally those Demi-Males; tho', as is well known, *Aga* has a quite different Signification. Every Eunuch is an *Aga*; tho' every *Aga* is not a Eunuch: Like as all Nobles are Gentlemen, tho' all Gentlemen are not Nobles. Pardon the Simile; which I introduce not by way of Comparifon. As he grew up, his Patron's Love towards him increased, and he treated him no otherwise than if he had been his own Son; giving him, when capable, the whole Management of all his domestic Affairs, as his Grand Steward, Treasurer, and, indeed, Director of all Things under himself. Next he sent him into the Field, in Quality of *Bey-ler-Bey*, or Generalissimo, q. d. Governor of Governors; a Title long since disused in *Barbary*. The Grand *Turk* allows it to only two of his great Officers; one in *Asia*, and the other in *Europe*: This is called *Rumuli Begh-ler-Begh*; the other *Anadol Begh-ler-Begh*. In all the Expeditions *Hassan Aga* made into the Provinces; he never failed gaining Reputation and Respect; being highly esteemed by the *Turks* who served under him, and both loved and feared by the Natives; ever deporting himself with Courage, Prudence, Conduct and Equity: Insomuch that he bears the Character of having been the very best Governor the *Algerines* ever had, more particularly on account of his strict Observance of Justice, which was never so much regarded as under his Administration.

Endowed with these rare and amiable Qualifications, no Wonder that his Patron, *A. D.* 1533, made Choice of him to supply his Absence, while

while he undertook the Reduction of *Tunis*. Nor was the superior Capacity of this notable *Renegado* Eunuch ever put to a severer Trial, than it was when News came of his Master's being driven from *Tunis*, and fled none could tell him whither. It required a Person of no meaner Genius, no less Constancy, or inviolable Fidelity than himself, to appease that universal Anarchy, or prevent the Citizens from deserting their Habitations, and the unruly Militia, in that Consternation, from rifling the Treasury, pillaging the City, and shifting for themselves in what Vessels they could lay Hands on, after having committed a thousand Disorders: And yet, by his prudent Conduct and undaunted Resolution, all those dangerous Commotions were pacified; and his Master found Matters in a far better Condition than, as he acknowledged, he ever could have hoped, or expected.

*A. D. 1535.* From this Year, in which *Heyradin Barba-rossa* went up to *Turkey*, we may date *Hassan Aga's* Administration: And if *Algiers* and its Territory can ever boast of having been a happy Region, it must have been during the first six Years of his Government. But, before that Time was completed, an impending and seemingly scarce avoidable Storm apparently threatened its utter Subversion.

*A. D. 1541.* Under the Pontificate of *Paul III.* who incensed and scandalized at the frequent Devastations made by the *Algerine* Corsairs, not only elsewhere, but even in the Ecclesiastical State, used earnest Sollicitations with the Emperor *Charles V.* that he would exert himself to the utmost, and root out that Pest of Mankind, the Western *Turks*. Nor was that Monarch backward of himself; neither wanted he Instigators continually at his Elbow. The Marquis *De Comares*, Governor of *Oran*, strenuously espoused the Cause of Prince *Salem's* Son, who, as some affirm, was constantly either with him, or at the Emperor's Court; and that the only Consideration which with-held him from becoming a good *Catholic* by Profession, as he already was in Heart, was the Consciousness of rendering himself thereby wholly unacceptable to all his Subjects in general, whom he passionately longed to govern.

These Motives, added to *Don Carlos's* own natural and unquenchable Thirst for Glory and Empire, determined that active Prince to equip a most tremendous *Armada*, of no less than 500 Bottoms of all Sorts, and in Person to free the World from so grievous an Eyefore, as the Corsairs of *Algiers*; and when he had destroyed them to make an End of the  
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rest. So many Authors having given the Detail of this unfortunate Expedition against *Algiers*, I shall be very succinct in relating all Passages which do not immediately regard *Hassan Aga*, who had here another smart Trial of his Capacity: Yet I ought not to be wholly silent in respect of this remarkable Event, so nearly regarding my proper Subject.

The Emperor, with good Part of this royally-provided and mighty Fleet, cast Anchor in the Bay of *Algiers*, having on board a numerous Land-Army composed of *Germans*, *Italians*, *Spaniards* and *Islanders*, of all which Forces the infamously famous Duke *De Alva*, of bloody and inhumane Memory, under him, was Generalissimo: This was *October*, 26. 1541: Which, *inter nos*, was about five Months too late in the Year, to hope for any Good thereabouts: But the *Spaniards* commonly move with Gravity: Nay, *Don Bernardino de Mendoza*, with the *Spanish Armada*, was still some Days longer before he appeared. Mean while the Weather growing stormy, the Troops were so put to it at landing, that most of them were forced to wade up to the Neck in Water. However, the Emperor got ashore with a good Body, and incamped as best he could, pitching his own Pavillion on the very Eminence where now stands a Castle, called by the *Christians*, The Emperor's Castle; of which more shall be said in the Topography. But before the rowling Sea would permit him to attempt landing, he sent ashore a noble *Spanish Cavalier*, named *Don Lorenzo Manuel*, with a Flag of Truce, to treat with, or rather summon *Hassan Aga* to a Surrendry. I shall deliver the Substance of this Gentleman's Embassy in almost the Words of those Rival Authors, *Haedo* and *Marmol*: For all one meets with elsewhere, is, I take it, little else but what others have borrowed from them, and cooked out after their own Methods.

What the first of those Historians says, is to this Purport. If ever any Prince, or Governor, shewed himself courageous, wise and prudent, certainly that gallant Eunuch did so, upon this Occasion. Finding himself attacked by so powerful a Monarch, so successful in his Undertakings, at the Head of such a formidable *Armada*, and such a Body of intrepid Warriors, while he had scarce 3000 *Turks* (tho' he had a good Number of *Moriscoes*, *Arabs* and *Africans*) there appeared not in him the least Sign of Fear, or Dismay; but, perpetually riding up and down, thro' the City, where every one was in the utmost Consternation, he singly inspired each depending Breast with Resolution and Disdain. When the Emperor sent him the said *Cavallero*, to acquaint him, That in case he submitted, and delivered

delivered up the City, his Imperial Majesty promised favourable Treatment to all the *Turks*; and to himself, in particular, many Tokens of Favour and Indulgence. To this, with a good Air and Grace, he pleasantly returned; "That he always should take for a very great Fool that Person who followed the Counsel of an Enemy: Adding, that he hoped the Emperor's Visit would prove an Honour to himself, and gain him some Reputation in the World."

*Marmol*, a far more circumstantial Writer, says to the following Effect. His Imperial Majesty's Envoy was, by that *Renegado*, courteously received; to whom he delivered himself in such Terms. "You perceive all *Christianity* at your Gates, to chastise the Corsairs of this City, for the Depredations they have committed; Which Chastisement will be executed with far greater Rigour than is well to be imagined; except you chuse a salutiferous *Medium*, wholly conducive to your Happiness and Security; which is no other than your immediate Surrendry of the City, and your Submission to the invincible Emperor, who well knows how treacherously this Place was surpris'd and taken from its rightful Owner, *Salem aben Toumi*, by the Murderer *Arouje Barba-rossa*, and since, by his Brother *Heyradin*, fortified to the Destruction of Mankind. If to these reasonable Propositions you conform in Time, and deliver up the Place to the Emperor, who demands it in Person, in his Imperial Majesty's Name I assure you of his Favour and Protection, both in Peace and in War; and that all the Inhabitants, as well *Turks* as *Moors*, &c. shall have free Liberty to depart, with their Families and Effects, wherever they shall think proper." He farther put him in Mind of his being born in the Emperor's Dominions, of *Christian* Parents, Vassals to that Monarch; and that he ought in Duty, both to God and his Sovereign, to return to the only true Faith, and enjoy the good Graces of so mighty a Prince, using his best Endeavours to revenge himself on that inhumane *Barbarian*, that Tyrant, that faithless Corsair his Master, who had both captivated and emasculated his Body: Exhorting him withal, speedily to come to a Resolution, and not to wait the terrible Assault of the furious Army; since if he was so unadvisedly temerarious, himself and all his People would, infallibly, undergo the like Fate with those of *Tunis*. Moreover, he made him certain secret Proposals, which somewhat staggered *Hassan Aga*, and held him a little in Suspense: But a *Renegado* of *Malaga*, named *Al-Caid Mahomet*, of a *Jewish* Extraction (who was after-

wards Sovereign of *Tajora*, near *Tripoly*, with a Regal Title) brought him to a Determination. This Person, who was much considered, being informed, that *Hassan Aga* was disposed to relent, he accosted him, accompanied by several *Turks* and *Renegadoes*, saying; “ We hear, my Lord, “ that you are about treating with the *Christian* Emperor, and are inclined to give him the City. Banish from your Thoughts every Imagination of this Nature: It neither consists with our Duty to the *Ottoman Sultan*, nor will we ever listen to any thing that tends to our quitting a Place which has cost us so much Sweat and Blood to acquire and maintain.” This wrought the desired Effect: For *Hassan Aga*, turning to the Emperor’s Envoy, in whose Presence this passed, with a Sort of a disdainful Smile, said; “ I look on him as a Fool who goes about to advise his Enemy. Let me know, pray, in what it is that your Emperor reposes the Confidence he seems to have, of making himself Master of *Algiers*.” Whereupon *Don Lorenzo*, pointing towards the Sea, replied; “ His Confidence lies reposed in yon Artillery, and those unconquerable Troops on board that dreadful *Armada*, with which very Men he took from *Barba-rossa*, your Master, the Castle of the *Goletta*, and the City of *Tunis*.” “ No, no! returned *Hassan Aga*; “ We, for our Parts, will defend our Walls better than they did theirs: We pretend, that this City, already famous for the Defeat of two of your *Armadas*, shall become far more so by the Disgrace of this your third, led hither by your Emperor in Person.” So without vouchsafing another Word, the Envoy was dismissed.

The same Author affirms *Hassan Aga* not to have had then at *Algiers* above 800 *Turks*, most of them Horse; upwards of 300 having lately gone to the West, with a certain *Persian* Captain, named *Al-Caid Marjan*, to serve the King of *Morocco*. This *Persian* Traytor perfidiously murdered that Prince, who entertained him and his Followers in good Pay, as he was, “ with Pleasure” says the *Spanish* Author, beholding those his *Turkish* Guards exercising on Horseback. Most of them were, soon after, overtaken, by Prince *Abdallah*, deprived of the Plunder of the slain King’s Tents, and themselves, almost all, deservedly lanced, or cut in Pieces: So that the 3000 *Turks*, mentioned by *Haedo*, were, apparently, made up of those who hastened home with the usual Camps, which were gathering Tribute. Besides these, the City Forces were about 5000 Fire-Arms, *Moriscoes* and *Africans*: These might be depended on. As for such as

would



would be most prone, on all such Occasions, to flock from abroad, ever ready to fall on the weakest, if a foreign Army should, or rather could make any considerable Stay, their Multitudes would, at length, become infinite: But, generally speaking, after the first Mischief done, the *Turks* of *Algiers* would be much more desirous of their Room than their Company. I have several Times known a Body of *Algerines* disheartened at finding themselves environed by a Number of *Arabs* and *Africans* who came in as Friends and Auxiliaries, against others their Compatriots: Some Instances may, perhaps, occasionally offer. Upon this Occasion, indeed, the *Arab* Cavalry, of the Neighbourhood of *Algiers*, did the *Turks* good Service, being very troublesome to the *Christian* Army, whom they incessantly annoyed from every Quarter; all which unintermitting Alarms tired them out; and as the Roughness of the Sea prevented their landing Tents and other Necessaries, the succeeding vehement Deluges of Rain rendered their Incampment superlatively comfortless. Yet all those Calamities were nothing in Comparison to what followed.

But, previous to the lamentable Catastrophe, take a few Heads of the Particulars, from *Marmol*, who here seems pretty exact, and withal tolerably impartial. *Viz.* No sooner had *Hassan Aga* dismissed the Envoy, but he proclaimed, on Pain of immediate Death, that no Person whatever should presume to remove Family, or Effects from the City: And, with consummate Prudence, Care and Diligence, he visited all the Stations, allotting requisite Guards, and providing every thing necessary for a vigorous Defense. The Emperor had lodged his Army separately, divided into three Bodies, consisting of the three distinct Nations his Subjects, *Germans*, *Spaniards* and *Italians*. On the third Day from his Incampment, *Hassan Aga*, at the Head of the Bulk of his Troops attacked the *Italian* Quarter, just before Day-Break: As he took them unawares, and it had rained considerably in the Night, their Matches were all out, and most of their Powder wet; insomuch that the *Algerines* broke into the very Trenches, and did them some Mischief; they not being able to withstand that furious Onset. But rallying, they repulsed the *Turks* with Slaughter, driving them back to the very Town; and so well pursued their Advantage, that it was supposed, that had not the *Turks* so soon shut the Gate as they did, the *Christians* would that Day have entered the City. But finding the Entrance impeded, and themselves galled with great and small Shot from the Ramparts, to get out of the Enemy's Reach they re-

ired in some Disorder. On this Occasion the Knights of St. *John's* Order, (or of *Malta*) highly distinguished themselves; advancing with a Guidon to the very Gate; and one of them there left his Dagger sticking. And when those brave Cavaliers beheld the People all retiring, they drew up in a Body under their Colours, and retired themselves in good Order, without once quitting the Rear-Guard, tho' they were very remarkably conspicuous from all others, not only by their singular Valour, but likewise by their scarlet Upper-Garments, with white Crosses, which they wore over their Armour; notwithstanding the *Turkish* Horse, who were incamped at some Distance without the City, pursued them eagerly, killing the Guidon, or Standard-Bearer, together with some Cavaliers. Thus *Marmol.*

Now, to give one more brief and not impertinent Specimen of the different Ways of telling the same Story, almost every where observed by those two Authors, let us turn to the Account given us of this Passage by the seemingly less partial *Haedo*. Among other Encomiums he bestows on *Hassan Aga* (some of which I have already set down, and may take Notice of the rest) he uses Words to this very Purport. *Viz.*

Whenever any Skirmish, or Action happened, and particularly in that notable Encounter, talked of by the *Turks* to this very Day, when the Cavaliers of *Malta*, gathering into a Body, broke and defeated a strong Party of *Turks*, and advanced so far as even to stick their Daggers in the City Gate, called *Beb-Azoun*, it was *Hassan Aga* himself who, in Person, repaired thither with the utmost Diligence, to remedy that Disorder; when charging on Horseback he repulsed those Cavaliers, forcing them to retire, and following them above a good half-Mile<sup>a</sup> without the Town, where more than 150 of those gallant Gentlemen were slaughtered; the which put the whole Army into so terrible a Consternation, that the Dukes *De Alva* and *De Sessa*, with Sword and Target, were obliged to run, in great Confusion, to succour the Remainder of the Cavaliers: Nay, the Emperor himself was forced, precipitately, to come down from the Mountain, where his Pavillion was, such dreadful Havock was *Hassan Aga* making; himself personally laying about him with indescribable Bravery: And to this Day, the Place where those valiant Gentlemen bravely lost their Lives, is usually pointed to by the *Turks* themselves, who

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<sup>a</sup> There was then in that Quarter a very considerable Suburb.

call it the *Cavaliers Sepulcher*, and largely commend their Gallantry.

Whoever reads this Author over, by the apparent Virulency with which he most frequently treats the *Mahometans* in general, will readily conclude, that he never praises but where the Party really deserves rather more than less than what he bestows: For in many Instances he is extremely partial.

Often it has been remarked, that the very Elements, the Tempests themselves, have seemed to fight for the no less tempestuous *Algerines*. Between twelve and one, that same Night which succeeded this Engagement, so furious a Hurrigan of Winds arose, accompanied with such Deluges of Rain, that no Condition could be more wretched than was that of the *Christian* Army. None except the chief Officers had any Tents, or the least Shelter: What little Provision the bad Weather had permitted them to get ashore, was already consumed in those three Days since their landing: No Rest had they, either by Day or Night; the *Moors* and *Arabs*, as I said, keeping them in continual Alarms. Amidst all the Horrors of this dark and inauspicious Night, sunk to the Knees in Mire, in that luxuriant, pingued Soil, the Out-Guards were attacked by a great Band of *Turks*, *Arabs* and *Africans*; who, finding a too feeble Resistance, did just what they pleased; nor had they retired so soon as they did, had not the Emperor himself come down with his own Battalions. As the Light increased, the Scene appeared still more horrible. The Ships in the Bay had either broke their Cables, or lost their Anchorage, driving about at Sea and dashing each other to Pieces, or else running ashore and bilging on the Rocks and Strands: The same Fate attended all the Ships which had doubled the Promontory of *Apollo*, as some that Cape a few Miles West of *Algiers*, named by the Natives, if I forget not, *Cashina*. Soon was the Sea and Shore seen covered with Pieces of Wreck and drowned Bodies. The Country *Moors*, beholding this Destruction, swarmed to the Sea-Side; and as the poor People were driving ashore, and in hopes of getting to the Camp, they were piteously stripped naked and pierced thro' with Lances, by those merciless *Africans*, of both Sexes, who were there waiting. The number of Square-Sailed Vessels only which perished that Day, was no less than 140. As for the Gallies in the Bay they had rode it out all Night upon their Cables, by mere Force, as it were; and as the Storm still continued raging with greater Fury, than ever, no longer able to sustain its Impetuosity, they ran aground,

thinking to escape: And landing in great Multitudes, dropping wet and quite tired, surrendering without offering to resist, they were every one most inhumanely butchered.

The Emperor's magnanimous Behaviour amidst all these Calamities was most remarkably exemplary. He comforted the Afflicted with great Serenity of Mind; and in order to satisfy the hungry Stomachs of his half-starved Troops, he caused all the Horses to be killed, beginning with his own. When the Tempest was somewhat abated, he sent Orders, that the miserable Fragments of his *Armada* (for some Ships and Gallies had found Shelter in the *Baleares* and upon the Coast, and were now returned in Sight) should repair to *Temendefust* (corruptly called *Metafuz*) four Leagues East of *Algiers*, and there wait his coming.

At that Place, where is a tolerable Harbour for Gallies, &c. was a large and most ancient City, as the Ruins testify: It has now a Castle mounted with twenty Cannon, of about forty Years standing, to keep off all Enemies Gallies from riding there, as they frequently used to do, especially those of *France* when *Algiers* was bombarded, as I shall largely observe. The Cape so called, with Cape *Apollo*, form the large Bay of *Algiers*: But of these Matters more hereafter.

The Army had all that Ground to traverse, close by the Sea, and a narrow but difficult River, called *Harrash*, to pass over, almost the whole Way being commanded by a Ridge of High-Lands, or Low-Hills, from whence they were very liable to be much annoyed by the Enemies small Shot as they marched along that narrow Strand, had they not detached the *Spanish* Veterans, to take that Way. They were formed into three Divisions of the foresaid distinct Nations; their Sick and Wounded all in the Middle. Arriving at the River *Harrash*, (about ten Miles East of *Algiers*, whose ancient *African* Name is *Saffaya*,) they found they could not ford it: Indeed, the crossing of that rapid River, where it disembogues thro' the light Sands, into the Sea, is extremely difficult, and even dangerous, after great Rains; the Stream running very swift thro' that narrow, deep Passage. Upon this the Emperor fixed his Camp, as best he could, on a certain Eminence, where are the Remains of an ancient City, named *Sasa*, which some call *Old Algiers*. One Side of that Eminence is defended by the Sea, and another by that River; so that its Approach by Land is not very broad. There the Emperor posted his best Battalions, to keep off the Enemy from attempting them in the Night; they having continued closely following

following the Rear, in great Numbers, as well *Turks* as *Arab* Cavalry and Mountain *Africans*. With Wreck Timber, picked up on the Shore, a Bridge was speedily formed, over which the *Germans* and *Italians* happily passed; and the *Spaniards*, who had marched over these High-Lands, going somewhat higher up the River, found a Fordage, not much above Knee-deep, which they got over without much Damage.

There has been a Bridge near the said Fording-Place; but it is quite ruined: I left them about repairing it; but fancy it is not done yet, having been long in Hand: The Indolence and Neglect of the *Algerines*, in many of those Public Affairs, are really surprizing, and can never be enough wondered at: There is scarce any thing like a Bridge in their whole extensive Dominion: Infomuch, that nothing is more common, than to be obliged to wait several Days, in the open Fields, exposed to Danger and many Incommodities, till the Abatement of Waters affords Passage, for even their Couriers, sent on the most momentous Errands: I may, perhaps, farther particularize.

The Number of Forces landed are reported to have been 20000 Foot and 6000 Horse; of all which scarce one third got safe aboard. The Order of their March, after landing, was the *Spaniards*, all Veterans, in the Van, the Emperor in the Center with the *Italians*, in whose Front went the Knights of *Malta*, and the Rear was brought up by the *Germans*. Each Division had three Field-Pieces. Some Battering Cannon were landed, with which the Emperor had fortified his Intrenchment; but the *Turks* and Natives affirm them to have all remained behind, the Emperor not being able to bring them off, tho' he bursted some and the rest were nailed up or buried. Of all this I remember not to have met with any Mention in the Authors I have perused: And in regard to the following singular Passage, they all are utterly silent. Nothing is so frequent and common in the Mouths of the *Turks*, *Renegadoes*, *Moors* and even the Slaves of *Algiers*, than that *Charles* the Emperor threw into the Bay the Diadem with which his Head was adorned, presently after getting on board his Galley; saying with great Emotion, and visible Concern, as he cast it from him; "Go Bauble! Let some more fortunate Prince redeem and wear thee!" Many *Spanish* Slaves and *Renegadoes* hold, that from thence-forwards the Kings of *Spain* look on their Crown as forfeited, and cannot wear any, till they make an intire Conquest of *Algiers*: And several have assured me, that, for many Years after, the best Divers were,

the whole Summer long, trying their Fortune, in hopes of lighting on so valuable a Prize. This is all I know, or can say of that Affair: Were it Fact, surely some Writer or other would have mentioned what is so worthy Notice.

So few Ships, or Gallies escaped the Fury of that outrageous Tempest, that notwithstanding the prodigious Slaughter and Destruction of Men and Horses ashore (these last being all slain for Food) exclusive of the Captives, there was so little Room for those who could get aboard, that the rest of the Horses in the Gallies, &c. were thrown into the Sea, to make Place for the People. Some have not scrupled to write, that the fine Breed of *Spanish* Horses became in a Manner quite extinct, and is not yet recovered: Nor were there fewer noble Families in Mourning, on this Occasion, than after the Defeat of the Invincible *Armada*, sent by this Emperor's Son, and Successor to the Crowns of *Spain*, *Don Philip II.* in 1588, to reduce and bring over to the Bosom of the Holy Mother-Church these rebellious Islands, and severely to chastise and make Examples of those contumacious *Heretics*, our Grand-Fathers. But in these Days, they were, generally speaking, passable good *Catholics*, there being several of our Nobility who were Knights of *Malta*, and their Gallantry taken Notice of in this *Algiers* Expedition: Tho' *S. Peter's* Successor had not much Reason to count our petulant King *Henry VIII.* among his most obedient Sons; he having lately given him such convincing Proofs of his Disobedience. Princes of his Humour and Resolution seldom fail of carrying their Point, or of making themselves respected and considered. In *Hackluyt* I meet with this remarkable Passage. That Monarch having sent Ambassador to the Emperor *Charles V.* Sir *Henry Knevet*, among other *English* Gentlemen of his Excellency's Retinue, was Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, of *London*, who, with Mr. *Henry Knolles*, Mr. *Henry Isham* and other gallant Adventurers of our Nation, would needs accompany his Imperial Majesty to *Africa*; by whom they were much favoured and regarded. What became of the rest nothing is said; but Sir *Thomas Chaloner* had a wonderful Escape. The Galley on which he was being dashed against a Rock, he swam as long as he was capable of moving a Limb; when his Strength being wholly exhausted, he luckily caught hold of a Rope, fastened to another Galley, and unable to use his Hands, he hung fast by the Teeth, tho' to the Loss of several of them, till he was taken up: Thus miraculously preserved, he at length got safe to *England*. The same  
Author

Author speaks of one *Peter Read*, Esq; whom that Emperor Knighted at his taking *Tunis*; which Gentleman died in 1566.

Tho' the Country *Moors* and *Arabs*, who lined the Shore and Strand as long as the Storm continued, butchered all the *Christians* who had the ill Fate to come within their Reach, yet Multitudes were made Captives; mostly by the *Turks* and Citizens of *Algiers*: And to reduce this Misfortune to a Proverb, some parted with their new-taken Slaves for an Onion per Head. Often have I heard *Turks* and *Africans* upbraiding *Europeans* with this Disaster; saying scornfully, to such as have seemed to hold their Heads somewhat loftily; "What! Have you forgot the Time, when a *Christian*, at *Algiers*, was scarce worth an Onion?" *Ulloa*, the *Spanish* Historian, whose Father was among the *Spanish* Troops, relates of *Don Antonio Carrero*, a Flag-Officer, that when he ran his Galley aground, a fine young Lady, his Mistress, most sumptuously habited, and adorned with many rich Jewels, got to Land unhurt: But that neither her blooming Youth, enchanting Beauty, costly Attire, humble Supplications for Life, or Prospects of Ransom-Money, wrought the least Compassion, or Consideration in the savage Breasts of the *Moors* and *Arabs*, who inhumanely pierced her thro' with their Lances. *Jannetin D'Oria*, Nephew to the famous *Andrea D'Oria*, was very near meeting the like Fate; his Galley being driven ashore, where it stuck fast in the Sand; but the Emperor sent him a timely Succour of some *Italian* Companies. That brave old Admiral, his Uncle, who dearly loved him, is reported to have said; "It was decreed, that *Jannetin* should be reduced to such Extremity, "purposely to convince the World, that it was not impossible for *Andrea D'Oria* to shed a Tear." This Admiral lost twelve Gallies, which were all his own. Authors compute, that only in the Storm perished upwards of 300 principal Officers, with more than 8000 Soldiers, besides Mariners and Galley-Slaves. Eighty six Ships and fifteen Gallies, at the Beginning of the Tempest, were lost in less than half an Hour: But *Don Bernardino Mendoza* saved all the *Spanish* Gallies in Port *Cashina* a few Miles West of *Algiers*.

The Retreat was so interrupted by the Enemy, or by *Hassan Aga*, who pursued close, that the Emperor was two Days longer (after having passed the Bridge made over the *Harraß* during the first Night) before he could reach *Metafuz*, or *Temendefust*, tho' the Distance is scarce four Miles, or thereabouts. With great Difficulty he got aboard; and was soon after

attacked by a fresh Storm, which threatened to complete what the first Tempest had left undone. Some Vessels were lost; particularly a great Galeon, having on board 700 *Spanish* Soldiers, and many chief Officers, sunk in the Emperor's Sight, to his great Regret. In a very lamentable Condition, they reached *Bujeya*, which Port had before afforded a seasonable Shelter to Part of the distressed *Armada*; as had, likewise, the now ruined and desolate Harbour *Tamagus*, then appertaining to the Prince of the <sup>b</sup> *Zwouwa*, otherwise called King of *Cucco*; who out of Hatred to the *Turks*, had granted the *Christians* free Liberty of that his only Port, nay, offered them the intire Possession of it; and had been actually raising a considerable Body of his Mountaineers, in the Emperor's Favour, which he was leading down, when News was brought him of the Misfortune which had befallen that his *Catholic* Ally. He afterwards conveyed a great Quantity of Provisions and Refreshments to *Bujeya*, wherein he did those near-famished and fatigued Troops a singular Piece of Service; they having already devoured all that Place afforded, and even caused a Famine. Monsieur *L'Abbe de Vertot*, in his excellent History of the Knights of *Malta*, says, that it was *Mulei Hassan*, King of *Tunis*, who, in Person, went with a prodigious Caravan of Provisions to *Bujeya*; but I very much doubt it; especially if that Succour was by a Land Conveyance: *Costantina*, and all those Eastern Parts, belonging to the *Algerines*, under almost the same Circumstances and Condition as at present; having, as I observed, been reduced, partly by Force but more by the Cunning and Prudence of the successful *Heyradin Barba-rossa*; and *Hassan Aga*, having been several Times in those Provinces, was well known and beloved: So that I cannot readily agree, that it would have been an easy Matter for the King of *Tunis* to have passed by Land, with such a Caravan, thro' that large Tract of Enemy's Country, as far as *Bujeya*, to which City and Harbour there is no coming, for the last three or four Days March, but thro' Mountains scarce passable, except with the Owners Permission and Concurrence. And as that learned and curious Historian makes not the least Mention of the Prince, or King of *Cucco*, whom *Haedo* and other *Spaniards* absolutely affirm to have thereby highly incurred the Displeasure of the resenting *Hassan Aga* and his *Turks*, as I shall soon intimate, I am intirely of Opinion, that *Mulei Hassan*, King of *Tunis*, was not the Person

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<sup>b</sup> Vide P. 69, &c. 232.



to whom *Charles* the Emperor was obliged for those seasonable Succours, at *Bujeya*, except he conveyed them thither by Sea; which seems not over and above probable.

Now I have mentioned *L'Abbe de Vertot*, whom I had not before perused, I cannot avoid taking some Notice of a few Passages to be found in his Works, relating to what I already have and am still about to handle. To pass by abundance of Misnomers, as *Horruc* and *Horace* for *Arouje*, *Eutemi* for *Aben Toumi*, *Gomara* for *Comares*, all in one Place, with a Multitude of others; whereby his Translator is led into the like Errors; and, among the rest, he will needs call the Person I name *Drub-Devil* (from *Cacha-Diablo* the *Spanish* Nick-name) *Devil-Driver*; when had he understood *Spanish*, and had perused any of the Historians of that Nation, who treat of these Affairs, he would with far greater Propriety, have made it *Bruise-Devil*, which is the Word's literal Signification: The *French*, indeed, has it *Chasse-Diables*, which is far from being right. But these are Blunders into which every Translator will, inevitably, fall if he too idolatrously adheres, or rather cleaves to his Original; more especially if he happens to be one of those, who has no Idea of any of the Languages from whence his Author translated: And, in Reality, we have too many, who, with a bare superficial, skimming Knowledge in the *French* (who as well as others, nay, perhaps, as bad as any others, make horrible Havock of foreign Names and Appellations) have the Assurance to exhibit *English* Versions of *French* Translations from *Spanish*, *Italian*, *Portuguese*, &c. For Example, among thousands of the like Stamp, What *English* Reader would ever dream, that, by *Circella* (in the same Page where the said Misnomers are to be met with, viz. V. 2. P. 62.) he means *Shershel*? It were to be wished, that every one, who undertakes a Version (especially one of any Merit; and it is Pity any others are suffered to appear) was well enough versed in History, and otherwise qualified to be able, upon some Occasions, to correct his Author; tho' not in the Manner as is done by a facetious Country-man of ours, I mentioned in P. 248. But to go on thus would be endless.

The daring Knight of *Malta*, according to *De Vertot*, who stuck his Dagger in the Gate of *Algiers*, was the Chevalier *Ponce de Salignac*, Standard-Bearer to the Order. He died of his Wounds, particularly of

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*Vide P. 264, &c.*

one with an envenomed Arrow, together with near eighty other Knights (tho' *Haedo* says more than 150) and about 400 Soldiers in *Maltese* Pay, at the great Slaughter made of those intrepid Warriors by *Hassan Aga*. He also notes a gallant *French* Cavalier, named *Nicolas Durand de Ville-gagnon*, who (to use his own Words) with an Impetuosity natural to his Country, threw himself amidst the Enemy, where being wounded in the left Arm with a Lance, by an *Arab* Horseman, and missing the Thrust he made at him with his Half-Pike, as he was extremely tall, and of Strength and Vigour proportionable to his Stature, he watched his Opportunity, while the *Arab* was turning his Horse, in order to second his Blow, and sprang up behind him, when with a mortal Stab in the Side he threw him to the Ground. I mention this Action of that brave Gentleman, because he is a Person of whom *L'Abbé de Vertot* says abundance, upon many other Accounts, particularly in regard of his vigorous and stedfast Defence of the deserving *De Kalier*, Marshal of the Order, and Governor of *Tripoly*, unjustly prosecuted for the Loss of that untenable Place, by that corrupt and partial Grand Master, *De Omedes*.

One *Correction* of his Translator's I must needs take Notice of, tho' somewhat unseasonable to be here introduced. He has it, that *Heyradin Barba-rossa*, upon his leaving *Tunis*, had no less than 22000 *Christian* Slaves, most of them his own, all which were every Night shut up in the *Casabba*, or Citadel, and which, dreading their Rising, he would have destroyed; in which he was much encouraged by *Drub-Devil*, whose real Name, it seems, was *Airadin* (rather *Heyradin*) a Native of *Caramania*; and, that he afterwards made himself Sovereign of *Tajora*, a few Miles East of *Tripoly*; then belonging to the Knights of *Malta*: But that, *Chefout Sinan Rais*, a *Renegado Jew* of *Smyrna*, another great Crony of his (whose Son, I said, that *Basha* forced the Prince of *Piombino* to release) diverted him from so barbarous a Resolution, for the present; but could not prevent them from being all double-fettered. It was not the enormous Number of those unhappy Captives that I boggled at, tho' I do not remember to have met with any who makes them much above 7000; a Number I look on full sufficient to be *actually shut up every Night in the Castle*; there being much Room and Conveniency for the rest in *Tunis*, as indeed the Author has it; and his Interpreter has thought fit to metamorphose the Word *Tunis* into *Castle*. To have cleared up all, the Author might have inserted both; And, soon after he says; that

the first Object which struck the Emperor's Eyes, at his Entrance into the said Castle, was the Chevalier *Simeoni*, a Knight of *Malta*, at the Head of 6000 of his Fellow Captives, whom the two *Renegadoes* had set at Liberty: Nor does it any where appear, that the other 16000 were suddenly vanished: Nay, the Eunuch *Hassan Aga* is there made to appear at the Head of 30000 *Arabs*, most of them Cavalry, continually harassing the *Christian* Army; whereas almost all agree, that the same Eunuch *Hassan Aga*, who so bravely defended *Algiers*, was Deputy-Vice-Roy of that City and State during his Patron's Absence at *Tunis*. The best Writers may be misinformed<sup>d</sup>: However, such Contradictions are apt to disgust, if not shock and confound a judicious, curious Reader.

Before I proceed farther, it may not be unnecessary to introduce a few Hints concerning this renowned Military Order, originally known under the Title of Knights *Hospitallers* of *St. John* at *Jerusalem*, afterwards Knights of *Rhodes*, and now of *Malta*. I the rather do it, because, if the *Barbary* Corsairs, and particularly those of *Algiers*, whose History I am attempting to write, have long been, and still are, the Terror of good Part of *Europe*, this noble Body of warlike and truly valiant Cavaliers, those avowed and eternal Enemies of the *Mussulman* Name, long have been, and continue still to be the Object of those Corsairs Dread, and a terrible Scourge to all Sea-faring *Ottomans*, and other *Mahometans*, within their Reach: And it is a notorious Truth, that the *Algerines*, and I believe all the rest of the *African* Cruisers, had rather encounter two Vessels, of any other Nation whatever, than one *Maltese* of the same Force; for from them alone they seem never to hope for any Mercy, or to expect Feebleness: And, without much Exaggeration, we may boldly venture to assert, that the Preservation of all *Italy* and its Islands, more especially the Coasts, has been, from Time to Time, in great Measure, owing to the indefatigable Zeal and insuperable Prowess of that Handful of daring Knights, seldom, I believe, 1000 complete, and they dispersed, among all whom one rarely meets with a single Instance of Pusillanimity; all which *Christendom* cannot deny without the blackest Ingratitude: Nor can any one, without deviating from apparent Truth, pretend to say, that the *Algerines*, under both the *Barba-rossas*, were not actually Lords and Sovereigns of the *Mediterranean*; they being then the only Cruisers, worth mentioning, on the whole Coast of *Africa*; neither had they any Enemy who durst look them in the Face, at Sea, notwithstanding the then Unwieldiness of

<sup>d</sup> Vide P. 1.

the *Spanish* Monarchy, till the Knights of *St. John*, after their eight Years wandering about, with their *Rhodian* Colony, to the exhausting the greatest Part of their Substance, began to be tolerably settled at *Malta*, which was not till after the Year 1530.

Some of the *Algerine Turks*, when in a good Humour, will call the *Maltese* Cavaliers, their *Brethren*; as being of the same Trade and Profession with themselves. In saying thus, they design them an Honour; and, I assure you, I know not of any others to whom they would allow that dignified Title; nay, not even to the *Ottomans*; whom they look on, and frequently treat as effeminate Poltrons. If a Slave, or other *Christian*, who, by way of Friendship, or Familiarity, may assume such Liberty, makes Answer, that the Knights of *Malta* are of the noblest Blood in *Europe*, whereas it is obvious, that few of the *Turks* in *Barbary* are better descended than from Cow-herds and such Sort of Gentry; the Reply will be somewhat to this Purpose: "All that is granted.—What care we  
 " whose Sons we are, since we can make your Fathers tremble in their  
 " Beds, and your Merchants Hearts ake, lest their well-lined Vessels fall  
 " into our Clutches? Do not these Right Arms of our make us considered  
 " wherever we go? Dare the Catamites whom, perhaps, our Fathers  
 " Tributes help to maintain, dare they treat us any otherwise than very  
 " respectfully? Actions, not Blood make the Man of Merit. The Son  
 " of a *Padesbau* (Emperor) may be a Dastard and a Scoundrel. Your  
 " *Malta* Cavaliers, you say, are all nobly born: So let them be. What  
 " we know of them is, that they are good *Corfairs*; they are *Men*; and  
 " as such behave. Were they, like so many of the rest of you, the Off-  
 " spring of *Balloc-ji-ler* (Fishers) we should be of the very same Sen-  
 " timents; and were they not Cross-kissing *Christians*, and so much our  
 " Enemies as they are, they would be very worthy of our Esteem; nay, the  
 " best of us would take a Pride in calling them our *Brothers*, and even  
 " in fighting under their Command. The Meaning of our saying, jok-  
 " ingly, We are *Brethren*, is because, like us, they partly live by the  
 " Spoils of such as are sworn Enemies to their Name and Religion; tho'  
 " they and all the rest of you, have the Insolence to term us *Sbandout-ler*,  
 " (Out-Laws) as if, like Pyrates we roamed the Seas with a *Black Flag*,  
 " and knew no Friend. Pray, how do you *Christians* treat each other,  
 " as well by Sea as by Land; tho' you fall down on your Knees before  
 " the same rotten Idol?" Thus, with abundance more in the like Strain,  
 talk

talk the *Western Turks*, at least many of them; but never, as I observe, but when they are in a good Humour, and are disposed to condescend so far as to be thus affable. Be the Affinity of Profession, and the like, between the Knights of *Malta* and the *Algerine Corsairs*, how it will, as likewise all the rest of the Story, I cannot but look on it as a very scurvy Comparison for those free-booting Varlets, who, in Effect, are little else, originally, than the very Dregs and Refuse of Mankind, to rate themselves with an illustrious Body, undoubtedly composed of the prime Nobility of all *Europe*, more especially of late Years; since the Order is now so superstitiously nice, that it admits none, tho' even of Princely Descent, except they were legally begotten, or at least born in Wedlock. I shall not, here, run out this Digression so far as to enter upon the various Manner these *Barbary Turks* have of descanting on the Merits and Demerits of the *Europeans*, tho' some of it might well enough bear a Rehearsal; but before I break off, and to avoid running the Hazard of forgetting it; perhaps, another Time, I shall give one Touch, which seems, in some Measure, to redound to the Credit of those *British Tritons* our Sea Commanders: "Other *Christians*, say they, when they are out of Hopes of over-taking us, will give over Chace: *Ma*, Ingлизе Giaur, *outch Giun* " *outch Gejab*, &c. But, the *English Infidels* will follow three Days and " three Nights, after they have lost Sight of us." You must take this course Compliment, Noble Captains, *rough as it runs*: Think you of it what you please; it really is a Compliment.

Perhaps some may read this who know little of the History of *St. John's Knights*: So a Word or two, to give something of an Idea, or at least to refresh the Memory, may not be wholly improper. Early in the fourteenth Century, when the *European Christians* were expelled *Palestine*, the Knights of *St. John's Hospital*, at *Jerusalem*, took the fine Island of *Rhodes* from the *Saraccens*, under the Conduct of *Foulques de Villaret*, a *French Nobleman*, their Grand Master. In that large and other small neighbouring Islands they made so good a Settlement, that they soon became very formidable to the *Ottomans*. *A. D.* 1480. *Mahomet II.* Emperor of the *Turks*, attacked them furiously; but they bravely repulsed him, after a three Months Siege. But the triumphant *Suliman*, the *Magnificent*, having, in 1522, reduced them to the last Extremity, their brave Grand Master *Philip Villiers*, *De l'Isle Adam*, also a *French Noble*, who had disputed the Ground and lost it Inch by Inch, and then by Treachery, obtained

obtained honourable Capitulations: Nor could the *Turks* have expelled them, had not all the *Christian* Potentates most shamefully abandoned a noble Order, which might be justly called one of the main Bulwarks of *Christendom*. Some thousands of loyal *Rhodians* generously chose to follow the Fortune of those their worthy Patrons and Defenders. Their Fleet of fifty Gallies and Brigantines, of all Sizes, suffered extremely, by stormy Weather, before they could reach *Candia*, anciently *Crete*, which fine Island then belonged to the *Venetians*, now to the *Ottomans*. Tho' the Remains of that illustrious Order of Military Knights brought off a considerable Treasure, yet what with the constant Maintenance and Subsistence of a whole Body of necessitous People, (their Colony consisting as I said of many thousands of *Rhodians*, besides the Knights and their Attendants) at the End of their complete eight Years Transmigrations, it was vastly diminished, or rather wanted but little of being quite exhausted. Their generous and indefatigable Grand Master, their common Father, wandered with his unsettled Flock, backwards and forwards, from *Candia* to *Sicily*, *Civita-Vecchia*, *Viterbo*, *Naples*, *Nice*, *Villa-Franca* and whither not! The far less generous Powers of *Europe*, not content with having, little to their Reputation, deserted so noble, so disinterested a Band of Champions, who never once attempted to add a single Inch of Ground to their Territory, tho' they were perpetually hazarding, nay lavishly expending their Blood, either in securing, or enlarging those of others, instead of aiding them, I say, in those Extremities, according to their real Merits, all the essential Assistance they could get was little else than a few external Grimaces: And as to the rest, their ancient *Commandaries* were almost every where seized on, the Revenues appropriated to quite different Uses, and themselves looked on and treated, barring some Compliments, as I hinted, as no better than so many idle and burdensome Drones; since they were no longer in a Condition to keep a Fleet of Ships and Gallies, and to make the World resound, as usual, with their daily Feats of Prowess, atchieved against the avowed Enemies of the Gospel, and no others. These are Truths too notorious to be denied. But, how frequently are the best of Services thus basely required! Pope *Clement VII.* indeed, of the House of *Medicis*, and originally a Knight of that Order, seemed pretty cordial in their Behalf; but he had enough upon his Hands to deal with that ambitious and over-grown Monarch, the Emperor *Charles V.*: As had, likewise, *Francis I.* King of *France*; which noble-spirited Prince

Prince gave the Grand Master a Royal Reception, accompanied with a Princely Donative, to facilitate his Recovery of *Rhodes*: But that well-laid Project, being detected, miscarried: All that the *Venetians* durst do in these Cases (as being, begging their Pardons, the *Ottomans* ever-lasting *Milch-Cow*) was to bestow an Inundation of faint, yet still more fruitless, Tenders of Friendship, Love, Service and Esteem, no farther presuming to exasperate their too formidable Neighbours the *Turks*; more especially when headed by the vigorous and never-succesful *Suliman*. Nor did *Don Carlos* himself suffer the aged, suppliant Grand Master, that renowned Hero of his Age, grown hoary in the Wars, to depart his Presence without somewhat of a Contribution towards forwarding so glorious an Attempt: Tho' by all I am able to gather from those who mention that designing, impenetrable Prince, is that he never parted with a *Maravedi* but with the View of pocketing a *Ducat*, if not a *Doblon*. But with such the World abounds! He, tho' not without a palpable View of raising a sure Bulwark to his *Sicilian* and *Calabrian* States, and, in fine, to a very good Part of the rest of his maritime Territories, made the Knights a Tender of the Islands of *Malta* and *Goza*; but on such inglorious, mercenary Conditions as may be read in History: And even that Favour was not to be thought of, without having the indefensible *Tripoly* tacked to the munificent Donative. A poor Exchange! A paltry Recompence for the exuberant *Rhodes*! A Place they abandoned not, till the Flower of Chivalry lay buried in its Ruins; and even then not without Conditions worthy themselves; considering their Enemy and Invader! For a Monarch, gaping at universal Empire, a Monarch, who had in his Gift so many fruitful Islands, to higgler for a scanty, barren Rock with a Body of prone Warriors, never sparing of their Flesh; and who, as they, for many Ages, had bravely fought the Battles of his Ancestors, continue still gallantly fighting those of his Successors and Posterity! At last, Pope *Clement VII.* having accommodated Affairs with that mighty Arbiter (tho' not till his Holiness had suffered a rigorous Imprisonment from that his undutiful Son, and *Rome* a severer Sack than it had ever undergone from the less savage *Hyperboreans*) he pleaded so efficaciously for the Knights, that the Emperor parted with the said Islands, with *Tripoly* and all, on easier Terms, and they hold them in Feof from the King of *Sicily*, with an annual Acknowledgment of one Falcon. But, as I am not writing the History of either *Rhodes*, or *Malta*, I refer those who want to be farther acquainted

acquainted therewith to *L'Abbé de Vertot* himself, or to his Translator: And shall only add, that as this barren, scanty Rock now stands, I positively deem it the most defensible Fortress in the Universe, none excepted: Nor could I well prevail with my self to omit saying thus much in the just Commendation of a noble Order, notwithstanding the irreconcilable Discordance of our respective Opinions and Principles, in several Respects: And this I know, that as millions of People dread the Rencounter of an *Algerine* as they would that of a Crew of *Demons*, those dreaded *Algerines* themselves had at any Time rather fall in with the very *Devil* himself, *in propria Persona*, than with a *Maltese* Galley, or Man-of-War, tho' they are three to one: This is Fact. The Knights took Possession of *Malta*, &c. *October 26. 1530*; which was much about the Time when *Heyradin Barba-rossa* began the Mole of *Algiers*: This is by way of *Memorandum*. One thing more before it slips my Memory; tho' this is not the proper Place for it; nor do I, upon Recollection, think I ever can forget it; for it often sets me on the Titter. However take it.

But the better to comprehend that Affair, I think requisite to introduce it with a few Lines from *L'Abbé de Vertot*. In *February 1698*, *Don Raimond Perellos de Roccafoul*, of the Language of *Aragon*, aged sixty, was elected Grand Master, on the Decease of *Adrian de Vignacourt*; of the Language of *France*. “*A. D. 1700*. Long had *Perellos*, says that learned Author, “with Anguish beheld, that ever since the Religion had “been satisfied with maintaining only a Squadron of Gallies, and had “laid aside their Warlike Ships, the *Barbary* Corsairs were daily taking “*Christian* Traders, frequently making Descents on the Coasts of *Italy* “and *Spain*, desolating whole Villages, and carrying off into Slavery “Multitudes of Families. In vain the *Christians* had, *depuis plus de quatre-vingts Ans*, for upwards of four-score Years, been casting a wistful Eye “towards the Knights of *Malta*, their ancient Protectors:” Which, among Friends, I know not well how he can make out, or bring to bear; since, as do a *Myriad* of others, he himself assures us, that the first setting Foot of those Knights in *Malta* was *October 26. 1530*. “Till now, continues *Monsieur De Vertot*, “the Obstacles which lay in the Way were “found too many to surmount, and deprived them of all Prospect of re- “establishing the Squadron of Men-of-War at *Malta*. But *Perellos*, being installed Grand Master, assisted with the Counsels of the *Bailli*, “his



“ his Successor, *Marco Antonio Zondodari*, he found those Difficulties  
 “ not at all insurmountable.”

From this Time, the Order has always kept up Squadrons of both Ships of War and Gallies: These last never exceed eight, and as good as any others whatever; nay more dreaded by the Corsairs of *Algiers*, &c. on account of the Valour and Resolution of the *unflinching* Knights, according to their own Phrase and Confession: As for the *Maltese* Men-of-War, they are stout Ships, none, I believe, carrying fewer Guns than fifty, and in Number never above seven, if I remember rightly. I shall not take much Notice of the Privateers and Small-Craft; tho' their *Maltese* Subjects are never without several: Nor is *Malta* often a Whit worse stocked with *Mussulman* Slaves than is *Barbary*, particularly *Algiers*, with *Christians*, in that undesirable Capacity. Since the *Maltese* have re-introduced their large cruising Ships, they are become more terrible than ever to the Corsairs of *Algiers*; more especially in their Winter Excursions, when they apprehend not being interrupted by Gallies. But now to what all these Intimations are only the Introduction.

Not many Years before I quitted *Africa*, which was early in 1720, the *Maltese* Ships sadly mauled the Western *Turks*, and were every now and then sinking, or picking up some of their best Cruisers. *Tripoly* and *Tunis* lost their Admirals, with others; and *Algiers* lost not only their *Capitana*, or Admiral, but three more very good Ships, all with very inconsiderable Intervals. These terrible Strokes set the Women a howling, and the Men a blustering very terribly. Nothing to be heard but *Malta! Malta! Revenge! Vengeance! Malta! Malta!* Twelve of their biggest Ships were got ready with incredible Dispatch, the Corsairs in Shoals thronged aboard, with Fury in their Eyes and Execrations on their Tongues, against those *Misceants* the Cavaliers of *Malta*; many of them saying in my hearing, as they went driving towards the *Marine*, or Water-Side, “ *Iptida Sicilia aulers*, &c. We'll first take *Sicily*: That is the Way to starve the *Infidels*.” What most excited my Risibility was this: *Bobba Ali*, the *Dey*, who, it is likely, may be treated of in his Turn, when the Captains, with the Admiral *Bekir Rais* at their Head, went in a Body to take Leave of him, informing him of their having half *Algiers* on board, and how brisk the Equipages looked, breathing nothing but Destruction, Revenge, with the Devil and all, the wise, grave *Bobba Ali*, I say (for so I was told by two several Persons of Credit who heard him) had the

Weakness to dismiss them with Words to this very Effect: " Well; the  
 " Almighty prosper you, and give you Success. As you expect ever to  
 " see my Face again, bring me a very satisfactory Account of *Malta*. As  
 " for *Sicily*, it is a large, populous Island: Beginning with that, its Re-  
 " duction may detain you till the *Maltese Infidels* are re-inforced; so begin  
 " with them. If you cannot destroy them and their Island, and bring  
 " off all the Captive *Mussulmans*, at least I charge you not to leave them  
 " one Ship or Galley, as you ever hope to see *Algiers*."

To those who have seen *Malta*, more particularly of late Years, this Discourse must seem strangely unaccountable. True it is, that the Order is often alarmed, and under almost hourly Apprehensions of a Visit from the *Ottomans*: But it rather dreads the Remissness and wonted Luke-warmness of the *Catholic* Potentates, (who certainly ought not to leave uncouraged one of their chiefest Bulwarks) than does that impregnable Fortress fear the utmost Hostilities of what Forces the united *Mussulmans* can send against it by Water. I was not at *Algiers* when that Vengeance-breathing Squadron returned; nor know I what Sort of a Reception *Bobba Ali* gave his nothing-bringing Captains: I only heard, that, to very little Purpose, they appeared on the Coast, liked not their Errand, returned home, with a straggling Prize or two, looking sheepishly enough; and there was not much farther Talk of the Affair.

One thing insensibly draws on another: But I somewhere said my Memory was treacherous; nor do I ever keep Minutes: As to a Common-Place Book, I am an utter Stranger. I may have Occasion elsewhere, very probably, to re-introduce the *Maltese*; but I should have said, almost when I first began to speak of them, that, among the other *Catholic* Potentates, who thought proper to sequester the Knights Estates, within their Realms, while they were deemed useless Drones, one was our King *Henry VIII.* who seized on their rich *Priory* of *St. John*, and all other their *Commanderies*, &c. both in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. If that *Priory* was not *St. John's Clerkenwell*, I know not which it was; nor am I disposed to make Inquiry. I never assert unless I am certain. That tough, lofty, unmanageable Monarch seems to have taken this Step, rather thro' Jealousy and Resentment than Avarice, or any other Motive; being angry at the Grand Master, for having, in his Necessity, applied to the Emperor and King of *France*, neglecting the Court of *England*, ruled by a magnanimous Prince, who disdained to acknowledge himself inferior to any but

his

his Creator. This appears by the singular Respect he shewed the said Grand Master when, upon Recollection and being better advised, he repaired that Omission: And, besides outward Courtesies, the forfeited Estates were all restored, accompanied with a Present of 20000 Crowns to the Order, the Value whereof was given in Artillery. During the short Reign of our promising King *Edward VI.* the Chevaliers could do nothing here. Queen *Mary I.* indeed, partly thro' Zeal and Inclination, partly influenced by her bigoted Consort, King *Philip II.* of *Spain*, rejoiced the Hearts of the whole Order, by a welcome Embassy, assuring them that Matters should be in *statu quo*. But Queen *Elizabeth*, having quite different Sentiments in all those Cases, sent the Knights a grazing: And there is not abundance of Appearance of their Re-instalment in these Realms: Tho' had some Persons here been suffered to go on as they began, about forty Years ago, I know not what might have been brought about. Of the eight *Languages*, as they term them, of *Malta*, one is *England*; as it is still kept up by way of Mockery, and represented, by Proxy; a Method followed in several other Parts of the World. How many Titular Prelates are there, who are very unlikely ever to visit their Diocesans, *in partibus Infidelium*? Besides other Instances of different Natures. What *English* Knights the Order may now have I cannot acquaint the Inquisitive: But *L'Abbé de Vertot* says, that in 1682, the Dukes of *Ganfron* and *Barwick*, (may be *Berwick*) repaired to *Malta*. Who he means by the first, the Lord above knows; but "this other, says he, "received from the Hands of the Grand Master, the Cross and Title of Grand Prior of *England*. The other seven *Languages* of *Malta*, are *France*, *Provence*, *D'Auvergne*, *Italy*, *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Germany*. I shall again bring these Cavaliers upon the Stage, when I treat of the famous Siege of *Malta*, *A. D.* 1565. by the *Ottoman* Fleet, at which the *Algerines* greatly signalized themselves; insomuch, that *L'Abbé de Vertot*, more than once, honours them so far as to call them *ces braves Algeriens*, which his *English* Interpreter thinks fit to render *these Algerine Bravoes*. This, with Submission, I cannot take to be a fair Way of translating: Why did not he as well make it *these Algerine Bullies*? Bullies enough they, certainly, are; when they can get the Upper-hand: But his Author means not so there; whatever he may do elsewhere: Indeed, when they are first introduced, he seems to give them that Title, as their proper Appellation.

Now, I am in a Vein of finding Fault, I cannot forbear doing what I am so often apt to do; that is, confusedly and unseasonably, dragging in Things, as they say, by Head and Shoulders. Criticism is the Province of the Powerful, the Famous, those whose Names being *up*, they may *lye abed*: In such as move in a growling Obscurity, to attempt any thing like it, is downright Impudence, unpardonable Insolence! Who regards, who credits a Fellow with *no Name*! As to that Part of the Tale, no matter what I think, I shall say little. Yet were I to be carbonaded, I cannot avoid taking Notice of what one may see crawl. With all due Deference and Respect to so great a Man as *L'Abbé de Vertot*, I just now, accidentally, light on a Passage, than which I do not recollect ever to have seen the like, or at least any more egregiously out of the right Road, even in *De la Croix*, or our *Ogilbey*, our ancient *Mandeville*, or *Mendez Pinto*; the first of which careful Historians says the very same; but one might have expected more Correctness from the Oracle of the present Age. This comes of taking, implicitly, upon Trust. Yet, I have been often told, We have Histories of *Barbary* already; nay, more than enough: But I should be glad to find one, in any Language, worth reading. If I may not be allowed to be a Judge in any thing else, I must and will be allowed a competent one in what is so very conspicuously obvious, and relating to a Country I have so long frequented. What I would be at is, in short, this. Under *A. D.* 1664. *L'Abbé de Vertot*, B. 14. says, *verbatim*, thus: “The Corsairs of *Barbary*, having extended their *Brigandages* even upon the Coasts of *Provence*, King *Lewis XIV.* to repress their Audacity, was counselled to establish a Colony on the *Barbary Coast*, and there to build a Place and Port, where his Ships might find an *Azylum*, and from whence he might be informed of the setting out of the Squadrons of the *Infidels*. For this Design, they proposed to him the Village of *Gigeri*, situated near the Sea, *entre les Villes d' Alger & de Bugie*, à *quinze milles de l'un & de l'autre*; between the Cities of *Algiers* and *Bujeya*, at fifteen Miles Distance from the one and from the other.” In due Place, I shall give some Account of that unsuccessful Expedition, under Direction of the *French Admiral*, the Duke *De Beaufort*, compared by this Author to that of the Emperor *Charles* against *Algiers*.

This *Gigeri*, thus Barbarized, is no other than *Jijel*, the Place I so often mention, when I treat of *Arouje Barba-rossa*: But let People call Places how they please; that is not what I shall so much dispute about at present. What

I want

I want to be informed of, is what Sort of Miles are here to be counted; when even *Brobdingnagian* Leagues would scarce suffice! Often, again, in our Historians and Cosmographers, one finds good substantial Leagues dwindling into even *Liliputian* Furlongs: Sure *Gulliver* was not the first *European* who visited those *remote Countries*. It is, I confess, doing that worthless, ridiculous, trifling Fable too much Honour, to stain History with its very Mention; tho' such Trash, and the more nauseous Tracts of Party and Controversy, are what best go down in this degenerate Age. *O Tempora! O Mores!*

*Fijel* (or *Gigeri*, if they needs will have it so) lies, I am positive, between 150 and 200 good Miles, East of *Algiers*, amidst rugged and populous Mountains, whose independent, indomable Owners will not give the *Algerines* a Sup of Water, except they require it of them as a Favour; and then they must take them in the Humour. *Marmol* makes its Distance from *Algiers* forty two *Spanish* Leagues, counting four *Spanish* Miles to each League. West of it, twelve *Spanish* Leagues, he says, lies the City *Bujeya*; from whence *Algiers* lies West thirty more of those very Leagues, according to the same Author, and many others of the best Account: In all which they are pretty unanimous, and, I fancy, exact enough in the Mensuration: And I have been often enough in those Neighbourhoods, tho' never within Sight of either *Fijel* or *Bujeya*. It is really Pity, that this most learned Man, this truly good Writer, builds so implicitly on *M. De la Croix*, as I plainly see he often does, and could give several Instances, when the very worst Chart of those Coasts would have given him so much better Information. I dwell the longer on this; since, to find such a Passage signed by so eminent a Pen as that of *L'Abbé de Vertot*, must still farther confirm the over-biassed and already too prejudiced Ignorant, in their ill-grounded Ideas of the Insignificaney of the *Algerines*, who have so often baffled the most formidable Powers, as I have and may observe; those *Algerine* Bravoos, as this worthy Gentleman's Interpreter calls them, who, in 1616 (when they broke the Peace with the *Hollanders*, which that potent Republic had so lately purchased at a good Price; as they have since done another, as I may circumstantially declare) would have broke with *Great-Britain*, undoubtedly by far the most terrible Naval Power in the whole Universe, and nothing with-held them but our being (for ever may we remain so) possessed of the important *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar*; those blustering *Algerines*, I say, who no longer since than *October 1725*

durst brave the Grand Signor, (tho' that is no more than what they have done a thousand times) when he sent four of his *Sultanas*, or First-Rate Men-of-War, with a *Capyji-Basbi*, to demand their Delivery of the rich *Ostender*, and to conclude a Peace with the Emperor. What Answer got the *Turkish* Envoy? For as to the Imperial Deputies they would have been minced had they ventured ashore: Why, truly, in a full Council, a private *Janizary*, speaking the Meaning of the whole Body, told his Excellency, "That as for the Ship he talked of, they were resolutely bent not to part with the least Splinter of it. That since his *Ottoman* Highness looked upon the Emperor as the most powerful of all *Christian* Princes, and seemed so much to dread his Anger, they, for their Parts, were far from fearing him:" Offering at the same time, to allow him three Days to land all the Force he could raise, without giving them the least Interruption: With abundance more, of all which Passages proper Notice is taken.

These Intelligences, and many more, I say, all comes from *Charles Hudson*, Esq; our present Consul there, of whom I speak farther, a Gentleman of too great Worth, Sense and Probity to write or say any thing exceeding the bare and real Truth: Besides, I am so well acquainted with the very Airs, the innate Disposition of the People, that had they come from the Father of Lies himself, I could not avoid believing every individual Tittle.

What would a Coffee-House Hero, who looks disdainfully big, and cries, What have we to do with the History of a Crew of starving, beggarly, skulking Pyrates! What would, I say, such Persons think, who neither do nor desire to know better, when they meet with so eminent a Person as *L'Abbé de Vertot*, who is gaining daily and deserved Honour and Reputation by his elaborate Writings, affirming a no very strong *French* Squadron to have made a Settlement within fifteen Miles of those very Pyrates Capital. I am for speaking Truth of the very Devil. And I fancy, nay am extremely positive, that the whole Naval Strength of *France*, with some others to help out, would not find it a very easy Enterprize to make any such Attempt, even within fifteen Leagues of their Capital, were the Seas ever so pacific, and the Elements less their Friends. Instances abound. Now, really, every *French-man*, one might suppose, ought to be a better Judge of the Situation of a Place, where their Nation received so recent and so notable a Disgrace. Thus one thing lugs in another by  
the

the Ears; and thus I blunder from Digression to Digression. But, before I quite lose my self, it is Time to think of returning to *Hassan Aga*, whose Life I had begun to epitomize.

Whensoever it fell out, that *Don Carlos* was † Master of the whole World, I am ready to think he did not fancy himself such, at his quitting *Algiers*. Various are the Discourses and Accounts concerning that dreadful Tempest, as if raised by Magic; most of them too trifling and ridiculous to deserve much Notice. I shall, however, upon this Occasion, have Recourse to *M. Laugier de Tassy*, who seems to have made it his Business to examine into the Matter; for, in some things, he agrees pretty well with what I remember to have heard from the Natives. He with *Marmol*, affirms *Hassan Aga* to have had but 800 *Turks*, and 6000 ill-armed Citizens; the Camps being not arrived. He says, that *Hassan Aga* would not have held out, had not the Western *Bey* sent him Assurance of his speedy coming in with all his Forces: Adding, that the Emperor battered the City furiously, which made but a feeble Resistance; insomuch that he conceived great Hopes of carrying it by Assault. Some Slaves, indeed, I have heard talk thus; but I know not of any Writer of Opinion, that *Algiers* was so near being taken. As to the rest, the People of the Country talk, says he, that when *Algiers* was just ready to capitulate, a certain *Black Eunuch*, esteemed and reputed a great Diviner among the Commonalty, but contemned by the Great, presented himself before the *Diwan*, or Council, and demanded Audience. The Populace, by whom he was held in high Veneration, followed him into the Court-Yard, where the *Bassa* and *Diwan* were assembled; and the Eunuch, after loud Invocations to God and his Prophet *Mahomet*, spake thus;

“ *Sidi Hassan*, I am the poor *Yousouf*, the Slave of Slaves, the most abject of all the *Mussulmans*, despised by the Great, and the *Morabboths*, by whom I have hitherto been persecuted and made pass for a Fool in the Opinion first of your Predecessor, and since in your own. Long have I been by all of them rejected; they have loaded me with Ignominy, and I have served as a Laughing-Stock and Buffoon to them, their Children and their Slaves. The *Cadi*, the Judge of the Law, has often caused me to be scourged, and exposed me as a public Spectacle, covered with Marks of Infamy; and all because ALLAH, the all-powerful

† Vide P. 286.

“ ALLAH alone, sometimes unveils to my Sight the Secrets of Things to  
 “ come; and I have spoke of certain Affairs which would come to pass,  
 “ and of which they did not like the Mention. I then held my Peace;  
 “ and to only some few poor People, who have assisted me in my Misery,  
 “ I have revealed Matters which have turned to their Advantage. But  
 “ at this Day, O *Hassan!* Thou who hast the Command of this City,  
 “ listen to my Words: The Danger is pressing, and I cannot be any  
 “ longer Silent.”

*Hassan Aga*, continues this Author, more tractable than he used to be,  
 on account of the Danger wherein the City was, and withal pressed by  
 the Multitude of People there assembled, who had great Confidence in  
 this Diviner, permitted him to speak on; which he did in these Terms:  
 “ You see there an Army of *Infidels*, powerful in both Men and Arms.  
 “ Its Arrival is so sudden, that it seems as if the Sea had brought it forth  
 “ of her Bowels, and placed it where it now is. We are unprovided of  
 “ all Means of Resistance; and the sole Hope we have left us, is that of  
 “ being treated with some Humanity in a Capitulation; if any Humanity  
 “ is to be found among those *Christians*. But GOD alone, who derides  
 “ the Designs of Men, thinks otherwise of the Matter. HE will deliver  
 “ His People from the Hands of *Idolaters*, and will condemn those *Deities*  
 “ of the *Christians*, tho’ they are so numerous. Lord *Hassan*; You Mini-  
 “ sters and Grandees of the State, and You learned Men of the Law, have  
 “ a good Courage; for this once at least, confide in the vile, the abject  
 “ *Yousouf*, whom you have so despised; and know, that before the Change  
 “ of this *Moon*, the Will of the only GOD shall encounter and vanquish  
 “ the *Deities* of the *Christians*. We shall behold perish both their Ships  
 “ and their Army. The City shall be free and triumphant. Their  
 “ Wealth and their Weapons shall become our Acquisition; we shall  
 “ make Captives those whose Hands have been already employed in build-  
 “ ing Fortresses to defend us, for the future, against themselves; nor shall  
 “ very many of those blind, hardened People ever return to their own  
 “ Countries. Glory be to GOD alone, the Powerful, the Gracious, the  
 “ Incomprehensible!” No sooner had he concluded, but the People  
 joyfully shouted; and the *Diwan* determined to hold out still nine or ten  
 Days longer, till the End, or Change of the *Moon*. I have heard Dis-  
 courses very like this, from many Persons; tho’ I remember not to have  
 met with a Word of it in any other Author.



To this he adds: If we may credit the Tradition, this Eunuch's Prediction was but too well accomplished, and too unfortunately for the Besiegers. After this, giving a brief Account of the Effects of that horrible Tempest, he says; When the Camps returned to *Algiers*, they found the City delivered; for which Mercy they returned God Thanks, in *Actions of Grace*, with all possible Solemnity. Adding; That the Diviner *Yousouf* was acknowledged and declared, publicly, the Deliverer of *Algiers*: He likewise received a great Reward, and he was suffered to make open Profession of his Talent.

But, continues he, the *Morabboths*, and Men of the Law, jealous of the Honours rendered to the Eunuch *Yousouf*, and of the extraordinary Favours heaped upon him, went to the *Basha*, and told him; That it was ridiculous and scandalous to attribute the Deliverance of *Algiers* to the Knowledge of one who was a professed Practitioner in *Magic*; that they were very sensible it ought wholly to be attributed to a *Sidi Oulededda*, who, from the Moment of the *Christian Armada's* Appearance, had betaken himself to Fasting and Prayer, in a lonesome Retirement; and that on the Evening preceding that great Storm, by an Inspiration from Above, he went to the Sea and struck it with a Staff, the which soon after began to be agitated; that this *Morabboth* was known and acknowledged for a most holy Man, who had long lived in a Retreat, and passed his Time in Praying to God; and that out of pure Humility he had not revealed his Inspiration. All the *Grandees* of the Council, thro' Policy, seemed to believe, that it was the *Morabboth*, *Sidi Oulededda*, who had delivered the City, by the Efficacy of his Fasts and Intercessions. After his Decease, they caused a small Chapel to be erected over his Sepulcher, without the Gate, named *Beb-Azoun*; and the *Morabboths* afterwards inspired the Populace with a Notion, that, in any pressing Danger, they had no more to do than to bang the Sea with that *Saint's* Bones, in order to raise a like Tempest; and this is an Opinion still subsisting among those People. *Mâl-grè* all this, the Accomplishment of what the Eunuch had foretold, made so great an Impression on the Minds of all in general, that the *Grandees* of the Place, the Ecclesiastics and the *Santons* applied themselves to

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\* I know not for what Reason this Gentleman especially, who lived so long at *Algiers* and seems so well acquainted with the Place, should follow the Example of those who will needs call this Person *Sidi Utisai*; when I never heard him called otherwise than I name him.

the Study of Divination, which they termed the Revelations of *Mahomet*. Thus far *M. Laguier de Tassy*.

I have heard it disputed, whether this *Sidi Oulededda* was *Arab*, *Moor*, *Renegado*, *Turk*, or *Kul-oglou*, as they call the Sons of *Turks*, &c. born in *Africa*, of which more in its proper Place. The more general Opinion is, that he was a *Turk*. Many have acknowledged him to have led a most reprobate Life; being an abominable Sodomite, and an eternal Drunkard: Yet all hold him to have been a great *Saint*: One would wonder in what his Sanctity must consist, while his own Devotees allow him those Qualities: What I have most generally heard reported is, That when the People thought themselves in the greatest Peril; which was when the Knights of *Malta* came to the very abovementioned Gate, a Troop of them going to seek their sanctified *Morabboth*, at last found him tipping in a vile Stew; whereat they reprimanded him somewhat severely, asking him, “How he could spend his Time in that beastly Manner, while his Country was in such imminent Danger?” To which all they could get from him in Answer, was; “That they should be gone about their Business, and make themselves easy; for they should certainly hear of him as soon as his Liquor was dispatched.” Near Evening, they affirm, he came to *Beb-al-Babar*, or the *Sea-Gate*, commonly called *Fisher’s-Gate*, drunk as a Swine, asking the clamorous Crouds, “Whether they did not know him?” This is a very usual Question with all those People; implying the same as if they said, with a Menace; “Know you not what I am capable of doing?” With his Staff (which some say is still preserved for another such Occasion) he lashed the Water thrice, at each Stroke saying; *Koom, y’al Babar! Arise, O Sea!* when instantly it obeyed; and presently after Mid-Night the before-described, fatal Tempest ensued. The Memory of this pious *Saint* is held in great Veneration by all; and the little Mosque wherein he lies interred is much resorted to by both Sexes, and is a Sort of Sanctuary for Criminals, provided their Offences are trivial; but in Case of Conspiracy against the *Dey’s* Life, imbezbling the Public’s Money, being thereof accused, or the like, there are several Instances, that neither this, nor any other Sanctuary is deemed sacred enough to protect such Delinquents.

I must here take Notice of one Particular. What the *Black Eunuch* hinted, in his Harangue to the *Basha* and *Diwan*, concerning having built Fortresses, &c. seems to corroborate a vulgar Tradition among many at  
Algiers;

*Algiers*; which is, the Emperor's having brought with him all Materials, ready prepared and marked out, for the erecting a Fort; and that therewith he actually raised that round Tower which is within the Castle, called by all *Christians*, the *Emperor's Castle*. Nay, there is, almost close by the Sea-Side, at the Bottom of the Cluster of Hills, on one whercof the said Castle stands, a great Heap of Mortar, which many have assured me, is no other than the Remainder of the Cement employed in that Fabric. All things considered, the *Algerines* not being unanimous in regard to that Affair, the Emperor's remaining there incamped but three Days, the little Respite given him by the Enemy, together with the Badness of the Weather, which prevented his landing even Necessaries, as Tents, &c. nor all his Land Forces and Horses, much less such a Quantity of Stone, &c. all which, with other concurring Circumstances, and the Silence of all the Writers I ever met with, induce me much rather to look on that Tradition as intirely groundless, and believe, with *Haedo*, &c. that the Emperor only pitched his Pavillion upon that Hill, and that the whole Fortrefis is the Work of the *Algerines*; at least that of their Slaves. To have done with this unsuccessful Expedition, and with all the intervening Digressions, wherewith the Thread of my History has been interrupted, (but some People love Variety) I return to examine into the farther Procedure of the victorious *Hassan Aga*; concerning whom *Haedo*, at the End of his Narrative of the said Expedition, has Words like these: "The Emperor thus forced to retire, to his great Concern, and extremely against his Inclination, departed with the wretched Remains of his Army. *Hassan Aga*, at the Head of his People, still kept him Company during his Retreat, following the Rear almost to the Place of Imbarking, breaking into the *Christian* Battalions, and slaughtering the Soldiers, in no wise like a *Capon*, or Eunuch, but much rather like a complete and perfect *Man*, a most courageous Warrior. And after the same Manner, as upon that Occasion, he gained so rich a Prize, such Multitudes of Captives, such Quantities of costly Furniture and Arms, so many Horses (perhaps those which swam ashore, being thrown over-board, or when the Ships and Gallies ran aground, since it is elsewhere said, that all those in the Army, not excepting the Emperor's own, were slain for Sustenance) together with an Infinity of other valuable Effects; notwithstanding all which, I say, the truly magnanimous *Hassan Aga* shewed himself most liberal to all, and, with a peculiar Greatness of Soul, distributed

“ distributed the whole among the People; not reserving to himself the  
 “ Value of a single Pin; neither would he suffer the least Part of any  
 “ Booty whatever to be taken from the respective Captors; saying, that  
 “ for his own Share, he was more than sufficiently satisfied with the Fame  
 “ and Honour of so noble an Exploit.” It ought to be here considered,  
 that these are the Words of a *Spaniard*, nay a dignified Ecclesiastic, whom  
 we can scarce suspect of Flattery. What follows is the Substance of what  
 he farther advances concerning this gallant Eunuch, and with which, and  
 some few Variations and Additions of my own, where needful, I shall con-  
 clude his Life.

A. D. 1542. Towards *May*, this Year, *Hassan Aga* set out from *Algiers*,  
 with a Camp of 3000 *Turks*, 1000 *Moorish* Foot, all Fire-Arms, with 2000  
*Arab* Cavalry, and 12 small Field-Pieces. His March was directed against *Aben*  
*al Cadhi*, King of *Cucco*, or *Sheikh* of the *Zwouwa*, whose strongly situated  
 Capital, named *Cucco*, as is the Mountain itself, lies from *Algiers*, Eastward,  
 about three Days Journey distant. This vigorous and successful *Basha*,  
 having had Leisure, during the preceding Winter and Spring, to breathe  
 and consider how he should requite that unmanageable Prince, his Neigh-  
 bour (who tho' almost within his Sight yet would never come to any  
 Terms, either with himself, or his Predecessors the two *Barba-rossas*) for  
 the good Turn he had designed him, in coming down from his Moun-  
 tains, at the Head of many thousands of bold, sturdy *Highlanders*, Horse  
 and Foot, in Favour of his capital Enemy and Invader *Don Carlos*, the  
 Emperor, which Succours tho' they came too late to assist him to take  
*Algiers*, yet they were well designed, and served to facilitate the Re-im-  
 barkment of the poor Remains of those his Enemies. Nay, he had shewed  
 himself so excessively cordial in his Behalf, that he had admitted Part of  
 the *Christian* Fleet into his only Port *Tamagus*, as is observed; and had  
 even gone so far as to make them a formal Tender of the absolute Pro-  
 priety thereof, in order to establish there a Settlement. But that kind  
 Offer was prudently refused; as being, perhaps, rightly judged, that it  
 would not be so feasible to attempt making a *Christian* Settlement within  
 so few <sup>1</sup> Miles of *Algiers*, till the *Christians* had made themselves Masters  
 of that Capital; tho' some think it so easy a Matter. Then this same ge-  
 nerous Ally had, in Person, conveyed Refreshments and Provisions, in abun-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* P. 68, & seq. 232. 306.

<sup>1</sup> Look back to P. 318, & seq.

dance, for the Relief of his famishing Confederates at *Bujeya*, to their unspeakable Comfort. And why were all these Steps taken by these obliging Neighbours of ours? (as we may suppose *Hassan Aga* to have said.)

Is it for any real Love they bear to the *Christians*? Assuredly no. It must then be out of pure Hatred to Us: And Us it behoves to chastise them, as we have lately chastised their Confederates. It is true I make this Speech for *Hassan Aga*; but so I have often heard the *Algerines* talk upon other Occasions, of a like Nature; and *Haedo's* Text seems somewhat that Way tending.

Whether that resenting *Basha* argued thus, or otherwise, is not so much the Question: But, according to that Author, the Fact is, that he led his Army, in good Order, and with determined Looks, towards the Territory of those his officious Neighbours; the Result of which Campaign was, that the Hearts of those *Higblanders*, unconquerable as they are, failed them at the Approach of so resolute and withal so very fortunate an Invader as this Eunuch *Basha*; insomuch, that, in order to divert the impending Storm, which at best would be very pernicious, they prevailed upon their *Sheikk*, or Prince, to take Steps which neither he nor his Predecessors would ever listen to before, tho' both the *Barba-rossas* used their utmost Efforts. This was, to strike up a Peace with the *Turks*, nay, even to purchase it with a considerable Sum of Money, besides a great Number of Cattle, of all Sorts, and to acknowledge the *Algerines* in some guise their Sovereigns, by remitting them a certain annual Tribute; for the due Performance whereof, the said Prince gave in Hostage his Son and Heir apparent, a Youth of fifteen Years of Age, named *Hamed aben al Cadbi*: Abridged into *Be'l Cadi*. This is the Surname of that ancient and noble Family; it having been borne by their Ancestors, seemingly for several Ages. *Al Cadbi* in *Arabic* signifies a Civil Judge; and it is often a Proper Name.

As somewhat of an Advantage, by way of Equivalent for this unexpected Condescension and Compliance in those scarce-come-at-able Mountaineers, the *Turks* granted them a free Commerce at *Algiers* and throughout their whole Dominion; the which the *Algerines* have since found by Experience to have proved far more detrimental to their Affairs, than all the Tribute they ever received, pursuant to that new Alliance, could ever counterpoise: For it has so furnished those martial Nations with Fire-Arms, to which they were till then utter Strangers, that the *Turks* have, ever since,

less cared to meddle with them than before: And the Encouragement there given to fugitive Slaves and Renegadoes, has stood that ingenious and industrious People in so good Stead, that they now make excellent Arms, and large Quantities of Powder, nothing inferior to some made at *Algiers*. They are as nice Marks-men as any other People whatever; all which Contingencies have rendered them really very formidable; and they might attempt great things were they but unanimous: But their unaccountable intestine Dissentions surpass even Credulity. I may give some Instances.

In Page 69, where I give somewhat of a Description of these Nations, the ensuing Paragraph, by Mistake was omitted. It should have followed the Word *Ethnics*. *Viz.* I fancy rather, that, in Process of Time, those Stains, which were once not only an Obligation, but an advantageous Protection to Part of the People, began to be thought what they now are, an ornamental Embellishment. Few Females are without them, on their Faces, Arms, Legs and elsewhere, not only in *Barbary*, but in *Egypt*, *Arabia*, &c. tho' various in Shape and Form, as Flowers, Sprigs, &c. promiscuously with or without Crosses: Nor can they give any other Account of their Use of such Marks, but as an ancient traditional Mode, or Custom. The *Turks* use them not. I knew a stout young Fellow, originally a *Zwouwi*, of good natural Parts, who had been brought up in *Turky*, and consequently so perfect in the Language, that he could not easily be known by his Tongue: He would fain have been inrolled in the *Algerine* Pay, I mean in the List of the *Turkish* Militia; of which Honour he was extremely ambitious, by reason of their great Prerogatives and Superiority: But, notwithstanding he feigned Ignorance of any other Language but *Turkish*, all would not do; he being immediately discovered to be a *Moor* by Descent, on account of some few of those unquestionably distinguishing Brands he had about him, particularly on his Chin, and one Cheek. The *Moorish* Militia in Service of the States of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and, I believe, of *Tripoly*, are called *Zwouwa*; perhaps because, at first, none but those of that Nation were accepted; tho' now they are promiscuously *Arabs*, and most Sorts of *Africans*. This Nation always bore great Share in the *Spanish* Wars; and the Kings of *Cucco*, then, in all Appearance, abundantly more considerable than they are at present, were highly courted by all the *Spanish* *Mussulman* Potentates.

The Year following, being 1543. *Mulei Hamed*, Nephew to *Mulei Abou Hammou*, of whom I treat elsewhere<sup>k</sup>, was King of *Tremizan*. This Prince, or indeed, rather his Father (called by the *Spanish* Authors *Mulei Abdallab*) had made an Alliance with *Heyradin Barba-rossa*, denying the Allegiance his Brother and Predecessor, the said *Mulei Abou Hammou* had sworn to the Crown of *Spain*. That Alliance with the *Algerine Turks*, nearly resembling a Subjection, had, however, been strictly maintained by the Kings of *Tremizan*, Father and Son, till this Year: When, whether sick of *Turkish* Insolency, or, says *Haedo*, “conformable to the “innate volatile and inconstant Disposition of the *Moors*,” this *Mulei Hamed* returned, submissively, to his *Catholic Majesty’s* Obedience. *Hassan Aga*, having Intelligence of these Proceedings, was highly incensed; and setting out a warlike Camp, as they term it, at the Head of 4000 *Turkish* and 4000 *Moorish* Infantry, all Fire-Arms, upwards of 6000 *Arabian* and *Moorish* Cavalry, and ten Field-Pieces, he advanced hastily towards *Tremizan*. As the revolted Prince had timely Notice of these Motions, dreading the Consequences of such a Visit, he prudently chose to neglect nothing he thought might divert a Tempest he rightly apprehended he could not easily weather: So that long before the Approach of his Guests, a slighty Deputation from him met them on their March, with a noble Present for *Hassan Aga*, and rich Tokens for his principal Favourites. In their Prince’s Name the Deputies humbly implored Pardon for what had been transacted; insinuating, “That whosoever had basely “informed him, that their Master had shaken off his Allegiance to the “*Turks*, did him an apparent Injury; since his sole Intention in entring “into an Alliance with the *Spaniards*, was purely for the Good of his “faithful Subjects; not that he in the least doubted of the ready Assistance and Protection of the *Algerines*; but, notwithstanding, he could “not think either himself, or his People secure from the Attempts of “*Don Martin de Cordoua*, Count of *Alcaudete*, the unquiet Governor-General of *Oran*, so near and so redoubtable a Neighbour, who, at the “Head of his Garrison, harrassed his Territory with almost daily Excursions, to the unspeakable Annoyance of his Vassals: For which and “no other Reason, their Prince, *Mulei Hamed*, had thought it very “convenient to be rather at Peace and in Alliance with such troublesome

<sup>k</sup> Vide P. 247. & seq.

“ Inmates; than thus to be liable to such continual and often fatal Alarms  
 “ Adding; that however, if what had been done was contrary to his  
 “ Liking, their Master was intirely disposed to obey him, with the u-  
 “ most Punctuality, and was ready to disannul the Treaty with the King  
 “ of *Spain*; if he so commanded. And as to the rest, if he pleased to  
 “ pass forwards, his humble, obedient Servant, their Master, was in his  
 “ own Palace, waiting the Honour of a Visit; where nothing should be  
 “ omitted to welcome so noble and so desirable a Guest.”

So well had the *adroit*, well selected Embassadors, of this Time-serving Prince, told their Tale, that *Hassan Aga* was pretty well appeased: But yet he determined to proceed, and to leave a *Turkish* Garrison at *Tremizan*. Arrived there, such was the Reception he met, so magnificent were the Donatives profusely heaped on him and his, and so solemn was the Obligation wherewith *Mulei Hamed* bound himself to eternal Fidelity and Obedience to his Sovereign Lords, the *Turks* of *Algiers*, that notwithstanding the Resolution *Hassan Aga* had taken, he returned to his Capital, without leaving at *Tremizan* the intended Garrison.

All this coming to the Governor of *Oran*'s Knowledge, he was greatly scandalized; it having been, intirely, thro' his Agency and Intermediation, that the Emperor *Charles V.* received that *Moorish* Prince into his Alliance, or rather Obedience, and consequently under his Imperial Protection. Hereupon, esteeming this Affront done to himself, having obtained Leave, he passed over to *Spain*, and at the proper Costs and Charges of his Relations, Friends and Self, he raised a Body of 14000 *Spaniards*, which he transported to *Oran*: Affirming, that since he had pledged his Word, to *Don Carlos*, for the Fidelity of that fickle Prince, the Expence of his Chastisement should be his own and not his Sovereign's; who had come into those Measures merely at his Instigation. Marching his Army towards *Tremizan*, a few Leagues distant from that City, he was met by the *Moorish* King; with whom coming to an Engagement, he routed him with considerable Slaughter: And passing on, he entered *Tremizan*, and there inthroned a Brother of the said *Mulei Hamed*; who after his Defeat made the best of his Way to *Fez*. The new King took a formal Oath of Allegiance to the Crown of *Spain*.

*Haedo*, having said to this Purport, brings thus to a Period the Life of this remarkable Eunuch *Basba*. But, to return to *Hassan Aga*. “ No  
 “ sooner was he arrived at *Algiers*, from *Tremizan*, but he began to find  
 “ himself



“ himself out of Order: And his Indisposition increasing daily, it turned  
 “ to a slow consumptive Fever, gradually preying upon his Vitals; inso-  
 “ much that, by the End of *September*, that same Year, *viz.* 1543, Na-  
 “ ture being quite decayed in him, he died at Mid-Night, to the exces-  
 “ sive Grief and Regret of all who knew him. *Hassan Aga* died in his  
 “ sixty sixth Year. He was mean of Stature, but extremely well propor-  
 “ tioned. He had beautiful Eyes, very good Features, and a fine Com-  
 “ plexion. He was a very great Lover of Justice; and, on that Ac-  
 “ count, exercised, on some Persons, very great Cruelties: He was, there-  
 “ fore, by all exceedingly dreaded. He was a Man superlatively libe-  
 “ ral; and much delighted in relieving the Neecessitous. He lies interred  
 “ without the Gate called *Beb-al-Weyd*, or *The River-Gate*, under a large  
 “ *Cubba*, or Dome, erected over his Sepulcher by a *Renegado* of his, who  
 “ was his *Mayor-Domo*, or Steward of the Household.

This fine Character, added to what has been already said, coming from such a Person as the grave Father *Haedo*, who I must needs own, in many Respects, to be the most impartial and most generous Enemy, of a *Spaniard*, and an Ecclesiastic especially, I ever yet met with, leaves us little Room to doubt, but that this brave Eunuch was a Person of singular Merit, and endowed with no ordinary Qualifications.

As the City and Territory of *Tremizan* is so very considerable a Part of the *Algerine* State, including their whole most Western Province, I think it material to digress a little, before I conclude this Chapter, (since *Haedo* is so brief in relation to those Affairs) and to extract the following Particulars from *Marmol*, who treats thereof more circumstantially; still varying from him, adding, omitting, or correcting, as usual, where I shall find requisite, without always being at the Trouble of specifying every Alteration, or Correction.

For the better understanding this Part of the History, it is necessary we look a Year or two backwards. But we are first to recollect, that upon the Death of the famous *Arouje Barba-rossa*, in 1518, the *Spaniards* left *Mulei Abou Hammou* on the Throne of *Tremizan*, in Quality of a Tributary Ally, under Protection of *Charles* the Emperor, as King of *Spain*; in which State he continued that Monarch's faithful Vassal for some Years, till his Demise. He was succeeded by his younger Brother, *Mulei Abdallah aben Zeyan*, who, likewise, was assisted in his peaceable ascending

the Throne by the Governor-General of *Oran*, to whom he took a like Oath of Allegiance to *Don Carlos*, his Sovereign. But, at the Instigation of *Heyradin Barba-rossa*, Vice-Roy of *Algiers*, and of some principal *Mussulman* Doctors, he soon shook off his Obedience to that *Catholic* Monarch, and threw himself under the Protection of the *Algerine Turks*; who promised not only to defend him and his Realm from all Insults from the Garrison of *Oran*, but flattered that volatile Prince with mighty Favours from the *Ottoman* Emperor. Thus he enjoyed his State, quietly enough, for several Years; and, dying in Peace, was to have been succeeded by his eldest Son, *Mulei Abou Abdallah*. But having a younger than this, who, upon some Discontents, had retired to *Algiers*, the crafty, designing *Heyradin Basha* gave him so kind a Reception, that this young Prince, whose Name was *Mulei Hamed Abou Zeyan* (and is the same taken Notice of by *Haedo*, as in the foregoing Pages) gave him no small Room to hope (provided he ever came to the Throne) for what he most thirsted after, which was to make *Tremizan*, one Day, subordinate to *Algiers*: So that with this View an Army of *Turks* seated him in his Father's Place.

*Mulei Abou Abdallah*, finding himself thus excluded from his rightful Patrimony, had immediate Recourse to *Don Martin de Cordoua*, Count *De Alcaudete*, Governor of *Oran*, to implore his Intercession with the Emperor *Don Carlos*, to favour and assist him against this usurping Brother, who had dispossessed him of his Paternal Inheritance; offering and promising, That he would for ever remain his loyal and faithful Vassal, punctually paying and remitting to his Imperial Majesty the same Tribute heretofore agreed on and paid by his late Uncle, *Mulei Abou Hammou*.

Before we proceed, it ought to be observed, that what is here called the Kingdom of *Tremizan* is only a poor Remnant of that once extensive and flourishing, tho' seldom pacific Sovereignty; being no other than the more Westèrly Fragment thereof, consisting of a narrow Territory, scarce thirty Miles broad, if I mistake not, and I believe less than a hundred in Length, which may be termed the immediate Domain of the Capital: And even that dismembered of the strong and most important maritime Places of *Oran* and *Marfa al Kibir*, which since 1509 had been possessed by the *Spaniards*; who, according to their butcherly Manner of speaking and writing, have mangled this last into *Mazalquivir*. It is taken to be the *Portus Magnus* of the Ancients, as the present *Arabic* Denomination implies,

implies, *Marfa* being a *Port*, or *Harbour*, and *Al Kibir* the *Great*: And such it is; being generally allowed to be, by far, the finest, safest and most capacious Harbour in all *Africa*; nor do I know of any better; I mean, if it was improved to the best Advantage; so often have I heard it described. I give Account how both those Places were taken, in 1708, by the *Algerines*, with their own peculiar Forces; as, likewise, of their several former fruitless Attempts to remove those Thorns from their Sides. As for the rest of the Kingdom of *Tremizan*, it was before swallowed up by the *Turks* of *Algiers*, excepting the small Territory of *Tenez*, of which they had made a Grant, for Life, as I have observed, to *Hamida al Aabd*, its natural Prince, of whom I treated in the Lives of both *Barba-rossas*. To return.

The Proposal made to the Emperor, by the Count *De Alcaudete*, who willingly undertook to solicit an Affair so advantageous to his Country, Prince and Self, was well approved of at the *Spanish* Court; and his Imperial Majesty readily gave Orders to that Governor, forthwith to supply *Mulei Abou Abdallah* with a Party of 600 *Spaniards*, from the Garrison of *Oran*; which that sanguine, credulous Prince fondly imagined would be full sufficient to clear the Way to his patrimonial Seat; greatly building on the Numbers of loyal Vassals, who would infallibly flock to him, at his first Appearance in the Field, with a Guard of reasonable *Christians*, advancing to settle him on his undoubtedly rightful Throne, and to rid his faithful Subjects from the much less reasonable *Turks*.

As I scarce know any thing more natural to Mankind, in general, than Partiality, it is far from being surprising to me, that *Marmol* should furnish Prince *Abou Abdallah* with such a Method of endeavouring to bring over to his Party those on whose Compliance and Credulity his wished-for Sovereignty so immediately depended. Not that it is wholly improbable that Prince might actually have strove to have inculcated such Notions of *Spanish* superabundant *Reasonableness* into the Minds of a People without whose Concurrence he could never hope for the least Prospect of gratifying his Ambition. Whether so or otherwise, it is certainly the wrongest and most perilous Step any *African* Prince can possibly take to have Recourse to *Christians*, on any Account whatever.

It infallibly renders both himself and his Abettors the Objects of universal Detestation: Nor are the exasperated People, more particularly the *Moors*, or natural *Africans*, who, to a Man, abhor the very Name of a *Christian*,

*Christian*, except when their Interests are deeply concerned, and their Ends cannot be served by any other Means; they, I say, in particular, are never easy till they have Opportunity of lifting under the Banner of some Person, who appears to be of their own Stamp and Humour. Of all this there are many Instances. The *Arabs*, tho' no less volatile than their selves, are not altogether so excessively inveterate, bigoted and revengeful. When the *Portuguese*, for many Years, were triumphant in West and South *Barbary*, their Conquests and Progresses were constantly and faithfully favoured by several thousands of brave *Arab* Cavaliers, with whom they maintained a strict and beneficial Alliance: But no sooner did their Affairs begin to decline, and the *Moorish* Potentates had it in their Power, but they bent their whole united Force against those Fautors of *Christians*, and never ceased till they had completed their Ruin. Neither would the *Arab* Tribes of the *Beni Aamar*, &c. near *Oran*, have fared better, when the *Algerines* reduced that Place, about twenty Years since, would the *Turks* have consented to the utter Depopulation of that Part of their Province, and suffered the *Moors* to have had their Will; tho' those *Arabs* were only in an amicable Correspondence with that Garrison, on account of Commerce, and for their own Security against the Excursions of such turbulent, unquiet Neighbours, without ever accompanying them in their Inroads, when they so frequently surpris'd and dragged away into Slavery Multitudes of harmless Wretches. Those of *Giza*, and some others, who did actually assist the *Spaniards*, and serve them as Spies, in all their Courses, indeed, came off but indifferently, as may be hinted when we come to those Times. But as for the real *Africans*, or *Moors*, as I elsewhere observe, they certainly hate and abominate all Inmates in general, *Christians*, *Turks* and *Arabs*; the first more especially, out of mere Antipathy to their Profession. They can and do temporize, whether forcibly, or thro' Interest: But they cannot look on any of them but as what they really are, Usurpers. The Kings of *Tremizan* were *Moors* and not *Arabs*; and, consequently, their natural *Moorish* Vassals, so disposed in their very Natures as I describe them, except, perhaps, some few, who, had private Views of their own, or else to gratify their revengeful Spirit, could never approve the Conduct of their Princes, when not able to stand their Ground, or gain their Ends, they introduced into their Country, as Protectors, the People whom they heartily abhor. Nor can I much wonder at their Antipathy; or their not readily agreeing, that the *Spanish Catholics*, generally

generally speaking, are so very *reasonable* when Masters, as has been sometimes insinuated to them upon Occasions like this I am treating of: They did not find them such, after the Death of *Arouje Barba-rossa*, any more than did the poor *West-Indians* and others.

I very well remember what Sort of Language I have heard several intelligent, sensible *Africans*, I mean natural *Moors*, talk before my self and other indifferent Persons, when some of their Country-men have been seeming to insinuate, That they might live happier, and more unmolested under a *Christian*, than a *Turkish* Government. They would readily reply, “ That it was a Sign they little knew what they said; and that  
 “ they had never conversed with any of the *Moriscoes*, who lived so long  
 “ under the *mild, reasonable* Government of *Christians*. Not that they had  
 “ any Manner of Reason to love either the *Arabs* or *Turks*. The first  
 “ had been Tyrants; and would not fail being such again upon the very  
 “ first Opportunity that should offer. As for the others, they were such  
 “ and withal insufferably insolent and imperious; stripping their Vassals,  
 “ and sucking the very Marrow of their Bones, and using towards them  
 “ many outrageous Indignities. Yet that neither of those two usurping  
 “ Inmates ever offered to captivate their Bodies, or molest their Con-  
 “ sciences; being of the same Persuasion and Belief with their selves:  
 “ Whereas they need not go far from home for Instances of the *Christians*  
 “ Moderation, where they could get the Upper-Hand: Of which, to say  
 “ nothing of other Places of less Note, *Tunis* and *Tremizan* were terrible  
 “ Monuments of their ravenous and bloody Disposition; and yet they  
 “ were introduced into both those Cities as Protectors and not Enemies,  
 “ being conducted thither by their respective, presumptive Sovereigns.  
 “ Where have the *Turks* left such Examples of their Inhumanity among  
 “ us, as those savage *Spaniards* have done? Yet those are only Specimens  
 “ of their Avarice and Cruelty, in Matters Temporal. But inquire of  
 “ our unhappy Brethren the *Mussulmans* who have tasted of their Spirit-  
 “ ual Benevolence; and from them you may be informed of what we  
 “ may expect should we ever be so wretchedly miserable as to have our  
 “ Consciences within their Gripe. Let us then, since such of us as are  
 “ doomed to inhabit the *Low-Lands*, are so unfortunate as not to have  
 “ natural Princes of our own powerful enough to defend us their Sub-  
 “ jects, let us, I say, since we must of Necessity be protected, as they  
 “ call it, by Tyrants and Usurpers, rather acquiesce patiently to such as  
 “ neither

“ neither actually enslave Body or Mind, and seldom leave us wholly  
 “ without Sustenance, than ever harbour a Thought of wishing for those  
 “ who would, infallibly, debar us from even the Liberty of Thinking.”

Not without serious Reflection and Contemplation, more than once, have I attentively listened to exhortative Reprimands given by *Moors* of good Judgment and Gravity to other repining *Africans*. I bring them in here, as judging they might not improbably have been used on the very Occasion of *Mulei Abou Abdallab's* setting out from *Oran*, under Protection of *Christians*, and mightily flushed with the Hopes that, by the Way, his Strength would hourly increase. But let us examine the Event; for the Sum whereof I must be beholden to *Marmol*. This was in 1541, soon after *Don Carlos* had been dislodged from before *Algiers*, as has been related.

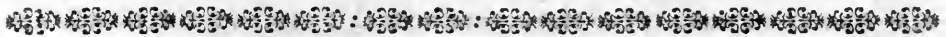
The whole Retinue of this Prince consisted in about 400 *Arab* and *Moorish* Cavalry: And his auxiliary Guard, of 600 *Spaniards*, with four Pieces of Cannon, were intrusted, by the Governor of *Oran*, to the Conduct and Direction of a Captain, named *Don Alonso Martinez de Angulo*. No sooner had *Mulei Hamed Abou Zeyan*, the reigning Prince (who was, as I hinted, in Alliance with the *Algerines*) Notice of these Motions, but he dispatched Couriers to his <sup>1</sup> *Mezuar*, or Prime Minister (then at *Al Cala de Beni-Rasbid*;) named *Al-Mansor*, injoining him to be very vigilant and industrious in endeavouring to prevent any Malecontents from joining his approaching Enemy. His Orders were so well executed, that *Abou Abdallab's* Army gained few Recruits. When he and his *Spaniards*, &c. arrived at a certain noted River, called *Zis*, between twenty and thirty Miles from *Oran*, and no Appearance of a Reinforcement, the *Spanish* Commander was counselled by his Officers not to attempt proceeding any farther; to which with more Courage than Prudence, he returned, “ That it should never be said, that any of the Family  
 “ of *Alcaudete* had turned their Backs against Danger.” Advancing on, he came to the River *Sinan*, where he intrenched. From thence he prosecuted his March, the next Day, to the River *Tibda*, otherwise called *Ifer*; and then removed to a Place, named the *Baths* of *Tibda*, twenty

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<sup>1</sup> The Kings of *Tunis* and *Tremizan* formerly intituled their Chief Ministers so, which Title is since devolved on the Governor of the *Courtezans* and *Catamites*, who is likewise the public Executioner, tho' he has many Satellites.

Miles short of *Tremizan*; without seeing, in the whole March, one Opposer: All which was thro' the artful Management of *Al-Mansör*, who had issued out strict Orders against any one's offering to obstruct the Enemy on the Way; but that they should be suffered to penetrate into the Country as far as they pleased. But having Notice of their Incampment at the said *Baths*, he began to send away Bands of the City Troops and *Arab* Cavalry, in order to entertain them with Skirmishings, till he should think fit, with the rest of his Force, to make them a personal Visit. So great was the Number of Enemies which appeared suddenly, that the *Spanish* Commander found himself under a Necessity of retiring among certain decayed Buildings; there to shelter his Party against being overwhelmed with that numerous Body of Cavalry. This being perceived by the *Moors*, &c. who accompanied him, a People ill enduring Enclosures, they began to sheer off by Degrees; nor did their pretending Prince dare to stay behind: Not that, continues this Author, their Desertion would have been very much to the Detriment of the *Christians*, could *Don Alonso* have been prevailed on to retreat to *Tibda*, with only his *Spaniards*, and there have waited Succour from *Oran*; which tho' it had been several Days before its Arrival, he might have made a tolerable Defence, and not have undergone any very great Necessity; since the King of *Tremizan* had in that Town Magazines of Corn and Oyl; nor was there any Want of Wood and Mills in the Neighbourhood. But he would not, by any Persuasion, listen to wholesome Advice; but instead of that, he dispatched away a certain *Jew* to *Al-Mansör*, to treat with that Minister, that he would grant him and his Followers a secure Passage to *Oran*. The *Moorish* General perceiving his Enemy's Weakness and Want of Resolution, instantly repaired to *Tibda*, with all the Cavalry and Mountaineers of the Province of *Beni-Rashid*, under Colour of treating an Accommodation; when, in the Midst of it, his *Moors* violently broke into the *Christians* Lodgment; and they were all either killed, or captivated; and the Artillery, with all their Spoils, became a Prey to the Victors. There died Captain *Balboa*, and every one of his Company, bravely fighting; having absolutely refused to accept Quarter. *Don Alonso*, with only thirteen *Spaniards*, were carried to *Tremizan*; and of the whole 600 no more than twenty escaped to *Oran*, who with some *Moors* Guides, privately flunk away before *Al-Mansör's* Arrival. Thus *Marmol*.

As for Prince *Abou-Abdallah*, he, rather wisely than bravely, anticipated by Flight the impending Danger. Nor ceased he, on one Hand, to sollicit *Don Carlos*, the Emperor, for farther Succours, and on the other to molest *Mulei Hamed's* Partisans and Vassals, whenever he found Opportunity: Which then reigning Prince, tired out with the loud Clamours of his oppressed Subjects, occasioned by the daily Depredations made upon them, not only by his exiled Brother, but by the *Spanish* Garrison from *Oran*, took the Steps I hinted in a preceding Page, and which caused *Hassan Aga* to go against him; which successful Campaign that brave Eunuch *Basha* little survived. We shall soon hear more of the Affairs of *Tremizan*, till its being absolutely reduced to the *Algerine* Obedience; as it still remains.



## C H A P. VI.

BASHA III. *Haji*; REGENT, or *Titular* VICE-ROY.

A *Digression* concerning the Affairs of TUNIS; and other Particulars.

**I**Mmediately on *Hassan Aga's* so much lamented Demise, the Council and Militia of *Algiers*, without waiting for a new Governor, or farther Orders from the Grand Signor, unanimously set up for their *Basha*, or Supreme Commander, a certain noted *Turkish* Officer, of great Esteem and Reputation, named *Haji*; which Appellation, tho' its more peculiar Signification is a Pilgrim, who has visited the Temple at *Mecca*, and those adjacent Parts, which are Objects of *Mussulman* Devotion, it is frequently a Proper-Name. His Elevation to that Dignity was about the End of *September*, *A. D.* 1543.

This Person, whom we cannot term a regular *Basha*, by Reason his Election was merely Popular, and his Commission never confirmed by the Sovereign, had gradually arrived to all the chief Offices in the State, and was highly regarded for the Courage and Prudence he shewed in his Functions; but what gained him most Credit, was his good Management when the *Christians* attacked that Place, when this *Haji* officiated as *Beyler-Bey*



ler-Bey, or Generalissimo; in which Capacity he signalized himself in a very particular Manner.

No sooner had the Country People, who greatly dreaded *Hassan Aga*, Notice of that *Basha's* Death, but a powerful *Arab Sheikh*, named *Abou-Terik*, who possessed the Plains near *Miliana*, a Town about fifty Miles West of *Algiers*, fancied that a favourable Occasion to set about what he and many others had long projected, namely to rise against the tyrannical *Turks*, and expel them their Country. Gathering up 20000 *Arabs*, chiefly Horse, as well of his own as his Neighbour's Forces, in *March* 1544, he led that Army towards *Algiers*, ravaging and laying waste the whole Territory before him; putting the Inhabitants of that City, as well *Turks* as others, into such Consternation, that not one durst stir without the Gates. The *Al-Caid*, or Governor of *Miliana*, a stout *Turk*, whose Name was *Hassan*, then chanced to be at *Algiers*. This rash Man, too far presuming on his own Prowess and the Valour and Resolution of his forty Attendants, who were, indeed, all *Turks*, and carried Fire-Arms, very much pressed *Haji Basha* to suffer him to return home to his Government; assuring him, that he did not only pretend to pass thither very securely, but, likewise, to defend and maintain that Town, committed to his Care, against all the Powers the *Arabs*, &c. should dare, or be able to bring; and so in Opposition to all the Arguments the *Basha* could use to dissuade him, he would needs venture, and was cut in Pieces with his whole Equipage. This Passage I deliver in almost *Haedo's* own Terms.

Mean while the *Basha* was making great Preparations to sally out and encounter the Rebels; but hearing of the disastrous Miscarriage of *Al-Caid Hassan* and his Followers, he hastened his Departure. Towards the End of *May*, 1544, about two Months after the *Arabs* had held the City of *Algiers* in a Manner straitly blocked up, he set out at the Head of about 4000 *Turkish* Foot, with 500 *Moriscoes*, all Fire-Arms, and 600 *Spahis*, or *Turkish* Cavalry.

My Author next gives a Catalogue of the chief Officers: But says not, whether this Camp had any Cannon; which I can scarce believe the *Algerines* would have omitted, upon so pressing a Juncture; as well knowing how necessary a Furniture those hostile Engines are to set upon the Scamper a Body of *Arab*, or *African* Cavalry. And by the small Force *Haji Basha* took with him, it plainly appears, that the Council thought it not safe to leave their Capital, environed by Enemies, in an indefensi-

ble Condition, should that Part of their Strength happen to be defeated. To proceed.

About two Thirds of the Way between *Algiers* and *Miliana* is a large Mountain called *Mata*. In the Plain beneath it, whither *Sheikh Abou-Terik* had retreated with his Army, the *Algerines* fell in with their Enemies, and a smart Encounter presently began. Such Destruction did the *Turkish* Fire-Arms make among the *Arab* Cavaliers, whose only Arms, offensive or defensive, were Lances and Targets, that their whole numerous Army was soon routed, with considerable Slaughter; and the *Sheikh* betook himself to a speedy Flight, scarce stopping till he got to *Fez*; where that Prince gave him a very favourable Reception: And about ten Years after, when the said King of *Fez* came against *Tremizan*, and made himself Master of that Royal City, as shall be observed in due Place, that *Arab Sheikh* was one of his Retinue.

*Haji Basha* returned victorious and triumphant to *Algiers*, and was joyfully and honourably received by all in general: And having enjoyed the Compliments and Caresses of his Friends and People for about fifteen Days, he was obliged to resign his Command to *Hassan Basha*, Son to the famous *Heyradin Barba-rossa*, sent by the *Ottoman* Emperor to be his Successor.

*Haji* survived this about four Years; and was always held in high Esteem. He died in his eightieth Year. He was tall, corpulent and very swarthy. His Lady was a *Morisca*, born in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, by whom he left an only Daughter, married to a principal *Turk*, named *Al-Caid Daud*. He lies inhumed without the Gate called *Beb al Weyd*, under a small Dome.

But it is now requisite that we look back to the State of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. We left *Mulei Hassan* re-instated there by *Charles* the Emperor, at the Expulsion of *Heyradin Barba-rossa*, and his *Turks*; which Prince was a Tributary Ally to the *Spaniards*, who had sovereign Possession of the *Goletta*. They were, also, possessed of several other maritime Places on the same Coast, which they lost by Degrees; the Particulars of which I shall not here enter upon, but shall mention some when I treat of that noted Corfair, *Dragut Rais*. The King of *Tunis*, who for his tyrannic and rapacious Disposition was greatly detested by the Generality of his Subjects, who, amidst all the rest of his hated Administration, could never forget his having introduced the *Christians*, from whom they

they had met with such inhumane Treatment, as has been touched on in the Life of *Heyradin Basba*, and therefore omitted no Occasions of rebelling against him; and whenever the *Turkish* Corsairs appeared on their Coasts, with any Views of attacking the *Christians*, or their Allies, or making Settlements, they were always prompt to favour them, and admit their Garrisons. For all these Reasons, I say, that Prince's only Safety and Dependence consisted in keeping fair with the Emperor *Charles*, and punctually complying with all the agreed on Articles, specified in Page 285; which he actually did for several Years, to the very last; still putting up with a no small Share of *Spanish* Arrogance: But to have offered to resent would have ruined him; so that he wisely dissembled. His rebellious Subjects kept him in continual Alarms; many Parts of his Realm absolutely set him at open Defiance; some, as I said, submitting voluntarily to the *Turks*, while others erected themselves into independent Communities. At *Cairouan* revolted a certain highly venerated *Santon*, named *Sidi Arfa*, whose Reputation and Influence with the *Arabs* and *Africans* were of such Prevalence, that he not only made himself Sovereign of that City and Territory, with a Regal Title, but likewise, aspired to greater Matters, extending his ambitious Views to nothing less than the absolute Sovereignty of the whole Kingdom of *Tunis*: Insomuch that this harassed Prince enjoyed very little Repose, his Throne perpetually tottering under him; notwithstanding he was frequently succoured by his Protectors the *Spaniards*, and the Emperor's Gallies, under Conduct of Prince *Andrea D'oria*, recovered some Sea-Port Towns which the *Turks* had possessed, as may be elsewhere mentioned.

A. D. 1544. *Mulei Hassan*, having sent his eldest Son, *Mulei Hamida*, against some revolted Tribes, who had retired to the Neighbourhood of *Bona*, and withal duly considering how much it concerned him to endeavour the Removal of the *Algerine Turks* from all those Quarters, which could not be hoped for without a very powerful *Christian* Armada, he resolved in Person to pass over to *Europe*, as well to pay his Respects to the Emperor, as to solicit his Assistance in those important Affairs. He therefore committed the Government of the City of *Tunis* to a special Favourite Minister of State, whose Name was *Al-Caid Temtan*, and of the Citadel to a trusty *Renegado* of his, a Native of *Sicily*, named *Al-Cayd Ferah*; when, packing up a vast Treasure in Coin and Jewels, he departed for the *Goletta*, followed by a Train of 500 of his Officers, Guards and Domestics.

meftics. The greateft Part of his moft valuable Effects he intrufted with *Don Francisco de Touar*, Governor-General of that *Spanifh* Garrifon, and with the reft and his Equipage he embarked for *Sicily*, and from thence for *Naples*; in both which States, according to the *Spanifh* Hiftorians, the Emperor's Vice-Roys gave him a magnificent and pompous Reception.

This Voyage coft him dear, and in no wife answered his Expectation. He was fcarce departed from the *Goletta*, when *Mulei Hamed*, his Son, ambitious of Sovereignty, and being infligated by feveral principal Men who abhorred his Father, more particularly by two, by whom he was greatly influenced, whofe Names were *Abou Ammar* and *Mahammed Al-Andilfi*, or the *Andalufian*, (being a *Morifco*.) he made all poffible Speed to *Tunis*: When endeavouring to enter that Capital, in order to take Poffeffion of the Throne, he was prevented, and gravely, tho' fharply, reproved by *Al-Cayd Temtan*, his Father's Deputy. This faithful Mini-fter, uſing both found Arguments and Menaces, obliged this unnatural, rebellious Prince to quit the City; and, in great Difcontent, he retired about a Mile diſtant to the Palace called *Al-Bardou*, which is the Seat of the preſent *Beys* of *Tunis*. There he continued feveral Days, deviſing Means how to accompliſh his Deſigns: But finding it wholly impracticable to attempt any thing by Force, he cauſed it to be rumoured throughout the Country, "That his Father undertook that Voyage into *Europe* purpoſely to embrace *Chriſtianity*; and that the *Turks* had taken him in his Paſſage: That *Temtan* was privately gone to the *Goletta*, to treat with the *Spanifh* General about what Meaſures they ſhould take to ſet up a King of their own chuſing, and to exclude him, the Heir Preſumptive, from his rightful Succeſſion". This and more to a like Purport, he got whiſpered about even in *Tunis*; all which was readily ſwallowed by the ignorant, credulous Citizens, inſomuch that they began to meet in Parties; and ſome of them ſent privately to invite *Mulei Hamida*, who immediately repaired, *incognito*, to *Tunis*; where finding how well the People were diſpoſed to receive him, he forthwith went, at the Head of a good Body of his Guards, to the Palace where *Al-Cayd Temtan* reſided, in order to cut him off; but miſſing of him, he ſlaughtered ſeveral of his Domeltics, and went directly to the Abodes of his Father's Relatives and Friends, where having butchered all he met with, he next advanced to the Citadel, in the Portico whereof the Governor, *Al-Cayd Terab*, was fitting, little imagining what had been tranſ-acting,

acting, and not in the least apprehensive of such a Visit, and was instantly hewed in Pieces: Which done, with his own People, and a considerable Number of the Citizens who had joined them, he entered the Castle and took Possession. *Al-Caid Temtan*, and the rest of *Mulei Hassan's* chief Favourites were soon found out and seized, all whom he committed to a close Confinement, and soon treated as he had done the others. Then, having first caused himself to be solemnly proclaimed King of *Tunis*, he entered the Royal Palace; and shamefully forcing open the *Haram* he impiously took all his Father's Wives and Concubines to his own Bed.

These astonishing Tydings reached *Mulei Hassan* before he left *Naples*; who received them as may be conjectured. He earnestly solicited *Don Pedro de Toledo*, the Vice-Roy, to furnish him with a Force sufficient to return to *Tunis*, in order to punish so impious a Rebel. *Don Pedro* readily gave him 2000 *Italians*, and for their General Signor *Gio. Battista Lofredo*, a *Neapolitan* Gentleman, and expert Officer. With these, and his own 500 Followers, he instantly embarked for the *Goletta*; and such was his Impatience, that without waiting to consider whether the present Occasion was favourable, or giving Ear to the Counsels of *Don Francisco de Teuar* and the old, experienced Soldiers in the Garrison, he immediately set out for *Tunis*, as not imagining, that the Citizens would oppose him, nor in the least apprehensive that his Rebel Son durst offer to think of waiting his Approach. When the People of *Tunis* beheld *Mulei Hassan's* Army advancing towards the City, and dreading a second Desolation like that which they had so lately undergone, their Chiefs went up to the Castle, or Citadel, pressing intreating *Mulei Hamida* “not  
 “ to resist his Royal Father and Sovereign; but that, much rather, he  
 “ would dutifully submit to his Pleasure, and quit the Palace, and not  
 “ suffer their unhappy City to be again laid waste, by attempting, forcibly,  
 “ to possess himself of a Realm which, if Providence prolonged his  
 “ Days, must become his own by legal Inheritance. That he would  
 “ please to consider and reflect how justly that Monarch was incensed against  
 “ him; adding, that the Citizens of *Tunis* could not, with any  
 “ Spark of Justice, or Honour, pretend to favour his Designs, since he  
 “ was acting against their lawful and natural Prince.”

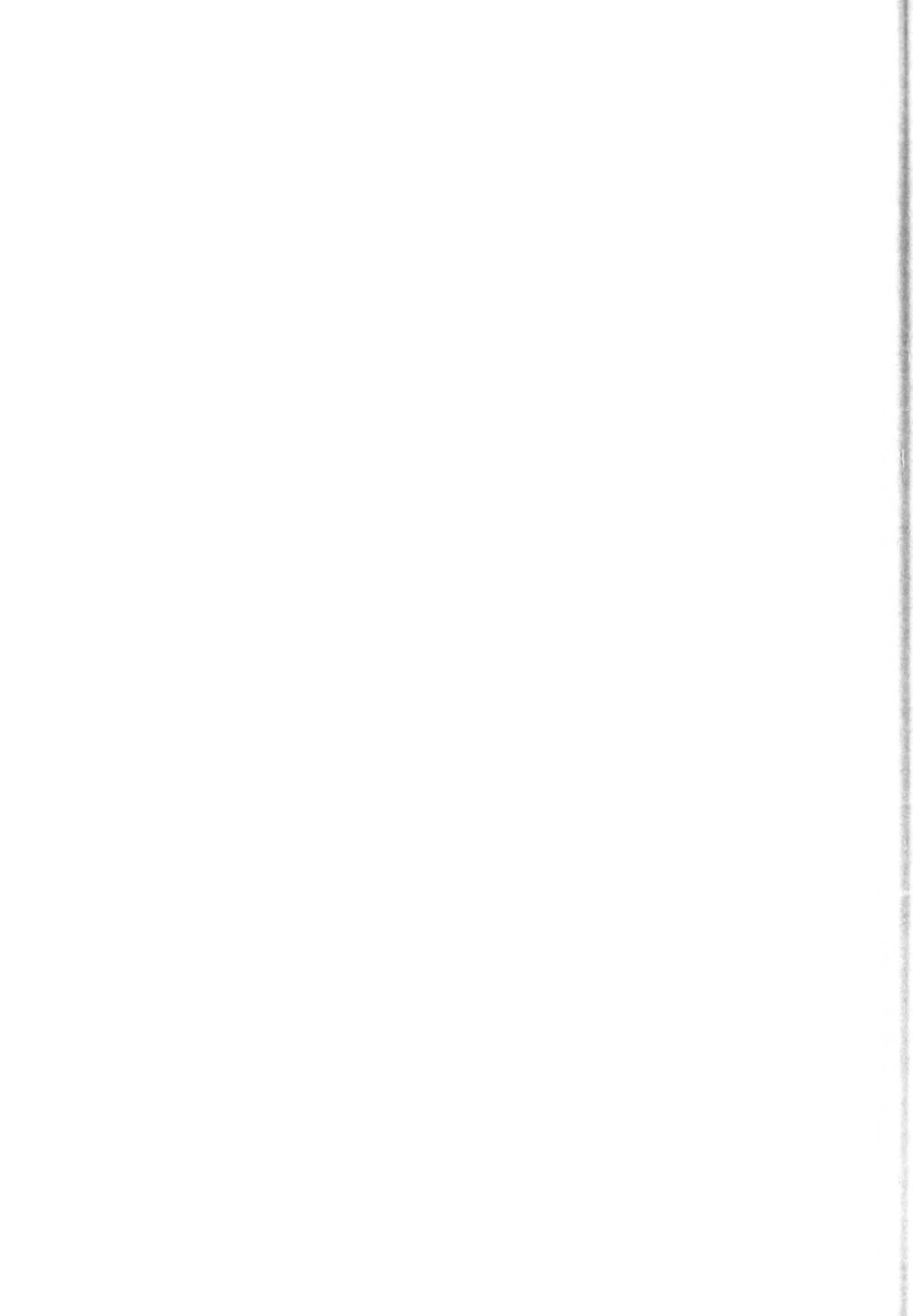
But the haughty Tyrant silenced them with Words to this Effect:  
 “ You are mightily mistaken in your Notions. My Father is turned  
 “ *Christian*; and comes not among you as a *Mussulman* Prince, nor with

“ any good Intent : His coming is in order to revenge himself on both  
 “ you and me, with the Design of delivering once more this City to be  
 “ sacked and destroyed by the *Christians*, whom he conducts hither, and  
 “ to exclude me his undoubted Heir from my rightful Succession.”

At this Discourse they seemed much disturbed, and replied: “ If this  
 “ is true, Sir, and the *Christians* offer to advance to our Gates, we will  
 “ do our utmost to defend our Houses and Families: But, in case your  
 “ Father approaches, accompanied by only his *Mussulman* Attendants and  
 “ Guards, you are not to expect that any of us will offer to be his Op-  
 “ posers.” With this they departed, leaving *Mulei Hamida* in no small  
 Confusion and Suspense.

Mean while *Mulei Hassan* advanced towards *Tunis*, distant, as I have  
 observed, about twelve Miles from the *Goletta*. His 500 *Moors* and *Arabs*  
 led the Van, and at some Distance behind he marched slowly on with the  
 2000 *Italians*, coasting along by the Lake Side; which was the same Way  
 the Emperor *Charles* had taken before. On the other Hand, *Hamida* had  
 sent out a Party of Light-Horse to skirmish, after their Manner, with his  
 Father's Van-Guard, while the Citizens of *Tunis* were all, with Weapon  
 in Hand, quietly waiting the Event. The advanced Parties having skir-  
 mished for some Time, *Hamida's* Troops began to fly towards the City,  
 and were closely pursued by the others; the *Tunisines*, all the while, not  
 attempting to favour either, tho' the Pursuers came among them, and to-  
 gether with them entered the Gate. This being perceived by one of  
*Mulei Hassan's* Officers, he speedily rode back to his Prince, acquainting  
 him, That his Friends and Enemies were treating together amicably;  
 and that he doubted some Treachery. *Mulei Hassan* would not believe; but  
 sent the same Person, in all Speed, to call them back: But finding they came  
 not immediately, being in Discourse with their old Acquaintance, he im-  
 prudently lost a certain Victory, and completed his own Ruin. For, di-  
 rectly contrary to the Opinions of the *Italian* General and all his chief  
 Officers, he caused the *Christian* Battalions to advance. This Motion  
 was no sooner perceived by the attentive *Tunisines*, but they concluding all  
 that *Hamida* had said to be true, they fell furiously on the *Christians*, in  
 which Onset they were seconded by *Hamida's* Party, and a great Body of  
*Arabs*, who, according to Custom, were on the Watch at a Distance;  
 so that in an Instant they surrounded, routed, captivated and destroyed  
 the whole Detachment, very few escaping to the *Goletta*, and they in a  
 pitiful









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