

TRAVELS

TO

TANA AND PERSIA,

BY

JOSAFÀ BARBARO

AND

AMBROGIO CONTARINI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN BY

WILLIAM THOMAS, CLERK OF THE COUNCIL TO EDWARD VI,

AND BY

S. A. ROY, ESQ.

AND EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE volume herewith given to the members of the Hakluyt Society, contains six narratives by Italians, of their travels in Persia about the time of Shah Ismail. Mr. Charles Grey, who has translated and edited four of these travels, having accompanied Sir Bartle Frere to Zanguibar, has been unable to finish the printing of his book, and the correction of his proofs has been entrusted to me. As all these travellers were almost contemporaries, and as they refer to one another, the council have thought it best to give them to members in one single volume.

Shah Ismail, or Ismail Sufy, is the chief personage in this volume; he found Persia in disorder, and reunited it; he revived the Persian nationality, and very much increased the division which existed between Persia and the rest of the Mussulman States; a division or schism which has been erroneously called religious, but which originally was national and political, and, as revived and augmented by Shah Ismail, entirely national. The feelings which animated the earlier Persians to reject the first three caliphs, were the national repulsion of the Persians to their Arab conquerors, and a preference for hereditary

succession instead of popular election. Shah Ismail took advantage of these national sentiments and dynastic traditions, without which Persia, overrun as it was by Turkish tribes, would have merged into the Ottoman Empire. Shah Ismail did his work so effectually, that Nadir Shah was unable to undo it, and was assassinated for attempting it; and, though the greater part of the Persian population and the reigning dynasty at this day speak Turkish as their own language, yet they are as Persian in feeling as the Persian inhabitants of Shiraz and Isfahan.

Of the Italian travellers and envoys, whose narratives are here given, Josafa Barbaro is the most interesting personage: but none of them attract the same interest which attaches to Varthema, or to the Portuguese and Spanish travellers and voyagers of the same period.

The travels of Barbaro and Contarini have long been ready for publication, but have been delayed hitherto, for want of an editor. The work was undertaken by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Lord Strangford, but the former had not time to attend to it, and the latter died before he had really commenced it.

The translation of Contarini was done by Mr. Roy of the British Museum, who also made a translation of Josafa Barbaro, and a question arose whether Mr. Roy's translation, or the quaint old translation of William Thomas, should be published by the Society. I decided in favour of Thomas' translation, partly in deference to what I knew was the opinion in its

favour of Lord Strangford, on account of its interest as English of the time of Edward VI, shewing much better orthography than that current at a later period (Fanshaw's translation of Camoens for instance), and partly on account of the interest which attaches (especially to members of the Hakluyt Society) to Mr. Thomas and his unfortunate end.

Chalmers' Biography tells us that Mr. William Thomas was a learned writer of the sixteenth century, and was born in Wales, or was at least of Welsh extraction, and was educated at Oxford. Wood says, that a person of both his names was in 1529 admitted a bachelor of Canon Law, but does not say that it was this person. In 1544, being obliged to quit the kingdom on account of some misfortune, he went to Italy, and in 1546 was at Bologna, and afterwards at Padua; in 1549 he was again in London, and on account of his knowledge of modern languages, was made clerk of the council to King Edward VI, who soon after gave him a prebend of St. Paul's, and the living of Presthend, in South Wales. According to Strype, he acted very unfairly in procuring the prebend, not being a spiritual person; and the same objection undoubtedly rests against his other promotion. On the accession of Queen Mary, he was deprived of his employment at Court, and is said to have meditated the death of the Queen; but Ball says it was Gardiner whom he formed a design of murdering. Others think that he was concerned in Wyatt's rebellion. It is certain, that for some of these charges he was committed to the Tower in 1553, together

with William Winter and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton. Wood says, "He was a man of a hot fiery spirit, had sucked in damnable principles, by his frequent conversations with Christopher Goodman, that violent enemy to the rule of women. It appears that he had no rule over himself, for about a week after his commitment he attempted suicide, but the wound not proving mortal, he was arraigned at Guildhall, May 9th, 1553, and hanged at Tyburn on the 18th."

Chalmers gives the following list of his works:—

1. "The History of Italy." Lond. 1549, 1561, 4to.
2. "The Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar, with a Dictionary for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarch, and Dante: *Ibid.* 1550, 1561, 1567, 4to."
3. "Le Peregrynne, or, a defence of King Henry VIII to Aretine, the Italian poet." MSS. Cott., Vesp. D 18, in Bodl. Library. This, Wood says, was about to be published in the third volume of Brown's "Fasciculus."
4. "Common Places of State," written for the use of Edward VI. MS. Cotton.
5. "Of the Vanity of the World." Lond. 1549, 8vo.
6. "Translation of Cato's speech, and Valerius's answer; from the 4th Decade of Livy." *Ibid.* 1551, 12mo.

He also made some translations from the Italian, which are still in manuscript.

Mr. Thomas might have rendered further service to letters, instead of mixing himself up in conspiracies, had he received a favourable answer to an application which he made to Cecil, to be sent at the expense of the Government to Italy. A copy of his letter to Cecil, taken from the original at the Record Office, here follows:—

*To the right honorable Sr William Cecill Knight one of the
King's Mag. twoo principall Secretaries.*

Sr myne humble com^ondacons remembered According to yo^r pleas^{re} declared unto me at my departure I opened to my L of Pembroke the consideracon of the warde which you procured for yo^r Sister wherein he is the best contented man that may be and made me this answer that though he wrote at his friends request yet he wrote unto his friende to be considered as it might be wth yo^r owne comoditie and none otherwise ffor if he had knowen so much before as I tolde him he wolde for nothing have troubled yo^o wth so unfriendly a request Assuring yo^u faithfully that I who have knowen him a good while never sawe him more bent to any man of yo^r degree than I perceave he is unto yo^u and not without cause he thanketh yo^u hertily for yo^r newes yo^u sent him And Sr whereas at my departure we talked of Venice considering the stirre of the worlde is nowe like to be very great those waies I coulde finde in myne hert to spende a yere or two there if I were sent I have not disclosed thus much to any man but to yo^u nor entende not to do. wherefore it may please yo^u to use it as yo^u shall thinke good Howe so ever it be yo^r may be sure to commande me as the least in yo^u house. And so I humbly take my leave. ffrom Wilton the xiiijth of August 1552.

Yo^{rs} assuredly to thuttermost

WILLM THOMAS.

From the following extracts from the indictment, and other records of his trial, taken from the Record Office, it will be seen that he did conspire against

Queen Mary, and not only, as Ball supposes, against Gardiner.

Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, iv, p. 248.

Pouch N^o. xxx in the Record Office contains a file of 11 membranes, relating to the Trial and conviction of William Thomas for high treason. The Indictment found against him at Guildhall, dated 8 May, 1 Mary, 1554, charges that, he hearing of the proposed marriage between the Queen and Philip, Prince of Spain, had a discourse with one Nicholas Arnolde, late of London, Knight, as to the manner in which such marriage could be prevented or impeded, upon which the said William Thomas put various arguments against such marriage in writing, and afterwards, to wit 21 December, 1 Mary, at London, in the parish of S^t Alban, in the ward of Cripplegate, the said William Thomas compassed and imagined the death of the Queen.

And afterwards, on the 22^d December, in order to carry his wicked intentions into effect, he went into the house of the said Sir Nicholas, in the parish of S^t. Bartholomew the Less, in the ward of Farringdon Without, and there had a traitorous discourse with the said Nicholas, to the following effect :—“ *Whether were it not a good ‘devise’ to have all these perils that we have talked of, taken away with very little bloodshed, that is to say, by killing of the Queen. I think John Fitzwilliams might be persuaded to do it, because he seems by his countenance to be so manly a man, that he will not refuse any peril that might come to his own person, to deliver his whole native country from so many and so great dangers, as be offered thereunto, if he might be made to understand them*”; which words the said Sir Nicholas, afterwards, viz., 24 December, at London, in the parish of S^t. Anne, in the ward of Aldersgate, repeated to James Croftes, Knight, one of the conspirators with Sir Thomas Wyatt, a traitor who had been attainted for levying war against the Queen, whereof the said James Croftes was also attainted.

And the said William Thomas, not contented with the before-mentioned treasons, in order more fully to fulfil such his imaginations, 27 December, went from London to Devonshire, to a place called Mount Sautrey, then inhabited by Peter Caro, Knight, with which Peter Caro, an abominable traitor, the said William Thomas had a traitorous conference and consultation, and then and there aided the said Peter Caro; and afterwards, to wit, 4 February, fled from Mount Sautrey, from county to county, in disguise, not knowing where to conceal himself; and yet he did not desist from sending seditious bills and letters to his friends, declaring his treasonable intentions, in order that he might induce them to join him in his treasons.

Membrane 1, Wednesday, 9 May, 1 Mary, London.

Record of Sessions, held at Guildhall, before the said Sir Thomas Whyte, and his fellows setting forth.

1 May, 1 Mary, London—Special Commission of Oyer Terminer.

8 May, 1 Mary, London—Indictment as before mentioned.

William Thomas, being brought to the bar by the Constable of the Tower, pleads Not Guilty.

Venire, awarded instanter.

Verdict, Guilty.

Judgment as usual in cases of High Treason.

Execution at Tyburn.

Record delivered into Court, by William, Marquis of Winchester, on Monday next, after the Octaves of the Holy Trinity, 1 Mary.

TRAVELS OF JOSAFA BARBARO.

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MA^{IE}.

WHAN I consider the state of foreyn cuntreys, and do compare this yo^r Ma^s realme to the rest of the worlde as well for justice and civilitie as for wealth and commodities, I do so much reioice in my cuntrey that as I do yelde con-
tynuall and most hertie thanks unto God for His goodness unto us that are born in it, so I wishe all other Englishemen to do, seeing that numbers there be who, puffed up wth wealthe, wote not why they whyne. For undoubtedly if the whole worlde were divided into ix partes, as the quarter of the spheare is into nynetic degrees, and that viii of those ix partes shulde be iudged to be evill cuntreys, the ixth parte only remaining good, this realme of Englande must needes be taken into that one good parte for all respects. The heat is never extreame, and the colde seldome fervent, because we are little further than mydde waye between the sunne and the northe. We have grayne of all kindes necessarie, fyshe, fowle, and fleshe, and some fruites. The sea environeth the cuntrey, to serve us both for carieng out of our owne habundance, and also for fetching of strange comodities hither, in such sort as beside the nedeful we wante nothing to serve us for pleas^{re}. Our justice cannot be amended if the faulte be not in the ministers. The subiects are the King's children, and not sklaves, as they be other-
wheare. And finally o^r civilitie is great, and wolde be p'fict if some menes barbarousenes did not nowe and then cor-

rupt it. So that without affection me seemeth, I may by good reason aduance my cuntry for goodness to be one of the best p'ts of that ixth parte if it shulde be divided againe. For the better proof whereof to thentent it may appeare what barbarouse people are in other regions, what wante of good foode they have, what miserable lyves they leade, what seruitude and subiection they endure, what extremities of heate and colde they suffer, what sup'stitions they folowe, and what a nombre of other inconveniences do hange upon them, the least whereof is ferre from us.

I have thought good to translate out of the Italian tonge this litell booke, written by a Venetian of good fame and memorie, who hath travailed many yeres in Tartarie and Persia, and hath had greate experience of those p'tes, as he doth sufficiently declare, which I determind to dedicate unto yo^r Ma^{tie} as vnto him that I knowe is most desirouse of all vertuouse knowledge. Trusting to God yo^u shall longe lyve and reigne a most happie king over a blessed cuntry, most humbly beseeching yo^r highnes to accept this poore newe yeres gift, being the worke of myne owne hande, as a token of the faithfull love that I am bounde to beare vnto yo^u as well naturally as through the speciall goodnesse that I have founde in yo^u.

Yo^r Ma^{tie}s most bounden Servant,

WILLM. THOMAS

[Here beginne the things that were seene and
herde by me, Josaphat Barbaro, citizen of Venice, in
twoo voiages that I made thone vnto Tana
and thother into Persia.]

THEARTHE (as the geometricians by evident reasons do prove) is as little in respect of the firmament, as a pricke made in the midst of the circumference of a circle; whereof by reason that a great parte is either covered wth water or else intemperate by excesse of heat or colde, that parte which is inhabited is by a great deale the lesser parte. Nevertheles, so little is the power of man, that fewe have been founde that have seene any good porçon of it, and if I be not deceaved, none at all that hath seene the whole. In our time those that have seene some parte most co^monly are merchauntmen or maryners, in which two exercises from the beginneng vnto this daie my Lordes and fathers the Venetians have beene and are so excellent that I believe they may verylie be called the principall. For syns the decaie of the Romaine estate (that sometime ruled over all) this inferior worlde hath been so divided by diversitie of languages, customes and religion, that the greatest parte of this little that is enhabited shulde have been unknowen, if the Venetian merchandise and marinership had not discovered it. Amongst whom, if there be any that have seene ought at this daye, I may reaken myself one: seeing I have spent all my yo^wthe and a great parte of myne age in ferre cuntries, amongst barbarouse people and men w^hout civilitie, much different in all things from our customes, wheare I have proved and seene many things that, bicause they be not vsed in our parties, shulde seem fables to them (as who

wolde saie) that were never out of Venice. Which in dede hath been the cause that I have not much forced either to write or to talke of that that I have seene.

Neverthelesse, being constraind through the requeste of them that may comāde me, and considering that things which seeme more incredible than these are written in PLINIO SOLINO, POMPONIO MELA, STRABONE, HERODOTO, DIODORO, DIONISIO HALICARNASSEO, and others of late as MARCO PAULO, NICOLO CONTE, our Venetians, and John Mandevile the Englishman: and by other last of all as PIETRO QUIRINI, ALUISE DA MOSTO, and AMBROGIO CONTARINI, me thought I coulde no lesse do than write the things that I have seene to the honor of God that hath preserved me from infinite dangers and to his contentaçon that hath required me; the rather for their proffitt that in tyme to comē shall happen to travaile into the pties where I have beene, and also for the comoditie of o' noble citie in case the same shulde hereaftr have occasion to sende those waies. Wherefore I shall divide my wo'ke into two partes. In the first wherof I shall declare my voiage vnto Tana, and in the seconde myne other voiage into Persia, and speake little of the perills and trowbles that I endured, myself.

The yere of o' Lorde mccccxxxvi I beganne my voiage towards Tana, where for the most parte I contynued the space of xvi yeres, and have compassed all those cuntreys as well by sea as by lande not only wth diligence, but in maner curiously.

The plaine cuntrey of Tartarie to one that were in the midst thereof hath on theast the ryver of Ledil, on the west and northwest parte POLONIA, on the northe Russia, and on the sowthe partes towards the sea called Mare Maggiore, the regions of Alania, Cumania, and Gazaria. All which places do confyne upon the sea called Tabacche; and to thentent I be the better vnderstanded, I shall declare it partely by the costes of the Sea Maggiore, and partely by

Lande to the ryver called Elice, which is within xl miles of CAPHA: and passing that ryver it goeth towards MONCASTRO, wheare the notable ryver of DANUBE renneth. From which place forwardes I woll speake of nothing because those places are familiar and knowen well enough.

The cuntrey of ALANIA is so called of the people Alani, which in their tonge they call As. These have been Christen men, and were chased awaie and destroyed by the Tartares.

In that region are hills, ryvers, and plaines: wheare are to be seene an infinite nombre of little hills forced in signe or steede of sepultures, and on the toppe of everie of them a great stone wth an hole: wherein standeth a crosse of one peece made of an other stone.

In one of these little hilles we were psuaded there shulde be hidden a great treasure. For in the tyme that MR. PIETRO Lando had beene consule at Tana, there came one named GULBEDIN from EL CAIRO, wheare he had learned of a Tartarien woman that in one of these little hylles called Contebe,¹ the Alani had hidden a great treas^c. And for prooffe thereof the woman had given this man certein tokens as well of the hill as of the grounde. So that this Gulbedin entreprised to make certein holes or pities like wells into this hill in divers places; and having so contynued the space of twoo yeers he died: whereby it was iudged that only for lacke of habilitie he coulde not bringe this treasure to light. Wherefore vij of us merchant men being together in Tana on Saint Catherines night the yere 1437, fell in reasoning howe this matter might be brought to passe: The names of those merchants were FRANCESCO CORNARO, brother vnto JACOMO CORNARO of the banke, Catarino Contarini, who afterwards vsed to CONSTANTINOPLE. Giovan Barbarigo sonne vnto ANDREA of CANDIA. Giovan da Valle, that died master of the fooyste in the Lake of Garda, and that with certein other Venetians the yere 1428 went vnto Derbenthe wth a

Cairo is
the great-
est citie in
Egipt.

¹ Kum tepeh, or sand mound.

fooyste that he had made, and there by appointment of the Lorde of that place, spooyled certein shippes that came from STRANA, which was a marveilouse acte. Moises Bon, sonne to Alessandro of Judecca, Bartolomeo Rosso, a Venetian, and owner of the house in Tana that we were in at that tyme, and I the vijth. In effect three of this companie having beene at the place before, psuaded the rest that the thinge was faisible, so that we agreed and bound ourselves both by othe and by writing, made by Catarino Contarini, the copie whereof I have yet to shewe, to go digge this hill; whereupon the matter being thus concluded, we hired cxx men to go wth us for that purpose, vnto whom we gave three ducates a peece for the moonthe. And about viij daies aftre we vij wth or cxx men departed from Tana, wth stuff, vittails, weapons, and instruments necessarie, which we caried vpon those zena that they use in Russia, and went vp the ryver on the yse, so that the next daie we arryved at the place, for it standeth neere the ryver, and about lx miles distant from Tana. This little hyll is 1st paces high and is plaine above, on which plaine is an other little hill like a round bonett, compassed about wth a stone so large that ij men a fronte may walke on the bryme, and this little hill is xii paces high. The hill bylowe was round as if it had been made wth a compasse, and was lxxx paces by diameter.

Zena is a sleade.

After all things were readie we beganne to cutt and digge on the plaine of this greater hill, which is the beginneng of the little hill, entending to make a large waie to enter into the botome: but the earthe was so harde frozen that neither wth mattockes nor yet wth pickaxes we coulde well break it. Nevertheles, after that we were a little entred we founde thearthe softer, so that we wrought meetely well that daie. But whan we reto'ned the next morneng we founde thearthe so harde frozen that we were constrained to forgoe our enterprise, and to reto'ne vnto Tana; determyneng nevertheles to come thither again an other tyme.

About thende of Marche we reto'ned thither by boates and litle vessells wth cl men, which beganne to digge of newe. So that in xxij daies we made a waie of lx paces longe, viij paces brode, and x paces high. Nowe shall yoⁿ hear wonders and things almost incredyble.

We founde all things as it had been tolde us before, which putt vs in the more comforte of the rest. So that the hope of finding of this treasure made vs that had hyred the laborers to carie the barowes better than they: and I myself was master of making of the barowes. The great wonder was that first next vnto the grasse thearthe was blacke. Than next vnto that all was coles, but this is possible, for having willowes enough there by, they might easilie make fyre on the hill. Vnder this were ashes a spanne deep—and this is also possible; for having reades there by which they might burne, it was no great matter to make ashes. Then were there rynds of MIGLIO an other Miglio is a graine almost as small as mustard seed. spanne deepe, and bicause it may be said that that they of the cuntrey lyved wth bread made of MIGLIO, and saved the ryndes to bestowe in this place, I wolde faine knowe what proportion of miglio wolde furnishe that quantitie to cover such an hill of so great a breadth wth the onlie ryndes thereof for a spanne deepe? Under this an other spanne deepe were skales of fishe as of carpes and such other. And bicause it may be saied that in the ryver there are carpes and other fishe enough whose skales wolde suffise to cover such an hill, I referre it vnto the reader's iudgment wheather this thinge either be possible or like to be trewe: and yet do I tell it for trewe. And do consider besides that he which caused this sepulture to be made being named Indiabu, mynding to vse all these ceremonies which pchaunce were used in those daies, did thinke on it longe before: and made all these things to be gathered and laied together by some processe of tyme.¹

¹ See Haxthausen, vol. ii, cap. xxi, for descriptions of these Tumuli.

Thus having cutt in and finding hitherto no treas^{re}, we determynd to make ij trenches into the great hill of iiij paces in breadeth and height. This doon we founde a white harde earthe into the which we made steppes to carie up the barrowes by. And so being entred v. paces deeper we founde in the botome certein vessels of stone, some of them wth asshes, some wth coles, some emptie and some full of fishe back bones. We founde also v or vi beadestones as bigge as oranges made of bricke and covered wth glasse such as in the marke of ANCONA they used to plaie wthall. We founde also halfe the handle of a little ewer of sylver, made with an adders hedde on the toppe. Finally in the passion week theast winde beganne to blowe so vehemently that it rayسد thearthe wth the stoanes and cloddes that had been digged and threwe them so in the workemens faces that the blowdde folowed. Wherefore we determined to leave of and to prove no further; which we did on the Easter Monday after.

This place was before called the caves of Gulbedin, but after our digging there it hathe beene called the cave of the FRANCHI, and is so called vnto this daie. For the worke that we did in those few daies is so great, that it seemeth a m men coulde skarsalie have done it in so shorte a tyme. And yet we had no certaintie of this treasure, but (as we coulde learne), if there be any treas^{re} the cause why it shulde be hidde there was that Indiabu Lorde of the Alani hearing that Thempo^r of the Tartares came against hym; for hydeng of his treasure feigned to make his sepulture after their custome, and so conveigheng thither secretlie that which seemed him good, he afterwarde caused this litell hill to be made upon it. The faith of Macomett beganne to take place amonge the Tartariens about an Cth yeres past. In dede some of them were Macomettanes before, but everie man was at his libertie to believe what hym best liked; so that some worshipped ymags of woode, and of ragges, which

The Tar-
tares call
in maner
all nations
of Europe
franchi.

they carried on their carts about with them. The beginneng of Macometts faith was in the tyme of Hedighi capitaigne of the people of Sidahameth Can Empero^r of Tartarie. This Hedighi was father vnto Naurus, of whom we shall speake at this present.

There reigned in the champaignes of Tartarie the yere 1438 an empero^r called Vlumahumeth Can, that is to saie, the great Macomett empero^r, who, having alreadie reigned certein yeres, and being in the champaignes towards Russia wth his Lordo¹ (that is to saie, his people), had this Naurus as his capitaigne, sonne vnto Hedighi before named, by whose meanes Tartarie was constreigned to receave the faith of Macomett. Betwene this Naurus and Thempo^r, there happened such a discorde, that Naurus wth such people as wolde folowe him left him, and went towards the river Ledil vnto Chezimameth, that is to say Litle macomett, one of the bloude of thother emperor, and there agreed wth both their forces to go against Vlumahumeth. Wherevpon they tooke their waie by Citerchan into the champaignes of Tumen, and coming about by Circassia they went towards the ryver Tana, and towards the golfe of the sea called Tabacche, which, with the ryver of Tana, were both frozen. And bicause their people was great and their beasts innumerable, therefore it behoved them to go the more at large to thentent they that went before shulde not destroie the grasse, and other such thinges as served for the refreshhing of them that came aftre. So that the formost of this people and cattail were at a place called Palastra whan the hindermost were at a place called Bosagaz (which signifieth graye woodde), on the river of Tana, the distance between which two places is cxx myles, which space of grounde this foresaid people occupied, though in dede they were not all apt to travaile.

We had newes of their cōmyng iiij moonthes before. But

¹ Ordu, camp.

a moneth before this Lordes arryvall there beganne to cōme towards the Tana certain skowltes, being younge men, iij or iiij on horsebacke, eche of them wth a spare horse in hande. Those that came into Tana were called before the consule and well entreated. But whan they were examyned whither they went and what was their busynes, they answered they were yonge men that went about for their passetyme, and more coulde not be had of them. And they never taried passing an howre or twoo, but that they goon againe, and so it contynewed daylie, saving their nombre did somewhat more and more encrease. But whan this Lorde was wthin v or vi iorneyes of Tana than they begane to come by xxv and l^{ties} together, well armed and in good ordre, and as he drewe nearer they encreased by the hundredethes.

Moschea
is the
name of
the Mac-
comet-
tanes
church.

At length he came himself, and was lodged in an auncient MOSCHEA, wthin an arrowe shoot of Tana. Incontinently the consule determined to send him presents, and sent him a NOUENA, an other to his moother, and an other to NAURUS, capitaigne of the armie. NOUENA is called a present of nyne divers things, as who wolde saie sylkes, skarlette and other such to the nombre of ix. For such is the maner of presenting the Lordes of those pties. So there was caried vnto hym breade, wyne made of honye, alē and other divers things, to the nombre of ix: and I was appointed to go wth all. Being thus entered into the MOSCHEA, we founde the Lorde lyeng on a carpett, leanyng his hedde vnto NAURUS, he himself being of the age of xxij, and Naurus xxv. Whan I had presented the things that we brought, I re-cōmended the towne, wth the people, vnto him, and telled him that they were all at his cōmandement: wherevpon he answered wth most gentle woordes, and aftre looking towards me beganne to laughe and to clappe his handes together, saieng, beholde what a towne is this, wheare as iij men have but iij eyes, which he saied, bicause BURAN TAIA-

PIETRA, our TURCIMANNO, had but one eye; Zuan Greco, the ^{Tarci-}consules servant, one other eye; and he that caried the ^{manno}wyne of honye likewise but one. And than we tooke o^r leave, ^{signifieth}and departed. ^{an inter-}^{preto^r.}

And bicause some woll skarse thinke it likely that, as I have saied, the skowltes shulde go by iiij, by x, xx, and xxx, through those plaines x, xv, and sometime xx io^rneys before the people; constrewing whareof they might lyve. I answere that every of them which so departe from the people carieth wth him a bottell, made of a goates skynne, full of meale of the grayne called MIGLIO, made in past wth a litle honye, and hath a certain litle dishe of woodde, so that whan he misseth to take any wylde game (whereof there is great store in those champaignes which they can well kyll, specially wth their bowes) than taketh he a litle of this meale, and putting a litle water vnto it maketh a certain potion, of the which he feedeth. For whan I have asked some of them what thinge they lyve vpon in the champaigne, they have asked me again, Why do men die for hunger? as who wolde saie, If I may have wherewth sleightlie to susteine the lief, it suffiseth me. And, in dede, they passe their lyves well enough wth herbes and rootes and such other as they can gett, so they wante not salte. For, if they lacke salte, their mowthes woll so swell and fester that some of them die thereof: and in that case they cōmonly fall into the fluxe.

But to reto^rne wheare we lefte, whan this Lorde was departed than this people wth their cattaill folowed. First, hearde of horses by lx-c.cc, and more in an hearde. Afre them folowed hearde of camells and oxen, and afre them heards of small beastes, which endured for the space of vi daies, that as ferre as we might kenne wth o^r eyes the champaigne, every waie was full of people and beasts folowing on their waie. And this was only the first parte; whereby it is to be considered what a much greater nombre shulde be in the myddle parte. We stood on the walles (for we kept

Peloponnesus is now called Morea.

the gates shutt), and thevening we were weerie of looking, for the moltitude of these people and beasts was such that the dyiameter of the plaine which they occupied seemed a PAGANEA of cxx myles. This is a Greeke woorde that I learned in MOREA, being in a gentleman's house that brought an c plowemen in wth him: every one of them wth a staffe in his hande. The maner of this people was, that they went in ordre a rowe, one distant from an other an c paces, strikeng on the arthe wth their stafes, and sometime throwing foo^rthe a wo^rde to raise the game, for the which the hunters and fawkeners, some on horsebacke and some on foote, wth their hawkes and dogges, waited whereas they thought best; and whan their tyme came lett their hawkes flee or their dogges renne, as the game required. And amongst the other game that thei hunted there were p^riches and certain other birdes that we call hethcockes, which are shorttailed like an henne, and holde up their heades like o^r cockes, being almost as great as pecocks, which they resemble altogether in colo^r, saving in the taylor. And, by reason that Tana standeth between litle hills and hath many diches for x miles compasse, as ferre as wheare the olde Tana hath beene, therefore a great nombre of these fowle and game fledde amongst those litle hilles and valeys for succo^r; insomuch that about the walls of Tana and w^hin the diches were so many pertriches and hethcockes that all those places seemed rich mennis poultries. The boies of the towne tooke some of them and solde them twoo for an aspre, which is viij baggatims of ours a peece. There was a freere at that tyme in Tana called freere Thermo, of Saint Fraunces order, who (wth a birdeng nett, making of ij cereles one great and stickeng it out on a coked poll w^hout the walls) tooke x and xx at a tyme, and with the selling of them gate so much mooney as bought him a litell boye, CIRCASSO, which he named Pertriche, and made him a freere: and all the night they of the towne wolde leave their wyn-

This is skarse an English halfpeny.

dowss open wth a certain light in it to allure the fowle to flee vnto it. Sometimes the hartes and other wilde beastes wolde renne into the houses and in such nombres, that almost it is not to be believed: but that happened not neere vnto Tana.

From the plaine through which this people passed, it did well appeare that their nombre was very great, and so many that at a certain place called BOSAGAZ, wheare I had a fisshing place about xl miles from Tana, the fisshers telled me that they had fisshed all the wynter, and had salted a great quantitie of MORONI and CAUIARI, and that certain of this people cōmyng thither had taken all their fishe, aswell freshe as salte, and all their CAUIARI, and all their salte, which was as bigge as that of SIENIZA, in such wise that there was not a crome of salte to be founde after they were goon. Thei brake also the pipes and barells, and tooke the barell stafes wth them, perchaunce to tryme their cartes withall. And further, they brake iij litle mylles there made to grynde salte, only for covetousenes of that litle yron that was in the myddest of them. But that which was doon to me was cōmon to all other. For ZUAN DA VALLE, who had a fisshing there also, hearing of this lordes cōmyng, digged a great diche, and putt therein about xxx barrells of cauiari and to the entent it shulde not be pceaned, when he had covered wth earth again, he burned woodde upon it: but it availed not, for they founde it and left not a iote thereof.

This people carie wth them innumerable cartes of two wheeles higher than ours be, which are closed wth mattes made of reades, and pte covered wth felte, parte wth clothe, if they appteigne vnto men of estimacōn. Some of these cartes carie their houses vpon them which are made on this wise. They take a cercele of tymber, whose dyiameter is a pase and an halfe, crossed wthin foo^rthe wth other halfe cercles: betwene the which they bestowe their mattes of reade, and than is it covered wth felte or cloth, according to the

habilitie of the person. So that whan they lodge they take downe these howses to lodge in.

Two daies after that this Lorde was departed, certain of the towne of Tana came vnto me, willing me to go to the walles, wheare one of the Tartares taried to speake wth me. I went thither and founde one that tolde me howe EDELMUGH, the Lordes brother-in-lawe, was not ferre of, and desired (if I coulde be so contented) to entre vnto the towne and to be my ghest. I asked licence of the consule, which being obtaigned, I went to the gate and receaued him in wth iij of his companye. For the gates were all this while kept shutt. I had him to my hawse and made him good cheare, specially wth wyne, which pleased him so well that he taried two daies wth me : and being disposed to departe entreated me to go wth him, for he was become my brother ; and, wheare as he went, I might go saufely ; and so spake some what to the merchaunts, whereof there was none there, but that he wondered at it.

So, being determined to go wth him, I tooke wth me two Tartariens of the towne on foote : rode on horsebacke myself, and about the iij^{de} howre of the daie sett forwarde. But he was so dronke that the bloudde ranne out of his nose ; and whan I wolde psuade him not to drynke so much, he wolde make mowes like an ape, saieng, Lette me drynke ; whan shall I finde eny more of this ?

By the waie, it behoved vs to passe a ryver which was frozen over ; and being alighted, I endeavored myself to go wheare the snowe was on the yse. But he who was overcome wth wyne, going wheareas his horse ledde him, chaunced on the yse in divers placs wheare no snowe was, by reason whareof the horse was nowe up, nowe downe, afre which sorte he contynewed the thirde parte of an howre. Finallie, being passed that river, we came to an other water, and passed it, wth much a doo, afre the like maner : so that, being wearied, he rested him wth certain of the people that

lodged there: wheare we taried all that night, as yll provided, as may be thought. The next morneng we rode foorth, though not so lustylie as we had done the daie before, and when we weare passed an other arme of the foresaid ryver: following the waie that the people travailed (which were over all as a meyny of ants) w^hin two daies iorney, we approached vnto the place, wheare the Lorde himself was: and there was my conducto^r much honored of all men, and fleshe, breade and mylke, wth other like things given him: so that we wanted no meate. The next daie folowing coveting to see howe this people rode, and what order they obserued in their things, I did see so many wonders, that if I wolde p^ticulerlie write them, I shoulde make a great volume.

We went to the Lordes lodging, whom we founde vnder a pavilion wth innumerable people about him. Of the which those that desired audience kneeled all separate one from an other, and had left their weapons a stones caste off ere they came to their Lorde. Vnto some of them the Lorde spake, and demaunding what they wolde, he alwaies made a signe to them wth his hande that they shulde arise. Whereupon they wolde arise, but not approche eight paces more till they kneeled againe: and so neerer and neerer till they had audience.

The justice that is vsed throughout their campe is verie suddaine, afre this maner: Whan a difference groweth betwene partie and partie, and wordes multiplied (not afre the maner of o^r quarters, for these do vse no violence), thei both or moo (if they be moo) arise and go what waie they thinke good: and to the first man of any estimacōn that they meete they saie: Master, do vs right, for we here are in controversie, wherevpon he tarieth and heareth what both pties can saie: determyneng therevpon what he thinketh best w^hout further writing, and what so ever he determineth is accepted w^hout any contradiction. For vnto these iudgements many

psons assemble, vnto whom he that maketh the determinacōn saith yo^u shal be all witnesses, with which kinde of iudgements the campe is continually occupied. And if any like difference happen by the waie they observe the verie same ordre.

I did see on a daie (being in this Lordo) a treene¹ dishe overwhelmed² on thearthe: vnder the which I founde a litle loofe baken: and demaunding of a Tartarien that was by me, What thinge it was, he answered, It was putt there for HIBUCH-PERES, that is to wete for the Idolatrer. Why, q^d I, are there Idolatrer amongst this people? O, oh, q^d he, that there be enough, but they are verie secret.

To nombre the people surely, in my iudgement, it was impossible; but to speake according to myne estimacōn, I believe, vndoubtedly, that in all the Lordo when they came together there were not so fewe as ccc thousand psons. This I saie because VLU MAHUMETH had also parte of the Lordo, as it hath been rehearsed before.

The hablemen are verie valiaunt and hardie, in such wise that some of them for their excellencie are called TULUBAGATOR, which signifieth a valiaunt foole: being a name of no lesse reputacōn amongst them than the sernames of wisdom or beaultie wth vs, as Peter, ec., the wiseman, Paule, ec., the goodly man. These haue a certein preemynence that all things they do (though partely it be against reason) are rekened to be well doon: because that proceeding of valiauntnes it seemeth to all men that they do as it best becometh them. Wherefore there be many of them that in feates of armes esteeme not their lyves, feare no perill, but stryke on afore to make waie w^{thout} reason: so that the weake harted take cowraige at them and become also very valiaunt. And this sername, to my seemyng, is verie con-

¹ Treene or Treen, *i.e.*, wooden.

² Baron Haxthausen mentions a somewhat similar custom as still existing among the Russian peasants.

venient for them: because I see none that deserueth the name of a valiaunt man, but he is a foole in dede.¹ For, I pray yoⁿ, is it not a folie in one man to fight against iij? Is it not a madnes for one wth a knyfe to dispose himself to fight against diuers that haue sweardes? Wherefore to this purpose I shall write a thinge that happened on a tyme while I was at TANA.

Being one daie in the streate, there came certein TARTARIENS into the towne, and saied that in a litle woodde not past iij miles of there were about an cth horsemen of the Circasses hidden, entending to make a roade even to the towne, as they were wonte to do. At the hearing whereof I happened to be in a fletchers shoppe, wheare also was a Tartarien merchaunt that was cōme thither wth SEMENZINA, who, as soone ahe hearde this, rose vp and saied, why go we not to take them? howe many horses be they? I answered, an c. Well, said he, we are five, and howe many horses woll yoⁿ make? I answered, xl. O, q^d he, the Circasses are no men, but women: let us go take them. Wherevpon, I went to seeke Mr. Frauncs, and tolde him what this man had saied. And he, alwaies laugheng, folowed me, asking me wheather my hert serued me to go. I answered yea; so that we tooke o^r horses and ordeyned certein men of ours to come by water. And about noone we assaulted these Circasses, being in the shadowe, and some of them on sleepe, but by mishappe a litle before o^r arryvall, our trumpett sowned: by reason whe^rof many of them had tyme to eskape. Nevertheles, we killed and tooke about xl of them. But to the purpose of these valiaunt fooles, the best was that this Tartarien wolde needes have had us folowe them still to take them: and seeing no man offer unto it, ranne aftre those that were eskaped himself alone, crieng Noi

Semenzina is a certein kinde of drugges.

¹ Tulubagator is Tulu Bahadur; Bahadury means swaggering or boasting. The Russian word Bogatir is supposed to be derived from Bahadur.

MAHE TORNA.¹ And about an howre after reto^rned lamenting wonders much that he coulde take never a one of them. Beholde, wheather this were a madnesse or no, for if iiij of them had reto^rned they might haue hewen him to peecs, for the which whan we reprovved him, he laughed vs to skorne. The skowtes here before mençoned that came before the campe vnto Tana, went alwaies before the campe into viij costes to descrie if there were daungier any waie.

As soone as the Lorde is lodged, incontinently they vnlade their baggaige, leaving large waies betweene their lodgings. If it be in the wynter the beastes are so many that they make wondrefull mooyre: and if it be in so^mer spreading much dust. Incontinently, afre they haue untrussed their baggaige they make their ovens roste and booyle their fleshe: and dresse it wth mylke, butter, and cheese, and most co^monly they are not wthout some venyson, or wilde fleshe, specially redde deere. In this armie are many artisanses, as clothiers, smythes, armorers, and of all other craftes and things that they neede. And if it shulde be demaunded wheather they go, like the Egyprians or no?² I answer, no. For (saving that they are not walled about) they seeme verie great and faire cities. And to this purpose, as I reto^rned on a tyme to TANA, on the gate whereof was a very faire towre, I saied vnto a Tartarien marchant that was in my companie: who earnestly behelde this towre, howe thinkest thoⁿ, is not this a faire thinge? But he, smiling, againe answered, he that is afearde buyldeth towres: wherein me seemeth he said trewly.

And because I have spoken of merchaunt men, reto^rning to my purpose of the armie, I saie there be alwaies merchauntes which carie their wares divers waies though they passe wth the Lordo, entending to go otherwheare. These

¹ From the text it seems this should be translated: "whilst we cried to him, you will never return, you will never return."

² This perhaps is one of the earliest occasions of gipsies being mentioned.

Tartariens are good fawkeners, have many jerfaulcones, and their flight is much to the CAMMELEONS, which is not vsed wth vs.¹ They hunte the harte and other great beastes also. These hawkes they carie on their fistes, and in the other hande they haue a crowche:² which, whan they be weerie, they leane their hande vpon. For one of these hawkes is twice as bigge as an egle. Sometimes there passeth over the armie a flocke of gheese, to the which some of the campe shoote certein croked arrowes vnfeathered, which, in the ascending, hurle abowt breaking all that is in their waie, neckes, leggs, and whinges: and sometyme there passe so many that it seemeth the ayre is full of them: and than do the people showte and cric wth so extreame a noyse, that the gheese astonied wthhall do fall downe. And bicause I am entered into talking of byrdes, I shall here rehearse one thinge that I thinke notable. Rideng through this Lordo, on the banke of a litle ryver, I founde a man that seemed of reputacōn talking wth his serūnt, who called me vnto him and made me alight, demaunding of me wheareabouts I went. I answered as the case required, wherevpon, looking aside, I pceaued beside him iij or v tesells:³ on the which were certein lynettes; he furthrew cōmaunded one of his serūnts to take one of those lynetts: who tooke two threades of his horsetayle, made a snare which he putt on the tasells, and streight waie tooke a lynett, which he brought to his master, who furthwth did bidde hym dresse it: so that the serūnt tooke him, quickly pulled him, made a broche of woode, rosted him and returned wthhall vnto his m^r, who tooke it in his hande, and beholding me, said: I am not nowe,

¹ The text is: ucellano a camelioni che da noi non s'usano.

² There are many of these crutches to be seen in the bazars and houses at Constantinople, but the use and object of them is forgotten. They are still used in Persia.

³ Tessels, or tassels, for tiercels, a term for a hawk; the text is: & viddi appresso di lui, quattro ouer cinque di quell' herbe, che noi chiamiamo garzi: sopra lequali eran' alcuni cardellini.

whereas I may shewe the that hono^r and courtesie that thoⁿ mearitest, but of such as I haue that God hath sent me we wolde make mearie; and so tooke the linett in his hande, brake it in three partes, gave me one, eate an other himself: and the iij^{de}, which was verie litle, he gave vnto him that tooke it. What shall I saie of the great and innumerable moltitude of beastes that are in this Lordo? Shall I be believed? But, be as it be may, I haue determynd to tell it. And, beginneng at the horses, I saie there be many horsecorsers which take horses out of the Lordo and carie them into diuers places: for there was one CARAUANA that came into Persia er I deputed thense, which brought iij thousand of them; whereof ye neede not to mervaile, for if yo^u were disposed in one daie to bie a thousande or ij^m horses yo^u shulde finde them to sell in this Lordo, for they go in heardes like sheepe, and as they go, if you saie to the owner I woll haue an cth of these horses he hath a staffe wth a coller on thende of it, and is so connyng in that feate that it is no sooner spoken, but he hath streight cast the coller about the horse necke, and drawen him out of the hearde: and so by one and one which he lyst, and as many as yo^w bidde him. I haue diuers tymes mett these horsecorsers on the waie wth such a nombre of horses as haue covered the champaigne, that it seemed a wonder. The countrey breedeth not verie good horses, for they be litell, haue great bealies, and eate no provander: and whan thei be brought into Persia the greatest praise yo^u can give them is, that they woll eate provander: w^hout the which they woll not endure any labo^r to the purpose. The seconde sorte of their beastes is oxen, which are verie faire and great, and such a nombre w^hall, that they serve the shambles of Italie, being sent by the waie of Polonia, and some throwgh Valacchia into Transilvania, and so into Allemaigne, from whense they are brought into Italie. The thirde sorte of beastes that they haue are camells of twoo bonches, great and rowghe, which

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they carie into Persia, and there sell them for xxv ducats a peece: whereas they of theast haue but one bonche, are litle, and be solde for x ducats a peece. Their iiijth kinde of beasts are sheepe, which be unreasonable great, longe legged, longe woll, and great tayles, that waie about xij¹ a peece. And some such I haue seene as haue drawn a wheele aftre them, their tayles being holden vp. Whan for a pleas^e they haue been put to it, with the fatt of which tayles they dresse all their meates and serueth them in steede of butter, for it is not clammye in the mowthe.

I wote not who wolde verifie this, that I shall saie nowe¹ if he haue not seene it. For it may well be demaunded whereof shulde so great a nombre of people lyve travaileing thus every daie! wheare is the co^rne they cate? wheare do they gett it? To the which, I that haue seene it, do answere on this wise. About the mooneth of Februarie they make proclamaçons throughout the Lordo, that he which woll sowe shall prepare his things necessarie against the mooneth of Marche, to sowe in such a place. And such a daie of that mooneth they must take their waie thitherwards. This doon, they that are mynded to sowe prepare themselves, and being agreed together, lading their seede on cartes² wth such cattaill as their busynes require, together wth their wiefs and children or parte of them they go to the place appointed, which most cōmonly passeth not ij io^rneys from the place of the Lordo wheare the crie is made. And there do they eare, sowe, and tarie, till they haue furnisshed that they came for, which doon they reto^rne to their Lordo.

Thempo^r, wth the Lordo, doth this meane while, as the mother is wonte to do wth her children. For whan she letteth them go plaie she ever keepeth her eye on them, and

¹ Nowe; *i.e.*, enough.

² In Wallachia the villagers go in their carts to a distance from their village and from any water, and plough and sow the ground, and return again in the same way to gather in the harvest.

so doth he never departe from these plowemen iij io'neys, but compasseth about them nowe here, nowe there, till the corne be ripe, and yet when it is ripe he goeth not thither wth his LORDO, but sendeth those that sowed it and those that mynded to bye of it wth their cartes, oxen, and camells, and those other things that they need; even as they do at their village.

Thearthe is fertile, and bringeth foorth the 1^{tie} bussells wheate for one of seede: and their bussell is as great as the PADOVANE. And of MIGLIO they haue an c for one; and sometimes thei haue so great plentie that they leaue no small quantitie in the feelde. To this purpose I shall tell yo^u, There was a sonnes sonne of VLUMAHUMETH, who, having ruled certein years, fearing his cousyn Cormayn that dwelled on the other side of the ryver of Ledil, to thentent he wolde not loose such a parte of his people as must haue goon to this tyllaige, which they coulde not haue doon w^hout their manifest perill, he wolde not suffer them to sowe in the space of xj yeres. All which tyme they lyved of fleshe, mylke, and other things. Nevertheles, they had alwaies in their tavernes a little meale and PANICO: but that was verie deere. And whan I asked them howe they did, they wolde answer that they had fleshe; and yet, for all that, he at leingth was driven awaie by his said cousin. Finallie, VLUMAHUMETH, of whom we spoke afore, whan ZIMAHUMETH was arryved neere vnto his confines, seeing himself unhabable to resist, lefte his Lordo and fledde wth his children and others, by reason whereof Zimahumeth became empero^r of all the people: and went to wards the ryver of TANAXA in the mooneth of June, and passed the same about ij daies io'ney above Tana wth all that nombre of people, their cartes, and cattaill: a mervailouse thinge to believe, but more wonderfull to beholde. For they passed all w^hout any rumo^r, and as saufe as if they had goon by lande. Their maner of passage is this. They that are of the most substanciall sende of their folkes afore, who make

certain zattere¹ of drie woode, whereof there is plentie alonge the ryver. They also make certain bondells of softe reades, which they putt vnder their zattere and vnder their cartes, and so tye the same to their horses, who swymeng over the ryver (guyded by certain naked men) passe the hole companie aftre this maner. About a mooneth aftre, rowing vp the water towarde a certain fissheng place, I mett wth so many zatteres and bondells comyng downe the water (which this people had lett go), that we could skarselie passe, and besids that I did see so many zatteres and bondells on the banks, that it made me to wonder. And whan we arrived at the fissheng place we founde that these had doon much wo'se there than those that I haue writen of before. And because I woll not forget my freends yo^u shall vnderstande that EDELMULGH, the empo^{r's} brother in lawe before named, came unto TANA, and his sonne wth him, and soddanelie embraced me, saieng, here I haue brought the my sonne, and incontintly tooke a cassacke from his sonnes backe and putt it vpon me, wherewth he gave me also viij sklaves of the nation of Rossia, saieng, this is parte of the praye that I haue taken in Rossia. In recompence whereof I presented him wth convenient things again, and so he taried wth me ij daies. Some there be that, departing from others, thinking never to meete again, do easylye forgett their amitie, and so vse not those curtesies that they ought to vse: wherein, by that litle experience that I haue had, me seemeth they do not well. For, as the saieng is, mountaignes shall never meate, but men may. In my reto^{r'neng} out of PERSIA wth the Ambassado^r of ASSAMBEI,² willing to passe through Tartarie, and so through POLONIA to cōme to Venice (though at that time I went not through that waie), it chaunced me to be in companie of divers Tartarien merchaunts of whom I enquired

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synke.

¹ Zattera is Italian for a platform, raft, or framework for sailors to stand on in harbour to work at the ship's sides.

² Hassan Bey Ak-Koyunlu.

for this Edelmulg, and learned by signes of the phisonomie, and by the name, that he which was given me by the father, as those Tartariens than telled me, was great wth thempo^r. So that if we had goon further we must needes haue fallen into his handes. In which cace I am assured I shulde haue had no lesse good cheere of him, than as I haue made both to him and his father, but who wolde haue belieued that xxxv^{tie} yeres aftre in so ferre distant cuntreys a Tartarien shulde haue mett wth a Venetian? An other thinge I woll rehearse even to the same purpose. The yere 1455, being in a vinteners seller in the Rialto, as I p^{rs}ed the seller in thone end of the same, I p^{ce}aued twoo men tyed in chaynes, which, by their countenaunce, me thought shulde be Tartariens. I asked who they were, and they answered that they had been sklaves of the Catelaines, and that, fleing awaie, in a litle bote, they were taken by this vyntener, wherevpon I went incontiently to the SIGNORI DI NOTTE, and declared this matter, who by and by sent officers thither, brought them to the co^rte, and in the vinteners presence delivered them, putteng him to his fyne. Thus I gate them loosed, and had them home to my house, and askeng them what they were and of what cuntrey; thone of them answered, he was of Tana, and had been serunt to Cazadahuch, whom I had knowen well, for he was thempo^{rs} customer over all things that came vnto Tana; so that, regarding him more advisedly, me seemed to remembre his face, for he had been many tymes in my house. I asked him what was his name. He answered, Chebechzi, which sigfieth a bulter of meale. And whan I had well behelde him, I saied vnto him, doest tho^u knowe me? He answered, no. But, as soone as I mentioned TANA and JUSUPH (for so they called me there), he fell to thearthe, and wolde haue kissed my feete: saiang vnto me, tho^w hast saved my lief twies, and this is thone of them, for being a sklave I rekened myself deade, and thother was whan Tana was on fyre,

Rialto is the merchauntes assembling place in Venice.

Lordes over the night is an office of great auctoritie in Venice.

tho^w madest an hole in the wall, through the which so many creatures escaped, amongst whom was I and my m^r both. And it is true, for whan Tana was sett on fyre, I made an hole in the wall forneagaint a certein grounde wheare many persons were assembled: through the which there issued aboue xl, and amongst them this felowe and CAZADAHUCH. I kept these twoo Tartariens in my house about twoo moonethes, and when the shippes departed towards TANA I sent them home. Wherefore, I saie that departeng one from an other, wth opinion never to retoⁿe into those pties againe, no man ought to forgett his amitie as though they shuld never meete, for there may happen a thousande things that, if they chaunce to meete againe, he that is most hable shall haue neede of his succor that can do least. Nowe, to retoⁿe vnto the things of Tana. I woll describe it by the west and northwest, costing the sea of Tabacche to the going foo^the on the lefte hande, and aftré some parte of the sea called MAGGIORE, even to the Province named Mengleria. Departing than from Tana about the foresaid coste of the sea, iij joⁿeys w^hin lande, I founde a region called Chremuch, the lorde whereof is named Biberdi, which signifieth given to God; he was sonne vnto Chertibei, that signifieth twelve Lorde. He hath many villaiges vnder him, which at a neede woll make a thousand horses, faire champaignes, many good woodes, and ryvers plentie. The principall men of this region lyve by robbing on those plaines and speciallie on the roberie of the carouanes that go from place to place. They are well horsed, valiaunt men, and subtyll witted, but not verie gryme of visaige. They haue corne enough, fleshe, and honye, but no wyne. Beyonde these are cuntries of diuers languages, though not much different one from an other; that is to witt, Elipehe, Tatarcosia, Sobai, Cheuerthei,¹ As Alani, of whom I haue spoken here before. And these renne alongest even vnto Mengleria² for the space

¹ Kabarda.

² Mingrelia.

of xij iorneys. Mengleria confyneth wth Caitacchi, which are neere the mountaigne Caspio, and wth parte of Giorgiana, and wth the sea Maggiore, and wth the mountaigne that passeth through Circassia, and hath on thone side a ryver called Phaso that compasseth it and falleth into the sea Maggiore. The Lorde of this province, named Bendian, hath two walled townes on the foresaid sea, one called VATHI and an other SEUASTOPOLI, and besides that divers other piles and stronge houses. The cuntrey is all stonie and barayn, w^{thout} any kinde of grayne, saving PANICO. Salte is brought vnto them out of Capha. They make a litle cloth, but it is both course and naught: and they arr beastly people. For proof whereof, being in Vathi (where one Azolin Squarciafigo, a Genowaie, arryved in companie of a PARANDERIA of Turks that went thither wth us from Constantinople), there was a yonge woman stode in her doore vnto whom this Genowaie saied SURINA PATRO NI COCON? which is, mistres is the good man w^{hin}? meaneng her husbände. She answered, Archilimisi, that is to witt, he woll cōme anon. Whereupon he swapped her on the lippes and shewed her vnto me, saieng, beholde what faire teethe she hath: and so shewed me her breast and toouched her teates, which she suffered w^{thout} moving. Afterwardes, we entred into her house, and sate us downe, and this Azolin fayneng to haue vermyn about him beckened on her to searche him: which she did verie diligentlie and chastely. This, meane while, the good man came in, and my companion put his hande in his purse, and saied PATRON TETARI SICA, which is as much to saie as, m^r, hast tho^w any mooney? Wherevnto he made a countenance that he had none about him: and so he tooke him a fewe aspres, wth the w^h he went streight to bye some vittails. Within a while after, we went through the towne to sporte vs, and this Genowaie did every wheare after the maner of that cuntrey what pleased him w^{thout} reproche of any man, whereby it may appeare weather they be beastly people or

no, and therefore the Genowaies that practise in those pties vse for a proverbe to saie, Tho^w art a Mongrello, whan they arr disposed to saie tho^u art a foole. And nowe, bicause I haue saied that TARTARI signifieth mooney, I haue thought good to declare that TETARI properlie signifieth white, and by this they understande syluer mooney, which is white, for the Greeks also call it aspri, w^h signifieth white, the Turkes AKCIA, which signifieth white and in Venice in tyme past, and yet to this present we haue mooney called BIANCHI, in Spaigne also they haue mooney called Bianche. Whereby it may appeare howe many nacōns agree in their language to call one thinge by one maner of name.

Retorⁿing backe to the Tana, I do passe the ryver wheare ALAMA was, as I haue saied before, and so discurre by the sea of Tabacche, on the right hande, going foo^the even to the Isle of Capha, wheare is a straict of the lande that knitteth the Ile wth the mayne lande, liek vnto that of MOREA, which is called ZUCHALA. There are verie great salt springes, that of itself being dried woll become p^ficte salte. Costeng this ilande, first on the sea Tabacche is the cuntrey named Cumania, of the people Cumani. After that is the hedde of the isle wheare Capha standeth, in the same place wheare Gazzaria hath been. And yet to this daie the PICO, that is to saie, the yarde wherewth they measure at Tana, and in all those pties is called PICO DE GAZZARIA. The champaigne of this Ile of Capha is vnder the Tartariens domynion, who haue a Lorde called Vlubi, sonne of AZICHAREI. They are a good nombre of people hable at a neede to make iij or iiij^{mt} horses; they haue twoo places walled, but not stronge, thone whereof is called Sorgathi, which they also called INCREMIN, that signifieth a forteresse; and thother Cherchiarde, which signifieth xl plac. In this ilande, first at the mowthe of the sea Tabacche, is a place called Cherz, which we call BOSPHORO CIMERIO; next to that is Capha, Saldaia, Grasui, Cymbalo, Sarsona, and Calamita. All at

Chersonesus.

this present vnder the great Turke, of the which I neede to saie no more, bicause they are knowen well enough. And yet me thinketh it necessarie to declare the losse of Capha, as I learned it of one ANTONY DA GUASCO, a Genowaie, who was present there, and fledde by sea into GIORGIANA, and from thense into Persia, the same tyme that I happened to be there, to thentent it may be knowen afre what maner this place is fallen into the Turks hands. In that tyme there was a Tartarien Lorde in the Champaigne named Emimachbi, who had yerely of them of Capha a certain tribute as the custome of the cuntrey there is. Betweene him and them of Capha there happened variaunce, insomuch that the CONSULE of CAPHa, being a Genowaie, determined to sende vnto thempo^r of Tartarie for some one of the bloudde of this Eminachbi, by whose favo^r he thought it possible to expell Eminachbi out of his astate. And having therevpon sent a shippe vnto Tana wth an ambassado^r, this ambassado^r went into the Lordo and there obteigned of thempo^r one of the bloudde of this Eminachby, named Menglieri, promiseng to conduct him to Capha, and that if the towne wolde not accept this appointment than to sende Menglieri backe again. Eminachbi, mistrusteng this matter, sent an ambassado^r vnto Ottomanno, promiseng him that if he wolde sende an armie by sea to assaulte the towne he would assault it by lande, and so shulde Capha be the Turkes. Ottomanno being desirouse thereof sent his armie, and in shorte space gate the towne, in the which Menglieri was taken, and sent to Ottomaño, who kept him in prison many yeres. Not longe after Eminachbi, through the Turks yll conversaçon, repenting him of giveng the towne to Ottomanno, prohibited the passaige of all vittailles into the towne, by reason whereof they had so great skarsetie of corne and fleshe that they rekened themselves in maner besieged. Wherevpon the Turke was psuaded that if he sent Menglieri to Capha, keeping him w^{hin} the towne in cur-

teise warde, the towne shulde haue plentie: for Menglieri was welbeloued of the people w'hout. And so Ottomanno did; so that, as soone as it was knowen that he was arrived, incontinently the towne had plentie of all things, for he was also beloued of the townesmen. This man thus remaineng in curteise warde went wheare he wolde w'hin the towne; and one daie amongst other, there happened a game of shooting for a prise. The maner whe'of is, they honge on certein polles sett vp like a galowes, a boll of sylver tied only wth a fyne threede. Those nowe that shall shoote for the prise shoote thereat wth forked arrowes and arr on horsebaike, and first must galopp vnder the gallowes, so that being in his full carier passed a certein space, he turneth his bodie and shooteth backwarde, the horse galoping still awaywarde, and he that after this sorte cutteth the threede wynneth the game. Menglieri, findeng occasion vpon this to escape, appointed an e horsemen (wth whom he had intelligence before) to hide themselves the same daie in a litell valey not ferre from the towne, and fayneng to renne for the game he made awaie to his companie; wherevpon the force of all the whole iland folowed him: by reason whereof, he being waxed stronge, went to Surgathi, a towne vi miles from Capha, and took it, and so having slayne Eminachbi, made himself Lorde of all those places. The yere folowing he determined to go towards Citerchan,¹ a place xvi io'neys distant from Capha, vnder the domynion of one Mordassa² Can, who in that tyme was wth his Lordo vpon the ryver of Ledil. He fought wth him, tooke him and tooke his people from him: a great parte whereof he sent into the Ile of Capha, and so aboade the wynter on that ryver. At which tyme, by chaunce, there was an other Tartarien Lorde lodged a fewe io'neys of, who, hearing that he wyntered there, whan the ryver was frozen came on him suddainely, assaulted him, and discomfited

¹ Hajy Terkhan or Astrakhan.

² Murteza Khan.

him, and so recovered Mordassa that had been kept prisoner. Menglieri being thus discomfited, returned vnto Capha in yll ordre. And Mordassa, wth his Lordo, came the next springe even to Capha, and made certein roades to the dammaige of the ilande. But, seing he coulede not haue the towne yelden vnto him, he to^rned backe. Nevertheles, I was enformed that he was making of a newe armye to co^me againe into the ilande and to chace Menglieri awaie, as it proved after in dede; but hereof sprange a false rumo^r, through thignorance of them that vnderstande not whereof the warre amongst these Lordes proceadeth, not knowing what difference is betwene the great Can and Mordassa Can. For they, hearing that Mordassa Can made a newe armie to reto^rne vnto the ilande, bruted that the great Can shulde come by Capha, awaie against Ottomanno, purposeng by the waie of Moncastro to entre into Valachia, into Hungarie; and so, wheareas Ottomanno was behinde the ilande of Capha, which standeth on the sea Maggiore is Gothia, and aftre that Alania, which goeth by the ilande towards Moncastro, as I have saied before.

The Gothes speake dowche, which I knowe by a dowcheman, my ser^unt, that was wth me there: for they vnderstode one an other well enough, as we vnderstande a furlane¹ or a florentine.

The furlane and florentine differ but in phrase of speeche from the Venetian.

Of this neyghbo^rhode of the Gothes and Alani, I suppose the name of Gotitalani to be deryved, for Alani were first in this place. But than came the Gothes and conquered these cuntreys, myngleng their name wth the Alani, and so being myngled together called themselves Gotitalani, who, in effect, folowe all the Greekish fa^çons, and so also do the Circassi.

And bicause we haue spoken of Tumen and Cithercan, thinking good to write the things there wo^rthie of memorie, we saie that going from Tumen east northeast about vij

¹ Furlane; *i. e.*, of Forli.

io'neys, is the ryver Ledil, whereon standeth Cithercan, which at this p'nt is but a litle towne in maner destroyed; albeit, that in tyme passed it hath been great and of great fame. For, before it was destroyed by Tamerlano, the spices and silke that passe nowe through Soria came to Cithercan, and from thense to Tana, wheare vj or vij galeys only were wonte to be sent from Venice to fetche those spices and silkes from Tana; so that, at that tyme, neither the Venetians nor yet any other nacion on this side of the sea costes, vsed merchaundise into Soria. The ryver Ledil is great and large, and falleth into the Sea of Bachu about xxv^{tie} myles distant from Cithercan, and as well in that ryver as in the sea arr innumerable fisses taken.

Mare Cas-
piu is
nowe
called
Bachu

That sea yeldeth much salte, and yo^w may saile vp that ryver by io'neys almost as ferre as Musco, a towne of ROSSIA. And they of Musco come yerely wth their boates to Cithercan for salte. There arr many ilandes and woodes on this ryver, some of which ilandes conteigne xxx myles in cōpasse. In these woodes arr great trees growing, which, being made holowe, serue for boates of one peece, so bigge that thei woll carie viij or x horses at a tyme and as many men. Passing this ryver and going east northeast towards Musco, keeping the rivers side xv io'neys continuallie, arr innumerable people of the Tartariens, but to'neng plaine northeast yo^w arryve at the confines of Rossia, at a litle towne called RISAN, which appertaigneth to a brother in lawe of John Duke of Rossia, and there they be all Christians aftre the ryte of the Greekes. This countrey is verie fertyle of corne, fleshe, honye, and divers other things: and their drynke is called BOSSA,¹ which signifieth ale. There arr also many woodes and villages, and so passing a litle further yo^w cōme to a citie called Colona. The one and other of both which townes arr fortified wth woodde, whereof also they buylde their houses, bicause there is small quantitie of stone to be

¹ Buzah, Turkish and Persian, a kind of beer; here it means Kwass.

founde thereabouts. Three io'neys from thense is the said towne of Musco, wheare the forenamed John Duke of Rossia dwelleth, through the middest of which towne renneth the most noble ryver of Musco, and hath certein bridge over it: and, as I believe, the towne tooke his name of the ryver. The castell is on a litell hyl environed about wth woodes. The habundance that they haue of corne and fleshe may well be cōprehended by this, that they sell not their fleshe by weight, but by the eye; and surely they have iiij^l for a marchetto. Yo^v shall haue lxx hennes for a ducat, and a goose for iij MARCHETTI. But the colde is so fervent in that cuntrey that the ryvers are frozen. In the wynter arr brought thither hogges, oxen, and other beastes, readie flayne, and sett vpright on foote as harde as stones, and in such nombre that he who wolde bye twoo hundred in a daie may haue them there. But they woll not be cutt, for they arr harde as marble till they be brought into the stufes. As for fructes, they haue none, saving a fewe apples and nuttes and litle wylde nuttes.

Mar-
chetto is
not
worthe an
Englishe
halfe-
peny.

Stufe is
an hote-
house.

Whan thay be disposed to travaile, specially any longe io'neys, they go in the wynter, for than is it frozen over all: and by reason thereof good travailleng, saving that it is colde, and than do they carie what they lyst with great ease vpon those sani which serue them as cartes serue vs and o^r parties, we call them TRANOLI. But in the soñer they darr not in maner go foo'the of their doores, for the vnreasonable mooyre and moltitude of stingeng flies which coñie foo'the of so many great woodes as they haue about them: the greatest parte whereof is vnhabitable. They haue no grapes, but make them wyne of honye, and some make ale of miglio, in thone and other whereof they putt hoppes, which giveth a taste that maketh a man as doonye¹ or dronken as the wyne.

Sani arr
sleddes.

Furthermore, me seemeth it not convenient to forgett the provisions that their foresaid duke made to brydle such

¹ Dunny; *i.e.*, stupid.

dronkardes, as thro^wgh their dronkenesse neglected the wo^rking and doing of many things which shulde haue been proffitable for them. He made a crye that they shulde make neither ale nor wyne of honye, nor use hoppes in any thinge, and by this meane hath reduced them to good lyving, which hath contynued nowe for the space of xxvⁱe yeres. In tyme passed¹ the Rossians paied trybute to Thempo^r of Tartarie, but nowe they haue subdued a towne called Cassan (which, in o^r tonge, signifieth a cawldron²), that standeth on the ryver Ledil, on the lefte hande as yo^w go towards the Sea of Bachu, v ioⁿeys from Musco. This is a towne of great merchaundise. From whense cometh the most parte of the fures that are caried to Musco and into Polonia, Prusia, and Flandres, which fures come out of the Northe and Northeast, from the regions of Zagatai and Moxia, northerne cuntreys enhabited by Tartariens, that for the most parte arr idolatrrers; and so also be the Moxii. And bicause I haue had some experience of the things of the Moxii, therefore I entende to speake somewhat of their faith and maners, as I haue learned.

At a certein tyme of the yere they vse to take a horse: which they laie alonge on the plaine. His iiij feete bounden to iiij stakes, and his heade to an other. This doon, cometh one wth bowe and arrowes; and, standing a convenient distance of, shooteth towards the hert so often, till he haue killed him. And whan the horse is thus deade they flaye him and make a bottell of his hide, vsing with the fleshe certein ceremonies: which, nevertheles, they eate at leingth. Than they stufe the hyde so full of strawe, that it seemeth hole again; and in every of his legges putt a pece of woodde; and so sett him afoote againe, as though he were on lyve. Finally, they go to a great tree and thereof cutt such a boowe as they thinke best, and thereof make a skaffolde

¹ Ramusio has the preceding clause here—"It may be twenty-five years ago."

² *Kazan* is Turkish for a cauldron.

whereon they sett this horse standing, and so wo^rship him. Offering sables, armelynes,¹ menyver,² martrons, and foxes, which they hange on the same tree, even as we offer up candells. By reason whereof the trees there are full of such fures. This people, for the more parte, lyve of fleshe, and the greatest parte thereof wilde fleshe: and fishe they haue also in those ryvers. Nowe that I haue spoken of the Moxij I haue no more to saie of the Tartariens, saving that those which be Idolatrers worship Images that they carie on their cartes, though some there be that vse daylie to wo^rship that beast that they happen first to meete whan they go foo^the of their doores. The duke also hath subdued Novgroth, which in o^r tonge signifieth ix³ castells, and is a verie great towne, eight io^rneys distāt from Musco, northweast: which before tyme, was governed by the people; being men w^hout reason and full of heresies. Nevertheles, by litle and litle they arr nowe brought to the Catholike faith. For some belieue in dede, and some belieue not; but they lyve nowe wth reason and haue justice mynistred amongst them.

Departing from Musco yo^w haue xxij daies io^rney into Polonia, the first place whereof is a castell called Trochi:⁴ the comyng wherevnto from Musco is through woodes and litle hilles which be in maner deserte. It is true that travaileing from place to place, whereas⁵ other haue lodged before yo^w shall finde wheare fyre hath been made, and there the way faring p^sons may rest and make fyre if they woll: and sometimes a litle out of the waie yo^w shall finde some small villaige: but that is seldome. Likewise, departing from Trochi, yo^w finde woodes and hilles, but sometimes houses amonge. And at thende of ix io^rneys from Trochi yo^w finde a walled towne called Lonici, and than do yo^w enter the region of LITUANIA, wheare there is a towne called Varsovich,⁶

¹ Ermines.

² Skins of grey squirrels.

³ Nove castelli; *i.e.*, new castles.

⁴ Troki, near Wilna.

⁵ Whereas, used here, and at page 38, for wherein.

⁶ Ramusio prints Varsonich.

appteyneng to certain gentlemen, subiects of CAZIMIR, King of POLONIA. The cuntrey is fertile and hath many townes and villaiges, but not of any great accompte. From Trocchi into POLONIA arr vij io^rneys, and the region is good and faire, and than finde yo^w Mersaga, a verie good citie, wheare Polonia endeth: of whose townes and castells, bicause I knowe them not, I woll saie no more. But that the king, wth his children and all his famylie, arr very Christian; and that his eldest sonne is nowe King of Boemia. Being departed out of Polonia w^{hin} iij io^rneys, we finde Frankforth, a citie of the Marquis of Brandenburgh, and so we enter into Allemaigne: whereof I neede not to speake, bicause it is a cuntrey in maner at home and knowen well enough. So that nowe there resteth somewhat to be saied of GIORGIANA, which is forneagainst the place, here before spoken, and confyneth wth Mengrelia. The king of this province is called PANCRATIO, who hath a faire cuntrey, plentyfull of breade, wyne, fleshe, graine, and many other fruites; the most parte of which wynes growe on trees, as that doth in Trabisonda, and the men arr faire and bigge, but they have very fylthie apparill and most vile customes. They go with their heades rounded and shaven, leaving only a litle heare, aftr the maner of our abbotts, that haue great reuenewes, and they suffer their mostacchi to growe a quarter of a yarde longer than their beardes.¹ On their heades they were a litell cappe, of divers colo^{rs}, wth a creste on the toppe. On their backs they were certain garments² meetely lenge, but they be strait and open behinde downe to the buttocks; for, otherwise they coulde not gett to horsebacke; wherein I do not blame them, for I see the Frenchmen vse the like. On their feete and leggs they were bootes or busgynes, made wth their soles of such a sorte, that whan they stande, the heele and the too too^wche the grounde, but the plante of the

Mostacchi
is the
berde of
the vp-
per lyppe.

¹ Or: a quarter of an ell below their chins.

² Giubbe; *i.e.*, jubbeh.

foote standeth so high that yo^v may easelie thrust yo^r fyst vndernethe w^hout hurting of it, whereof it foloweth that whan they go afoote they go wth paine. I wolde in this parte blame them, if it were not that I knowe the Persians vse the same. In their feeding (as I haue seene the experience in the house of one of the principall of them) they vse this maner. They haue certein square tables of halfe a yarde brode, wth a ledge rounde about: in the myddest whereof they putt a quantitie of panico sodden, w^hout salte or other fatt; and this they vse in steade of podaige. On an other like table they putt the fleshe of a wilde bore, so little brooyled that whan they cutt it the bloudde cōmeth out, which they eate very willingly. I coulde not awaie¹ w^hall, and therefore drave foo^t the the tyme wth that podaige. Wyne we had plentie, and that trugged² about lustilie: but other kinde of vittailles we had none.

There be in this province great mountaignes and many woodes. It hath a citie called Zifilis,³ by the which passeth the ryver Tigris, and that is a good towne, well inhabited. There is also a towne called Gori, which confineth wth the Sea Maggiore, and this is as much as I haue to saie toocheng my voyage vnto Tana and those regions, together wth the things wo^thie of memorie in those pties. And nowe it behoveth me, taking an other beginneng, to describe the seconde parte: wherein I shall declare the things apptaigneng to my voiage into Persia.

¹ Endure, abide.

² The text of Ramusio has—E andava intorno alla polita.

³ Ramusio has—Tiflis.

[Here beginneth the Seconde Parte which
concerneth the voiage that I, Josaphat Barbaro,
made, as Ambassado^r into Persia.]

DURING the warres between our most excellent Signoria and Ottomano, the yere 1471, I, being a man, vsed to travaile, and of experience amongst barbarouse people, and willing also to serue o^r foresaid most excellent Signoria, was sent awaie wth thambassado^r of Assambei, King of Persia: who was come to Venice to comfort the Signoria to folowe the warres against the said OTTOMANNO. Signoria signifieth the Venetian astate.

We departed from Venice wth ij light galeys, and aftre vs came ij great galeys, well furnished wth men and municōns, besides other presents that the forsaid most excellent Signoria sent to Assambei: wth comission that I shulde arrive in the cuntrey of Caramano or on those sea costes wheare, if the said Assambei shulde come or sende, I shulde give all these things vnto him. The proporcōn was of artillerie, certein bombardes, springards, and hangonnes,¹ wth powder, shott,² waggens, and other yrons, of divers sortes, to the value of iiij^m ducates. The souldeo^{rs} were crossbowes and handgones: cc vnder the leading of iiij conestables and one governo^r, named Thomas of Imola, who had x men sufficiently provided for every governaunce. Than were there presentes of vessell of syluer to the value of three thousande ducates; cloth of golde and sylke to the value of ij^m v^c ducates. Scarletts and other fyne wollen clothes to the value of iiij^m ducates. And so being arryved in the Ile of Cyprus we entered into Famagosta, and there together came before

Caramano was lorde of Cilicia.

¹ Schioppetti.

² Polvere da trarli.

the king, the Busshop of Romes¹ ambassado^r, King Ferdinandos ambassado^r, and we twoo, that is to weete Assambeis ambassado^r and I, whcare enquireng wheather we might go sauf through the cuntrey of Caramano into Persia, we founde that Ottomanno had gotten all the townes both on the sea costes and w^hin lande. By reason whereof we were constreyned to tarie a certein tyme in Famagosta. In which tyme (being desirouse to folowe on my iorney) I divers tymes, in companie of thambassado^r of CARAMANO (whom I founde in Cyprus) went wth a light galey vpon the costes of CARAMANO: leaving thother ambassado^r behinde me. And on one tyme amongst other, I arryved in an haven, whereas standeth a certein castell called Sigi, and there we spake wth the Lorde of that place:² who, notw^hstanding that he had lost all his fortresses, had yet about a cth horses and some people that went as vagabonds about the cuntrey, which did all folowe him.

This lordes elder brother³ was goon to Assembei for succo^r against Ottomanno, so that we, finding him of o^r affection, talked wth him; and in cōicacōn amongst other things reioiseng he saied vnto vs, that he had waited for vs and shewed l^{res} from Assambeis, willeng him to be of good compforte, for the Venetian armie shulde shortlie come vnto him; by whose helpe he trusted to recover his astate, specially the places on the sea costes. Whereupon, I hearing that o^r armie shulde come into those pties, tooke order that our galeys which remayned of Famagosta, should come to Sigi. This meane while I hearde that our generall capitaigne M^r. Pietro Mocenico, together with the Provedito^r M^r. Vettorio Soranzo, and M^r. Stephano Malipiero, with the other galeys and capitaignes were arryved in the haven of Curcho;⁴ wheare as is a faire castell of the same name. Wherefore inconti-

¹ Ramusio has—The Pope.

² *Ibid.* has—named Cassambeg.

³ *Ibid.*—named Pirameto.

⁴ *Ibid.*—which, according to the ancients, was Corycus.

nently I sent Augustino Contarini, the sopracomito vnto him; adviseng him that if he went about any enterprise I thought he shulde do well to come to Sigi, wheare I was, for that waye might he soonest obteigne victorie; howbeit, if he thought it not good, I was readie to folowe his comaundement. Sigi is but xx myles distant from Curcho; so that the generall capitaigne having herde my opinion (notwthstanding he had alreadye begonne his batterie there) lefte of and came wth the armie vnto Sigi. In which armie were lv^{tie}1 galeys besides the twoo light and twoo great ones that I had brought that made up lx, all of o^r most excellent signoria, xvj galeys of the King FERDINANDOS, v galeys of the King of Cyprus, ij galeys of the great M^r of Rodes, and xvj galeys of the Busshopp of Romes,² which at that time remained at Modone. So that in all they were nynetie and nyne galeys. On the which there were ccccxl horses of ours wth their stradiotte,³ thtt is to wete, viij in every galey, v galeys excepted, which in dede had no horse. As soone as they arryved in the haven they landed their horses and a good p^{te} of the people, who made themselves readie. The next daie folowing the cap^{ne} sent for me, and told me that the castell seemed vnto him verie stronge, and by reason of the site in maner not expugnable, because it standeth on the height of an hyll, and therefore asked myne opinion. I answered it was vndoubtedly very stronge, but that, on thother side again, there passed not xxv good men in it to garde and defende it, being a myle in compasse; wherefore I made my rekenyng that folowing thentreprise we shulde soone obteigne it, he pawsed a great while and answered nothing, but w^hin two howres after he sent his admirall vnto me, saying that he was determyned to go through with thentreprise, bidding me to be of good comforthe. Wherepon I went streight to warne THEMINGA, a cap^{ne} of

Stradiottes are light horsemen, Greekes.

¹ Ramusio has—56.

² *Ibid.* has—of the Supreme Pontiff.

³ στρατιωται.

the caramano, who likewise reioysed much, and made me to declare it vnto his lord, which I did; and so retorneng by THEMINGA came to o^r capitaigne that than travailed for the preparacon of thassaulte. The next morning about iiij houres of the day, Theminga tolde me there came one out of the castell to him, offering to yelde the castell if we wolde save their persons and their goodes, which I declared to o^r capitaigne; and so was commanded by him to promise, by means of Theminga, that they and all theirs, wth their goodes, shulde be saufe, and that in case they were not disposed to contynewe there they shulde be saufely conducted whither they wolde. Having declared this to Theminga, he wolde I shulde go speke wth the lorde of the castell; and so went to the gate, wheare, through a little square wyndowe, I spake wth him, and, afre many woordes, he concluded that vpon this condicion rehearsed he wolde deliver the castell. Whereupon, the promise being made, he opened the gates and suffered me wth o^r Admyrall and three of o^r galeymen, wth o^r interpretor, to enter. I asked him wheare he wolde be, he answered that he desired to go into Soria; and for his more suretie to be conducted wth his wife, children and goods by one of o^r galeys, which I promised him. And so incontinently he caused his goodes to be packed, whereof a great deal was made readie before, and he issued out of the gate wth hall, and the rest of those that were in the castell afre him, which were to the nombre of cl^{is} p^{ersons} in all, and descending downe the hyll mett wth o^r capitaigne that was comyng up wth a good nombre of galeymen to receaue the castell, which galeymen, neither for the cap^{nes} commandement nor yet for thretenyng, wolde forbear the spoyle of those goodes and persons, being not a litle grief to the capitaigne and provedito^r, and to all them that had vnderstanding, considering the faithful promise that had been made in their name. Thus having receaued the castell I reto^rned to the galey, and that evenyng late the cap^{ne} sent for me,

lamenting wonderfully the chaunce that was happened, willing me to go to the capitaine of the Caramano to excuse him, and to declare what I thought convenient touching the disobedience and rage of the galeymen; and what he further mynded to do, as well in their favor that had been robbed as against them that had committed the roberie. Thus being returned to the seaside, I founde myne interpreto^r wth an asse laden wth these goods, which I not only caused incontinently to be taken from him, but also made him to be well beaten. Than went I to Theminga, cap^{ne} to caramano, and whan I had excused the matter as I was appointed, in conclusion I promised him the next daye following all thinges shulde be restored. He receaued me thankfully, saieing that it greued him that the lorde of Sigi wth all his (being rebells vnto his lorde) had not been slayne, wherefore seing he passed so litle vpon that which was happened, I salued the matter, saieing it was convenient we shulde observe o^r promise made vnto them, and that the thing so chaunced proceeded of the galeymennes furie sore against the capitaines, proveditors, and all the sopracomitos willes. Whan I was returned vnto o^r capitaine, he comanded Mr. Vettor Soranzo, wth certein sopracomiti, to see the persons and goods taken contrarie to thappoinctm^t recovered. Whearevpon, early in the morⁿeng, cries were made vpon great penaltie that everie man shulde bringe on lande as well the persons as the goods so taken, and besides this the galeys were dilygently searched. The persons were all founde, and a great pte of the goodes, whereof those of smallest valewe were cast on a great heape, and such parte of it taken out as appertaigned to the Lorde, and likewise out of the sakes or elswhere all that was his was had out, and all together brought into the galley of Mr Vettor Soranzo, the provedito^r, because the Lorde wth his wief were entered into that galey, vnto whom all the things that coulde be founde were presented. And for the rest of the peoples goodes they

were all assigned to their own captaigne, who made a crye that every one shulde come foo^rthe and take his owne, and so they did. It was thought this lorde shulde have no small treasure lefte him by his father, and, as it appeared, what of precieuse stones, perles, golde, sylver, and clothe, there were doseins of thousande ducates. For proof whereof one SOPRACOMITO, a Candiot, which had twoo sackes of the said goodes thone whereof be restored, and caried thother wth him vnto Rodes: wheare he died; bequethed vnto the said lorde in recompense of that which he had of his viij^o ducates. This doon, twoo of the same lordes bretherne came to hym into the galey, and wth divers reasons so psuaded him, that he consented to reto^rne to lande againe wth all his; wheare, shortly after, the galeys being departed, they caused him to die; and, as though that had been but a small matter, thone of them also maried his brothers wief.

Tharmye reto^rned to Curcho, before named: and whan the men were landed the bombards were bestowed in their place to batter likewise that castell: in the which was a garryson of Ottomanos men, and there also was the Lorde CARAMANO arrived wth his men: and having taken the first wall they yelded, bodie and goods saved: so that we tooke the castell and restored it vnto CARAMANO. Afre this I, wth certein of CARAMANOS company went to Silephica, a famo^use towne¹ likewise gotten by Ottomano, and thretened them w^hin; but if they wolde not yelde the towne (for the w^{ch} their bodies and goodes shulde be saved) they shulde be assaulted, and pchaunce whan they wolde yelde they shulde not be accepted, but be hewen to peeces: wherevnto I was answered that I shulde departe for that tyme in Godds name; and the next mornyng they wolde signifie vnto CARAMANO what their entent was: which in effect proved so, for they hadde him come to receave it, and they accordingly yelded. Vpon this our capitaigne, wth all tharmie, reto^rned

¹ Ramusio has—which was formerly called Seleucia: now Selekkeh.

into Cyprus, disposing themselves to abide neere vnto Famagosta, to take ordre for the rule and governance of that Ilande, bicause King James¹ happened to dye while we were in Caramanos lande. And having established all things well there, w^hin a fewe daies they went towardes the Archipelago, and I remained in the haven of FAMAGOSTA with three light galeys and twoo great: together wth the conestable and soulede^{rs} that were comitted vnto me by the most excellent SIGNORIA, wheare I taried a certain space. This, meane while, there arryved two galeys of King Ferdinandos, in the which was the Archebusshop of Nicosia, a Catelaine borne, and wth him a messynger of the kings to treat of the mariage of a bastarde doughter of King James.² Amongst which practises there happened one night a great alarme, wth ryngeng of belles: insomuch that the busshop, wth those that folowed him gate the markt place and consequently the towne: and aftre that had Ciren^{es}³ wth the rest in maner of all the Ilande at his cōmaundement. But o^r capitaignegenerall hearing of the passaige of these twoo galeys, wth the busshop eastwardes, suspected they went into Cyprus: and therefore sent Mr. Vettor Loranzo, the Proveditor, wth x light galeys aftre him: who arryved at Famagosta, and founde one of the said galeys in the haven there, and aftre longe reasonyng the said busshop wth his complices agreed to restore the towne and all that they had taken, and so to departe. Which doon, King Ferdinandos ambassado^r returned to Naples, and the Busshop of Romes remained still in Famagosta. I, wth Assambeis ambassador, desirouse to furnishe my io^rney (having first sent backe into Candia the twoo great galeys, wth thartillerie and presents before named, by appointement of the Signoria, who caused pte of it to remaigne there, and parte to be had againe to Venice),

Archipelago was sometime Mare Egeū.

¹ Il Re Zacho.

² Ramusio has here—with a natural son of the said King Ferdinand.

³ *Ibid.*—Cerines.

caused the souldes^{rs} to remaigne for the garryson of Cyprus, and wth a light galey reto^rned to Curco, the site whereof I shall nowe describe, bicause I haue not spoken of it before. This Curco standeth on the sea, and hath forneagainst it westwarde a rocke, the thierde parte of a myle in compasse,¹ on the which heretofore hath been a castell both stronge and faire and well wrought, though at this present it be greatly decaied. On the principall gates were graven certein l^{tres}, which seemed verie faire and lyke to the Armenians, but in an other kinde than those which the Armenians vse at this present: for I had certein Armenians there wth me which coulede not reade them.² This broken castell is distant from Curco towards the mowthe of the haven, the shoote of a crosbowe, and Curco is partely edified on a rocke, and partely it hangeth downe hill towards the sea. Out of the rocke is hewen a great dyche on theaste side, and on the saude towards the hyll side is an exceeding stronge wall, scarfelled, that it can not be annoyed wth artyllerie. Such an other place is likewise in the castell wth exceeding great walles and most stronge, towards which in all may compasse twoo thirde partes of a myle, and the same hath also vpon the gates (which arr twoo) certein Armenian l^{tres} graven. Everie habitaçon of this towne hath his cisterne of freshe water, and in the open streates arr iiij very great cisternes of exceeding pure water, sofficient to furnishe a verie great citie. In the high waie, a boweshoote out of the towne eastewardes, arr certein arches of marble, of one peece (for the most parte broken), w^{ch} contynewe on both sides the waie to a certein churche halfe a myle distant: seemyng to haue been a verie great thinge and all wrought wth very great pillers of marble and other excellent things.

The grounde about the towne is hyllie and stonye, lick

¹ Ramusio has—which, according to the ancients, was Eleusia.

² This inscription is given in Beaufort's *Karamania*, p. 220.

vnto that of Istria, and hath been inhabited by the subjects of the Lorde Caramano. There groweth much wheat, cotton, and cattail, and specially they breed many oxen and horses, and haue excellent fruites of diuers sortes: the ayre being as ferre as I coulde pecaue very tempate, but what cace the country is in at this present I wot not; for I heare saie it hath been destroyed by Ottomano. Neere to the sea-side arr ij castells, one of Sigi, before named, buylded on an hyll, and an other very stronge. The first whereof is wthin a bowe shoote of the sea and thother vj myles distant from that.

Likewise on the sea-side, departing from Curco, ten myles northwest is Seleucha,¹ on the top of an hyll; under the which reñeth a ryver² that falleth into the sea beside Curco, about the bignesse of Brenta: and neere vnto this hill is a theatre liek vnto that of Verona, verie great, and environed wth pillers of one peece, and gryses³ about. Clymbeng the hyll, to enter the towne on the lefte hande, arr scene many arches, parte of one peece (as it is said before) separate from the hill, and partely digged out of the same hill. And clymbing a little higher, ye enter the gates of the first circuite to the towne, which stande in maner on the height of the hill, wth a great towne on either side, and arr of yron, w^{thout} any tymber, about 1^{tie}⁴ foote high and half as broad, wrought no lesse finely than as if they were sylver, exceeding thicke and stronge. The wall is verie great, full w^{thin}foo^rthe wth his garde before which is so well laden and covered w^{thout} foo^rth wth verie harde earth, and so well cowched⁵ that by it ye can not clymbe to the walles; and this earthe environneth them and defendeth so much from the walles that the circuite thereof bylowe is ij myles, wheare the wall itself is not pas a myle about, so that it is made like a

¹ Ramusio has—that is to say, Seleutia.

² *Ibid.* has—according to the ancients, called Calycadnus.

³ Gryse, a step.

⁴ Ramusio has—quindici, 15.

⁵ Erto: *i.e.*, steep.

suger loofe. Within this circle is the castell of Seleucha, wth the walles full of towres, between which wall and the vtter wall there is so much voide grounde as for neede wolde beare ccc bussells of wheate, and leave about xxx paces space between it and the inner warde. Within this castell is an holowe quadrant digged out of the rocke, v paces deepe, xxx paces longe, and about vij paces broade; wherein was much tymber for muniçion, and, besides that, a great cisterne that can never lacke water.

This towne is in the Lesse Arminie,¹ stretching towards the mountaigne TAURUS, called in their tonge Corthestan. I aboade awhile in this place, and afterwarde took my io'ney towards Persia. And notwthstanding that there was an other waie, yet went I by the sea costes, and the first day wthout longe io'ney, passeng foo'the of Caramanos domynion, I arryved at a good citie called Tarsus, the lord whereof is named DULGADAR, brother to SESSUAR. This countrey, though it be in the Greater Arminie, is nevertheles vnder the soul-danes subiection. The citie is iij miles of compasse, and hath a ryver besides it,² whereon standeth a stone bridge vaulted, by the which they passed out of the towne, and the ryver doth almost envrone the towne. In this citie also is a stronge castell embatailed on both sides wth walles of xv paces high of stone, all wrought with the hañer;³ before the w^{ch} is an excellent voide place, square and plaine, that leadeth to a stiaer entering to the castell, and is so longe and large as woll easily conteigne an e⁴ men; and this towne standeth on a litle hill not verie high. A daies io'ney from thense is Adena, a verie great towne with a mightie ryver rennyng

¹ Ramusio has—"but formerly it was in Cilicia, and it was taken by the Turks, when they occupied the rest of Asia Minor, from whom it was taken by Rubino and Leone, brothers of Armenia, about 1230, and they brought it back to the kingdom, which they call Armenia; and this Armenia stretches to the mountain Taurus," etc., etc.

² *Ibid.* has—named by the ancients Cydnus.

³ Scarpello; *i.e.*, chisel.

⁴ Ramusio has—1000.

At this
timethere
was a Sol-
dan in
Egipt.

by it,¹ over the which is a stone bridge of xl^{tie} paces longe, on which bridge (being in company of certein suffi, as who wolde saie pilgrymes) we being also clothed after their maner, these suffi beganne to daunce in spirite, one of them syngeng celestially things of the ioyes of Macomett, beginneng meeryly and softely,² and aftrewards, by litle and litle, strayneng the measure faster, according to the tewnes, whereof they that daunced amended their paces and their leapinges so that divers of them fell to the grounde and laye as in a traunce, which caused much people to assemble wondring at them, till the felowes of them that fell tocke them vp and caried them to their lodgings. And thus did they at everie lodging, and many tymes also by the waie as though they were forced to do it. The towne of Adena, and likewise the region, maketh many fustians, and is under the soldanes domynion, standing likewise in Armenie the Lesse. I forbear to speak of the rewynowse townes and castells that arr betwene that and EUPHRATES, because there is nothing notable. Thus being arryved at Euphrates, we founde there a boate of the soldanes hable to transporte xvj horses, and this boate was verie straunge in the which we passed the ryver. Neere vnto this ryver are certein caves in the rockes, to the which they that passe make their refuge whan tempest or yll wheather happeneth. On thother side arr certein villaiges of Armenie, wheare we laie one night, and so being passed the ryver we arrived at a towne called Orphe,³ appteineng to the King Assambej, and governed by Valibech, brother to the same king. This has sometime been a great towne, but it was in maner vtterly destroyed by the soldane when the King Assambej went to the siege of Bir.⁴ It hath a castell vpon the hyll indifferent stronge. And at this place the lorde thereof vnderstode what I was, and

¹ Ramusio has—named by the ancients Pyramus.

² Slowly and softly.

³ Orfa.

⁴ Birajik, on the left bank of the Euphrates.

seemed to see me gladly ; insomuch that I deliuered him my P^res, which he caused to be well conveighed. Of this towne I can saie no more, bicause it was defaced, for the lorde himself dwelled there but fearefully. After this, we came to the foote of one hyll that stooode vpon another hyll, and hath a citie called Merdin, wherevnto there is but one waie being a stiaier enforced the grises¹ whereof arr of free stone of iiij paces brode a peece and so endureth a myle longe. At the toppe of this stiaier is a gate, and w^hin that a waie that leadeth to the towne, and within the towne is an other hill, in maner hewen rounde about, on the which standeth a castell of l paces high, to whose entrey is made such an other stiaier as the first. This towne hath none other walles but those of the houses, and is of leingth the iij^{de} parte of a myle, conteyneng about ccc houses w^hin it, well peopled. They make very many silkes and fustians, and it belongeth also to the King ASSAMBEL. The Turkes and Moores arr wont to saie that it is so high that they which dwell in it do never see birdes flee over them. Here I was lodged in an hospitall founded by Ziangirbei, brother of the King Assambeij, in the which they that reasorte thither arr fedde, and if they seeme p^rsons of any estimaçon they haue carpetts layed vnder their feete better wo^rthe than an hundreth ducates a peece. In which place there happened me a straunge cace : and verie rare in o^r pties. Sitteng one daye alone in the hospitall, there came vnto me a Carandolo; that is to saie, a naked man shaven, wth a goate skynne about him, browne, about xxx yeres of age, and sate downe by me, takeng out of his sachell a litle booke, whereon he beganne to reade devowtely, wth good maner, as we use to saie o^r praiers : w^hin a while aftre he ytched neere me, and asked what I was : wherevnto answering him that I was a straungier, he saied, and I also am a straungier to this worlde, and so be we all : wherefore I haue lefte it and en-

¹ Grises: *i.e.*, steps.

tende to folowe this trade¹ vnto myne ende: wth so many good and eloquent wordes, that to lyve well and modestly he wondrefully comforted me to despise the world: saieng, tho^w seest howe I go naked through the worlde, whereof I haue seene parte² and yet haue founde nothing that pleaseth me: and therefore haue determyned vtterly to habandon it. Being departed from MERDINO, we rode sixe io^rneys, and came to a towne of the King Assambeis called ASANCHEPH. On the right hande whereof before ye come to it in the syde of a litle hill, there be a nombre of habitations digged out of the verie hill, and on the lyfte hande is ano^r hyll whereon the towne is buylded, vnder the foote of which hyll arr many caves enhabited, those caves on thone side of the hill being innumerable and all high enough from thearthe, wth their streates or waies that leade to those habitations, whereof some arr xxx paces high; insomuch that as the people and cattail passe by those streates or waies it seemeth they walk in thayre they arr so high. Following this waie and to^rning on the lyfte hande ye enter the towne, wherein arr fustian merchaunts and other occupiers, the towne being a great throwefare. It is a myle and an halfe of circuite wth the suburbes, with many faire howses and some MOSCHEES in it. Out of it ye passe a faire deepe ryver³ of xxx paces brode, over a bridge of huge tymber, which by force of the only weight standeth vpon the heades of other peeces of tymber that arr dryven into the earth, for the ryver is so deepe that no one peece can reache it. Afre we had passed this mountaigne we went through champaignes and hylly cuntreys, not high nor trowblouse, from whense about two daies io^rney eastwarde we came to a towne called SAIRT,⁴ which is made Trianglewise, and on thone pte hath an indifferent stronge castell, wth many great towres, on which side

¹ To continue in this manner.

² A great part.

³ Ramusio has—named Set, formerly named Tigris.

⁴ Sert, thirty leagues east of Diarbekir.

the walles arr somewhat decayed : showing the towne nevertheles to have been very faire, being three myles of compasse, very well enhabited, and furnished indifferently wth howses, moschees, and faire fountaignes. At thentree whereof we passed two ryvers over ij bridges of stone of one arche apeece, vnder the which one of o^r great barges might passe wth his mast vpright : for they be both great ryvers, and swifte, thone called BETTALIS, and thother ISAN ; and to this place stretcheth the lesse Armenia, wheare arr no great hilles, nor great woods, nor yet any buyldings different from the accustomed. And throughout that region arr many villaiges, the people whereof live by tillage, as they do here. They have corne, frutes, and many fustians, oxen, horses, and other beastes enough ; besides this, they have goates, w^{ch} they sheare yerely, and of their heare make chamletts, wherfore they governe them very diligently, keeping them washed and neate.

Nowe shall we beginne to entre into the mountaigne Taurus, whose ende is towards the sea MAGGIORE, in the pties of Trabisonda, and streccheth east-sowtheast towards the golfe called Sinus Persicus, at thentree of which mountaigne arr exceeding high, and stype hilles enhabited wth a certain people called CORBI,¹ different in languard from all their neighbo^{rs}, exceeding crewell, and not so much theevishe as openly given to roberie. They have many townes, buylded vpon bankes and high places, to discover all passages that they may robbe them that passe. Wherfore many of those townes have been destroyed by the Lordes of the cuntrey for the damage they have doon to the CAROUANES passeng by them. As I for my pte have had some expience of their condicio^{ns}.

The iiijth day of Aprile, the yere 1474, being departed from a towne called CHESAN, appteyneng to a Lorde that is subiect to Assambeï, about halfe a daies io^{ney} from the

¹ Kurds.

towne; having in my companie an Ambassado^r of the said ASSAMBEI, vpon an high hill we were assaulted by these Corbi, who slewe the said Ambassado^r and my Secretaire wth ij other, and having hurte me and the rest, they tooke our sompters and all that they founde. I being on horsebacke fledde out of the waie all alone, and aftre me came they that were hurte; insomuch that at length we gate us into the company of a Califfo, that is as much to say, as an heade pylgryme, wth whom we travailed as well as we coude. The ij^{j^de} day folowing we came to Vastan,¹ a citie decaid and yll enhabited, for it hath not above ccc houses. Twoo daies io^rney thense we founde a towne called Choy,² which is also decaid, having about cccc houses, and thinhabitants lyve of handicrafte and tillage. Being come in maner to thende of the mountaigne Taurus, I determyned to departe from this Califfo; and taking one of his companions for my guyde, whin three daies io^rney we came neere to the famouse citie of THAURIS, and being in the brode champaigne, we mett wth certain TURCOMANNI, who, wth certein Corbi in their companie, came towardes vs, askeng vs whither we went. I answered that I was going towardes the King Assambeï wth Pres directed vnto him. Than one of them praied me to lett him see them: and because I told him curteyslie it was not convenient, I shulde putt them in his handles, he lyfte vp his fist and strake me such a blowe on the face that the paine thereof lasted me iiij moonethes after; besides that they beate my trowchman unhappely, and so lefte vs yll content, as all men may think. Being come to Thauris, we went into a CANOSTRA, that is to weete (after o^r maner) an Inne, from whense I signified to the King Assambeï (being than there present) that I was come, desiring to be brought to his presence. And incontintly the next morneng being sent for, I presented myself vnto him, so yll apparaild that I darr assure yoⁿ all that I had about me was not wo^rthe ij

¹ Vastan, six leagues south of Van.

² Khoj.

ducates. He receaved me curteslie, and than badde me welcome, saieng that he had beene well advertised of the death of his ambassador, and of the other twoo, and also of my roberie, promiseng me to see all redressed in such sorte as we shulde susteigne no losse. Than I presented vnto him my Pres of credence, which I had alwaies carried in my boosome; and bicause there was none about him that coulede reade it, he made me reade it myself, and so to be declared vnto him by an interpreto^r. And whan he vnderstode the contents of it, he badde me (aftre o^r own maner) repaire to his counsaill, and to deliver them in writeng what had been taken from me, and further to declare what I had to saie, and so to reto^rne to my lodging till he shulde see tyme to send for me. The place wheare I had this accesse to the King was on this maner. First, it had a gate w^hin the which was a quadrant of iiij or v paces square, wheare sate his chief astates that passed not eight or ten in nombre. Than was there an other gate neere to the first, in the which stooode a porter wth a little staffe in his hande. Whan I was entered that gate I passed through a grene garden like a meadowe full of truffles, wth mudde walles, in the which on the right syde was a pavement. About xxx paces further was there a lodge, volte wise, aftre o^r maner, iiij or v steppes higher than the foresaid pavement. In the midst of this lodge was a fountaigne like vnto a little gutter, alwaies full of water, and in thentrie of it the king himself sate on a cushion of cloth of gold, wth another at his backe, and besides him was his buckler of the MORESCO fa^çon with his scimitarra, and all the lodge was laied wth carpettes, his chiefest Princes sitteng round about. The lodge was all wrought of Musaico, not so small as we vse, but great and verie faire of divers colo^{rs}.

Scime-tarra is like that we call a fa^çchon.

Musaico is an excellent kinde of paincteng wth golde.

The first day I came to hym he had divers syngers and plaiers, wth harpes of a yarde longe, which they holde wth the sharpe ende vpwardes; and besides that lutes, rebickes,

cymbales, and baggepipes, all which plaied agreable. The next daie he sent me twoo garmentes of sylke, that is, to witt, a straict gowne furred wth barco and a jackett, a towell of sylke to girde me, a fyne peece of lynen called bumbasie to putt on my hedde, and xx ducats, sending me worde wthhall that I shulde go to Maidan, that is, to witt, to the markett place to see the TARAFUCCIO,¹ that is, to weete, the plaie. Thither I went on horsebacke, wheare in the markett place I founde about iij horsemen and more than twies as many on foote, besides the King's children, which were looking out at certein wyndowes. To this place certein wylde wolves were brought, ledde wth cordes tied to eche one of their hynder feete, and those wolves were by one and one lett go in the midst of the place. And to the first there came a man appointed vnto it, offering to stryke him. The wolfe flewe streighte towards his throte; but the man, which was nymble, shifted him of in such wise as the wolfe tocke no holde but on his arme, which coulde take no hurte by reason of his sleeves that were prepared for it. The horses fled for feare amongst the prease, and many fell, some in the place and some into the water which renneth through the citie. And whan they had weeried one wolfe than they lett slyppe an other, which kinde of plaie they use every frydaie.

This pastyme being ended, I was brought to the King's presence into the place before mencioned; and was caused to sit honorably, and likewise others being sett in their places as many as coulde conveniently sytt wthin that lodge, and the rest according to their degrees sitteng vpon carpetts afre the Morisco maner, table clothes were spredde vpon the carpetts, and every man had sett before hym a sylver basen wth a pott of wyne, an ewer of water, and a little dishe all of silver. This meane while there came in certein men sent from a Prince of INDIA, wth certein strange beastes;

¹ Ramusio has—Tanfaruzo, corruption of *tafarraj*, rejoicing.

the first whereof was a leonza¹ ledde in a chayne by one that had skylle, which they call in their language Babureth. She is like vnto a lyonnesse: but she is redde coloured, streaked over all wth blacke strykes; her face is redde wth certein white and blacke spottes, the bealy white, and tayed like the lyon: seemyng to be a marvailouse fiers beast. Than was there a lyon brought foo^rthe and shewed to the leonza somewhat of. At the sight whereof the leonza soddainely squatted, as it had been a catte, and as though she wolde have leaped on the lyon, if the keeper had not drawen her backe. Afre this were twoo elephantes brought, which, whan they came forneagainst the kinge afre certein woordes spoken to them by their leader, looked vp to the kinge and than enclyned their heades wth a certein gravitie, as though they did him reverence. The greater of them was brought to a tree in the gardein as bigge as a mannes myddell, which (afre certein woordes spoken by his keeper) he shaked on thone side wth his heade, and then to ned and did as much on thother side: so that he plucked it vp.

Afre this was brought foo^rthe a GIRAFFA, which they call GIRNAFFA, a beast as longe legged as a great horse, or rather more; but the hynder legges are halfe a foote shorter than the former, and is cloven footed as an oxe, in maner of a violett colo^r myngled all over wth blacke spottes, great and small according to their places: the bealy white somewhat longe heared, thynne heared on the taylor as an asse, litle hornes like a goate, and the necke more than a pace longe: the tonge a yarde longe, violett and rounde as an eele, wth the which he graseth or eateth the leaves from the trees so swiftly that it is skarsely to be pceaved. He is headed like a harte, but more fynely, wth the which standing on the grounde he woll reache xv foote high. His brest is broder than the horse, but the croope narowe like an asse; he seemath to be a mervailouse faire beast, but not like to beare any burden. Afre these were brought foo^rthe in three

¹ An ounce.

cages three paire of doves, white and blacke like vnto ours, saving they were longe necked like a goose : being (as I believe) rare byrdes in those parties, ells they wolde never have brought them foo^rthe. Finally aftre all these there were three poppingaies of divers colo^rs brought foo^rthe, and twoo of those cattes that make ZIBETTO. Than was I taken Zibetto is muske. vp and brought into a chamber, wheare I dyned, and when I had doon he that attended on Ambassado^rs badde me farewell and willed me to departe. Nevertheles, immediately aftre I came to my lodging I was sente for againe, and being come to the kinge he asked me why I departed? wherevnto I answered that my governo^r gave me leave; for the which the king being offended, caused him incontinently to be called, layed flatt, and beaten in his presence. Howbeit, viij daies aftre at my request he was restored into favo^r. The morowe aftre this man was beaten the King sent for me early: who, being in the place aforesaid, caused me to sytt as I did the other tyme.

This daie being holydaie, and for the co^myng of the Ambassado^rs of India, there were verie great tryomphs made. First his co^rtiers were apparaild in cloth of golde, sylkes and chamlettes of divers colo^rs. In the lodge were sett about xl^{tie} of the most honourable, and in the entries about an c, w^hout thentry about cc, betwene the two gates about L^{tie}, and in the streete w^hout about xx^m, all readie sett, looking for meate, in the myddest of whom there were about iiij^m horses. And standing in this order the twoo Ambassado^rs of India came in, who were made to sytt forneagainst the kinge, and than incontinently were the presents brought foo^rthe, which passed before the king and his companie on this wise. First, the beastes rehersed before. Next, about an c men, one aftre an other, everie man having on his arme v TOLPANI,¹ that is to saie, v peeces of verie fyne bombasses lynen cloth wth the which they make those rolles that they were on their heades being wo^rthe v or vij ducates a peece.

¹ Turban.

Sandalo is
the tree
that the
spice
called
Saunders
is made
of.

Than came there vi men, every man wth vi peeces of sylke on his arme. Than came there ix, every one of them wth a litle dishe of sylver full of such pretiouse stones as I shall declare vnto yo^w hereafter. After them came certein wth vessels and disshes of PORCELLANA. Than some wth woodde of ALOES and great large peeces of SANDALI. Than came there xxv fardells of spices, caried wth *cowle* stakes¹ by iiij men at every fardell. These things being passed, meate was brought fo^rthe, and every man serued. Afre dyner the king asked thambassado^{rs} wheather there were any other king than theirs that was MOSSULMAN (that is to saie, Macomettane), who answered that there were two others, but all the rest were Christians. The morowe afre the king sent for me, and tolde me that he wolde make me a litle passetyme in shewing me the jewells that were sent him out of India, and first caused to be deliuered vnto me a rynge (that serveth to drawe their bowe) of golde wth a rubie in the myddest of twoo carretts, and some dyamands about it. Also ij ringes of golde, wth twoo rubies waieng iiij carretts. Three skore threades of perles of v carretts a peece, white, but not rounde. A pointed dyamant of xx^{tie} carretts, not verie cleane, but of a good water. Twoo heades of deade byrdes² in a camewe,³ which seemed verie straunge in respect of the fowle of our regions. And having shewed me these jewells, he asked me howe I lyked that present, addeng that a king sent them vnto him from beyonde the seas: that is, to witt, from beyonde the Golfe of Persia. I answered that the present was verie faire and of great value, though not so great but that I esteemed him woothie of a much greater. Well, than, said he, tho^w shalt also see my jewells. Wherevpon, he comāunded a chyldes coyfe of silke to be deliuered vnto me. But I incontinently tooke myne handkerchief to receave it wthhall to thentent I wolde not too^wche it wth myne

¹ A pole on which to carry a *cowl* or vessel between two persons.

² Ramusio has—which had died on their passage.

³ Cameo.

hande : wherewth he behelde me, and tornyng to his owne folkes, smylingly said, See the Italian, as though he comēded my maner in receaving the coyfe. On the toppe of this coyfe there was a balasse bored through and façoned lyke a date, clene, and of a good colo^r, waieng an c^t carretts, about the which were certein great turcasses, but they were olde, and likewise certein perles also olde. Besides this, he caused me to see certein vessells of PORCELLANA and DIASPRO,¹ very faire.

An other tyme, comyng to him, I founde hym in a chambre vnder a pavylion : and than he asked me howe I lyked it. And wheather they vsed any such in o^r cuntreyes, I answered him that I lyked it excellently well ; and that there was no comparyson to be made of o^r places vnto his ; both bicause his power ferre exceeded ours, and also for that we vsed no such chambers ; and truly it was exceeding faire. For the tymbre was well wrought afre the façon of a cowpe :² and hanged about wth clothes of sylke, embrowderie, and golde and all the floore covered wth excellent good carpetts, being about xiiij paces over. Beyond this chamber was a great square tent embro^wdered, pitched, as it had been, betweene foure trees sett to shadowe it, betweene which and the cowpe there was a pavylion of BUCASIN, all wrought and embrowdered wthin-foote. The chambre doore was of the woodde of SANDALI entrelaced wth threedde of golde and nettes of perle wrought and embrowdered wthin-foote. I founde the king sytteng there with his greatest psonaiges about him, having before hym a towell folded vp : which he vnfolded, and tooke out of it a threde of twelue balasses, lyke vnto olyves, of very clene colo^r, betweene L and lxxx carratts a peece. Than tooke he out one sable balasse of two ounces and an halfe of a goodley façon, bigge as a fynger, wthout any hole and of excellent colo^r, in thone corner whereof were certein

Cowpe is an whole volted rooie.

Bucasin is a verie fine linnen cloth made of cotton.

¹ Jasper.

² Kubbeh, dome.

moresco Pres graven, w^{ch} moved me to aske what Pres they were, and he answered me that a certein king had caused them there to be graven, syns whose tyme neither his predecesso^r nor he wolde grave any moore, bicause it shulde deface the whole. Than he asked me what that rubie might be wo^rthe. I looked on him and smyled; wherevpon he asked me again, How I lyked it? I tolde him I had never seene the lyke, nor I thought never to finde any that might be a paragone vnto it. And if I shulde valewe it, the balassi, if he had a tongue might aske me wheather ever I had seene the lyke: to the which I shulde be dryven to saye no. So that I belieue he is not to be valewed wth golde, but padventure, some citie might answeere him. He looked earnestly on me, and saied PRAN CATAINI CATAINI. The worlde hath iij eyes, whereof the Cataines haue two and the FRANCHI one. In dede tho^w hast said truly. And toⁿeng him towards them that were about him he tolde them howe he had asked me what that balassi might be wo^rthe and what answeere I had made, rehearsing my words vnto them.

I had before hearde this wo^rde Cataini of an ambassado^r of Tartarie in his reto^rne from Cataio the yere 1436, who, passeng through Tana wth all his trayne, was lodged in my house: I hoping to get some jewell of him. At which time, talking of Cataio, he tolde me howe the chief of that Princes co^rte knewe well what the FRANCHI were. And vpon my demaunding of him howe it was possible they shulde haue knowledge of the Franchi, he asked me, why shulde they not knowe us? Tho^w knowest, said he, howe neere we be vnto Capha, and that we practise thither continually; liek as also they reasorte into o^r Lordo: addeng this further, we Cataini have twoo eyes and yo^w FRANCHI one, whereas yo^v (toⁿeng him towards the Tartares that were wth him) haue never a one, which he spake merrylie. So that at this tyme I did the better vnderstande the proverbe, whan the king vsed these woordes vnto me. This

doon, he shewed me a rubie, of an ounce and an halfe, of the façon of a chest nutte, rounde, faire colowred, and clene : not bored through and bounde in a cercle of golde, which seemed to me a mervailouse thinge, being so great : he shewed me aftrē many balasses, both jewelled and vnjewelled, amongst the which there was one in a square table made aftrē the façon of a litle nayle, rounde about the which were v other table balasses, the great one in the middest weying xxx carretts or thereabouts, and the next twenty carrets or thereabouts, betwene the which there were certein great perles and turcasses set not of any great estimaçon, for they were olde.

After this he caused certein CASSACKS¹ to be brought foorthē of clothe of golde, of sylke, and of damaskyne chamlette, lyned wth sylke or furred wth exceding faire armelynes and sables : telling me these be of the clothes of a towne of Ies.² Our apparail, qd he, is faire ; but it waicth a litle to much. Finally, he caused certein sylke carpetts to be brought foorthē, which were mervailouse faire.

These Cassacks are longe and strait, and but half sleeved.

The morowe aftrē, I came to hym againe, and calling me neere, he said vnto me, Tho^w shalt haue a litle more passe-time. And so deliuered me a camewe³ of the breadeth of a grote, wherein was a womans heade graven ; her heare backwarde, and a garlande about her heade. He badde me looke, is not this Mary ? I answered, no. Why, who is it than (qd he) ? I answered, it was the figure of some of thauncient goddesses that the BURPARES⁴ wo^rshipped, that is, to witt, the Idolaters. He asked me howe I knewe it ? I tolde him I knewe it ; for these kinde of wo^rkes were made before the comyng of Jesu Christ. He shaked his heade a litle, and saied no more. Than he shewed me three pointed diamants, one of xxx carretts, very clene both aboue and benethe ; and the other betwene x and xij carretts, askeng me wheather there were any such jewells wth vs. I tolde

¹ Cassock.

² Yezel.

³ Cameo.

⁴ But-perest.

him no; wherevpon he tooke vp a masse of perles of xl threades, vpon every one whereof were xxx perles of betwene v and vj carretts a peece: halfe of them rounde, and the rest not unfitt to be iewelled.¹ Than he caused to be putt into a sylver basen about xl perles, like vnto peares and gourdes, of betwene viij and xij carretts a peece, vnbores through and of very faire colo^r, saieng to me wth a smyleng cheere: I coule shewe the an ho^rse loade of these. This was doon at a bankett by night afre their maner, at the circumcision of his two sonnes.

The daye folowing I repaired to him into a great feelde w^hin the towne, wheare wheate had been sowen, the grasse whereof was mowed to make place for the tryomphe and the owners of the gronde satisfied for it. In this place were many pavilions pight,² and as sone as he p^rceaued me he comāunded certein of his to go wth me, and to shewe me those pavilions, being in nombre about an cth, of the which I p^rsed xl of the fairest. They all had their chambres w^hinfoo^rthe, and the roofes all cutt of diuers colo^{rs}, the gronde being covered wth most beautiful carpetts, betwene which carpetts and those of CAIRO and of Borsa³ (in my iudgement), there is as much difference as betweene the clothes made of Englishe woolles and those of Saint Mathewes. Aftrewardes they caused me to entre into two pavyllions, which were full of sylke apparail afre their fa^çon, and of other sortes of clothes laied on a great heape: on thone side of the which I p^rceaved to the nombre of xl sadles, trymed wth sylver. All which appaile and sadells they tolde me shulde be given awaie by the king at the tryomphe. They also shewed me twoo great doores of the woodde of SANDALI, of vj foote high, a peece sett wth golde and moother of perle afre the wo^rke of THARSIA.⁴ Than I reto^rned to the king, and took my leafe for that tyme.

The morowe folowing I founde him sitteng in his accus-

¹ Set or mounted.

² Pitched.

³ Broussa.

⁴ Marquetterie work.

tomed place, vnto whom there were brought eight great dishes of woodde: in every of the which was a white sugar loofe made of diuers façons, weying viij^b a peece, and rounde about it were certein litle disshes wth confections of diuers colo^{rs}, but for the most parte comfettes. There were also many other disshes brought foo^rthe wth other confecçõs and frutes. The first eight he appointed himself to whom they shulde be given: I being the first that was presented w^hall, and it was wo^rthe betwene iiij and v ducates a peece: the rest was distributed amongst others, according to their degrees.

The next daie I founde him sett amongst xv p^{rs}ons, the principall whereof had canopies over their heades, and v or vj stooode before the prince, whom he comaunded to go and apparail such and such by name. They therevpon went to those that were named, and taking them vp, ledde them to the pavilion, wheare the garmentes were, and afre their degrees apparalled them, and to some they gave sadells, and to some other they gave horses, to the nombre of xl, in my iudgement: but they that were so apparailed were about ccl, amongst whom I was one. This doon, there came certein women that beganne to daunce and to syng wth certein that plaid. And than was there sett on a carpett an hatt façoned like a sugar loofe, having on the toppe cuttes and tassells afre the maner of the hattes of ZUBIARI,¹ and a litle from it stooode one waiteng the kinges comaundement, who pointed him on whose heade he shulde sett that hatt. Wherevpon he took it vp and went to the person appointed: which arose, and putteng of his rolle, putt the hatt on his heade; being so unseemely as suffised to haue disgraced a right goodly man. But he hauing it on, passed foo^rthe, daunceng before the king, as he knewe the guyse. And the king gave a signe to him that wayted, comāunding him

¹ Zubiaur, a district in the Basque country, where there are caps with large tassels.

Camocato
is fine
Calicut
cloth.

to give to the dauncer a peece of CAMOCATO. And he taking this peece threwe it about the heade of the dauncer and of other men and women: and using certain woordes in praiseng the king, threwe it before the mynstrells. This claunceng and throwing of peeces lasted till an howre before sonnesett: in the which, by my rekenyng, what of damaske wo'kes, lynnenclothe, chamletts, and other like, there were given awaie aboue ccc peeces and aboue 1^{tie} horses. This doon, they fell to wrasteling on this wise. Two naked men, wth breeches and hoses of leather downe to the ankleys, presented themselves before the king, and they clasped not acrosse, but sought to take eche other by the nape of the necke, which either of them did his best to defende. But whan thone had gotten holde on thothers necke, than he that was so taken having none other shifte wolde stooowe as lowe as he might, and take the other by the backe, lifteng him vp and seeking to throwe him flatt on his backe; for otherwise it was reckened no fall, howbeit divers of them wolde snuffer himself to be almost so throwen, and whan it came to the point wolde nevertheles shifte the others to the fall, and so wyne the price. At leingth there came one of these naked wrestlers before the king, so huge a man that he seemed a gyaunte, being yonge and well proporçoned, of xxx yeres of age or thereaboutes: whom the king comāunded to wrastle: willeng him to seeke a companion. But he, kneeling, spake certain woordes againe, which I being desirouse to vnderstande, it was tolde me that he had besought the king he might not plaie, bicause in plaieng before he had killed some wth strayneng of them; wherefore the king was contented to spare him. Vnto these wrastelers there were divers horses given, and the plaie, afre I was goon, endured till it was twoo houres w^{hin} night; so that there were many other things given. In this, meane whele, the towne was well decked, and spetially the shoppes; for every man sett foorthe his best stuf. And there was also a price

appointed to the kings footemen, whose co'se to renne was a myle and an halfe, not w^hall their power, but a good trotting pace, they being spoyled, naked, and anynted over wth larde for the preservaçon of their synowes, wth a breeche of leather for everie of them. And beginneng at the one ende of the race, whan they came trotting to thother, they receaued (of such as were appointed) an arrowe for a witnesse to them that were ferre of, and coulde not discerne wheather they arrived at the marke or not, liek as whan he reto^rned againe to thother ende, he receaued there also an other arrowe; and so from the one ende to the other as longe as his legges wolde serue him; so that he which shuld most tymes trye that race shulde haue the price. These for whom this price was prepared were all of the kings footemen; which go barelegged and in maner naked, not styeking to trotte sometymes x daies io^rney together.

These triumphes fynished, the king, wth all his trayne, determyned, according to their custome, to go into the champaigne; wherefore he asked me wheather I wolde go wth him and travaill or tarie behinde and make meery. I answered that I had rather wayte on him wth much sorowe and trouble than to be from him wth great rest and pleas^r, which answer me seemed he tooke verie thankfully, and so incontinently sent me an horse, a tente, and mooney. Being thus departed from the citie, he wth all his trayne tooke that waie which they knewe fittest to furnishe them of pasture and water: travailling at the beginneng betwene x and xv myles a daye: and wth him there went iij of his sonnes.

He that wolde here note all the things wo^rthie to be noted, shulde take a diffuse entreprise vpon him and shulde sometimes treat of things almost incredible. Wherefore I shall declare so much only as I thinke convenient, leaving the rest to those writers that shall vse more diligence in it than I haue doon.

Thus being in the champaigne there came to visit the king a sonne of his that soggiorned in the pties of BAGDATH, that is to saie, BABILONE, and his mother wth him, who presented his father wth xx goodly horses, c camells, and certein peeces of sylke. Than were there also presented vnto the king by the barons attending on his sonne a nombre of camells and horses, which in my sight at the verie instant were distributed and given awaie by the king to such as pleased him and than went to dyner. But not long after being in the champaigne newes came that an other sonne of his, called ORGALU MAHUMETH had taken Syras, a notable great citie of his father's domynion; which he had doone vpon woo^rde that was brought him of his father's death, wherevpon he determyned to have that towne for himself. These newes being hearde, the king forthwth aroase, and wth all his people tooke his waie towards Syras, which from that place was distant cxx miles, and travailed wth so much speede that between mydnight and the evenyng of the next daie they went xl myles, so that in iij daies he might have been there. Who coulde believe that so great a nombre of people, men, women, and children, and some in the cradell, shulde make so great a speedie voiage, carieng wth them all their baggaige and so good ordre, wth so much dignitie and pompe, never wanteng breade and seldome wyne (which they needed not to lacke weare it not that a great nombre of them drynke none), and than such plentie of fleshe and fructes, and all other thinges necessarie? I that have seen it do not only believe, but also knowe it; and to thende that they which hereaftre may happen to travaill thither (if any happen at all) may iudge whether I write trewe or not, and that they which never mynde to see it may also believe it if it shall please them, I shall heare make a special declaration of it.

The noble and principall men which be wth the king, and that carie wth them their wiefs and children, men and women

servants, and their goodes, arr wonte to have many camells and mooyles, the nombre whereof I shall rehearse hereaftre. These carie the sucking children in their cradells at the pomell of the sadell, so that the moother or the nurse ryding may give them sucke, which cradells arr some fairer than other, according to the qualities of the owners, wth their sylkes over them, wrought wth golde or sylke. Wth the lyfte hand they holde the cradell and the brydell both, and wth the right hande they drive the horse, beating him wth a whippe bounde to their litle fynger. The other children arr also caried on horsebacke vpon certein cages, covered on both sides, and wrowght according to their degrees. The women also ryde on horsebacke in company together wth their maydens and seruants before them according to their astate. The hable men attende on the King's pson, and reckenynge all together, they arr so many in nombre that it is a good halfe daies io'ney from the one ende of them to the other. The women ryde their faces covered wth mufflers made of horse heare¹ to defende them from sonne burneng in the cleere weather. At this tyme were the musters taken as well of the people as of the cattell on this wise. There was a verie great champaigne environned wth horses, so ordered that eche of them tooched the other's heade, and the men vpon them were partely armed and partely vnarmed, comprehending about xxx myles in circuite, w^hin which ordre they all stode from the morneng vntill sonnesett. Than passed one surveiang and making a reckenynge of them, not taking any mannes name or the markes of the horses in writeng as we vse in these pties, but only called for the cap^{nes} names, and considered the nombre wheather it were in order, and than passed on, wherefore I tooke my seru^{ant} wth me, and passed through them apace, rekenynge wth beanes what nombres I founde, vseng for every L^{tie} to lett a beane fall into my pockett. And whan the musters were past, I

¹ Ramusio has—as much to prevent their being seen, as, etc.

made my reckenyng, and founde the nombres and qualities of those things to be, afre thordre that I shall describe vnto yo^u:

Of pavyllions, vj^ml ;
 Of camells, xxx^ml ;
 Of cariage mooyles, v^ml ;
 Of cariage horses, v^ml ;
 Of asses, ij^ml ;
 And horses of service, xx^ml ;

Of the which there were ij^ml covered wth certein armure of yron, made in litle squares and wrought wth gold and syluer, tacked together wth small mayle, which hanged downe in maner to the grounde, and vnder the golde it had a frynge. The rest were covered, some wth leather afre o^r maner, some wth silke, and some wth quilted wo^rke so thicke that an arrowe coulede not haue passed through it. The horsemens armo^r is of the same sorte before rehearsed. Those armures of yron that I first mençoned arr made in Besthene,¹ which in o^r tonge signifieth the v townes, being of twoo miles compasse, and standeth on an hill wheare no man dwelleth but the craftsmen of that science. And if any straunger be desirouse to lerne it, he is accepted wth putting in sureties never to departe thense: but to dwell there wth the rest, and to applie that occupation. It is trewe that in other places like wo^rks arr made, but no wheare so excellent. Afre this I nombred ij^ml good mooyles, in heardes of small cattail xx^ml, and of great ij^ml, leopardes to hunte wthall an c; fawcons gentle and bastarde, cc, grehounds, ij^ml, houndes, a thousande, goskawkes, L^{te}, souldo^{rs} for the swearde, xv^ml slaves, heardmen, carriers, and other like, with sweardes ij, and archers a m^l, so that in all there myght be about xxv^ml good horsemen, footemen of villaines and bowes, ij^ml, women of the best and myddell sorte, x^ml, women serūnts, v^ml, children of both kindes, of xij yeres and vnder, vj^ml and other

¹ Probably Besh-keuy, five villages.

children¹ about that age v^{ml}. Amongst the horsemen there were about one thowsande speares, targettes v^{ml}, archers about x^{ml}. The rest, some wth one weapon, and some wth an other. Amongst the baggaige arr these things folowing, wth their prices and owners. First, taylor^s, showmakers, smythes, sadlers, and fletchers in great nombre, wth all things necessarie for the campe. Than arr there victuallers that sell breade, fleshe, fruite, wyne, and other things in exceed- ing good order, which is obserued throwhowtlie, and there be many poticaries also wth spices. Their breade costeth litle more than o^{rs} doth in Venice. Their wyne costeth afre the rate of iiij ducates o^r hoggesheade, not bicause there is any wante of it in the cuntrey, but bicause for the more parte they vse it not. Fleshe afre the rate of a peny or three halfe pence the pounce; cheese, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ^d; rise, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ^d; fruite of all sortes, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ^d; and likewise mellones, of the which some waied betwene xxiiij and xxx^{lb} a peece.

Horsemeate afre iij^d the daie, and showing afre xii^d an horse mary;² for gyrthers, leather sadells, and other horse harneys, there was great skarsetie. As for horses to be solde, there be none but those nagges that arr wo^rthe be- twene viij and x ducates a peece, and that come out of Tar- tarie wth the merchauntes (as I have saied before), iiij or v thousande at a clappe:² which arr solde for iiij, v, or vj ducates a peece: being litell, and serving onlie for cariaige. Amongst the nombre of camells aboue reharsed, there be viij^{ml}, of twoo bunches a peece, which haue their coveringes faire wrought, wth belles, dyngles, and beadestones of divers sortes hanging at them. Everie man afre his degree having some x, some xx, and some xxx, tied one to an others tayle, and be ledde every mannes by themselves for a pompe, wthout any bodie suffred to ryde vpon them. The other camells, of one bunche, carie the pavyliions and their masters apparail in

¹ Ramusio has—in the cradles.

² A set of horse-shoes.

³ In a herd.

chests, sakes, and fardelles. In like maner, amongst the mooyles there be about ij^m that carie nothing, but arr ledde for pompe, trapped wth goodly coveringes better wrought than those of the camelles be. And of the same sorte, amongst the horses abouemençoned there be about a thousande thus decked. When they travaill by night wth the people those that be of reputaçon, both men and women, haue lightes borne before them, as we vse, which their men and women serunts do carie. Wheare the Prince rydeth there go before him v^c horses and more: which haue also their skowtes before them wth certain square enseignes, which, c^{ry}eng make roome, make roome! to whom all men give waie. This is one parte of that which I haue seene concerneng the maner, order, dignitie, and pompe that this people (whilst they be in the champaigne) vse in attending on their king: being yet much lesse than I coulde saie of them.

At this tyme, bicause I felte myself not well at ease, I departed from the campe, and went out of the waie about halfe a daies io^rney to Soltania, which in o^r tonge signifieth Imperiall. This is a citie of the forsaid kinge, which sheweth itself to haue been excellent faire. It is not walled, but it hath a castell walled, though it be decaied, by reason that about iiij years passed it was overthrowen by a lorde called Giusa. The castell is a myle about, and hath w^hin it an high churche of iiij iles, and of iiij vaultes high: the great cowpe whereof is bigger than that of SAN JOANNI PAULO in Venice. At thone ende it hath a gate of brasse of iij paces high, wrought letties¹ wise; w^hin the which arr divers sepultures of the kings that were in time past. Over against that gate there is an other like vnto it: and on the sides twoo other lesse, one of eche side crosses, so that the great cowpe hath iiij gates, ij great and ij small, the quarters or sydes whereof arr of brasse, iij quarters of a yarde brode

¹ Lattice.

and half a yarde thicke, excellently well kerved wth leaves and devises afre their maner; so wrought in wth beaten golde and sylver that it is both mervailousle and riche. The letties of those gates haue certein great balles as bigge as loofes, and than certein litell ones like orenge, wth branches that knytt loofe to loofe, as I remembre I haue seene it ones graven in woodde in a certein place. The workemanship of the golde and syluer is so excellent that there is no man in o^r pties that durst take the like in hande wthout very great tyme. The citie is great enough, conteineng iiij myles in circuite, and is well furnisshed of water. And if it were by none other but by the name only, it appeareth that it hath been very notable. Indede, it is nowe but evill enhabited, having betwene vij and viij^m people in it; padventure more.¹

Whilest I laie in this citie, I had worde that the king, being aduertised, as is aforesaid, that his sonne had taken Syras, removed wth all his people on his waie thitherwardes. Wherefore, immediately I departed from Soltania, and went to CHULPERCHEAN, which signifieth in o^r tonge the lordes sklave, a litle towne, though by the rewynes of it, it seemeth to haue had goodly buyldengs, being of ij miles circuite, and conteyneng about v^c houses; in which place myne interpreto^r died. So that, from thensfoo^rthe, as longe as I remayned in those pties (for the space of v yeres afre), I coule never finde any that vndrestode my languaige. Wherefore I was driven to take the office of interpreto^r vpon me, contrary to the maner of all other ambassadors. Departeng thense I repaired towards the king, who hasted his io^rney towards SYRAS, in which io^rney I noted in him one mervailouse poinct of severitie. Amongest others about him there was one Coscadam, an aged man, of lxxx (and yet a lustie man of his person), who had either v or vj sonnes, and all in good reputaçon wth the king. This man being of hono^r was, by the king, comaunded to be taken: bicause he

¹ Sultaniah and its great mosque are now in ruins.

was aduertised that his sonne OGURLU Mahumeth (who had wonne Syras, had writen certein Pres vnto this Cascadam that were not showed to the king.¹ Wherefore, he caused first his bearde to be shaven, and then made him to be had to the shambles, wheare he was strypped, and had twoo of those hookes, whereon the bocheo^{rs} vse to hange fleshe, driven in behinde his shouldres, on either side one: by the which he was hanged by lowe, wheare the fleshe is wonte to hange, and lyved twoo howres aftre. Nowe, by that I coulde learne, the said Ogurlu Mahumeth, hearing of his fathers coming to Syras, departed thense, and kept himself abroad; writeng vnto an vncler of his to be meane vnto his father for him. Offering to submytt himself and to be in any place wheare it shulde please his father to appoinct him: so that he might haue wherew'hall to lyve.²

All this region of Persia hitherto, by the waie that we came was verie barayn, drie, sandie, and stonye, having fewe waters, so that wheare water is there be some townes: though for the more parte destroyed: every of which townes hath a castell fortified of earthe. Their cornes, vines, and fruietes encrease by force of their water; for wheare water is skarse there is harde dwelling; nevertheles, they vse to conveigh their water vnder earthe iij and v daies iorney from the ryvers, whense they fetche them, and that in this maner. Neere to the ryver they make a pitt like vnto a well, from whense they folowe, diggeng by lyvells towardes the place they meane to bringe it to; so that it may evermore distende chanell wise: which chanell is deeper than the botome of the foresaid pytt, and whan they haue digged about xx paces of this chanell, than digge they an other pitt like to the first,³ and so from pitt to pitt they conveigh the water alongest these chanells whither they woll. And whan

¹ Ramusio has—which he refused to show to the king.

² So that his life might be spared.

³ These pits are for removing the earth to make the conduit, or *kanud*.

they haue finisshed this worke than open they the skluse of the pitt towards the ryver, and so letting in the water, convey it to their townes, and whither they woll, fetching that through the botome of mountaignes that is had out of the deepe of the ryvers. For if they did not thus there could be no dwelling there; considering that it rayneth very seldome, insomuch that I saied to those of tharmie their cuntrey was very barayne. Whearevnto I was answered that I needed not to mervaile, bicause the waie they tooke was freshe, so that they founde the better pasture and the cuntrey the holsōmer. In those pties arr no woodes nor yet trees, no not so much as one, except it be fruite trees, which they plante, whereas they may water them; for otherwise they wolde not take. The tymber wherewth they buylde arr trees which they sett in watrie places, in such nombre as suffiseth for their necessitie. The rather for that they haue excellent carpenters, who, being constreynd of necessitie to spare woll of one peece of tymber of two spannes in compasse sawed into boordes, make an handsome doore of two paces longe, so well wrought outwards and so well ioyned, that it is a wonder, aftre which maner they also make their wyndowes and other things meete for their householde. In dede, w^hinfoo^t the peeces of their ioynengs may well be discerned. Of this they also make chestes; and for prooffe that there be none other trees, great nor small, neither on hill nor plaine, I have sometimes founde a shrubbe of thorne, on the which, as it were for a myracle, I haue seene certain peeces of cloth and ragges hanging, in token that the feaver and other infirmities arr healed there. And, notw^hstanding the great moltitude of people that is in their campe, yet shall yo^w not heare any one mourning or lamenting; for they arr all meerie: synge, plaie, and laugh.

Folowing on o^r ioⁿey we came to a towne called SPANAM,¹ which hath been a notable toune till of late, walled wth mudde

¹ Ispahan.

and ditched, hauing about iiij myles in circuyte, and, rekenyng the subvrbes, aboue x myles: in which subvrbes arr no less goodly houses than w^hin the walles. I vndrestode that, by reason of the moltitude of the people amongst the which were nombres of good men, being also ryche, sometimes they disobeyed their king. And, about xx yeres passed, one GIANSA being King of Persia, came to this towne to reduce the same to obedience, and hauing taken ordre wth them, deputed. But shortely aftre they rebelled againe; wherevpon he sent an armye thither wth co^mmandement, that whan they had sacked and burned the towne, every man at his reto^rne shulde bringe one of thinhabitaunts heades wth him: which they fulfilled so exactly that (as I haue hearde some of them reporte which were in that armie) they that coulede not gett mennes heades cutt off womens heades and shaved them, to fulfill the kings co^mmandement. By reason whereof, they overthrewe and destroyed the whole towne; nevertheles, the vjth parte of it is nowe enhabited again. It hath many great and notable antiquities, amongst the which the chiefest is a square cisterne, wth cleere and sweete water, verie good to drynke, rounde about the which is a goodly wharfe sett wth pyllars and vowltes: wheare arr innumerable roomethes¹ and places for merchaunts to bestowe their merchaundizes: which place is alwaies locked in the night for savegarde of the merchaundize. Divers other things and goodly monuments arr in this citie: whereof I woll forbear to speak, saving that in the tyme rehearsed (as it was saied) there dwelled aboue L^m persons. Aftre this, we founde a well enhabited citie called Cassan,² wheare for the more parte they make sylkes and fustians in so great quantitie that he who wolde bestowe x^m ducates in a daie may finde enough of that merchaundise to bestowe it on. It is about iij myles in compasse, walled, and w^houtfoo^rthe hath faire and large

¹ Rooms.

² Kashan.

subvrbes. Than came we to a walled citie called COM, very rudely buylded. It is no towne of craftesmen; for they lyve of tyllaige, having many vineyardes and gardens and excellent good mellons; so great, that some one sholl waie xxx^{lb}, grene w^hout, white w^hin, and as sweete as suger; and the towne conteigneth about xx^m houses.

From thense, folowinge on or waie we came to Jex,¹ a towne of artificers, as makers of sylkes, fustians, chamletts, and other like. Some may thinke I tell more than trowthe in many things; nevertheles, it is most trewe, as they knowe that have seene it. This towne is walled, of v myles in circuite, wth very great subvrbes, and yet in maner they all arr wevers and makers of divers kindes of sylkes which came from STRAUA,² from AZZI, and from the pties towardes ZAGATAI: towards the sea of Bachu, the best whereof come from Jex, w^{ch}, wth their wo^rkes, do aftrewards furnishe a great parte of INDIA, PERSIA, ZAGATAI, CIM, and MACIM,³ parte of CATAY, of Bursia, and of Turchie; wherefore lett him that woll bie good silkes of SORIA, faire and well wrought, take of these. And whan any merchaunt cōmeth to this towne for wares, he goeth into the FONDACO, rounde about the which arr certein litle shoppes, and in the middest a litle square place, likewise wth shoppes, having twoo gates cheyned (bicause horses shulde not passe through). This merchaunt wth his companie, if they be acquainted wth any place, resorte thither to sytt: if not, they may sytt wheare pleaseth them in any of those shoppes, being vj foote square a peece. And if they be divers merchaunts, lightly they take eche one a shoppe by himself. An howre afre the sonne ryseng certein go about wth sylkes and other wares on their armes, passeng rounde about w^hout speaking. And the merchaunts, if they see ought that pleaseth them, call the seller; and looke on his wares; the price whereof is writen on a paper sowed vnto it. If he lyketh them and the

A resort-
ing place
for mer-
chauntes
to traf-
ficke in.

¹ Yezd.

² Astrabad.

³ Tchin and Matchin, China.

price, he throweth them into the litle shoppe, and so dispatcheth them w^hout moore wordes. For he that deliuereth the stuff knoweth the owner of the shoppe, and therefore depteth w^hout further question: which markt endureth till noone; and aftre dyner cometh the seller and receaueth his mooney; wheareas, if he fynde none that woll bye at his price one day, than he reto^rneth an other day: and so foorth. They saie that towne requireth every daie twoo sompters of sylkes: which, aftre o^r maner, amounteth to x^mi weight. As for chamletts, fustians, and such other, I saie nothing; for, by the sylke they make, it may easelie be gessed how much more they make of those.

All my iorney hitherto hath been sowtheast, but nowe I shall reto^rne eastwardes, wheare the first towne in my waie was the city of SYRAS, being very great, of xx^{lie} myles compasse, rekenyng the subvrbes w^hall. It conteigneth innumerable people, and is full of merchaunts; for all they that come from the vpper parties, that is to saie, frome ERE, SAMARCAHANTH, and NISU,¹ taking the waie through Persia. do passe by SYRAS. Hither arr brought many jewelles, sylkes, both great and small, spices, rewbarbe, and semenzina, and is of the King Assambey, his domynion, closed wth high mudde walles and deepe dyches, wth gates according. It hath a nombre of excellent faire churches and good howses trymed wth MUSAICO and other goodly ornaments: and may conteigne cc^mi houses, or padventure more. In which citie is very sure dwelling w^hout any disturbance. Going hense, they departe out of Persia, and take the waie vnto Ere,² a towne situate in the region of ZUGATAI, which towne appteigneth to the sonne of the late Soldan Bosaith, and is very great, though not so bigge by the ij^{de} parte as Syras, wheare they make sylkes and other like wo^rkes as they do in Syras. I forbear to speake of many castells,

¹ Samarcand and the parts beyond.

² Probably Ré, a town formerly existing near Tehran.

townes, and villaiges that arr in this waie, bicause there is nothing in them notable. But from thense, somewhat northeastwardes, they travaile xl daies iorney through desertes and barayn places, wheare no water is to be had but in such welles only as arr made for the purpose, and whereas is litle grasse and lesse woodde. And than come they in the self same region of Zagatai, to a verie great and well enhabited citie called Sammarcahanth, through the which all the merchaunts and travailers that come out of Cim Macim, and Catay do passe to and fro. The towne is well replenished of artificers and merchaunts both. The lordes whereof arr sonnes to Giarda.¹ I went no further this waie, but by that I learned there of others, this Cim and Macinn that I haue before named arr ij verie great provinces, thinhabitants whereof arr idolaters, and there make they vessells and disshes of PORCELLANA. In these pties is verie great trafficque of merchaundize, specially jewells and clothes, as well of sylke as of other sortes, and from thense they go into the province of Catay. Of the which I shall rehearse as much as I knowe, by the reaporthe of an ambassado^r of Tartarie that came thense. I, being at Tana, happened one tyme to talke wth the saied ambassador tooching the cuntry of Catay, who telled me that in passeng through the places hereafter mençoned, aftre he was ones entred into that cuntrey, his charges were borne from place to place, vntill he came to a towne called Cambale,² wheare he was honorably receaued, and lodging appoincted vnto him. And (as he said) even so the costes arr borne of all the merchaunts that passe that waie. Than was he brought to the princes presence, wheare, at his comyng to the gate, he was made to kneele wthhoutfoo^rthe. The place was flatt and plaine, very large and longe. At the vpper ende whereof was a pavement of stone, on the which the Prince sate wth his backe to the gatewardes. And on both sides sate iiij of

¹ Or Giansa.² Cambalu.

his wth their faces towardes the gate; and from the gate vnto these iij on either side stode certein seruants of armes wth syluer staves, making a lane in the myddest. In the which lane, here and there sate certein trowchemen on their heeles, as women do in o^r parties. The said ambassado^r being brought to the gate, wheare he founde the things in thordre aforesaid, was comaunded to declare his messaige: which the trowchemen declared again from one to the other, till it came to the Prince. Wherevpon, it was answered that he was welcome and might reto^rne vnto his lodging, wheare he shulde receaue a further answe^r: and that he needed no more to reto^rne to the Prince, but only to conferre wth such as were therevnto appoincted and sent to his lodging, who to and fro did so travaill, that he was both speedylie and thankfully dispatched. A servaunt of the said ambassado^{rs} and a companyon of his, who were both wth him, tolde me wonders of the justice they vse in those pties. Amongest the which, this was one that being on a daye in MADIAN¹ which signifieth the markett place, they did see a woman carieng a payle of mylke on her heade, to whom one came that tooke it from her: and beginneng to drynke, she beganne to crye out, Helas! howe can we poore wydowes carie o^r goodes to sell? Wherevpon, he was incontinently taken, and wth a swearde cutt in sonder by the myddest: so that at ones ye shulde haue seene both the bloude and the mylke gushe out of his bowells which thambassado^r himself affirmed aftewardes to be trewe: addeng further that a certein woman weaving of fustian, had drawen out a shuttell and laied it behinde her; which shuttell, one that by chaunce passed by, tooke awaie and went on. But she, looking backe and mysseng her shuttell, beganne to crie: and being tolde her that he which had it went there, he was incontinently taken, and likewise cutt by the middest. They saie that not only wthin the citie, but also in the high

¹ The Maidan. or open space.

waies abroade, wheare men travaile, if there be anythinge laied on a stone or other place, which, being lost by the owners, hath been founde by others, there is no man so hardie as darreth take it to himself. And further, if any man on the waie aske an other whither he goeth, and that he of whom the question is so asked do either suspect or mistrust the person that moved the question, and therefore woll complaine: it shall behove the questioner to yelde a lafull reason why he asked it; orelles he shalbe punisshed for it: whereby it appeareth this cuntrey is of great freedom and justice. As, toocheng their merchaundize, I learned that all the merchaunt men which reasorte thither bringe their merchaundizes into the FONDACHI, wheare the officers repaire to see it, and if they finde any thinge meete for the Prince, they take that that pleaseth them, yelding the valewe for it in other things, the rest remayneth at the merchaonts libertie. The small mooney they spende in this place is made of paper, which they yerely change into a newe printe: for tholde mooney at the yeres ende is brought to the mynte wheare the bringer receaueth as much of the faire newe mooney, paieng for it, nevertheles, afre twoo in the hundred of good sylver; and than is the olde mooney throwen into the fyre. As for the golde and syluer, they sell it by weight, and of those mettalls, they also make certein great peeces of mooney.

As some halles be in London.

I suppose these Cataini be paynems of belief, though divers of Zagatai and of other macons that come thense, saye they be christened; for whan I asked them howe they knowe them to be Christians, they answeare, bicause they haue ymages in their churches as we haue. It happened me whilest I was in Tana, the said ambassado^r being wth me, as I haue said before, there passed an olde man by me, a Venetian, called NICOLO DIEDO, who sometimes ware a gowen of cloth, lyned with sendall, open sleved, as in tymes past they vsed in Venice vpon a furred dublett, wth an hooode on his

shulder and a twoopeny strawen hatt on his heade: whom the said ambassado^r wondered at: saieng vnto me, This maner of apparail vse the CATAINI to weare, and they arr like vnto the men of o^r religion, and arr apparailed as we be. There groweth no wyne in that cuntrey; for the region is very colde, but of other vittails there is plentie enough. These, wth diuers other things which I forbear at this pnt, arr such as I learned of the reapo^rte of the said ambassado^r of Tartarie, and of his famyliars, as tooching the province of Catay, wheare I was not myself, and therefore reto^rneng backe towards Tauris, liek as I haue spoken of the wayes east northeast, so shall I nowe declare vnto yo^w the waie east southeast. First, we founde a citie called Chuerch, passing over those townes that we founde in the waie, of the which there is no notable thinge to be remembered. In this citie there is a pitt like vnto a fountainne, in the keeping of their TALAFTIMANNI; that is to saie, their priests, the water whereof hath great vertue against the leaprie. Of which infirmitie I haue somewhat seene, not of experience, but of other mennes credulitie. For, at the same tyme there passed a frencheman that waie wth certein seruants and guydes, that were moores, which frencheman was infected wth the leaprie: and therefore (as we were informed) travailed thither to bathe himself in that water. What became of him I wote not, but the co^mon voice went that many were healed there. For whilst I taried there myself, I vnderstode notable things of the vertue of that water.¹

¹ Ramusio has here—“ While I was still in that country there came an Armenian to procure some of the water, who had been sent by the King of Cyprus long before I began my journey to those parts, and returning while I was in the country with some of the water in a tin flask, came to Tauris two months after I had arrived there. He staid with me two days, and then started on his way to Cyprus, where, on my return, I saw the same flask of water hanging up on a pole placed outside a kind of tower, and was told by the people of the place that, by

This citie Chuerch is but litle; nevertheles, it is a through fare, for all they passe through it that go towardes the Redde Sea; that is to saie, vnto SINU PERSICO. In which sea there is an ilande that hath a citie called Ormuos, between xvij and xx myles from the mayne lande: the ilande being a lx myles in compasse. That citie is great and well enhabited, but they haue none other than well water and cisterne water; whereof, whan they finde any lacke, they arr faine to sende into the mayne lande for it, from whence they also haue their grayne. It yeldeth tribute to the King Assambeï, and thinhabitaunts arr great makers of sylkes. And the merchaunts that travaill either out of India into Persia or out of Persia into India, for the more parte do all arryve in this ilande. The Lorde whereof is called Sultan Sabadin, who vseth to sende his barkes into India to fyshe for oysters of perles, and there looseth many; and whilest I remained on this citie there arryved twoo merchaunts out of India with perles, jewells, sylkes, and spices. Into this golfe of Persia falleth the notable ryver EUPHRATES, vpon the which vj daies io'ney vpwardes is BAGDATH, sometime called BABILONE, which was so famouse, as the worlde knowth, though at this present it be for the more parte destroyed, not exceeding x^m houses. Nevertheles, it is plentyfully victailed, having abundance of fruictes: as dates, pistacchi, and other like, not only in great quantitie, but also of excellent goodnes: amongst the which arr qwynces of the taste and greatnesse of ours. Nevertheles, they haue qwynces that haue no hardenes w'hin them, as o^{rs} haue, but arr most sweete in the eating, as o^r sweetest peares be. They also haue a kynde of pomegranates, not very great, virtue of that water, they had not been troubled with grasshoppers. I also saw there certain black and red birds, called birds of Mahomet, which fly in flocks like starlings; and, from what I heard, destroy all the grasshoppers they meet with. It is asserted by the country people that, wherever these birds know there is water of that particular kind, they fly towards it."

Pistacchi
is a kynde
of delicate
nuttes.

but for the more parte wth a thynne rynde, which they pyll as we pyll oranges: and than may byte it neither more nor lesse than as it were an apple; for they haue none of those cores in the myddest, but even a litell in the botome, and the sweetnes of it is myngled wth a litle sharpe. And some there be that wante the litle cornell which o^{rs} hath w^{thin} the graine, and some other haue it so softe that y^o shall no more feele of it in yo^r mowth to spytt out againe, than as if ye did eate of correyns. They also make much suger and pfect confeciones thereof, specially siropes, of the which they furnishe Persia and other places.

Nowe, retoⁿeng to Ormuos, I shall somewhat saie of the places that arr forneagainst it on the other syde of the fore-said golfe northewardes, which is of the coste of Persia. These places arr enhabited wth Macomettanes, and this golfe in itself is ccc myles broade, and the places on the other syde of the golfe arr vnder the domynion of iii princes, Macomettanes. Comyng to lande eastsoutheast, as the golfe goeth, at thende of it there is a citie called CALICUTH, of verie great fame, being, as it were, a staple or a receipt of merchaunts of diuers places, as who wolde saye of those that come out of the golfe of Catay and from all those partes: so that alwaies ye shall finde a nombre of shippes—yea, and great shippes there. Bicause there seldome happeneth any great tempest. The citie is a passaige haunted wth merchaundise of all sortes, and is both great and well peopled.

Retorneng alongest the coste, forneagainst Ormuos there is a towne called Lar, a great and a good towne of merchaundise, about ij^ml houses: and is a passaige for those that go and come through this golfe lyghtely lande at this towne. Than is there Syras, of the which I haue spoken before; and so folowing the waye yo^w come to a great towne called CAMARA.¹ And from thense, a daies ioⁿey, ye come to a great bridge vpon the Byndamyr, which is a notable great

¹ Or Kinara.

ryver. This bridge they saie Salomon caused to be made at the towne of Camara, and there appeareth a rounde hyll which on thone side seemeth to be cutt and made in a fronte of vj paces high: on the toppe whereof is a plaine, and rounde about xl pillers called Cilminar,¹ which in their tongue signifieth xl pillers, every one whereof is xx yardes longe and as thicke as iij men can embrace; but some of them arr decayed. Nevertheles, by that which remayneth it appereth to haue been a very faire monument; for, vpon this plaine there is a mightie stone of one peece, on the which arr many ymages of men graven as great as gyaunts, and aboue all the rest one ymage like vnto that that we resemble to God the Father in a cercle, who in either hande holdeth a globe, vnder whom arr other litle ymages, and before hym the image of a man leanyng on an arche, which they saie was the fygure of SALOMON. Vnder them arr many other ymages, which seeme to susteine those that be aboue. Amongest whom there is one that seemeth to haue a Popes myter on his hedde, holding vp his hande open as though he ment to blesse all that arr vnder him; liek as they looking towardes hym seeme also to gape for his blisseng. A litle further there is a great ymage on horsbacke, seemyng to be of a boysterouse² man: who they saie was SAMPSON; about the which arr many other ymages apparailed of the frenche façon, wth longe heares, and all those ymages arr of halfe relieuo. Two daies io^rney from this place is a towne called THIMAR, and from thense two daies io^rney an other towne, in the which is a sepulture that they affirme to be the tombe of Salomons moother, and over the same a litle church: whearein certein Arabike l^res is writen, as they saie Mater Suleimen, that is to saye, the moother of Salomon: the gate whereof is towardes the East. From thense, iij daies io^rney, yo^w come to a towne called Dehebeth, wheare they vse tillage and making of fustians. Twoo daies io^rney

Half relieuo is thymage, wth the foreparte full grauen and the back flatt.

¹ Chehl minar.

² Robust.

further ye cõme to a place called VARGARI,¹ which in tyme past hath been a great and a faire towne; but at this p̃nt it maketh not aboute m^l houses, in the which they also vse tyllaige and making of fustians, as is aforesaid.

Foure daies iõney thense ye come to a towne called Deiser,² and iij daies iõney further an other towne called Taste, from whence folowing that waie an other daies iõney ye come to JEX, of the which I haue made sufficient mençon before. Thense ye go to Meruth, a litle towne, and twoo daies iõney further is a towne called Guerde, in the which there dwell certein men called ABRAINI, which in myne opinion either be descended of Abraham orells haue Abrahams faith, and they weare longe heare. Twoo daies iõney further there is a toune called NAIM, evill enhabited, not exceading v^e houses; and twoo daies iõney thense is a towne called Naistan, and from thense twoo other daies iõney is Hardistan, a litle towne that maketh a v^e howses.

Three daies iõney thense ye come to Cassan, which I haue spoken of before, and from thense iij other daies iõney is Com, before named, and beyonde that one other daies iõney is Saua, having about m^l houses. In all which places they vse tyllaige and making of fustians. Three daies iõney from Saua is a litle towne called EUCHAR,³ from whence in iij other daies iõney ye come to Soltania, before named, and vij daies iõney thense is Tauris. Nowe, he that wolde departe thense to travaile towards the sea of Bachu eastwardes, being of the region of Zagatai, shulde fynde these townes folowing, from Thauris to Soltania; viz., from Soltania to Euchar, iij iõneys; from Euchar to Saua, iiij iõneys; from Saua to Choi, a litle towne, vj jorneyes; from Choi⁴ to Sarri, a litle towne, also iij iõneys; from Sarri to Lindan,⁵ a litle towne, iiij iõneys; from Lindan to Tremigan, a litle towne,

¹ Or Vargan.

² Or Deister.

³ Afshar.

⁴ Ramusio has, from Choi to Rhei, three journeyes from Rhei to Sarri.

⁵ Or Sindan.

iiij iorneys; from Tremigan to Bilan, vj iorneys; and than come ye to Straua.¹ Of the which the sylkes called Strauatine take this name. This towne is neere to the sea of Bachu, and standeth not very holsomely. There groweth litle wheate, wherefore they feede of ryse; of the which they make their breade. In this towne, and in all the villaiges vnder it, whereas any water is to be had, they spynne and make course sylkes, and alongest the bankes of those ryvers they haue their bowthes wth their cawldrons for sylkes; for they keepe great nombres of sylke wormes and haue plentye of white mulberie trees. In these quarters arr innumerable pertriches, in such sorte, that whan the prince or other great psonaige maketh any feast, they boyle of these ptridges and give everie man a dishe of ryse podaige, and than pertriches; so that all the people eateth; which to them arr not deynteth.²

Alongest the coste of the said sea arr many townes; that is, to witt, Straua, Lanzibeuth, Madrandani, and others; whereof, for this tyme, I speake not, but in those townes arr the best sylkes made that come out of these quarters.

And nowe, being come neere, me seemeth it not amysse to speake some what of the waie from TRABISONDA to THAURIS, going southwest; wherefore, first tooching Trabisonda, I saie that it hath been both a good and a great towne vpon the sea Maggiore. The lorde wheroof in tymes past hath had the tytyle of Empero^r; for he was brother to Thempero^r of Constantinople, and wolde also be called Empero^r himself, whereof all his successo^{rs} (though they were no emperours bretherne) did, nevertheles, from one to an other vse, or rather vsurpe, this tytyle of Empero^r. As for the towne, I shall neede to saie no more of it: bicause it is sufficiently knowen over all. But, going thense towards Thauris, as I haue said, southwest, ye shall finde many villaiges and litle castells, and besides that ye shall travaill through hilles and

¹ Astrabad.

² Are not much valued.

woodes, disenhabited, till ye come to Baiburth, the first notable place that waie being a castell, standing in a plaine valley, environned wth hylles, stronge, and walled, and in a plentyfull soyle, the towne vnder the castell conteyneng m^v^c howses, and is w^hin the domynion of the King Assambeï. Five daies iorney further ye come to Arsengan, which hath been a great citie, but for the more pte decaied at this pnt. Going on west southwest ij myles further ye come to the notable ryver EUPHRATES, over the which ye passe on a faire great bridge of bricke, of xvij arches. Than come ye to a towne called CARPURTH,¹ v ior^{ne}ys from Arsengan. In this place soggioⁿed the wief of the King Assambeï, she that was doughter to Themo^r of Trabisonda.² The place is stronge, and is for the more parte enhabited by Greekes³ attending on the said Queene. Following on, ye finde many litle townes and castelletts, till ye come to MOSCHONE, from thense to Halla, and so to Thene, which three arr stronge castells, and well walled, eche of them having about v^c howses vnder them: wth a great ryver rennyng alongest, which cometh not ferre from Carpurth, aboue mençoned, and hath passaiges by boates. All the people enhabiteng these places vnder the iurisdicon of these castells arr called COINARI, which in o^r tonge signifieth heardemen. Than going eastwarde ye come to a walled castell standeng on a rocke, called Pallu, the towne vnder it having about ccc houses vnder the which passeth a certain ryver. Travaileng, than, still eastwarde, iij ior^{ne}ys further ye come to a castell called Amus, standing in a champaigne, yll enhabited. All the cuntrye of Trabisonda, wth the confynes, breedeth plentie of wyne, and the vynes growe vp alongest their trees w^hout any cutteng, so that contynually in those pties one of our hoggesheades of wyne is lesse wo^the than a ducate. Their

¹ Kharput.

² For an account of this lady, see Travels of Caterino Zeno.

³ Ramusio has—and Caloieri, or Monks.

woodes arr full of nutte trees of the kinde of Puglia,¹ and many other good fruictes they haue, and in some partes they make certein wynes called ZAMORA. From thense ye enter into TURCOMANIA, which heretofore was called Armenia; but now those that arr there borne arr called Caracoilu; that is, to wete, blacke ewes, liek as they of the provinces of Persia and Zagatai arr called Accoilu, w^{ch} signifieth white ewes: being names of p^{ties} amongst them, as who wolde saie amongst vs, Guelfi and Ghibellini, orells Zamberlani and Mastruccieri, vnder which titles arr great p^{te} takinges. After this ye come to a litle stronge castell called Mus, standing on an hyll amongst certein mountaignes, having a citie vnderneath it of iij myles compasse, very well inhabited. Three io^{neys} further is a faire, stronge castell, in a place called Allarch,² standing vpon a lake cl^{tie} myles longe, and in the brodest l^{tie} myles brode. From which lake, xv myles northewardes, is an other lake of iiij^{xx} myles in compasse, wth certein castells about it. Under Allarch is a towne of about m^l houses, and in both these lakes arr many shippes that make their voyages into the sea. There is also vpon this seconde lake a towne called Ceus, a good walled towne. One io^{ney} further costeng the sea, there is a towne called Herzil,³ wth a ryver and a bridge of v arches over it, and between Ceus and Herzil arr iiij other like bridges to passe over the ryver. In Herzil is the sepulture of the mother of Giansa, which was King of Persia and Zagatai. Five myles distant from this place ye come to Orias, a stronge castell standing on a litle hill. And so folowing eastwardes half a daies io^{ney}, ye come to Coi, not that which I named before, but an other of the same name, and five io^{neys} thense ye enter into a champaigne, in the which is a great citie heretofore destroyed by Zamberlan.⁴ Than shall ye finde divers villaiges, and aftre that an other lake of cc myles longe and xxx myles brode: in the which arr certein

¹ Apulia.² Akhlat.³ Arjish.⁴ Tamerlan.

ilandes inhabited. Finally, ye come to twoo cities, Tessu¹ and Zerister,² which betwene both may make iij^m fyres. Other notable things I haue seene none in these pties, saving that generally they make fustians, lynen clothes, fryses, many rugges, and a litell sylke. They haue plentie of fleshe (specially of mutton), wynes, and other fruites enough, which they conveigh into the sea Maggiore and to the townes about; wherefore, reto^rneng ones againe to be- ginne at THAURIS, and going east northeast, sometyme to^rneng north and too^wching a litle of northwest, passing over also dyvers places by the waie of small accompt, not wo^thie to be spoken of, I saie that xij io^rneys thense ye shall finde SAMMACHI,³ a citie in Media in the region of Thezichia, the lorde whereof is called SIRUANZA,⁴ which citie at a neede wolde make betwene viij and x^m horseman. It confyneth towards the sea of Bachu, w^lhin vj io^rneys, which sea is on the right hande of it, and on the lyfte hande is Mengrelia, towards the sea MAGGIORE, and Caitacchi, that inhabite about the mountaigne CASPIO. This is a very good citie; it hath betwene iiij and v^m houses, and maketh sylkes, fustians, and other thinges afre their maner. It standeth in the great Armenia, and a goode parte of thinhabitants arr Armeniens. Departeng thens ye come to Derbenth, a towne, as they saie, buylded by Alexander, standeng vpon the sea of Bachu, a myle distant from the mountaigne, on which mountaigne it hath a castell that descendeth wth twoo whynges; that is to saie walles, even into the water; so that the height of the walles arr twoo paces vnder water. The towne, from the one gate to the other, is halfe a myle brode: and the walles thereof arr of great stone, afre the Romayn buyldeng.

Derbenth signifieth in o^r tonge a straiet; in somuch, that many which vnderstande the nature of that place do call it

¹ Tessuj.

² Shebister.

³ Shamakhy.

⁴ Shirvan Shah.

TEMIRCAPI ; that is to saie, the gate of yron. And, truly, he that named it so, had very good reason : considering that this towne divideth MEDIA from SCYTHIA ; so that they which woll travaile out of Persia, Turchie, Soria, and the other lowe cuntreys, to passe into Scythia, must needs enter in at thone gate of this towne, and yssue at the other, which to him that vnderstandeth not the site of those places shulde seeme mervailouse and almost impossible ; but thocasion is this. From the sea of Bachu vnto the sea Maggiore, the streight waie, as it were, by line, is v^c myles. All which grounde is full of mountaignes and valleys, in some places well enhabited by certein Lordes of it (throwgh whose territories no man darr passe for feare of robberyng) ; but, for the more parte, it is disenhabited. And, if any man wolde determyn to passe that waie, leaving Derbenth, he shulde be constregned first to go through Giorgiana, and than through Mengrelia, on the cost of the sea Maggiore, at a castell called ALUATHI, wheare is a mountaigne of so great height that it shall behove him to leave his horse and to clymbe vp afoote by the rockes, so that betwene ascending and descending he shulde travaill two io^rneys, and than entre into Circassia, of the w^{ch} I haue spoken in the beginning, and that passaige is only vsed by them that dwell neere it, besides the which in all the said distance there is no passaige knowen, by reason of the difficultie of the places, wherefore reto^rning to the purpose: the cause of this strait is, that the sea eateth even to the verie mountaigne, wheare Derbenth standeth. And from that forwardes it is all rocke, wth very litle earthe. So that this strait endureth about lx myles ; nevertheles, the waie is somewhat apte to be travailed on horsebacke. From thense, torneng backwarde ou the lyfte hande the mountaigne torneth, so that it may be travailed : the same being it that aunciently was called MONTE CASPIO : wheare arr certein gray freeres and some priestes aftre or Romayn façon. The people there enhabit-

eng arr called Caitacchi, as it is said before. They speake languages different one from an other, and many of them arr Christians: some aftre the Greekes, some aftre the Armenians, and some aftre the Catholike. Vpon this syde of the sea there is an other citie called Bachu, wherof the sea of Bachu taketh name, neere vnto which citie there is a mountaigne that casteth foo^rthe blacke oyle, stynkeng horryblye, which they, nevertheles, vse for furnissheng of their lightes, and for the anoynteng of their camells twies a yere. For if they were not anoynted they wolde become skabbie. Over the champaigne of the mountaigne CASPIO ruleth one Tumembi, that signifieth in o^r tonge lorde of x^{ml}, throughout whose domynion they vse to make their houses coffyn-wise, even like to those houses that I made mençon of in the first parte of this treatise, the principall being made of a cercle of woodde bored wth holes rounde about: the diameter being a pace and an halfe, in the which they fasten certein litle staves that arr drawn into a litle cercle in the toppe; which they cover wth felte or cloth, according to their degrees, and whan they arr weery of dwelling in one place, then trusse they their houses on carts and remove to another place. Whan I reto^rned to this lorde there arryved a sonne of the Empero^r of Tartarie, which had maried a doughter of this lordes: whose father was than lately expelled out of his astate. This yonge Prince was entred into one of these houses, and was sett on the grounde, wheare he was viseted by some of his cuntreymen and by some other also of the cuntrey wheare he was. The maner of w^{ch} visitaçon was, that whan they came w^{hin} a stones cast of the gate, if they had any weapons they laied them on the grounde, and than marcheng certein paces towards the gate they kneeled doune, which they did twoo or iij tymes, marcheng alwaies forwarde, till they came w^{hin} x paces at the neerest, wheare they declared their matter. And having receaved their answer, reto^rned backwarde, never torneng their backes to the Prince.

I was divers tymes wth this lorde Tumembei, whose lief (by that I coulede pceave) was bent to be in contynuall dronkenes, wth drinkeng of wyne made of honey.

And sothens¹ we haue spoken of the things of the mountaigne Caspio and of the nature of those that dwell thereabouts, me seemeth it not amysse to recyte also an historie, which I lately hearde of one Vincent, a blacke freere, borne in Capha, who for certain affaires was sent into those pties : and departed about x moonethes past, the rehersall whereof serueth to good purpose for o^r religion. This freere reappointed that out of the Soldanes cuntrey there came a certain secte of Macomettanes, cryeng wth an extreme fervencie in their faith : Downe to death wth these Christians : and the more they approached vnto Persia the greater their nombre encreased. These rybauldes tooke their waie towards the sea of Bachu, and came to SAMMACHI, and so to DERBENTH, and into TUMEN, being a mervailouse great nombre, though partely wthout armo^r. And whan they were arryved at a ryver called Terch, which is in the province of TEZECHIA,² and about the mountaigne Caspio, wheare arr many Catholike Christians, they slewe them all, wheare so ever they founde them, men, women, and children. Afre this, they overranne the cuntrey of GOG and MAGOG, which arr also Christians (though afre the Greekish rites), and handled them likewise. Than reto^rned they towards Circassia, taking their waie towards CHIPPICHE and Charbatri, which arr both towards the SEA MAGGIORE, and there delte they likewise ; never ceasing till they of TITARCASSA and CHRE-MUCH wthstode them, fought wth them, and so discomfited them that there eskaped not xx of the hundreth which fledde wth a mischief towards their owne cuntrey. So that we may well consider what miserable astate the poore Christen men thereabouts do endure. This happened the yere of o^r Lorde 1486.

¹ Since.

² Ramusio has—Elochzi.

Of DERBENTH I shall tell yo^w one mervailouse matter. Going from the one gate towardes this place, even till ye come vnder the walles, ye shall finde grapes and fructes of all sortes, specially almons. On the other pte there arr neither fructes nor any trees, except it be certein wilde qwynces; and so it endureth x, xv, or xx myle of that side. And further, being there, I did see in a seller ij ankers of viij^{cl} a peece, and more: which declareth that in tyme past they haue vsed in those pties very great shippes: whereas, nowe, the greatest ankers thei haue arr betwene cl and ccl a peece.

Having hitherto declared that that appteigneth vnto those regions, partely by heresaye, but most by that I haue scene; nowe, reto^{neng} to Thauris, I shall showe what I did wth the King Assambeï, whan, at his departing from Thauris, he bruted that he wolde go against Ottomanno, though by divers tokens that I pceaued, I belined it not. He had in all as ferrefoo^{rthe}¹ as I coulede esteeme betwene xx and xxiiij^{ml} good horsemen: and the rest that came for the furnytur of the campe were about vj^{ml} men. As for women, children, and serūnts, I shall neede to saie no more, bicause I haue sufficiently spoken of them before. Whan we had travailed vij daies we torned on the right hande towards GIORGIANA, in the confynes of the sea Maggiore, into the w^{ch} cuntrey we entred. For the king mynded to spooyle it, and therefore sent his skowtes afore afre their maner: being about v^{ml} horses: which cleered the waie, the best they coulede, by felling and burneng the woodes; for their passaige laye through mightie mountaignes and very great woodes. So that we might see the fyre aferre of, and thereby knowe what waie to keepe. And thus was the waie readie made twoo daies io^{ney} into Giorgiana, wheare we arryved at Tifilis, the which being habandoned (as the rest of all the hither parte of that region was) we tooke w^hout resistence.

¹ As far as.

And passing from thens we came to Gory and to certain other places thereabouts; which were all putt to sacke, as the like was doon to a great parte of that region. At leingth, the King Assambei fell to composiçon wth the King PANCRATIO, King of Giorgiana, and wth Giurgura, who confyneth wth the same king that they shulde give him xvj^ml ducates, and that he shulde leave all the cuntrey to them except Tefilis. Wherevpon the King PANCRATIO and GIURGURA, myndeng to paie this mooney, sent vnto Assambei iiij balasses, reasonable good, but neither so great nor so faire as those that arr wonte to be shewed on Saint Markes aulter in Venice. So that whan the King Assambei had receaued these iiij balasses, he sent for me to praise and to valewe them. But first, er I came at him, those ambassado^{rs} of the said King Pancratio and of Giurgura (that had brought the balasses) sent to me, praieng me to valewe them well, considering they also were Christen men. Whan I was come to the king, he caused these balasses to be delivered unto me, and as I looked substancially on one of them, the King ASSAMBEI demaunded of me what it was wo^{the}: wherevnto, answering that I thought him wo^{the} iiij^ml ducates, he fell on a lawghing, saieng, O they arr very deere in thy cuntrey. I woll no balasses, but I woll haue mooney. As the voice went there were at that tyme caried awaie out of those cuntreys betwene iiij and v^ml p^{ersons}: and the places which we overranne were on the lyfte hande towarde the region of Giurgura. Cotathis,¹ belonging to the King Pancratio, is a litle towne standing on a litle hyll, wth a ryver vnder it:² over the which they passe a verie great bridge of stone, and so go towarde Schender, a meetely stronge castell, wth a great ryver rennyng throwgh it, and is iiij io^{urneys} from Gory. Than, passeng one other mountaigne, yo^w descende into the cuntrey of Assambei, in great Armenye. From whense, iij daies io^{urney}, ye come to the

¹ Koutais.² Ramusio has—called Fasso, formerly Phasis.

castel Loreo, and iiij daies io'ney thens shall ye fynde the mountaigne wheare NOE, afre the great flowdde, rested wth his arke, being a mervailouse high hyll wth a great plaine vndernethe it, and is about ij daies io'ney of circuite: on the which, both wynter and somer, the snowe contynually remaineth. And joyneng vnto it there is an other litell hyll, likewise laden wth snowe. Two io'neys further is a castell called Cagri, enhabited rounde about by Armeniens, which celebrate afre the Catholike maner, and haue two monasteries, the p̄ncipall whereof is called Alengia, conteyneng l^{ue} monkes, observants of Saint Benetts Ordre, that celebrate their masses afre o^r maner in their owne languaige. Their Prior, afre my reto'ne to Venice, died, and one of that house came thither, who arryved at San Giovanni Paolo, in Venice, and came to my house to haue my cōmendac̄on towards o^r most excellent Signoria, and the Busshop of Rome, that he might be made Prior of that house, being brother to the deade Prior.

Whan the King ASSAMBEI had concluded wth the King PANCRATIO and the forenamed GICRGURA, and receaved the xvj^{ia} ducates, he determynd to reto'ne vnto Thauris: wherefore, seing he ment nothing lesse than to make warre on OTTOMANNO, I tooke my leave of hym, entending to reto'ne homewards through Tartarie, and entred into the company of an ambassado^r of the foresaid King Assambei, accompanied wth many merchaunts of Tartarie. Of whom I learned that, as I haue writen in the beginneng, HAGMETH, sonne of Edelmugh, nephiewe to Thempo^r of Tartarie, was afre his fathers death growen great about the foresaid Empero^r, which Hagmeth was by his owne father given me as my sonne, wherefore I was the more desyrouse to keepe on that waie, assuring myself to haue founde much curtesye at his hands. But the warres were so great in those pties, that I durst not folowe my io'ney; and, being constrained to alter my purpose, reto'ned therefore to Thauris in the yere of o^r Lorde 1478;

wheare, at myne arryvall, I founde the King Assambei so sycke, that the night of the Epiphanie folowing he died, leaving iiij sonnes, iij by one mother and one by an other. The same night the iij whole bretherne strangled the iiijth halfe brother, being a yonge man of xx yeres, and than departed thastate amongst them. Than did the seconde brother cause the eldest to be slayne; and so remayned he king, in such sorte that he raigneth even to this present; wherfore, seeing all things brooyleng, I that by the fathers lief had taken good leave, both of the father and the sonnes, fell into the company of an Armenien that went to Assengan,¹ wheare he dwelled. And I had wth me a boye of Sclavonie, which was onely lefte me of all those that I brought into that cuntrey wth me. I apparailed myself wth such poore and miserable clothes as I had, and rode both continually and speedylie for feare of those alteraçons, which aftre the death of such princes most coñonly do happen. The xxixth of Aprile I came to Assengan, wheare I taried a mooneth, waiteng for the Carovana that shulde go to Aleppo. Departeng from hense we founde CYMIS,² CASSEG, and ARAPCHIR,³ which be litell townes. Than came we to a good cite of merchaundise called MALATHEA, vnder the Soldans domynion; from Assengan to this towne arr many mountaignes and valleys, yll and stonie waie; though, in dede, there be certein houses by the waie and places not much enhabited. Being in this cite, at the custome house, amongst those of the CAROUANA, wth whom I had accompanied myself: the customer there went vp and downe pervsing them that shulde paie. And while I kept myself a loofe looking whan the Carouana shulde departe, one of the same Carouana came vnto me, askeng me: What doest tho^w? The customer woll haue v ducates of the: bicause it is tolde him tho^w goest to Coz,⁴ which in o^r tonge signifieth HIERUSALEM. Wherfor

¹ Arsengan or Erzingan.

² Kumis.

³ Arabghir.

⁴ Kudus.

go excuse thyself. I went to hym, and, fyndeng him sitteng on a sacke, asked him what he wolde wth me. He badde me go paie v ducates, and notwthstanding that all they of the CAROUANA witnessed for me (as I had told them before), that I went to Syo to seeke my sonne, and wolde therewth haue excused me, yet wolde he needes that I shulde paie. Syo is a place much spoken of in Persia and in all those p̄ties, and is called Seghex,¹ which signifieth mastike. For there groweth mastike, which in their p̄ties is very much occupied. This, meane while, one that (as I tooke him) was some famyliar of the customers, said, O lett him go; but he p̄severed, saieng, Still tho^w shalt paie; hangeng his heade towardses the grounde. Wherevpon, the other chopped him wth his fyste vnder the nose: saieng, The Devill go wth the; that the bloudde sprange out. So that the customer cried, Thou foole, tho^w wolt ever be a foole, and therevpon ridde me out of the prease,² and badde me farewell. I tooke my horse and went wth the Carouano, and so travaileng founde divers castells, townes, and faire cuntreys, and being past the ryver of Euphrates arryved in Aleppo. Of the w^{ch} I shall neede to write nothing, considering it is a place well enough knowen over all; howbeit, it is a notable great citie and very well traded wth merchandise. Departing thense our merchaunts deliuered me a MUCHARIO,³ that is to saie, a guyde, wth whom I and my serūnt departed to come towardses the sea costes; that is, to witt, to Baruto.⁴ And, being on the sea side forneagainst Tripoli, we founde a great rowte of MAMMALUCCHI a shooteng, and certein of them p̄ceaving my guyde, drewe their horses together to cutt my waie; but I (p̄ceaving they were disposed to do me displeas^t) badde my boye go on wth the guyde, and I folowed faire and softelie, till I overtooke them, they having passed on twoo boweshootes before me. And whan I came neere

Mama-
lukes
were the
Soldane
of Egip^tes
men of
armes.

¹ Sakis.

³ Mukary, a muleteer.

² Press or crowd.

⁴ Beyrout.

I rode a litle besides the waie ; wherevpon, one of them called me, howe father herken? I, wth a good countenance approched, and asked him what he wolde? He againe asked me whither I went? I tolde him I went wheare as myne evill fortune ledde me. He asked me what I ment by those words. Mary (q^d I), a xij moonthes past, I solde a trusse of sylkes to a merchaunt man, whom I haue sought in Aleppo to haue had my mooney, wheare I haue myssed him. And nowe it is tolde me that he is goon to Baruto, I am faine to go aftre to seeke my povertie: which answere moved him so to pitie me, that he badde me, Go on, poore man, a Godds name. I folowed my waie, and overtooke my guyde: who, as soone as he sawe me, beganne to laughe, saieng, Hay, hay, hay, meaneng that I had handled the matter well to escape out of the Mamelukes hands. For he coulde speake no Turkishe, nor I no Moresco. On this wise, I came to Baruti, wheare a fewe daies aftre arryved a shippe of Candia: on the which, at her reto^{ne}, I passed into Cyprus; and from thense, by the helpe of Almighty God, came to Venice. And, seing I haue tolde the things belonging to the waies, me thinketh it reasonable to tell also the things ap^{pteyneng} some vnto their superstitions, some to their dissemblings of religion, and some vnto the yll entreatie that the Christians haue in those p^{ties} that I haue travailed.

Comeng towards SAMACHI, I laie in a litle hospital, wheare was a sepulture vnder an arche of stone, by the which was a man of yeres, wth a longe bearde and heares, naked all, saving that a litle before and behinde he was covered wth a certein skynne; and he sate on a peece of a matt vpon the grounde. I greeted him and asked what he did? He answered me, that he watched his father. I asked him againe, who was his father? Wherevnto, he answered that he is a father that doth good to his neighbor, as this man did that lieth there buried. Addeng, further,

that he had kept him company xxx yeres, by his lief tyme, and was so determyned also to do aftre his death. And whan I die (said he), here woll I also be buried. Furthermore, he saied, I haue seene enough of the worlde, and nowe am determyned thus to remaine till my death.

An other tyme, being in Thauris on Alsowles daie, which in like maner was than celebrated wth them, not that it is their ordinarie daye; but that so it happened then: being in the place of buriall and standing somewhat of, I did see one sytt neere vnto a sepulture wth many byrdes about hym, specially crows and chowghes: and believing that it was a dead corps, I asked them that were by what it might be? Wherevnto, they answered, it was a living saint, the like whereof was not in all that cuntrey; saieng further vnto me, See yo^w those byrdes, every daye they feede there: and whan he calleth one of them, he cometh streight, for he is a saint: praieng me to go neere and see it. We drewe neere, wthin lesse than a stones cast: and there might see that he had certein disshes of meate and other foode, so that these birdes wolde flee even to the face of him to be fedde; but he putt them of wth his hands, and some tymes wolde give some of them a litell meate. Of whom they tolde me many myracles aftre their opinions, which, nevertheles, to men of good iudgement may appeare expresse madnesse. An other tyme I did see one of these Drauis that folowed the king and fedde in the Corte, whilest the King Assambeï was in the great Armenia, nowe called Turcomania, who, as the king was removing to come into Persia, to go vnto the citie of Here against Giansa, then King of Persia and Zagatai, threwe a staffe that he had in his hande amongst the disshes wheare they were eating, and vseng a fewe woordes, brake them all. And this foole was counted a good foole. The king asked what he had saied, and it was answered by them that vnderstoode it, that the king shulde obteigne the victorie; and discomfite his enemye even as

Drauis
are made
men es-
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spirites.

he had broken the disshes. Is it true, qd the king? Which being confirmed by them that had spoken it, he comãunded him to be well governed till his reto'ne: promiseng to hono^r him and to make much of him. The king went foo^rthe, discompfited, and slewe his enemye, tooke all Persia, even to Here, and reduced all the cuntrey about vnto his obedience. And aftrewarde, not forgetting his promise, caused this foole to be brought vnto him and to be honorably entreated. Eight moonethes aftre this victorie I was present myself, and did see the maner of his entreatie. This man dayly caused all them to be fedde that came to his house at a dewe howre: howe many so ever they were. Causeng them first to sytt in a cercle: which (rekenyng them one tyme with an other) were never lesse than ce nor aboute v^o. And he everie day had both to lyve and to apparaill himself right well. Whan the king shulde ride into the champaigne he was put on a mooyie wth a cassacke on his backe and his handes bounde before him vnder his cassacke. For divers tymes he was wonte to plaie peryllouse madde partes; wherefore there were many other of these Drauis that went by him a foote. And being one daie in a pavyllion of a Turke, my freende, there came in one of these Drauis, of whom this Turke asked howe this Drauis did? wheather he raged, spake, or wolde eate? To the which, he answered, that as he was accustomed, sometyme he madded aftre^l the moone, and sometime he wolde not eate in twoo or three daies, and wolde so rage, that they were constrayned to bynde him; and that he spake well, but ferre out of purpose, and that he wolde eate such as was given him. But some tymes he wolde rent his clothes, wth other like ptes. And of this felowe, learned I the storie of his throwing the staffe amongst the disshes, who, in dede, tolde it me smylengly. The Turke, my freende, asked him, howe they did for mooney? mainteyneng so great a chardge; wherevnto,

¹ According to.

he answered that there was a certain *sum* assigned vnto them, and if they needed more, more they had. So that it is to be concluded madde men arr in good cace amongst them, and that wth litle labor and lesse good wo^rkes the meynay may attaigne to be taken for saintes.

But reto^rneng to the co^memoration of the deade, I saie that whan they celebrate that co^memoration there assemble about the sepultures a great nombre of men and women, oldemen and children, which sytt in plumpes,¹ wth their priestes, and candells burneng in their handes. The priests either pray or reade in their language. And having finisshed their reading and praieng, they cause their meate to be brought, even to the very place. So that the streates arr full of folks, going and comyng to and fro that place of buriall. This place is iiij or v myles in circuite. And alongest the waie thither the poore folke lye, asking almes: some of them offering to saie praieres for their benefacto^{rs}. Their sepultures haue certain stones pitched vpright: wth P^res declaring the name of the bodie buried; and some haue a litell chappell walled over them. This suffiseth too^wcheng their superstition. Wherefore, too^wcheng their dissembling in religion, I shall recite one vnto yo^w, wissheng to God that amongst vs Christen men, either there were no such dissembling or that it were punisshed as this was that I shall tell yo^w. The first whereof me seemeth were very good, and the seconde not amysse.

There was a Macomettane saint afre their maner, who went naked as a beast, preaching and speaking so much of their faith, that he had gotten right good creadite. And having a great recourse of ydeote people that folowed him, he could not be so satisfied, but wolde needes go close himself in a wall, pretending to fast xl daies w^hout meate; not doubting but to passe it over in healte w^hout any detryment to his bodie. And being deteryned to prove this

¹ Crowds, clumps.

mastrie,¹ he caused bricke to be brought into a forest. Of the which, wth mortar and such lyme as they vse in those pties, he made a litle rounde house, into the which he mured himself. And being founde at the xl daies ende alyve and sownde, the people woondred at hym. But one more wylie than the other smelte in that place a certain savo^r of flesshe, and, causing it to be digged, founde the frawde. This came to the kings eares, who caused the CADILASHCAR² to be apprehended, and a certain disciple of his also, who, wth small torment, confessed that he had broken an hole into the wall: thro^wgh the which he putt in a litle cane, and so conveighed brothe and other substanciall things into hym by night; wherefore they both suffred death.

And, as too^wcheng the yll handling of the Christians that I haue seene there, I shall recite that I learned in the yere 1487, in the mooneth of Decembre, of one PIETRO DI GUASCO, a Genowaie, borne in Capha, who, whilest I was in Persia, came thither, and was there wth me about iij moonethes. He being enqⁱred of for newes of those parties, tolde me, that being on a daie in Thauris, an Armenien called Choza³ Mirech (who was a riche merchaunt in all wares) stode in a certain goldsmythes shoppe, wheare came vnto him a saint afre their maner called Azi:⁴ willeng him to rynege the faith of Christ, and to make himself a Macomettane: wherevnto he made curteyse answere, praieng him not to trowble him; but thother p^severed, still calleng on him importunately to rynege. He againe shewed him mooney, intending therewth to pacifie him; but the saint wolde no money, persevering still that he wolde haue him rynege. Wherevnto, Choza Mirech answered that he wolde not rynege, but p^sever in the faith of Jesu Christ, as he had doon hitherto. Wherevpon this rybaulde drewe a swearde out of an other mannes sheathe by, and strake Choza so on

¹ Masterly operation.

² Kady Leshker, judge of the troops.

³ Khoja.

⁴ Hajy.

the heade that he slewe him, and incontinently fledde. There was a sonne of his in the shoppe of xxx yeres olde, or thereabouts, that beganne to weepe, and departing out of the shoppe, went towards the co'te, and caused the king to be enformed of it: who, seemyng to be mervailously offended w^hall, coñaundered the saint shulde be apprehended, sending abroade streight to seeke him. So that he was founde in a citie ij daies iorney from Thauris, called MEREN, and was bro^wght to the kings presence; who called for a knyfe, and wth his owne hand slewe him, comaunding his bodie to be thrown into the streate, and there to be lefte, that the dogges might eate him. Askeng wheather this were the waie to encrease the faith of MACOMETT? But whan the night drewe neere, divers of the people, those that were most ialouse of their religion, went vnto one DARUIS CASSUM, who had the custodie of the King ASSAMBAY, his sepulture, father to the king that now is: being, as who wolde saie, the Prio^r of thospitall wth vs, a man of accompte and reputa^{cion}, that had been Treasurer to the king before, and besought him to give them leave to take awaie that bodie that the dogges shulde not eate it. He, thinkeng no further, gave them leave, so that the people tooke him and buried him: which whan the king vnderstode, being shortely aftre (for the streate is neere vnto his palaice), he coñaundered DARUIS CASSAM to be taken and brought vnto him, to whom he saied: Darrest, tho^w coñaundered contrary to my coñaunderment? Well, lett him dye, wherevpon he was incontinently slayne. That doon, he saied further, syns the people hath transgressed my coñaunderment, the whole towne shall suffer for it, and be putt to sacke. And so his people beganne to sacke the towne to the mervailo^{use} feare and disquieting of all men, which endured for iij or iiij howres, and than coñaundered he them to staie and to leave sacking. But for all that he taxed a certein some of golde vpon them of the towne; and finally sent for the sonne of this CHOZA MIRECH

vnto him, whom he comforted and chearished wth verie good and gratiouse woordes ; for this CHOZA MIRECH that was slayne was a notable ryche merchaunt man, and of verie good fame. Wherefore this suffise now, both too^wcheng the evill entreatie of Christen men in those pties, and also to the ending of this seconde parte, and of the whole wo^rke described by me wth the best order I coulde, considering the great varietie of things, of places, and tymes :¹ to the praise of o^r Lorde Jesu Christ very God, vnto whom we Christen men, and spetially borne w^hin o^r most excellent citie of Venice, arr much more bounde than arr these barbarouse people, which arr ignoraunt of all good maner and full of evill customes.

¹ Ramusio has here—I finished the writing on the 21st December, 1487.

Letter addressed by the same author to the
Rev. Monsignor Piero Barocci, Bishop of Padua,
in which is described the herb Baltracan,
used by the Tatars for food.

MY LORD,—Having heard from my brother M. Anzolo, who had the happiness to stay with your Grace many days in those pleasant mountains of the Padovano, how much you delight in hearing of the nature of plants, especially of those which are not generally known, I wished, in order not to fail in my duty towards your Grace, to write you a description of one I remember among many others, which I saw in Tartary, during my stay at Tana. The Tartars have a plant in their country which they call Baltracan, the want of which would cause them great suffering, and prevent them from going from place to place, especially across those great deserts and solitudes, where they find nothing to eat except this plant, which supports them and gives them vigour. Accordingly, as soon as its stem has grown up, all the merchants and other people who wish to go long journeys, start in security, saying, “Let us go, for the Baltracan has grown.” And should one of their slaves escape when the Baltracan is grown, they abstain from following him, as they know that he can find support anywhere. And when they march with the *lordo* they carry supplies of it on carts and on the croups of their horses and even on their shoulders, for their sustenance, nor do they mind the load, so pleasant is its perfume. When any of it was brought to Tana, we merchants immediately ate of it. Nor must I omit to mention, that when in Albania, where I had been sent as Proveditore, after my return to Venice, as I was riding towards Croatia with five hundred persons, I saw

some of this Baltracan at the roadside, which I began eating; after which, the whole company wanted to taste it. When they had tasted it, it came so much into use, that everyone carried bundles of it; those who were not on horseback carrying it on their shoulders. This they did, not so much from necessity, as on account of its good flavour and smell, and the Albanians shouted out Baltracan, Baltracan. I subsequently saw some of this Baltracan at Terrarsa in the Padovana; and, in order that your Lordship may know it, when searching for it in those mountains, I will describe its form in a few words. It has a leaf like that of the rape, with a stem thicker than one's finger, which, at seedtime attains a height of more than a braccio. The leaves spring from the stem at the distance of a quarter of a braccio from each other. Its seed is like that of fennel, but larger. It has a pungent but pleasant taste, and when it is in season, it is broken as far as the soft part. It has a smell of rather musty oranges, and from its nature requires nothing to flavour it, so that it can be eaten without salt. I consider that, at the proper time, it may be sown like other seeds, especially in temperate places and in good soil. Each stem has a root of its own, and is hollow in the interior. The bark of the stem is green inclined to yellow. But, I believe that those who would not know it by any other characteristic, would know it by taking notice of its seeds. The Tartars and all who are acquainted with it, boil the leaves in a kettle with water, and when they have allowed the liquor to cool they drink it as though it were wine, and say it is very refreshing; and I can affirm that it is so from my own experience. Recommending myself to your Grace,

I am your Grace's servant,

JOSAFÀ BARBARO.

Venice, this 23rd of May, 1491.

THE TRAVELS
OF THE
MAGNIFICENT M. AMBROSIO CONTARINI,
AMBASSADOR OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNORY OF VENICE TO
THE GREAT LORD USSUNCASSAN, KING OF PERSIA,
IN THE YEAR 1473.

6. 157

THE TRAVELS OF THE
MAGNIFICENT M. AMBROSIO CONTARINI.

I, AMBROSIO CONTARINI, the son of Messer Benedetto, having been chosen ambassador to the Illustrious Lord Ussuncassan, King of Persia, by our Illustrious Signory in the Council of Pregadi,—notwithstanding that such a mission appeared to me arduous on account of the long and perilous journey,—I resolved, in deference to the earnest wishes of our Illustrious Signory, and for the universal good of Christianity, and the honour that would accrue to the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Glorious Mother, to put aside all fear of peril and go cheerfully and willingly for the service of our Signory and Christianity; and deeming that an account of a journey of such importance and length might be interesting and useful to our descendants, I intend, with as much brevity as possible, to relate what occurred to me from my departure from Venice, on the 23rd of February, 1473 (the first day of Lent), until my return, on the 10th of April, 1477, and describe the towns, and provinces through which I passed, as well as the manners and customs of their inhabitants.

CHAPTER I.

The Serene Ambassador leaves Venice, and, passing through Germany, Poland, Lower Russia, and the great desert of Tartary in Europe, arrives at the city of Cafà.

I left Venice on the 23rd of February, 1473, accompanied by the venerable priest Stephano Testa, as my chaplain and secretary; Dimitri da Setinis, as my interpreter: and Maphéo da Bergamo and Zuanne Ungaretto, as my servants. We were, all five, dressed in thick clothes, in the German fashion. The money with which I was provided was sewn up partly in the skirts of the priest Stephano, and partly in my own, and did not fail to cause us some trouble. With these four I embarked for San Michiel da Murano, where, after hearing Mass, the Prior, at my request, signed us all with the wood of the Cross, immediately after which we left, with his blessing, for Mestre. Here five horses were provided for us, on which, by God's help, we reached Treviso, as, notwithstanding all my endeavours, I had been unable to procure a guide for any amount of money.

On the 24th I set out for Conegliano, where, considering it my duty, on so long and perilous a journey to confess and take the sacrament, I did so, with great devotion, together with my retinue.

On the 26th, having left Coneglian in the morning, I met a certain Sebastiano Todesco, who said he was going our way. As he appeared to know me and where I was going, and offered to accompany us as far as Nuremberg, I certainly looked upon him as one sent by God. We all six set out together, and, travelling every day, entered Germany, where I found many beautiful castles and towns belonging to various lords and bishops, who are all, however, under the allegiance of the Most Serene Emperor. Among other places I saw Augsburg, a very beautiful city. And after we had visited Bercemsurch, a walled city belonging to the

Emperor, and had gone about five miles beyond, Sebastian left us after a cordial embrace, and took the road to Frankfort.

On the 10th of March, 1474 (?), I arrived with a guide at Nuremberg, a most beautiful city, with a castle, and a river running through it. As I was looking for a guide, with whom to continue my journey, my host comforted me by suggesting that I should accompany two ambassadors of His Majesty the King of Poland, who, he informed me, were then in that city. This news gave me great satisfaction, and I immediately sent the priest Stefano to make known to them who I was, and to say that I should be glad to speak with them. When they had heard my message, they sent word back, that I might accompany them if I felt so disposed. I went then, and found that they were persons of high rank. One was an Archbishop; the other Messer Paul, a knight. After salutations were exchanged, I showed them that I was the bearer of credentials for their sovereign; and, notwithstanding my dress, they treated me with much honour, and received me willingly into their company, with liberal offers of assistance. I waited for them in Nuremberg until the 14th of March.

March 14th. On this day we started from Nuremberg in company with the abovementioned ambassadors. There was also an ambassador of the King of Bohemia, the eldest son of the King of Poland; and there might have been sixty horsemen. Riding through Germany, we lodged sometimes in very good towns, but generally in cities and fortresses, of which there are many both handsome and strong and worthy of being remembered. But as Germany is pretty well known, either by sight or report, I shall refrain from mentioning her cities and castles. From the above-named day, until the 25th, we continued travelling in Germany, in the country of the Marquis of Brandenburg, Duke of Saxony. Again entering the territory of the Mar-

quis of Brandenburg we reached a fine walled city called Frankfort, where we remained till the 29th. As this city is on the confines of Germany and Poland, the Marquis sent a number of armed men, in excellent order, to escort the ambassadors until they arrived in their own country.

On the 31st, we entered Messariga,¹ the first town belonging to the King of Poland. It is small, but handsome, and has a small castle.

On the 2nd of April, 1474, we arrived at Posnama² without having passed any place of importance. Posnama deserves notice on account of the beauty of its streets and houses; it is also much frequented by merchants.

On the 3rd, we left Posnama, with the idea of finding the king. In travelling through Poland we found neither cities nor castles worth mentioning; and with regard both to lodgings and other things the country is very different to Germany.

On the 9th, which was Holy Saturday, we entered a city named Lancisia, where the King of Poland was then residing. His Majesty sent two gentlemen (knights) to receive me, and I was accommodated with very good lodgings, considering the place. The next day being Easter Sunday, I did not think it would be proper to visit His Majesty.

On the 11th, in the morning, I received from His Majesty a coat of black damask, and a request to attend his presence. And as such was the Polish custom, I donned the garment, and went accompanied by many men of rank. Having made the requisite salutations, I delivered the presents which were sent to him by our Illustrious Signory, and told him my business. I was then invited to dine with his Majesty. Dinner is conducted in nearly the same manner as with us, and everything was exceedingly well prepared and in abundance. When dinner was over I took leave of His Majesty, and returned to my lodgings.

¹ Messeritz. forty-eight miles E.N.E. of Frankfort.

² Posen.

On the 13th, the king sent for me again, and replied to what I had said on the part of our Illustrious Signory, in such kind and courteous terms as to confirm what is said among us, that there has not been a more just king than he, for many years. He ordered that I should be provided with two guides, one for Poland and the other for Lower Russia, as far as a place called Chio or Magraman, situated, beyond his territories, in Russia. Having returned thanks in the name of our Illustrious Signory, I took leave of His Majesty.

On the 14th, I left Lancisia with the above-mentioned guides, and travelled through Poland, which is a flat country, but with forests. Every day and night we found lodgings, which were sometimes good and sometimes otherwise. Poland has the appearance of being a poor country.

On the 19th, I arrived at a pretty good city called Lumberli, where there is a castle in which reside four of the king's sons (the eldest of whom may have been about fifteen years of age), with a most excellent preceptor, from whom they receive instruction. They requested me (I believe by command of their father) to visit them, which I did. The words addressed to me by one of them were very appropriate, and showed great esteem for the master. After making a suitable reply, and thanking their Royal Highnesses, I took my leave.

On the 20th, we left Poland, and entered Lower Russia, which also belongs to the said king. Journeying till the 25th, almost all the way through forests, and lodging sometimes at a small castle and sometimes in a village, we arrived at a city called Iusch, where there is a good castle, though built of timber. Here we staid till the 24th (?), not without peril, on account of the celebration of a couple of weddings: nearly all the population being drunk, and, on that account, very dangerous. They have no wine, but make a kind of beverage with apples, which is more intoxicating.

April 25th. We left here and arrived, in the evening, at a town with a castle called Aitomir, built entirely of timber. Leaving this place, we travelled on the whole of the 29th through forests, which were very dangerous, from being infested with discontented men of all conditions. Not having found a lodging at night, we were obliged to sleep in this forest without anything to eat, and I had to mount guard all night.

On the 30th, we came to Beligraoch, a white castle, used as a dwelling by the king, where we lodged in great discomfort.

On the 1st of May, 1474, we arrived at a city called Chio or Magraman, beyond the confines of the above-mentioned Russia. It is governed by a Catholic Pole, named Pammartin, who, when he had heard of my arrival from the king's guides, provided me with very bad quarters, for the country, and sent me provisions, which were very acceptable. This city is on the confines of Tartary, and is frequented by merchants who bring furs from High Russia, and pass in caravans to Capha, but are often captured by the Tartars. The country abounds in bread and meat. It is the custom of the people to work from morning to tierce, and then to spend the rest of their time till night in caves, frequently quarrelling like drunkards.

May 2nd. Pammartin sent many of his gentlemen to invite me to dine with him. After the proper salutations had been exchanged, he made me great offers, and informed me that he had been commanded by his sovereign, to treat me with honour, protect me from every danger, and give me the means of passing through Tartary as far as Capha. I thanked him, and begged him to do so; when he said that he was expecting an ambassador from Lithuania, with presents for the Emperor of the Tartars, and that the emperor was going to send two hundred Tartar horsemen as an escort. He recommended me, therefore, to wait for this

ambassador, in whose company I might pass in safety, which I resolved to do. We sat down to dinner, which was exceedingly well prepared and abundant, and I received most honourable attention. There were present a bishop, brother to the governor, and many gentlemen; and there were also several singers, who sang during the repast. I was made to remain at table a very long time, to my great annoyance, as I required rest more than anything else. When dinner was over, I took leave of his lordship, and went to my lodgings, which were in the town, the governor remaining in his quarters at the castle, which was constructed of wood. There is a river, called Danambre in their language, and Leresse in ours, which passes by the town and flows into the Mar Maggiore. We waited here ten days for the arrival of the Lithuanian ambassador. On the morning we were about to depart, the governor wished that we should hear Mass, although I had previously told him that I had done so. When Mass was over we embraced each other, and Pammartin made me shake hands with the ambassador, whom he requested, with much warmth, to consider me as the person of his own king, and conduct me in safety to Capha. The ambassador replied that the command of His Majesty the King should be observed, and that I should be treated in the same manner as if I were the king himself. And with this I took leave of the governor, thanking him to the best of my ability, as he deserved, for the great honour he had done me. During the time I staid here I often received provisions. I presented the governor with a German saddle-horse, which was one of those I had brought from Mestre; and, as the others were entire horses, he wished me to leave them there, and take horses of the country. The king's guides were the best of company, and I treated them with courtesy.

On the 11th, we left here with the ambassador. I was on a carriage, which I had used since I left the king, on ac-

count of a bad leg, which prevented me from riding on horseback. We journeyed until the 9th (?), when we arrived at a village called Cercas, which also belonged to the said king. Here we remained till the 15th, when the ambassador heard that the Tartars had arrived; we then left Cercas in their company, and entered upon a desert country.

On the 15th, we reached the above-mentioned river, which we had to cross. This river separates Tartary from Russia towards Capha, and, as it was more than a mile in breadth and very deep, the Tartars began to cut timbers, which they tied together, and covered with branches to form a raft, and our things being placed on it the Tartars entered the river holding on to their horses' necks, while our raft was attached to their tails by cords. Thus mounted, the horses were driven across the river, which we passed by the help of God. How great our peril was, I leave my readers to consider,—in my opinion it could not have been greater. When we had landed on the opposite bank, every one put his things in order, and we remained the whole day with the Tartars. Some of the Tartar chiefs eyed me closely, and I appeared to be the subject of many surmises among them. We set out from the river and travelled through the desert country, suffering many discomforts of every kind. And as we were passing through a wood, the ambassador sent to tell me, by his interpreter, that the Tartars felt it their duty to conduct me to their emperor. He said that, as they had heard of the rank I held, I could not be allowed to pass Capha without being previously presented to their emperor. At this I was very much annoyed, so I urged my case to the interpreter, begging him to remember the promise which had been made as much to Pammartin as to the King of Poland, and I promised to give him a sword. Saying he would serve me, and bidding me take comfort, he returned to the ambassador, and repeated what I had said. He then sat down to drink with the Tartars, whom he assured with

many words that I was a Genoese, and the affair was arranged by means of fifteen ducats: before hearing this, however, I was in great anxiety. In the morning we rode on and travelled till the 24th, with much hardship, having passed a day and a night without water, came to a pass where the ambassadors and the Tartars had to take the road to a castle called Chercher, where the Tartar emperor was staying. A Tartar was here appointed to accompany me to Caphà, and I took leave of the ambassador. Although we were alone and in constant fear lest the Tartars should send after us, I was well pleased to be free from those confounded dogs who smelt of horse-flesh to such a degree that there was no standing near them. Travelling with my guide, we lodged, in the evening, in the open air among some Tartar carts with their skin covering. Many of the Tartars immediately surrounded us, and wished to know who we were: on hearing from our guide that I was a Genoese, they presented me with sour milk. ✓

On the morning of the 26th, we left here before daybreak, and, about the hour of Vespers, entered the town of Caphà, thanking our Lord God, who had taken pity on our trouble. Having gone secretly to a church, I sent the interpreter to our consul, who immediately sent his brother to tell me to stay till the evening and then to come secretly to one of his houses in the town, which I did. At the appointed time we came to the consul's house, where we were well received, and where I met Ser Polo Ogniben, who had been sent by our Illustrious Signory three months before me. ✓

CHAPTER II.

His Excellency the Ambassador leaves Caphà, and after crossing the Mar Maggiore, reaches Fasso: then passing Mengrelia, Giorgiana, and part of Armenia, arrives at the country of Ussuncassan.

I cannot give many particulars concerning the town of Caphà, as I remained indoors nearly all the time I was there, that I might not be seen; but I will mention what little I saw and heard. The town is situated on the Mar Maggiore; it is very mercantile, with a numerous population composed of natives of every nation, and has the reputation of being very wealthy. While there, as it was my intention to go to Fasso, I hired a ship lying in the Sea of Zabacche, of which was master Antonio di Valdata, and I had to ride on horseback to this ship to complete the engagement. When I had concluded the business, a proposal was made to me by an Armenian named Morach, who had been to Rome and who acted as ambassador to Ussuncassan, and another old Armenian, to the effect that, instead of going, as was my intention, to Fasso, I should go to another place named Tina, about a hundred miles from Trebizond, and belonging to the Turk, and that, as soon as we had landed, we should take horses, and I was promised that, in four hours, I should be taken to the castle of a certain Ariam, who was a subject of Ussuncassan, giving me also to understand that at Tina there was only a castle belonging to Greeks, in which I should certainly be placed in safety. This project did not please me in any way; but I was so persuaded by the consul and his brother, that I consented to it, although against my will.

On the 3rd of June, 1474, we left Caphà, accompanied by the consul, and, the next day arrived at the place where the ship I had hired was lying. I had engaged to pay seventy ducats for our passage; but, as we had altered our course

I was obliged to pay a hundred. And, as I was informed that there were no horses at the place at which we intended landing, I took nine on board for the use of the guides, and also to enable us to carry provisions through Mengrelia and Giorgania.

On the 15th, the horses being embarked, we set sail and entered the Mar Maggiore; and, then bending our course towards the said Tina, sailed with a favourable wind. Having sailed about twenty miles, however, without seeing that place, the wind veered to the east, contrary to us while we kept on the same course. Having noticed that the sailors were talking together, and wishing to know the subject of their conversation, I was told that they were willing to do whatever I wished, but was assured that Tina was a very dangerous place. Hearing this, and seeing that it appeared as though our Lord God did not wish me to come to harm, I determined to make for Leati and Fasso; and having come to this determination, the weather became favourable shortly afterwards, and we sailed with good winds.

On the 29th, we reached Varti, and as the horses were out of condition, I had them put on shore and sent to Fasso,¹ a distance, I was told, of sixty miles. At this place a certain Bernardino, the brother of our captain, came on board, who, hearing that we had intended to go to Tina, said that, if we had done so, we should all have been taken as slaves, as he knew for certain that that place was frequented by a *Sobassi* with many horsemen, who acted according to their usual custom. Returning thanks to God, we left this place. Varti, in Mengrelia, consists of a castle surrounded by a town of small extent, and belongs to a lord named Gorbola. There is another town on the Mar Maggiore, of little importance, called Caltichea, trading in silks, canvass, and wax, of little value, and the people of every condition are very miserable.

¹ Poti.

On the 1st of July, 1474, we arrived at the mouth of the Fasso, and a boat came alongside filled with Mengrelians, who behaved like madmen. Leaving the ship, we went, in this boat, to the mouth of the river, where there is an island over which, it is said, reigned King Areta, the father of the poisoner Medea. We slept there that night and were annoyed by so many guats that we could scarcely guard against them.

On the morning of the 2nd, we went up the river in the boats of the country to a city called Asso, situated on the river and surrounded by woods. The river is as wide as two shots of a crossbow. When we had landed at the city I found a certain Nicolò Capello da Modone, who had settled there and become a Mahometan; a Circassian woman, named Marta, who was the slave of a Genoese; and a Genoese, who was also settled and married there. I lodged with the woman Marta, who certainly treated me well, and staid till the 4th. Fasso belongs to the Mengrelians, whose chief is named Bendian. He has not much territory, as it may be traversed in three days, and consists principally of woods and mountains. The men are brutal, and shave their heads after the fashion of minor friars. There are stone quarries in the country, and a little corn and wine is also produced, but of no great value. The men live miserably on millet made hard like polenta, and the women fare more miserably still; and were it not for a little wine and salt fish imported from Trebisonde, and salt from Capha, they would be very badly off. They produce canvas and wax, but in small quantities. If they were industrious they might procure as much fish as they required from the river. They are Christians, and worship according to the rites of the Greek Church, but they have many heresies.

On the 4th, we left Fasso with the above-mentioned Nicolò Capello as guide, and crossed a river named Mazo in a boat.

On the 5th, after passing through woods and over mountains, we arrived in the evening at the place where Bendian, the Lord of Mengrelia, was staying. This prince, with his court, was seated in a small plain under a tree. I made known to him by the said Nicolò that I wished to speak to His Highness, and he had me sent for. He was seated on a carpet with his wife and some of his sons by his side, and he made me sit before him. When I had spoken to him and made him presents, he merely said that I was welcome. I asked him for a guide, which he promised to let me have, on which I returned to my quarters. He sent me, as a present, a pig's head, a little beef badly cooked, and some bad bread, which we were compelled to eat from necessity, and I waited for the guide the whole day. In this plain there were a great many trees like box trees, but much larger, and all of an equal height, with a path in the middle of them. Bendian was about fifty years of age, rather handsome, but his manners were those of a madman.

On the 7th we left, and travelled continually through woods and over mountains, and on the 8th crossed a river which divides Mengrelia from Giorgia, and slept in a meadow on the fresh grass, without much provision.

On the 9th, we came to a small town called Cotochis,¹ where, on a hill, there is a castle built entirely of stone, containing a church which has the appearance of being very ancient. We afterwards crossed a very large river by a bridge, and lodged in a meadow in which were the houses of Pangrati, King of Giorgia, the castle above mentioned belonging to him. We were allowed by the governor to lodge in these houses, and remained there the whole of the 11th, much annoyed by the Georgians (?), who are as mad as the Mengrelians. The governor wished me to dine with him. When I went to his house he sat down on the ground, and I sat beside him with some of his people and some of

¹ Kutais.

mine. A skin was spread before us for a table-cloth, on which there was a layer of grease, that I firmly believe would have sufficed to cook a large cauldron full of cabbage. Bread, turnips, and a little meat, prepared in their manner, were placed before me, as well as several other unsavoury things, which I certainly cannot recal. The cup went round, and they did all they could to make me as drunk as they were themselves, and as I would not drink, they held me in much contempt, and I left them with great difficulty. The governor provided me with a guide to accompany me to the place where the king was.

On the 12th, I left here and travelled over mountains and through woods, and in the evening was made to dismount, by the guide, on a meadow near a castle, situated on a mountain, in which resided King Pangrati. Here the guide went away, saying that he was going to inform the king, and that he would return immediately with another guide who would accompany me all over the country, and we were left in the middle of the wood in considerable fear, and we waited the whole night suffering much from hunger and thirst. Early the next morning he returned, accompanied by two of the king's clerks, who said that the king had gone to Cotachis, and had sent them to look after the things which I had, to put them down in a letter, in order that I might be able to pass through the whole of the country without paying anything. They wanted to see everything, and to take a note even of the clothes I had on my back, which I thought very strange. When they had made their notes, they told me to get on horseback alone, and wanted me to go to the king. But, as I tried by all means to make them leave me, they began to abuse me, and after much trouble I was allowed to take my interpreter. I mounted without having had anything to eat or to drink, and rode with them to the said castle of Cotachis, where the king was staying. Here I was made by the king to wait all

night under a tree, and he only sent me a small quantity of bread and fish. My attendants remained in the custody of others, and were taken to a village and placed in the house of a priest. One may imagine the state of mind we were in. In the morning the king sent for me. He was in his house, seated on the ground, together with many of his barons. He asked me many questions, and among others, whether I knew how many kings there were in the world. I answered at random, that I thought there were twelve, on which he said that I was right, and that he was one of them; and, he added, "And art thou come to my country without bringing me letters from thy lord?" I replied, that the reason I had not brought him letters, was that I did not think I should have come to his country; but I assured him that he was well appreciated by my lord the Pope, who recognised him among the other kings, and who, if he had thought that I should have passed through his country, would have had great pleasure in writing to him. This seemed to please him, and he afterwards asked me many strange questions, which gave me to understand that that rogue of a guide who had brought me had informed him that I had many valuables with me. And, truly, if he had found this to be the case, I should never have been allowed to leave the place. The clerks, out of the few things belonging to me, which they had noted down, took whatsoever they pleased, and insisted that I should give them to the king. On taking leave, I begged the king to let me have a guide to conduct me safely out of the country; and he promised to comply with my request, saying that he would also give me a letter which would enable me to traverse the whole of his dominions in safety. I then left him, and returned to my tree. I was obliged to importune the clerk very strongly, in order to get the guide and the letter, which I obtained at last, after much trouble.

On the 14th, I left the king and returned to the village,

where my people were staying, who, in consequence of the bad account they had heard of the king, made certain that I should never return. They could not have been more delighted if they had seen the Messiah, and knew not what they did for joy. The poor priest seemed pleased, and prepared me food. We slept, that night, as well as was possible, and the priest made some bread to take with us, and gave us a little wine.

On the 15th, about tierce, we started with the guide, and travelled through the terrible woods and mountains of that accursed country, sleeping, at night, on the ground near water and grass, and being obliged to make fires on account of the cold.

On the 17th, we came to a place belonging to the same king, called Gorides,¹ situated in a plain, and having a wooden fort on a hill. A large river passes by it, and it is a very convenient place. As soon as the governor of the town had been informed of my arrival by the guide, he made me enter a house where I expected to have met with a good reception. After I had waited there a little time, however, he sent to inform me that the king had written to order that I should pay twenty-six ducats to him and six to the guide. And when I told him, with astonishment, that this could not be, as the king had received me well, and that I had already given him seventy ducats, and said much more which was of no avail, I was obliged, reluctantly, to give the money. He kept me till the 19th, and then allowed me to depart. I was very much annoyed during my stay, as the brutes appeared never to have seen men before. Giorgiania is, however, rather a better country than Mingrelia; but the customs and way of living of the inhabitants are the same, as are their religion and mode of celebrating it. We were told, when we had descended a high mountain, that in a large church, situated in a forest, there was

¹ Gori.

an ancient image of Our Lady, guarded by forty calviri (or priests), which was said to perform many miracles. I would not go there, as I had a great desire to get out of that accursed country, where I certainly underwent great trouble and escaped many dangers, to describe which would take much time and only prove tiresome to the reader.

On the 20th, we left Gorides, and went on, still travelling over mountains and through forests. Occasionally, we came to a house, where we obtained refreshments. We rested in places where there was water and pasture for the horses, and our bed was the fresh grass. We journeyed in this manner all through Mengrelia and Giorgiaia.

CHAPTER III.

His Excellency the Ambassador arrives at Tauris, a royal city of Persia, where, not meeting Ussuncassan, he presents himself to his son. Leaving Tauris, he travels many days through Persia, and arrives at length at the city of Spaan, where he meets the Shah.

On the 22nd, we began to ascend a high mountain, the summit of which we had nearly reached at night, when we were obliged to rest, without water. We rode on again early the next morning, and when we had descended the mountain we were in the country of Ussuncassan; that is to say, we had entered Armenia. In the evening we arrived at a castle garrisoned by Turks belonging to Ussuncassan, called Lores, situated in a kind of plain, below which, however, passes a very deep river. On the other side there is a mountain, and, in front of the river, an Armenian village, where we were certainly well received and where we lodged until the 25th, partly for the purpose of resting ourselves, and partly in order to obtain a guide. The Armenian whom I had brought from Cafà, who said he was a subject of Ussuncassan, was found to be a great rogue, and I was told

by these Armenians, that I had been very lucky in escaping from his hands. I therefore kept back a horse, which I had given to him, and dismissed him, and took, as my guide as far as Tauris, an Armenian priest, who proved very faithful.

On the 26th, we five, together with the priest, left Lores and crossed a mountain, and in the evening came to a plain surrounded by mountains, and reached a Turkish village, where we were very well received, and we slept in the open air.

On the 27th, we started before daybreak to pass another mountain, on the descent of which, we were told, there was a village of Turks, which it would be dangerous for us to pass in the day time. We were fortunate enough to pass it at a time, when, I believe, we were not seen. We then entered a very fine country and made every effort to increase the length of our stages, taking little rest except at night, and sleeping in the open air. We thus travelled through this country until the 28th, when we reached the mountain of Noah, which is very high and covered with snow, from the summit to the base, throughout the year. It is said that many persons have attempted to reach the top. Some have never returned, and those who have returned, say that it does not appear to them that a way up will ever be found. Travelling until the 30th through a flat country, with the exception of a few hills of no importance, we came to a castle belonging to free Armenian Franks, who call themselves Chiagri, where we remained till the 31st to take a little rest, as we had provisions of bread, poultry, and wine.

On the 1st of August, 1474, we were obliged to take another guide for Tauris, and we started at vespers.

On the 2nd, we arrived at another tolerably good Armenian village, situated on the side of a mountain, where we had to cross a river in a strange kind of boat used there. It is said that on the banks of this river, but much more to the east, the Soldan Busceh came to give battle to Ussun-

cassan, and that while Ussuncassan was on one side and the Tartar on the other, the Tartars became so weakened by disease produced by scarcity of provisions that Ussuncassan routed them, and captured the Soldan Busech, whom he caused to be beheaded. We crossed this river, on the left bank of which are situated eleven Armenian villages near to each other, having their bishop and being all subject to the Pope. There is not a finer nor a more fertile country than this in all Persia.

On the 3rd, we came to a small town called Marerichi, where we rested for the night.

On the 4th, we started early and travelled through the plains; the weather was excessively hot, and we could not find good water anywhere.

I must observe that, from the time we left Loreo, while travelling through the places I have mentioned, we met a great many Turcomans, with their families, who were changing their quarters, in search of fresh pasture: it being their custom to remain encamped where the pasturage is abundant, until it is all consumed, after which they go in search of fresh. We also passed some of their encampments. These men are an accursed race and arrant thieves, and certainly caused us great fear. By making known to them, however, that I was going to their sovereign, we managed by the help of God, to pass on.

On this day, about the hour of vespers, we entered the city of Tauris, situated in a plain and surrounded by dismal-looking earthen walls. There are near here several red mountains (*monti rossi*), which are said to be the Tauri mountains. When we entered this city we found it in great commotion, and it was with much difficulty that I reached a caravanserai, where we lodged. Passing among some Turks I heard them say, "These are the dogs who come to create a schism in the Mahometan religion; we ought to cut them to pieces." Having dismounted at the caravanserai, the

Azamo, who certainly appeared to be a good sort of person, provided us with a couple of rooms. His first words were to express astonishment at our safe arrival, which he appeared to think was a thing scarcely credible, as he gave us to understand, what I myself had observed, that the streets were all barricaded. On my wishing to know the reason, he said that Gurlumameth, the valiant son of Ussuncassan, had gone to war with his father and had seized one of the chief towns of Persia called Siras, which he had given up to the Sultan Chali and to his mother-in-law. In consequence of this Ussuncassan had raised an army and was marching towards Siras to expel him. There was a mountain chief also of the name of Zagarli in league with Gurlumameth and commanding above three thousand horsemen, who made inroads and ravaged the country as far as Tauris; and it was from fear of him that the streets were barricaded. He also told me that his Subassi, who had gone out to meet this Zagarli, had been routed and despoiled of everything, and was very thankful to return to Tauris. On my asking him why all the people of the city did not sally forth, he replied that they were not fighting men, but gave obedience to any chief who had possession of the city. I tried all means to leave Tauris and go in quest of the Shah, but could not find a man to accompany me, nor could I obtain any favour of the Subassi. I was, therefore, obliged to remain in the caravanserai, the master of which recommended me to keep in concealment. I was, however, sometimes obliged to go out to buy provisions, or to send my interpreter or a certain Astustin of Pavia who had accompanied me from Cafà, as he had some knowledge of the language. They both suffered much abuse and were told that we ought to be cut to pieces. After a few days there arrived a son of Ussuncassan named Massubei, accompanied by a thousand horsemen, to take the government of Tauris, on account of the fear caused by Zagarli, to whom I went, and with

difficulty obtained an audience. I was obliged to give him a piece of camlet, and when I had saluted him, I said that I was going to the Shah, his father, and begged him to let me have a good escort. He scarcely answered me and appeared not to care; so I returned to my lodging. Things then began to get worse; for, when Massubei wanted to obtain money from the people in order to raise an army, they refused to give him any, and closed all the shops. I was, therefore, obliged to leave the caravanserai and go to an Armenian church, where I obtained a small space for lodging for ourselves and our horses, and I could not let any of my people go out. One may imagine our state of mind, in constant dread of ill-usage; but our Lord God, who had taken compassion on us hitherto, in so many perils, was again pleased to save us.

On the 5th of September, 1474, while still in Tauris, there arrived, on a mission from our Illustrious Signory to the Shah Ussuncassan, Bartholomeo Liompardo, who had visited me in Cafà, accompanied by his nephew Brancalion. Having come by way of Trabisonda he arrived a month after me. I now resolved to send the above-mentioned Agustino, by way of Aleppo, to Venice with my letters, to inform the Illustrious Signory of everything that had taken place, and he arrived at his destination in safety, after many perils. I staid in Tauris until the 22nd of September. I cannot say much about Tauris, as I remained continually in concealment. It is a large city, and much amber is met with in it. I do not think it is very populous. It abounds in all kinds of provisions, but everything is dear. It contains many bazaars. A great quantity of silk passes through in caravans, bound for Aleppo, and there are many light articles of silk from the manufactures of Jesdi, and a great deal of fustian and merchandise of almost every kind. Of jewels I heard no mention. As my good fortune would have it, the Cadi Lascher,—one of the most important per-

sonages about Ussuncassan, who had been on an embassy to the Soldan for the purpose of concluding a peace, without, however, succeeding,—came to Tauris on his way back to his sovereign. As soon as I knew this, I sought an interview with him, made him a present, and begged that he would allow me to travel in his company, as I was going to the Shah on important business. He granted my request in the most gracious and courteous manner, saying that he gladly accepted my company and trusted in God to conduct me in safety to his sovereign. It appeared to me to be a proof of the grace of God; for which I tendered many thanks. The Cadi had two renegade Slavonian slaves with him, who formed a close friendship with my servants, and made them offers of assistance. They promised me also that when their master was going to leave they would let me know, which they did, and I made them a present, which was profitable to me.

On the 22nd, as I have said, we left Tauris with the Cadi Lascher. A caravan consisting of a number of Azami, going our way, kept in our company for protection. As we travelled we found the country generally level, with the exception of a few hills, but very arid, as there was not a tree of any kind, except near some rivers. We passed, however, a few villages of no importance. Before midday we rested in the open air, and did the same at night. We procured provisions as we required them at the villages as we went along. Travelling in this way, we arrived, on the 28th, at Soltania, which, from its appearance, I should judge to be a good town. It has a large walled castle, which I wished to see. It contains a mosque, which has the appearance of being very ancient. It had three bronze gates higher than those of St. Mark in Venice, worked with knobs, made in damask work with silver, which are certainly most beautiful, and must, I should think, have cost a large sum of money. I saw nothing else worthy of note. This city is situated in

a plain, but in the vicinity of some mountains of moderate height. The cold here in winter is said to be so severe that the people are obliged to remove to another place. There is a bazaar for the sale of provisions, and fustians of a common description. We remained here till the 30th, on the morning of which day we left, and travelled again over plains and hills, sleeping every night in the open air. The country forms part of Persia, which begins at Tauris.

On the 4th of October, 1474, we arrived at a city called Sena, without walls, but with a bazaar as usual. It is situated in a plain near a river, and surrounded by trees. Here we slept in a very incommodious caravanserai.

On the 5th, we left here; and on the 6th, while bivouacking in the open air, I was attacked by fever. On the morning of the 8th we rode on, I being greatly fatigued, and arrived in good time at a city called Como.¹ Here, when we had entered a caravanserai in a sort of inn, the fever increased and began to trouble me seriously, and the next day all my people were taken ill, except Pré Stephano, who attended to us all. Our illness, from what I was told, was of a kind that is accompanied by delirium, and we said many insane things. Cadi Lascher sent to me to make excuses for not staying longer, saying that he was obliged to hasten to his sovereign, but that he would leave me a servant, and comforted me with the assurance that I was in a country where I should not be molested. My illness kept me in this place till the 23rd. Como is a small but handsome town situated in a plain, and surrounded by a mud wall. It has an abundance of everything, with good bazaars for its manufactures and fustians.

On the 23rd, as I have said, we left here, and I travelled with much suffering on account of my illness.

On the 25th, we arrived at another city called Cassan,²

¹ Koum.

² Kashan.

having walls and bazaars like those of Como, but it is a finer city.

On the 26th, we left here and entered another small city called Nethos,¹ situated in a plain, where more wine is made than anywhere else. Here, on account of my debility and a slight return of fever, I remained a day. On the 28th I mounted my horse as well as I could, and after travelling again over plains, arrived on the 30th at a city called Spaan. Here we found the Shah Ussuncassan, and having ascertained where Messer Josafa Barbaro, our ambassador, was residing, I dismounted at his lodgings. As soon as we saw each other, we embraced each other affectionately, and with great joy. One may imagine the consolation which this meeting afforded me; but as I was more in want of repose than anything else, I retired to rest. On the following day I had a conference with his Excellency, in which I stated what I had to say. The Shah having heard of my arrival sent his slaves to receive me with presents of provisions.

On the 4th of November, 1474, we were summoned to the presence of the Shah by some of his slaves. Having entered the audience chamber in company with the Magnificent Messer Josafa Barbaro, we found His Majesty and eight of his barons, who appeared to be men of authority. After the required salutations, performed according to the Persian custom, I stated the object of my embassy from the Illustrious Signory, and delivered my letter of credence. When I had concluded, the Shah replied briefly, and, as it were, excusing himself for having been obliged to come to these parts; after which, he made me sit with his barons, and an abundant supply of refreshments were brought, well prepared, according to their methods, of which we partook, seated on carpets in the Persian fashion. When we had eaten we saluted His Majesty and returned to our lodgings.

¹ Nathunz.

On the 6th, we were summoned by the Shah, and a great part of the residence where he was staying, which was in the middle of a field, through which a river flowed, in a very delightful locality, was shown to me. One part was formed like a quadrangle and was adorned by a painting, representing the decapitation of Soltan Busech, and showing how he was brought by a rope to execution by Curlumameth, who had caused the chamber to be made. We were served with a luncheon of good confections, after which we returned to our lodgings. We remained in this city of Spaan with His Majesty until the 25th of this month, during which time we were invited by His Majesty to frequent banquets. Spaan appears to be a very convenient city. It is situated in a plain abounding with all kinds of provisions. It is said that, as the city refused to surrender, much of it was destroyed after it had been taken. It is surrounded by a wall of earth like the others. From Tauris to Spaan is a twenty-four days' journey, through a country entirely belonging to Persia, consisting of a very arid plain with salt water in many places. The corn and fruits which, however, grow in abundance, are produced by means of irrigation. There are fruits of all kinds, and of better quality than I have seen or tasted anywhere. To the right and left of Spaan there are mountains, said to be very fertile, from which are brought the greater portion of the provisions. All things are dear. Wine costs from three to four ducats for a quantity equal to our quart. Bread is at a reasonable price. A camel-load of wood costs a ducat. Meat is dearer than with us. Fowls are sold seven for a ducat. The prices of other things are in proportion. The Persians are well behaved and of gentle manners, and by their conduct appear to like the Christians. While in Persia we did not suffer a single outrage. The Persian women are dressed in a very becoming manner and surpass the men, both in their dress and in their riding. Both women and men are handsome and well-made, and follow the Mahometan religion.

CHAPTER IV.

His Excellency the Ambassador leaves Spaan and returns in company with Ussuncassan to Tauris, where he meets the Ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Muscovy, and, after many audiences, takes leave of Ussuncassan.

On the 25th of November, as above mentioned, His Majesty left Spaan with his court, and all returned, with their families, to winter at Como. I accompanied His Majesty, and we travelled as nearly as possible through the same places by which we had come, lodging under tents, and wherever we settled, bazaars were established by those who are deputed to follow the camp with provisions and corn of every description.

On the 14th of December, 1474, we entered Como with His Majesty, where, with difficulty, I obtained a small house for our lodging, after staying two days under tents. We remained at Como with the king, who often summoned us to his presence, until the 21st of March, during which time we suffered considerably from the extreme cold. When we ate with His Majesty, he made us enter his apartment in the pavilion, but sometimes we remained outside, and departed without ceremony. When we dined with him, he took great pleasure in asking us about places in our country, and put some strange questions. His demeanour is certainly good; and he is constantly surrounded by men of rank. At least four hundred people sat daily at his entertainments, and sometimes many more, all seated on the ground. The food is brought to them in vessels of copper, and consists sometimes of rice; sometimes of corn, with a little meat; and it is a pleasure to see with what avidity it is eaten. The Shah and those who ate in his company, were served in an honourable manner, the dishes being abundant and well prepared. His Majesty always drinks wine at his meals; he appears to be a good liver, and took

pleasure in inviting us to partake of the dishes which were before him. There were constantly present a number of players and singers, to whom he commanded whatever he wished to be played or sung, and His Majesty appeared to be of a very merry disposition. He was tall and thin, and had a slightly Tartar expression of countenance, with a constant colour on his face. His hand trembled as he drank. He appeared to be seventy years of age. He was fond of amusing himself in a homely manner; but, when too far gone, was sometimes dangerous. Take him altogether, however, he was a pleasant gentleman. We remained in Como, as I have said, till the 22nd of March. It would not be to the purpose for me to mention the number of times I had spoken to the Shah on the subject of my embassy; it may be understood by the result.

On the 21st of March, 1475, we left Como for Tauris with the whole *lordo*; that is, with all who followed the Shah, whose whole family, with the baggage, went on camels and mules, of which there were great numbers. We journeyed from ten to twelve miles a day, and sometimes, but rarely, twenty, when in search of good pasturage. It is the practice of the Shah to send his pavilion on to the place where he wishes to settle, and where there is good pasturage and water, and to which place the whole *lordo* sets out on the following night, and remain there till the grass is consumed, when they proceed to another place in a similar manner. The women are always the first on the ground to erect the tents and make preparations for their husbands. The Persians dress well; they are good horsemen, and ride the best horses they have. They are a very pompous nation, and their camels are so well caparisoned that it is a pleasure to look at them. Few are so poor as not to possess at least seven camels. So that, from a distance, one would suppose there were a great number of people, which is not actually the case. When the Shah arrived at Tauris he might have ✓

had in his company about two thousand men on foot. There never appeared to Messer Josefa Barbaro and myself more than five hundred horsemen following the Shah, as the rest went as they pleased. The tents of the Shah were exceedingly beautiful: the one in which he slept was like a chamber; it was covered with red felt, with doors, which would serve for any room. As we journeyed along, bazaars were established in the lordo, at which everything was to be had, but at a high price. We, with our tents, that is one for each, followed His Majesty and were frequently invited to partake of his hospitality. He also often made us presents of eatables, and certainly showed us great kindness, nor did we ever receive injury from any of his followers or from any one else.

On the 30th of May, 1475, at about fifteen miles from Tauris, there came to His Majesty a certain Friar Lodovico da Bologna, accompanied by six horsemen, who called himself the Patriarch of Antioch, and said that he was sent as ambassador from the Duke of Burgundy. The Shah immediately sent to ask us whether we knew him, on which we gave a favourable report of him to His Majesty.

On the 31st, the Shah sent for him in the morning, and also for us to be present at the audience. The Patriarch had brought with him three dresses of cloth of gold, three of crimson velvet, and three of violet cloth, which he presented to the Shah. The Shah made us enter his tent, and, having requested the ambassador to state his mission, the latter said that he had been sent by the Duke of Burgundy, in whose name he made great offers. He made a long speech, which seemed to have little effect upon the Shah, and which it is unnecessary here to repeat. We dined with His Majesty, who put many questions to the ambassador, which he answered; after which, we returned to our tents.

On the 2nd of June, 1475, we entered Tauris, and were provided with a lodging, and on the 8th we and the said

Patriarch were sent for. And, although the Shah had told me four times previously that I should return to the Frank country, and that the Magnificent Messer Josafà Barbaro should remain with him, I constantly objected to this, nor did I think that any more would be said on that subject. When we appeared before His Majesty, he said to the Patriarch: "Thou shalt return to thy lord and inform him that I intend to abide by my promise of making war on the Ottoman, which I am on the point of doing": with other words on the same subject. Then, turning to me, he said: "Thou also shalt go with this Casis to thy lord, and say that I am on the point of going to war with the Ottoman, and that they, too, wish to do the same. I cannot send a better or more efficient messenger than thou. Thou hast been to Spaan and returned with me, and hast seen everything, and mayest report to thy lord and to all the lords of Christendom." When I heard this I was very much displeased, and replied that I could not do anything of the kind, for the reasons I assigned. He then said, with an angry look: "I wish and command thee to go, and of this my command I will write to your lord." I then requested the Patriarch and Messer Josafà to give me their opinion; who both said that I could not do otherwise than obey. In deference, then, to their opinion and the wish of the Shah, I replied: "Sire, since such is your pleasure, I will, although loath, do what you command; and wherever I may be, I will speak of your Majesty's great power and good will, for the satisfaction of all Christian princes, who, on their part, may wish to follow your Majesty's example. My answer appeared to please him, and he vouchsafed me a few gracious words in reply. When we left we were taken to another place, and the Patriarch and I received as a present from the Shah two very light robes made after the Persian fashion. We went again to the Shah, and, after saluting him, returned to our room, where he sent us each, as presents, a small sum

of money, a horse, and a few trifles of small importance. He left Tauris this day, while we remained until the 10th, when we started together to go to His Majesty, who was encamped at the distance of about twenty-five of our miles from Tauris, at a place where there was water and good pasturage.

On the 10th, then, we started from Tauris and went to His Majesty's encampment, and having pitched our tents in the accustomed place, remained many days until the grass was consumed. We then left, and proceeded about fifteen of our miles, to a place where we stayed till the 27th, when he took leave of us. During the last period we were with the Shah we were occasionally summoned to his presence, though not for any matter of importance, and sometimes we received presents of eatables.

On the 26th, we were summoned by His Majesty, and, before we entered the presence, were shown some very light articles of silk, lately made. We were also shown three presents, one of which was intended for the Duke of Burgundy, to be sent by the Patriarch, another for our Signory, and the third to be taken by a certain Marco Rosso, who had come as ambassador from the Duke of Muscovy, the Lord of Rossia Bianca. They consisted of Gesdi manufactures, two swords and *tulumbanti*, all things of a very light description. We were then summoned to His Majesty's presence, where there were two of his Turks, whom he intended sending as ambassadors, one to the Duke of Burgundy and the other to the Duke of Muscovy. When the Patriarch and I made our salutations, he addressed us in these words: "You will go to your sovereigns and to the Christian princes, and tell them how I was on the point of setting out against the Ottoman, but that, having heard that he was in Constantinople, where he intends to remain the whole of this year, I did not deem it becoming to go in person against his people; I have, therefore, sent some of

my forces against my disobedient son and some to annoy the Ottoman, and I have come to this place to be in readiness myself at a future time to attack the Ottoman. And this you will tell your sovereign lords and to the Christian princes." He commanded his own ambassador to say the same. This language, and that which he had previously held, was very displeasing to me; but we could only reply that we would fulfil his commands. With this he dismissed us, and, as we were about to depart, we were made to stay till the morning. In the meantime, he caused all his foot-soldiers to assemble by the mountain side, and in the morning we were sent to a tent in a commanding situation, where there was one of the *Ruischasan*, who had the charge of the ambassadors, and who, after conversing with us about various things, said: "Here come a great many foot-soldiers; it will afford you *tanfaruzzo* (that is, amusement), to see them." His slaves added, that those who came were in great numbers, but that great numbers also remained behind. The soldiers marched past the side of the mountain that we might the better see them. When they had passed, it was said that they might have amounted to ten thousand. Wishing to hear everything, we were assured that they were the same foot-soldiers who had come with the Shah, and that the review had been got up in order that we might report it. When the review was over the Shah gave us the letters, and we returned to our tents. Inquiring of various persons, and, among others, of Messer Josafà Barbaro, to ascertain the number of horse-soldiers there may have been with His Majesty, I heard that there were upwards of twenty thousand, or, taking the good and bad together, upwards of twenty-five thousand. Their arms are bows and swords, and shields worked with silk or thread. They have no lances. Most men of rank wear very beautiful helmets and cuirasses, and they have good and handsome horses. I have nothing more to say concerning the Persians, I have spoken

sufficiently of their country, and of their manners, and of everything else. I might have been more diffuse, but at the risk of being tedious.

CHAPTER V.

The Illustrious Ambassador leaves Tauris, and, after being attacked several times while travelling through Georgiana and Mengrelia, at last arrives at Fasso.

On the 28th, I dined with Messer Josafà Barbaro in his tent, and we both felt the hardship of separation, and a hardship it certainly was. We embraced each other, and parted with many tears. I mounted my horse in company with the Patriarch, the Turkish ambassadors, and Marco Rosso, and we started, as I think, in an evil hour, considering the misfortunes and great perils which I underwent. Travelling through the country of Ussuncassan, on our way to Fasso, we arrived at the nine Catholic Armenian villages, of which we have already spoken, where we lodged in the house of the Bishop, who received us kindly, and where we heard a Catholic Mass. We remained there three days to furnish ourselves with provisions, after which we started, and travelled over plains and an occasional mountain, until we entered the country of the King of Giorgia.

On the 12th of July, 1475, having passed a river named Tigris, we arrived at a city belonging to this king called Tiphis, situated on a little hill with its castle, which is very strong, on the hill higher up. This city has the reputation of having been very large, but much of it has been destroyed. What little remains contains a numerous population, among which are many Catholics. Here, also, we met with an Armenian Catholic, with whom we lodged.

On the 15th, while riding through Georgia, for the most part over mountains, we passed a few villages and occasionally saw a castle on the summit of a mountain.

On the 18th, when near the confines of Mengrelia, we met King Pangrati in the midst of a wood surrounded by mountains, and we all went to pay him a visit. He wished us to eat with him, and we sat down on the ground with skins for a table-cloth, according to their fashion. Our repast consisted of roast meat with a little poultry, badly cooked, and a few other things; but there was wine in abundance, as they consider that to treat their guests with wine is the greatest honour they can show them. When the eating was over, they began the debauch with certain goblets half a braccio long, and those who drank most were the most esteemed. As the Turks do not drink wine, we rose from the contest and finally took our leave, for which reason we were looked upon with much contempt. The king was tall, and about forty years of age; he had a brown complexion, and a Tartar expression of countenance, but was nevertheless a handsome man.

On the morning of the 20th we left here, and, travelling through Georgiania almost continually over a mountainous country, came to the confines of Mengrelia, where, on the 22nd, we met the captain of certain men, on foot and on horseback, belonging to the king, who, on account of some troubles which there were in Mengrelia, occasioned by the death of King Bendian, compelled us, with many menaces, to stop. They then took from us two quivers with the bows and arrows, and we gave them some money. Being then allowed to go, we left the road as fast as we could, and entered a wood, where we remained that night in great fear of being attacked.

On the morning of the 23rd, while going through a narrow pass on our way to Cotatis, we were attacked by some people of a village who stopped us, threatening to take our lives. After a great deal of parleying they took three horses belonging to the Turkish ambassadors, the bearers of the present, and it was only with much trouble and by paying

about twenty ducats of their money, and giving up some horses and bows, that we were allowed to pass on. We then proceeded to Cotatis, a castle belonging to the king.

On the morning of the 24th, being obliged to cross a river by a bridge, we were attacked and compelled to pay a grosso for each horse, which certainly caused us much vexation. After leaving here we entered Mingrelia, sleeping continually in the forests.

On the 25th, we crossed a river by means of boats, and entered a village belonging to a woman named Moresca, the sister of Bendian, who pretended to give us a good reception, and presented us with bread and wine, and placed us in one of her closed meadows.

On the morning of the 26th, we determined to make her a present to the value of about twenty ducats. She thanked us, and would not accept it, but began to complain, saying that she wanted two ducats for each horse; and, although we pleaded our poverty as an excuse, it was, as in former cases, of no avail, and we were obliged to give her the two ducats per horse; after which, she not only wanted the present we had offered her, but gratuities besides, and it was not without difficulty that we succeeded in leaving. Certainly, from the way she went on, I thought we should have been mulcted of everything.

On the 27th, some of us in boats and some on horseback, arrived at Fasso much fatigued. We lodged at the house of the before-mentioned Marta, and, as a consolation for the hardships we had endured, we heard that Capha, through which we had intended to pass, had been taken by the Turks. What disappointment this news afforded us may be imagined. We knew not what course to adopt, and felt as lost. Ludovico da Bologna, the Patriarch of Antioch above-mentioned, however, decided upon going by way of Circassia and Tartary to Russia, as he appeared to have some knowledge of the way. He himself had several times pro-

posed that we should not abandon each other, and of this I reminded him, and begged that we might perform the journey in company. He replied, however, that it was time for everyone to take care of his own safety. This appeared to me a strange and iniquitous reply, and I again begged him not to be so cruel, but it was of no avail. He insisted on going with his company and attendants and the ambassador given to him by Ussuncassan. When I saw this I tried to come to an arrangement with Marco Rosso and the Turkish ambassador who was with him, and take measures to return. They seemed to agree to this, and, as a sign of good faith, we kissed each other's lips, and I counted on their promise. Having consulted together, however, they resolved to go through the territories of Gorgora, Lord of Calcican, and the lands of Vati which border on places belonging to the Ottoman, and pay him tribute. When I heard this, rather than take the same direction, I considered it preferable to remain at Fasso at the mercy of God.

On the 6th of August, 1475, the Patriarch mounted his horse, and, after making me some excuse, started with his people. The next day Marco Rosso, the Turk, and some Russians, who were with them, departed: some in one of the boats of the country, and some on horseback, for Vati, with the intention of going by way of Samachi, and then passing through Tartary. I thus remained alone with my attendants—five of us in all—utterly abandoned, without money, without hope of safety, neither knowing which way to go nor what course to adopt. What our feelings were I leave any reasonable person to consider. I was attacked on this day of trouble with a severe and terrible fever, to cure which I could get nothing but water from the river and gruel and, occasionally, a little chicken. It was a severe illness, accompanied by delirium, as, from what I was afterwards told, I said many strange things. A few days after-

wards three of my people fell sick, and Priest Stephano alone remained to attend to us all. My bed consisted of a miserable counterpane, lent to me by a certain Zuan di Valcan, a Genoese, residing at that place, and served both for bed and bedding. The attendants had to put up with what few clothes they had. My illness lasted till the 10th of September, and brought me to such extremity that my attendants made sure that I should die. But my good fortune would have it, that Donna Marta applied to a little bag containing oil and certain herbs; after which, I got better. I really attribute my recovery, however, to the mercy of our Lord God, who did not wish me to die in those countries, and to Him be all gratitude. Having, then, remained united, we took counsel together as to what course we should adopt, and it was resolved, in deference to my opinion, to turn back to Samachi in order to pass through Tartary. Some wished me to go by way of Soria; but this I would not do on any account, and I remained a short time at Fasso to restore my health.

On the 10th of September, 1475, we mounted our horses, and, after going about two of our miles, I could not ride any farther, on account of extreme weakness. I was, therefore, lifted from my horse and placed on the ground, and when I had taken a little rest we returned to Donna Marta, with whom we remained till the 17th. When our strength was to a certain degree restored, we mounted again, and, in the name of our Lord God, proceeded on the voyage we had resolved upon. At Fasso there happened to be a Greek acquainted with the language of Mengrelia, whom I took as a guide, and who committed a thousand rascally tricks, which it would excite pity to relate.

CHAPTER VI.

The Illustrious Ambassador leaves Fasso, returns through Mengrelia and Giorgania, enters Media, crosses the Bachu or Caspian Sea, and reaches Tartary.

On the 17th, we mounted our horses, as I have mentioned, and returned through Mengrelia with some difficulty. On the 21st we were in Cotatis, and, as our guide gave me much trouble, I was obliged to dismiss him. We remained at Cotatis till the 24th, partly because I did not feel well, and partly to wait for some people to accompany us. At length we started in company with some people whom we neither knew nor understood, and travelled over certain mountains, not without fear, until the 30th, when we reached Tiflis. Here I dismounted, more dead than alive, at the church of an Armenian Catholic, by whom we and many others were certainly well received. This priest had a son, who, to our misfortune, fell sick of the plague, which had been very prevalent at this place during the year. As my people went in his company, he gave it to Mapheo da Bergamo, the servant, who attended me, and who kept near me for two days while ill with it. Having at length thrown himself down on his bed, and his disease being discovered, I was advised to move to other quarters. A place where cows were kept at night having been cleaned as well as it was possible, and furnished with a little hay, I was made to rest in it on account of my great weakness. The priest would not allow Mapheo to remain in his house any longer, and, as there was nowhere else, it was necessary to put him in a corner of the place where I was. He was waited upon by Priest Stephano, but it pleased our Lord God to take him. I then obtained, after many prayers, another cowshed, where I was accommodated in a similar manner. We were abandoned by everyone except an old man, who under-

stood a little Turkish, and continued to serve us. But how we fared may be easily judged. We remained at Tiflis until the 21st of October; on the day preceding which, as my good fortune would have it, there arrived the Turkish ambassador, who had accompanied brother Ludovico, the Patriarch of Antioch. From him I learnt that when they had proceeded as far as Avogasia they had been robbed of everything, and that the robbery was to be attributed to the Patriarch himself. He had, therefore, left him to return to his own country, and said that this would cause great dissatisfaction to Ussuncassan. I condoled with him as well as I could, and we left together on the 21st of October. Tiflis belongs to Pangrati, King of Giorgia. After travelling two days we entered the territory of Ussuncassan, as it was on our way to Samachi, and passed through a fine country.

On the 26th of October, 1475, we came to a place where we were obliged to separate, as it was necessary that I should travel through the country of Sivanza, in order to reach the town of Samachi, and that the ambassador should go towards his own country. By means of this ambassador I obtained a Turkish priest as a guide as far as Samachi. Having taken leave, we started with the guide and entered Media, which is a much more beautiful and fertile country than that of Ussuncassan, and consists mostly of plains. Here we fared very well.

On the 1st of November, 1475, we arrived at Samachi, a town belonging to Sivanza, the Lord of Media, where silks called Talamana and others of a light texture are made, as well as satins. This city is not so large as Tauris; but is, in my opinion, a better city in every respect, and abounds in all kinds of provisions. While here we met Marco Rosso, the ambassador of the Duke of Muscovy, with whom we had travelled to Fasso. He had gone by way of Gorgora, and had arrived here after a very troublesome journey. He had

the courtesy to pay me a visit at the caravanserai where I was staying; and when we had embraced each other cordially, I begged him to admit me into his company, which he did in the most kind and courteous manner.

On the 6th, we left here with Marco for Derbent, a city belonging to the said Simanza, on the confines of the Tartar country. After travelling partly over mountains and partly over plains, and lodging occasionally in Turkish villages, where we were hospitably received, we reached, midway, an agreeable little town where an incredible number of fruit trees, especially apple trees, are grown, of excellent quality.

On the 12th, we arrived at Derbent. As, in order to reach Russia, it was necessary to cross the plains of Tartary, we were advised to winter here and cross over the Sea of Bachu, to Citracan¹, in April. The city of Derbent is situated on the Sea of Bachu or Caspian Sea, and is said to have been founded by Alexander the Great. It is called the Iron Gate, as it is only possible to enter Media and Persia through this city, on account of its being situated in a deep valley, which extends into Circassia. It is surrounded by five broad and well made walls; but of that portion of the city beneath the mountain, on the way to the castle, not a sixth part is inhabited, and the portion bordering on the sea is all destroyed. It has a great number of sepulchres. It abounds in all kinds of provisions, much wine is produced, and fruit of every description is grown in abundance. The Caspian Sea is very large, as it is without outlet. It is said to be equal in circumference to the Mar Maggiore, and is also very deep. Sturgeon and *morone* are caught in it in very great numbers, but they do not know how to catch other fish. There are a great many dog-fish, with heads, feet, and tails, really resembling those of dogs. Another kind of fish is also caught, about a *braccio* and a half in length, almost round, without any visible head or anything. From this fish a certain liquor, used all over the country,

¹ Astrakhan.

is extracted, which is burned in lamps, and employed to anoint camels with. We remained at Derbent from the 12th of November until the 6th of April, when we embarked, during which time we certainly fared well. The natives are a fine race, and we never experienced the slightest injury. We were asked who we were, and when we said we were Christians, they required nothing more. I wore a jacket all torn, lined with lambskin; above this, a very sorry pellisse, and, on my head, a lambskin cap. Thus attired I went about the city and the bazaar, and often carried home meat. Yet I heard people say, "This does not look like a man used to carry meat." And Marco blamed me also, saying that I looked as though I were in a Sanctuary (Franchisa).¹ I answered that I was unable to dress otherwise, and I was certainly surprised that, being so ragged, they should have had such an opinion of me. As I have said, however, we fared well. While in this place, as I was desirous of hearing how the affairs of Ussuncassan and the Magnificent M. Josapha Barbaro were going on, I determined to send Dimitri, my interpreter, to Tauris, a journey of twenty days. He went, and returned fifty days afterwards, bringing me letters from Josapha, who wrote that the lord was there, but that nothing could be ascertained concerning him. An arrangement was then made by Marco with the master of a vessel to carry us to Citracan. The vessels here are kept on shore during the winter, when they cannot be used. They are called fishes, which they are made to resemble in shape, being sharp at the head and stern and wide amidships. They are built of timbers caulked with rags, and are very dangerous craft. No compass is used, as they keep continually in sight of land. They use oars, and, although everything is done in a most barbarous manner, they look upon themselves as the only mariners worthy of the name. To sum up, these people are all Mahometans.

¹ That is to say, an Alsatia.

April 6th, 1476. We had been obliged to stay with our baggage on board the vessel, which was drawn up on shore waiting for favourable weather, for about eight days. During this time, as Marco remained in the city, we were not without fear, as we were alone. It having pleased our Lord God, however, to send us at length a favourable breeze, we all assembled on the shore, and, the vessel being set afloat, we immediately embarked and made sail. We were in all thirty-five persons, including the captain and six mariners; there were on board some merchants taking rice, silk, and fustians to Citracan for the Russian market, and some Tartars going to procure furs for sale in Derbent. We started, then, on the above-mentioned day with a favourable wind, and kept constantly at the distance of about fifteen miles from a mountainous coast. After three days' sail we passed these mountains and came to a beachy shore, when, the wind becoming contrary, we dropped one of our anchors: this was at about four hours before evening. The wind having increased, however, and the sea got rough in the night, we looked upon ourselves as lost, so we resolved to weigh our anchor and take our chance in running ashore. When the anchor was raised we crossed the sea, and the waves, which were running high on account of the wind, threw us aground. It pleased our Lord God, however, to save us by means of these big waves, which carried us over the rocks, and we were driven into a little creek, as long as the vessel itself, and it really seemed as if we had entered a port, as the sea broke so many times before it reached us, that it could do us no damage. We were all obliged to jump into the water, and carry our things ashore well soaked. The vessel leaked also, from having gone on the rocks, and we ourselves were very cold, both from the wet and the wind. In the morning, after holding council, it was determined that no fire should be lighted, as we were in a most dangerous place on account of its being frequented by

Tartars, the foot-marks of whose horses were visible on the beach. As there was a boat, which appeared to have been lately broken, we thought that the horsemen, whose traces we had seen, had been there to capture the crew, either dead or alive; we were, therefore, in great fear and in continual expectation of attack. We became reassured, however, when we perceived beyond the beach a number of marshes, which proved that the Tartars could not be very near the shore. We remained at this place until the 13th, when the weather became favourable for continuing our voyage. The things belonging to the mariners were then put on board, and when the vessel had been taken off the rocks the other baggage was taken in, and we set sail. This was on Holy Saturday. After sailing about thirty miles, a contrary wind again sprang up; but, as there were some small cane islands on our lee, we were compelled to make for them, and we ran into a place where there was very little water. The wind having increased, and the vessel touching ground occasionally on account of the swell, the captain made us all leave the vessel and land on a small cane island, to reach which I was obliged to put my bags on my shoulder and wade ashore with bare legs as well as I could; but I was very cold and in considerable danger on account of the surf which washed over me. On reaching land I found shelter under the canes, which I entered with my people, and we endeavoured to dry ourselves as well as we could. The seamen, with great trouble, then took the vessel to a place sheltered from the wind, where it was out of danger. From what I was given to understand, the Tartars were in the habit of coming to this island in the summer to fish.

On the morning of the 14th, which was Easter Sunday, while on this cane island and suffering from cold, with nothing wherewith to celebrate the day but a little butter, one of Marco's attendants, as he was walking along the rock, found nine duck's eggs, which he gave to his master, who

had them made into an omelet with butter, and presented us each with a piece. With this we kept the day in a proper manner, and returned thanks to God. As those about us were often curious to know who I was, it was agreed between Marco and myself that I should pass for a doctor. They were told, therefore, that I was the son of a physician in the service of Despina, the daughter of the despot Thomas, who had come from Rome to marry the Duke of Muscovy, and that, being poor and in her service, I was going to the Duke and to Despina to seek my fortune. One of our sailors, who was suffering from an abscess, having asked my advice soon afterwards, I applied a plaister composed of a little oil, bread, and flour, which I found on board, and in three days, by good fortune, the abscess broke, and he was cured. For this I was looked upon as a perfect doctor, and requested to stay with them. Marco, however, made an excuse for me, saying that it could not be then, but that, after I had been in Russia a short time, I should return.

CHAPTER VII.

The Illustrious Ambassador crosses the Caspian Sea and arrives at Citracan, a Tartar city. After having been much alarmed by the Tartars on several occasions, he departs, at length, with the caravan, for Muscovy.

On the 15th, the wind springing up in the morning, we made sail, and, after coasting those cane islands nearly the whole time, entered the mouth of the Volga on the 26th. The Volga is a very large river and deep in many places; it flows from Russia and discharges itself into the Sea of Bachu, it is said, by seventy-two mouths. From its mouth to Citracan the distance is seventy-five miles. On account of the strong current which we ascended, sometimes by towing and sometimes by means of the wind, we did not

reach Citracan until the 30th. Between Citracan and the coast there is a very large salt lake yielding salt of excellent quality, from which Russia is principally supplied, and which would suffice for a great part of the world. The Tartars, that is, the Lord of Citracan, would not allow us to come on shore that day. Marco, however, was permitted to land, as he had some friends in the town. On the first evening I also was admitted, with my people, into the little house where Marco lodged, and accommodated for the night. In the morning came three ill-favoured Tartars, who told Marco that he was welcome, as he was a friend of their lord; but, that for me, I had become his slave, as the Franks were their enemies. I thought this a strange reception. But Marco answered for me, and would not allow me to say a word, except to recommend myself to them. This was on the 1st of May, 1476. I returned to my little chamber in such dread, that I scarcely knew where I was; and my perils increased every day, not only in consequence of the *Comerchieri*, who gave out that I had a quantity of jewels, but from having some trifling things which we had brought from Derbent and intended exchanging for horses; but everything was taken from us. I was afterwards told by Marco that they intended selling them in the bazaar; but that, by interceding with some merchants who were going to Muscovy, he had, with much trouble and risk, and after a delay of several days, arranged that I should pay the sum of two thousand *alermi* to the lord. This sum did not include what was extorted by others. As I had not a *soldo*, the money was advanced on very usurious terms by Russian and Tartar merchants who were going to Muscovy, on security given by Marco. Although our difficulty with the lord might be said to have been overcome by this arrangement, the dog of a *Comerchier* used to come to our house, when Marco was not at home, and, after knocking down my door, would threaten, in his cursed voice, to have me impaled,

saying that I had jewels in quantities. I was, therefore, obliged to appease him as best I could. Many and many a time, also, Tartars, drunk with a beverage they make with apples, used to come and shout that they would have the Franks, who had not the hearts of men. We were terrified into purchasing their silence also. We remained at Citracan from the first of May to the 10th of August, the Feast of St. Lawrence. Citracan belongs to three sons of a brother of the present Emperor of those Tartars who inhabit the plains of Circassia and the country lying in the direction of Tana. In the heat of the summer they go towards the confines of Russia in search of fresh pasturage. These three brothers remain in Citracan a few months in the winter, but in the summer do like the rest. Citracan is a small town situated on the Volga, and surrounded by a low wall. The few houses it contains are built of bricks; but it is evident that it possessed several edifices at no very distant period. Citracan is said to have been, in ancient times, a place of considerable trade, the spices which came to Venice by way of Tana having passed through it; and, from what I could understand, they were sent direct from Citracan to Tana, a distance of only eight days' journey.

On the 10th of August, 1476, the Feast of St. Lawrence, as we have said, we left Citracan, as I shall hereafter relate. The Lord of Citracan, named Casimi Can, sends an ambassador to Russia every year to the Duke of Muscovy (more for the sake of obtaining presents than anything else), who is accompanied by a great many Tartar merchants who form a caravan and take with them silk manufactured in Gesdi and fustian stuffs to exchange for furs, saddles, swords, bridles, and other things which they require. And, as the country between Citracan and Muscovy is a continual desert, everyone is obliged to carry provisions. The Tartars, however, care little to do so, as they always drive a great number of horses with them, some of which they kill

every day for food. They live, indeed, continually on meat and milk, without other food, no one being even acquainted with bread, unless it be some merchant who has visited Russia. We, however, were obliged to provide ourselves as well as we could. We took a little rice with which a mixture is made with milk dried in the sun, and called *thur*, which becomes very hard, tastes rather sour, and is said to be very nourishing. We also had onions and garlic, besides which I obtained with much trouble a quart of biscuits made of very good wheaten flour, and a salted sheep's tail. Our way was between two tributaries of the Volga; but, as the said emperor was at war with Casimi Can, his nephew—who pretended that he was the true emperor, his father having been the Emperor of the *Lordo*, and in possession of the territory—it was unanimously resolved that the whole caravan should cross over to the other bank of the river and proceed as far as a narrow pass between the Tanais and the Volga, about five days' journey distant, as beyond that point it might be considered out of danger. Everyone, therefore, placed his goods and provisions on certain boats which are used in those parts, that they might be carried over the river. Marco also embarked his things and wished me to embark the few provisions I had with me. He advised me also to send on the Priest Stefano and Zuane Ungharetto, my attendant, and remain with him myself, as he had arranged with the ambassador, whose name was Anchioli, that he should come for me about midday; and that we should advance to where the boats had gone, which might be about twelve miles higher up the river. When the time came, he made me mount on horseback with the said ambassador and my interpreter; and with great fear, and riding as low as I could, we arrived at the pass, at about an hour before sunset. As I was about to cross the stream, as darkness was coming on, to join our people, Marco called to me in such a furious tone that I certainly

thought my last hour had come. He made me mount with my interpreter and a Russian woman, together with a Tartar, whose aspect was as forbidding as could well be imagined. All he said was, "Ride, ride fast". As I could not do otherwise, I obeyed, and followed the Tartar all that night and until midday the next day, nor would he allow me to dismount for a moment. Having asked him several times, through my interpreter, where he was taking me to, he at length replied that Marco's reason for sending me forward was, that the Khan was going to have the boats searched, and he feared that, if I were discovered, I should be detained. This was on the 13th of August, about mid-day. Having come to the river, the Tartar tried to find a boat wherewith to cross over to a little island, where there were some cattle belonging to the ambassador Anchioli. Not finding one, he collected some branches, which he bound together as well as he could; and, after placing the saddles upon them, tied them with a rope to the tail of a horse, which he drove to the island, a distance, I should think, of two good bowshots. He then returned and took the Russian woman, whom he passed over in the same way. My interpreter preferred to swim over, which he did with some peril. He then came over for me, and, as I saw how great the danger was, I took off my shirt and hose, although, in any case, this would have availed me little; and by the help of our Lord, although in great danger, I was carried over. The Tartar then returned again, and brought over the horses, which we mounted, and proceeded to his lodging,—a skin covering,—which I got under. This was the third day that I had not eaten, and when he gave me a little sour milk I received it with the greatest thanks, and thought it very good. Shortly afterwards, there came a number of Tartars, who were on the island minding their cattle. They looked at me and appeared to wonder much, amongst themselves, as to how I had come there, as no Christian had ever

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been there before. I said nothing, but feigned to be as ill as possible. The Tartar guide appeared to favour me greatly, and no one, I believe, dared to speak, from respect to the ambassador, who was a great man. On the 14th, which was the eve of Our Lady's day, a lamb was killed in my honour, which was partly roasted and partly boiled, but no trouble whatever was taken to wash the flesh, as they say that washing takes all the flavour away; nor do they scum it with anything but a twig. Some of this meat and some sour milk was then served up; and, although it was the eve of Our Lady (of whom I craved forgiveness, as I could hold out no longer), we all began eating together. Mare's milk was also brought, which they hold in great esteem, and of which they wished me to drink, as they say it gives great strength to man; but, as it stank most horribly, I refused to taste it, which gave them some offence. I remained here until the 16th, when Marco arrived with the caravan, and sent a Tartar and one of his Russians to fetch me. I was then taken over the river in a boat to the place where the caravan was. The Priest Stephano and Zuanne Ungaretto, who had despaired of seeing me again, rejoiced greatly when I appeared, and returned thanks to God. Marco had provided as many horses as I might require. We remained the whole of the day of the 17th, and then started with the caravan to cross the desert on our way to Muscovy. The ambassador took the command of the whole company, which, with Russians and Tartars, might have amounted to about three hundred persons. There were, besides, more than two hundred horses led for food and for sale in Russia. We certainly marched in good order, keeping by the side of the river, sleeping at night and resting at midday. We proceeded thus for fifteen days, during which time they no longer appeared apprehensive of the Emperor of the Lordo, as they were before reaching the narrow pass. This Lordo is governed by an emperor, whose name I do not remember,

who rules over all the Tartars in those parts. These Tartars, as I have said, are constantly wandering in search of fresh pasturage and water, and live entirely on milk and meat. They have, I believe, the most beautiful oxen, cows, and sheep in the world, the meat being of good flavour on account of the excellence of the pastures. Mare's milk, however, is held in great estimation. Their country consists of beautiful and extensive plains, where not a mountain is to be seen. I did not visit this *Lordo* myself, but was desirous of obtaining what information I could respecting it and its numerical strength. It is the general opinion that, although it contains altogether a great many people, a thousand men armed with sword and bow could scarcely be mustered in it, all the rest being women and children in considerable numbers, or men shoeless and without arms of any kind. They are accounted valiant, as they plunder both Circassians and Russians. Their horses are no better than wild; they are timid, and it is not the custom to shoe them. These Tartars themselves are generally looked upon as brutes. As has been said, they dwell between the rivers Tanai and Volga. But there is said to be another tribe of Tartars living beyond the Volga, in an east-north-easterly direction, who are supposed to be very numerous. They wear long hair reaching to their waists, and are called wild Tartars. They wander in search of pasturage and water like the others; and, in the winter, when there is much cold and ice, they are said to come as far as Citracan; nor do they commit any damage in the town, unless it be some paltry theft of meat. When we had travelled fifteen days continually by the river-side, we came to a little wood where the Tartars and the Russians began cutting timbers, which they bound together, with cords brought for the purpose, and made, I should think, upwards of forty rafts. While these were being prepared we found a miserable boat, on which Marco ordered his things to be carried across the

stream. He then sent it back for me, requesting me to bring over our saddles and what provisions we had, in order that I might guard his things on the side of the river, while Dimitri, the Turciman, and the Hungarian, remained behind to guard the horses. I embarked, then, on this boat, together with Stephano and two Russians, who guided the boat with poles of wood, and we crossed to the opposite bank of the river, which I should consider to be more than a mile across, although our course was considerably longer, both on account of the strong current which carried us down and the leaking of the boat. Stephano and I, however, sat in the water and baled it out as well as we could, and after great fatigue and extreme peril we at length, by God's help, reached the opposite bank in safety. When the boat was unloaded the Russians wanted to return in her, but this was impossible, as she was too much broken; they were, therefore, obliged to remain, and were six in all. The next morning the whole caravan was to have crossed, but was prevented by a high wind, which arose from the north and continued blowing for two days. As I had taken everything with me, my people who were guarding the horses were, during this time, without either food or clothing, so that my anxiety on their account may well be imagined. I now thought that I would look into the state of our provisions, which I was alarmed to find anything but satisfactory. I, therefore, though late, took charge of them myself, and resolved to cook only a dishful of rice for dinner and the same for supper, giving with each ration sometimes onions, and sometimes garlic, with a little dry sour milk, and occasionally some of the biscuits. We used all to sit round our dish of rice, each eating his proper allowance, nor did I take a greater share than the rest. During the two days we remained at this place, we found some wild apples, which we boiled and ate to economise our provisions. After the two days were passed the whole caravan with the baggage

crossed over the river by means of the rafts, each raft being towed by six or seven horses, with as many Tartars to guide them, the rafts being tied with ropes to the horses' tails. The remainder of the horses were made to swim across without their harness, that the whole caravan might pass over at the same time. It was certainly a goodly sight, and they crossed quickly, though the passage was full of peril. When all had crossed over and taken a little rest, the baggage was packed, and we set out, leaving the river, than which, in my judgment, there can be few greater, as it appears to be more than two miles across, very deep, and with high banks.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Illustrious Ambassador traverses the great desert of Asiatic Sarmatia and arrives at Moscow, a city of White Russia, where he presents himself to the Duke.

We started, as I have said, by God's grace, and travelled, as before, in a northerly direction, but turned very often towards the west. There was no indication of a road, but all was a desert plain. The Tartars said that we were more than fifteen days' journey north of Tana, which I thought we had passed. We continued travelling in the same manner, resting at midday and towards evening, our couch being the earth and our covering the air and sky. At night we always placed three guards: one on our right hand, one on our left, and a third in front, to secure us from attack. At times we could not find water either for ourselves or for our horses at our resting places, and throughout this journey we scarcely met with any game. We found, however, two camels and four hundred horses feeding, which were said to have belonged to the caravan of the preceding year. We were, on two occasions, in fear of

attack. One was a false alarm; on the other we found about twenty chariots with a few Tartars, who could not make us understand where they were going. As the journey was long and my stock of provisions small, we were obliged to limit ourselves.

On the 22nd September, 1476, it pleased God that we should enter Russia. There were a few little Russian villages in the middle of the woods, and when it was known that Marco was with the caravan, the people came forth,—with great timidity, however, on account of the Tartars,—and brought him a little honey in the combs. Of this he gave me a portion, and I was certainly in want of it, as all our provisions were exhausted, and we were reduced to such a state that we could scarcely mount our horses. We left here, and reached a city called Resan, belonging to a lord whose wife is sister to the Duke of Muscovy, the houses, as well as the castle of which, are all of wood. Here we obtained bread and meat in abundance, as well as their beverage of apples, by which we were much restored. After leaving here, we travelled through extensive forests, and at night we all lodged in Russian villages, and were able to take some repose, as by the aid of God we appeared to have reached a place of security. We then came to another city named Colonna, which is situated on a branch of the Volga, called Mosco, over which there is a large bridge. We left here, and I was sent in advance by Marco, as the caravan would not go so quickly.

On the 26th, praising and thanking God, who had taken pity on us in so many dangers and extremities, we entered Moscow, which belongs to Duke Zuanne, the sovereign of Great White Russia. I should state that, during the greater part of the time we occupied in passing the desert, which was from the 18th of August, when we left Citracan, until we reached Moscow on the 25th of September, as we had no wood, we cooked our food with the dung of the cattle.

Having reached here, then, in safety, Marco provided lodgings for myself and my people, and stables for the horses, which, although small and cheerless, seemed to me a grand palace in comparison with what I had had to put up with.

On the 27th, Marco entered Moscow, and came in the evening to see me, bringing with him some provisions, which are very abundant in this city, as I shall describe hereafter. He exhorted me in the name of his sovereign to be of good cheer, as I might consider myself at home; for which I thanked him as well as I was able.

On the 28th, I went to visit Marco, and, as I was desirous of returning home, I requested him to be pleased to procure me an audience of the Duke. This he did, as the Duke shortly afterwards sent for me. After the usual salutations I thanked his lordship for the good offices I had experienced at the hands of Marco, his ambassador, as I could certainly say, with truth, that by his means I had escaped many dangers. And, although I had benefited by these services personally, they might be considered as having been rendered to my Illustrious Signory, whose ambassador I was. The Duke scarcely allowed me to finish my speech, but, with a severe look, complained of Zuan Battista Trivisano. I will not enter into this subject, as it is beside the purpose; but when, after a long conversation, I requested to be allowed to take my departure, he said that I should receive an answer on that subject at another time; and with this I was dismissed by the Duke, who was about to leave the city. It is his custom to visit the various parts of his dominions every year. He especially looks after a Tartar, in his pay, who commands, it is said, five hundred horsemen, to guard the frontiers of his territory from the incursions of the Tartars.

Being desirous, as I have said, of leaving, I endeavoured to obtain an answer to my request, and was again sum-

moned to the palace, before three of the Duke's principal barons. They informed me, in the Duke's name, that I was welcome, and repeated everything that the Duke himself had said, complaining at the same time about the above-mentioned Zuan Battista. In conclusion, they told me that I might go or stay, as I pleased; and with this they dismissed me.

As I was indebted to Marco for the amount of my ransom with the interest, as well as for some other expenses which he had incurred on my account, I begged him to have the goodness to allow me to leave, and that as soon as I had reached Venice I would send him all that I owed him. He would not; however, consent to this, as he said that the Tartars and Russians whom I had promised to pay, wanted the money; and, as I was unable, after various attempts, to influence either the Duke or Marco in this matter, I determined to send Stephano to Venice to advise the Illustrious Signory of all that had occurred, that they might with their accustomed clemency and good nature provide against my ending my days in this country.

On the 7th of October, 1476, I despatched Priest Stephano in company with a certain Nicolo da Leopoli, who was well acquainted with the road, while I remained in Moscow. I found here Maestro Trifoso, a goldsmith from Catharo, who had made, and was engaged in making, many beautiful vases and other articles for the Duke. There was also a Maestro Aristotele da Bologna, an engineer, who was building a church in the Piazza, besides many Greeks from Constantinople, who had come in the suite of Despina, with all of whom I was on terms of great friendship. The room which Marco had given me was small and unpleasant, and made an uncomfortable dwelling-place; but, by the influence of Marco, I obtained a lodging in the house of Maestro Aristotele, which was situated close to the Duke's palace, and was very convenient. A few days afterwards, however (for

what reason I never heard), I was ordered, in the Duke's name, to leave this house, and I was, with difficulty, provided with two little chambers outside the castle, where I remained until my departure, one of which I occupied myself, while the other served for my attendants.

The city of Moscow is situated on a little hill, and is built entirely of wood, as is the castle. It is traversed by a river called Moscow, on one side of which stands the castle and part of the city, and on the other the remaining portion. The river is crossed by numerous bridges. Moscow is the principal city, and the residence of the Duke. It is surrounded by forests, with which, indeed, the greater part of the country is covered. The country abounds in all kinds of corn; and when I was there, you might have bought more than ten of our *stare* of wheat for a ducat, and other corn in proportion. The meat principally eaten is that of cows and pigs, of which you can procure, I believe, more than three pounds for a soldo. They give a hundred fowls or forty ducks for a ducat, and geese are little more than three *soldi* each. A great number of hares are brought to market, but other game is very scarce, because, I imagine, they do not know how to catch them. There are small birds of all kinds, and very cheap. They do not make wine of any kind, nor have they any fruit, with the exception of a few water melons and wild apples. The climate is so excessively cold, that the people stay nine months of the year indoors. As it is difficult to travel in the summer time, on account of the thick forests and the great quantity of mud caused by the melting of the ice, they are obliged to get in all their provisions in the spring, for which purpose they use their *sani* or sledges on which they stow everything, and which are easily drawn by one horse. By the end of October the river which passes through the city is frozen over, and shops and bazaars for the sale of all sorts of things are erected on it, scarcely anything being sold in the town.

They do this, as the river, from being surrounded on all sides by the city, and so protected from the wind, is less cold than anywhere else. On this frozen river may be seen, daily, numbers of cows and pigs, great quantities of corn, wood, hay, and every other necessary, nor does the supply fail during the whole winter. At the end of November, all those who have cows or pigs, kill and bring them, from time to time, to the city market. They are frozen whole, and it is curious to see so many skinned cows standing upright on their feet. The meat that you eat has sometimes been killed three months or more. Fish, fowls, and all other provisions are treated in the same way. Horses run on this river when it is frozen, and a good deal of amusement takes place. Sometimes, also, a neck is broken. Both the men and women are handsome, but they are a brutal race. They have a pope of their own, appointed by their sovereign, and hold ours in little esteem, saying that we are doomed to perdition. They boast of being great drunkards, and despise those who are not. They have no wine of any kind, but drink a beverage made of honey and the leaves of the hop, which is certainly not a bad drink, especially when old. The sovereign, however, will not grant permission to every one to make it; for, if they had that permission, they would be constantly intoxicated, and would murder each other like brutes. Their custom is to remain from morning till midday in the bazaars and to spend the remainder of the day in the taverns in eating and drinking. After midday you cannot obtain any service of them whatever. A great many merchants frequent this city from Germany and Poland during the winter, for the sole purpose of buying peltries, such as the furs of young goats, foxes, ermines, squirrels, wolves, and other animals; and, although these furs are procured at places many days' journey from Moscow,—towards the north-north-east, or the north-west,—they are all brought here where the merchants buy them.

A great many, also, go to a town called Novogardia, on the confines of *Francia* and Upper Germany, and eight days' journey west of Moscow. This town, although it has a republican government, is subject to the Duke, to whom it pays a yearly tribute. This prince, from what I have heard, possesses a large territory, and might raise a large army, but the men are worthless. The country is bounded by that part of Germany which belongs to the King of Poland. Towards the north-north-west there is said to be a certain nation of idolaters, without any sovereign, but who, when so inclined, pay obedience to the Duke of Muscovy. There are some who are said to adore the first thing they see, and others who sacrifice an *animal* at the foot of a tree, and afterwards worship it. Many other things are told, which I shall not repeat, as I have not witnessed them myself, nor are they credible. The Duke may be thirty-five years of age; he is tall and thin, and handsome. He has two brothers, and his mother is still alive. Besides two daughters by Despina, who is said to be *enceinte*, he has, by another woman, a son who is not in great favour, on account of his bad conduct. I might mention other things, but it would take too long. I remained in Moscow from the 25th of September until the 21st of January, and I certainly received good treatment from everyone. After visiting his dominions, the Duke returned to Moscow about the end of December. I had sent Priest Stephano for my ransom, and was certain that it would be forthcoming, yet wishing very much to hasten my return home, as the way of living of the country did not agree with me, I spoke to some gentlemen who were favourable to my desire of leaving; and a few days afterwards received an invitation to dine with the Duke. He then told me that he was willing that I should depart, and that he should be happy to serve our Illustrious Seignory, and pay whatever was due to the Tartars and Russians for my ransom. The banquet to which I was invited was

certainly served in good style, not only with regard to the numerous dishes, but in every other respect. As soon as the dinner was over, according to the custom of the country, I returned to my apartments. A few days afterwards the Duke invited me to dine with him again, and he ordered his treasurer to give me what money I required to pay the Tartars and the Russians. I then went to his palace, where I was made to put on a dress of ermine (that is, the skin only), and received also a thousand squirrel skins, with which I returned home. I also, at the Duke's request, paid a visit to Despina, with whom, after the usual salutations and compliments, I had a long conversation. She treated me with great kindness and courtesy, and entreated me earnestly to recommend her to my Illustrious Signory.

CHAPTER IX.

The Illustrious Ambassador leaves Muscovy, and, after passing through Lithuania, Poland, and Germany, arrives in Italy.

The following day I was invited to the palace to dine with the Duke. Before sitting down to table, we entered a chamber where I was received by His Highness Marco, and one of the secretaries in a most courteous manner. The Duke entreated me to signify to my Illustrious Signory that he was their good friend, and wished to remain so; that he willingly allowed me to depart, and that if I required anything more I should have it. When the Duke spoke to me I retired from him, but he approached me with great kindness. I answered all his questions, and thanked him appropriately, and we conversed for more than an hour. He showed me, with great good nature, some of his dresses of cloth of gold, lined with ermine, which were most beautiful. We then left this chamber, and soon after sat down to table.

The dinner was longer than usual; the dishes more numerous; and many of his barons were present. When the banquet was over, I rose from table and presented myself before his Highness, who, with a loud voice, that everyone might hear, took leave of me in courteous terms, and with great demonstration of good-will towards our Illustrious Signory; and I replied in a becoming manner. I was, afterwards, presented with a large cup of silver filled with their beverage made of honey, and was told to drink the contents, and keep the cup. This custom is observed when they wish to show very great honour either to ambassadors or others. But as there appeared to me too much to drink at once, I drank about a quarter of it, and His Highness, who was aware of my habits, seeing that I could not drink more, ordered the cup to be emptied and given back to me. I kissed his Highness's hands, and took leave of him. I was accompanied to the staircase by many of his barons, who embraced me with great demonstrations of friendship. I then went home, and had prepared everything for my departure; but Marco wished that I should previously dine with him.

On the 21st of January, 1476, after partaking of a good dinner with Marco and my own people, I took leave of him, and we entered our *sani* and departed. These *sani*, which are only used on the ice, somewhat resemble little houses, and are drawn by one horse. Each person has his own. You sit inside with as much clothing as you require and drive the horse. They go very fast and are made to contain all the provisions and everything that is necessary. The Patriarch of Antioch, or Brother Ludovico, who had been detained by the Duke on the representation of Marco, was, after great efforts on my part, released, and was to have accompanied us; but, seeing that he appeared to have no desire to do so, I started alone with my people, and a man was sent by the Duke to accompany me, with orders

that I should be provided with other guides from place to place throughout the whole of his territories. In the evening we lodged at a very strange village; and, although I was aware that we should have to undergo many discomforts and hardships, on account of the intense cold of those countries, and from having to travel continually through forests, I welcomed every discomfort and was intent on nothing but travelling day and night; nor had I any fear, so great was my desire to escape from those places and ways of living.

We left this village on the 22nd, and travelled continually through forests, in extreme cold, until the 27th, when we reached a little town called Viesemo. Leaving here, we took guides from place to place, and reached another little town called Smolencho, from which we departed with another guide, leaving the dominions of the Duke of Muscovy to enter Lithuania, which belongs to Casimir, King of Poland. We then proceeded to a small town called Trochi, where we found His Majesty, the said King.

Be it observed that, from the 21st of January, when we left Moscovy, until the 12th of February, when we reached Trochi, we travelled continually through forests. The country was generally flat, with a few hills. Sometimes we found a village where we rested, but usually slept in the forest. At midday we took our meals at places where we found that fires had been made, and the ice had been broken to water the horses by persons who had preceded us. We then added wood to the fire, and sat round it to partake of what little provision we had with us. We certainly underwent great suffering; for when we were warm on one side, we had to turn the other to the fire, and I slept in my sako rather than on the ground. We travelled three days and slept two nights on a frozen river; and we were said to have travelled three hundred miles, which is a great distance. His Majesty having heard of my arrival, sent two gentlemen to congratulate me on my safe arrival, and to

invite me to dine with him on the following day. On this day, which was the 15th, the King sent me, as a present, a dress of crimson damask, lined with ermine; and I was taken to the palace in one of the Royal sanni drawn by six beautiful horses. Four barons were on foot outside the sanna, and others accompanied us with much state. On reaching the presence chamber I found His Majesty seated on a most beautifully adorned throne with two of his sons, young and handsome as angels, at his side clothed in crimson satin. A great many barons and knights of distinction were also present. A seat was placed for me in front of His Majesty, who received me with great affection and made me shake hands with his sons. His kindness and courtesy towards me could not have been greater had he been my father. I wanted, and tried as well as I could, to speak kneeling, but he would not allow me to begin until I had taken a seat, which I was at length obliged to do, in compliance with his repeated commands. I then briefly related to His Majesty the particulars of my voyage, describing what had occurred to me at the Court of Ussuncassan, and giving an account of the power of that monarch and of the customs of his country, which he appeared very desirous to know. I also described the manners and the resources of the Tartars, and spoke of the dangers I had passed on the journey. I was listened to by the King with the greatest attention for half an hour, so pleased did he appear to hear me. I then thanked His Majesty, in the name of our Illustrious Signory, for the present and the honour he had conferred upon me. His Majesty replied by his interpreter that he rejoiced greatly at my arrival, as it was thought when I set out on my journey that I should never return. He then said that he had heard with great interest about Ussuncassan and the Tartars, and that he felt sure that what I had said was true; and, he added, that he had never before met with anyone who had told him the truth. I was finally made to enter

another room, where the tables were laid, and where, shortly afterwards, the King and his two sons entered to the sound of trumpets in great state. His Majesty sat down to table, his two sons being on the right hand side, and the chief bishop on the left. I was placed next to the latter, at no great distance from His Majesty. There were also many barons at the tables, but at some distance. I think there might have been, in all, more than forty persons. The viands, as they were brought in on large platters and in great abundance, were always preceded by trumpets, and knives were placed before us after our own fashion. We remained at table about two hours, during which time His Majesty asked me many questions relating to my voyage, which I fully answered. When the repast was over, I rose to take leave of His Majesty, and asked him whether he had any further commands. He replied, very kindly, that he wished to be well recommended to my Illustrious Signory, and commanded his sons to tell me the same. I then took leave of His Majesty and of his sons, with due respect, and was honourably accompanied to the chamber where I lodged. The King gave directions that I should be accompanied by a guide who should see that guides and escorts were provided for me throughout the country, in order that I might travel everywhere in safety.

On the 16th, we left Trochi and travelled till the 25th, when we reached a place called Ionici. Leaving Ionici, we entered Poland, where we were provided with guides from one place to another, according to the King's commands. Having arrived at a city called Varsovia, which is under the dominion of two brothers, I was received with much honour, and a guide was provided for me, who accompanied me into Poland. As I have already spoken of this kingdom, I shall only add that it is a fine country, and appears to abound in meat and other provisions, but produces very little fruit of any kind. We saw castles and villages, but no

town worth mentioning. Every night we found lodgings, and were well received everywhere. It is a safe country.

It was on the 1st of March, 1477, that we reached this city; and, as we had performed the whole journey from Moscow on the above-mentioned *sani*, I and my people were much fatigued, both on account of the great cold and the other hardships we had endured. I, therefore, remained in this beautiful city until the 5th, as we were lodged in comfortable quarters, and well provided with everything we wanted, and could obtain horses to continue our journey.

On the 5th we left, and came to another small town called Messariza, belonging to the same King. After leaving here we arrived at the frontiers of Poland and Germany, which we passed, not without fear and danger.

On the 9th, we reached Frankfort, a city belonging to the Marquis of Brandenburg, and, having put up at the same house at which I had stayed on my outward journey, the landlord recognised me, and was very much surprised. He received me with great respect and kindness, and said that we had escaped great dangers in crossing the frontiers.

On the 10th, we left Frankfort, and, as we travelled through Germany, found a continual improvement, as well in the villages and castles as in the cities and lodgings. As I was, on the 15th, in the vicinity of a city called Ian, I met Priest Stephano, who was on his way back to me from our Illustrious Signory with my ransom. The joy we both felt at meeting again may be easily imagined, and was certainly due, like everything else, to the Grace of God. When we had embraced each other, and heard all we had to say, we entered the city of Ian, where we rested.

We left here on the 17th, and on the 22nd reached Nuremberg, a very beautiful city, as I have already said. Being much fatigued, and wishing to keep the feast of the Most Holy Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ (and this was my principal reason), I determined to remain here

whilst the festival lasted, and we certainly enjoyed a refreshing repose, of which we stood in great need.

On the 26th, we left Nuremberg, which is governed by a municipality, but subject to the Emperor. Every night we lodged in good and important cities,—among others, Augsburg,—and passed through many more.

On the morning of the 4th of April, 1477, which was Good Friday, we arrived at Trent, where, having heard of the miracle of the blessed Simon, I considered it my duty not only to pay respect to his holy remains, and keep Easter Day, but to confess and take the sacrament. On the 6th, therefore, which was Easter Sunday, I took the sacrament, together with my people, and remained in Trent to observe the festival.

On the morning of the 7th, with that easily-imagined longing to reach our own dear land which made every day appear a year, I left Trent after taking leave of its Reverend Bishop, by whom I had been honoured and well received, and came to Scala, the first place belonging to our Illustrious Signory. And, in order to fulfil a vow I had made, I started for S. Maria di Monte Arthon, where I arrived on the 9th at midday. Having satisfied the requirements of my vow and made the promised offering, I took leave of Brother Simone, the prior of the place, and came to the Portello at Padua. Nor did I omit to return thanks to our Lord God and to His dearest Mother, who had saved me from so many perils and hardships, and brought me safely back to where I desired, which was more than I ever expected. And, although I was corporeally in this place, my mind almost doubted the fact, so impossible did it seem when everything was taken into consideration. I had written to my brother and to my family, to let them know that I should arrive at Venice on Thursday, the 10th, about the hour of Vespers; but my longing was so great, that I was unable to observe this arrangement. I embarked,

therefore, before daybreak, and reached the Zuffasine about two o'clock in the day. Going alongside, in order to accomplish another vow at S. Maria di Gratia before going home, I met my brother, Messer Agustin, in the Canal della Giudecca, and two of my brothers-in-law. They were very much astonished to see me, as they had made certain that I was dead, and when we had embraced each other affectionately we went to S. Maria di Gratia. As on Thursday there was a Council of Pregadi, I considered it also my duty, before going home, to pay the respects to the Illustrious Signory, and to report how I had executed my commission. I went, therefore, just as I was, to the Council of the Pregadi, and after the necessary salutations, was ordered to mount the rostrum and report what I had to say, which I accordingly did. And, as our Serene Prince was rather unwell, and not at the Council, when I had concluded and taken leave of the Signory, I went to him. He was overjoyed to see me, and I related briefly a part of what I had done. I then went home, and immediately returned sincere thanks to our Lord God, who had vouchsafed me such favour in delivering me from so many dangers, and bringing me back to my family, whom I had so often despaired of ever seeing again.

Here I conclude this voyage. I might possibly have written in a more elegant style, but I preferred stating the truth in the way I have done to adorning falsehood in fine and elegant language. And if anything relating to Germany has been omitted, let no one be surprised, as it did not appear to me necessary to speak at length in this relation of a country which is so near and familiar to us.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE DOMINIONS OF USSUNCASSAN.

THE extensive country of Ussuncassan is bounded by the Ottoman empire and by Caramania. Turcomania, his first province, joins the dominions of the Soldan towards the district of Aleppo. Persia, which Ussuncassan wrested, more by good fortune than superior power, from Iausa, whom he caused to be put to death, has Tauris for its capital and seat of government. At the distance of twenty-four days' journey from this city, in an east-south-easterly direction is Siras, the last town in Persia. The Persian empire is also bounded by the country of the Zagatai, who were the children of the Tartar Sultan Busech with whom there is frequently war, and who still cause some anxiety. It is also bounded by Media, belonging to Sivanza, the Lord of Sumachi, who pays an annual tribute to Ussuncassan; by Gorgia, belonging to King Pancrati; and by Gorgora, beyond the plain of Arsigan.¹ It is said that Ussuncassan also possesses some territory on the other side of the Euphrates towards the Ottoman empire. The whole of Persia, as far as Spama,² its capital, where I have been, at a six days' journey from Siras, is a most arid country; there is scarcely a tree to be seen, and the water is for the most part bad. The country is, nevertheless, tolerably well supplied with all kinds of provisions and fruits, which are grown by artificial irrigation. Ussuncassan appeared to me to be about seventy years of age. He was tall, thin, and handsome, but did not appear prosperous. His eldest son, by the Curd lady, was named

¹ Arsigan.

² Isfahan.

Gurlumameth; he was very famous, and it was with him that his father was at war. By another wife he had three sons. The eldest, called Sultan Chali, was said to be about thirty-five years of age. It was to him that Ussuncassan had given his city of Siras. The second, named Lacubei, might have been about fifteen years old. The name of the third, a boy of about seven, I do not remember. By another wife he had a son called Masubei, who had made war against him, his father, whom I saw every day, and whom he kept in chains for having conspired with Gurlumameth, and finally had put to death. I was desirous of learning from different persons the extent of Ussuncassan's resources. Those who give the highest estimate say that he has fifty thousand horsemen, though these are not all of the best. I also wished to know how many men were brought into the field during the war with the Ottoman, and was told that there might have been upwards of forty thousand. This I heard from persons, most of whom had served in that war. But they were of opinion that this army was not intended to fight against the Ottoman, but only to restore Pirameth, the Lord of Caramania, to his country, which was in the possession of the Ottoman. Nor did Ussuncassan exert himself for any other purpose. Those who hold a different opinion are considered by most people to be wrong. I have had the opportunity of hearing and understanding everything, and only state what I have seen and heard. I will refrain from mentioning many other things,—which are, however, not very important,—that I may not make my narrative too long.

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