Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

VOLUME VI

Glasgow
James MacLehose and Sons
Publishers to the University

MCMV
THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters and Paragraphs in the sixt Booke of the First part of Purchas his Pilgrims.

CHAP. I.—Continued.

§. 8. Notes of principall things in John Leo his eight Booke of the Historie of Africa.


Devices to take Elephants, Camels, Princes riches. Three kind of Camels, Camels or Dromidaries, dancing Camels. The wild Horse, Oxe, Asse, the African Ram, Lyons. The Leopard, Civet Cat, Apes, Monkeyes,
THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—Continued.


CHAP. II.

Collections of things most remarkable in the Historie of Barbarie, written by Ro. C. .................................................. 54

§ 1. How the Kingdom of Barbarie came to Muley Hamet Xarif, the late deceased King, and the course of his government; of his sons and their behaviour: Shecks misgovernment and imprisonment: Hamets death. .................................................. 54


§ 2. Muley Sidan proclameth himself king in Fez. Muley Boferes in Moruecos. Muley Nassar would have done the like in Taradant, but is hindred. The death of Nassar. Warre betweene Sidan and Boferes. Sheck set free. Fokers employed. The battell. Sidans flight. Fewds and robberies. .................................................. 66


§ 3. Muley Sheck proclameth himself king in Fez. Sidan goeth to Tafilet, from thence into Sus. Peace concluded betweene Muley Boferes, and Muley Sidan. Abdela Sheeks sonne escapeth. Sir Anthonie Sherleys Embassage, Bountie and State. .................................................. 76

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—Continued.

| §. 5. Muley Hamet Bosonne commeth against Abdela, and causeth him flie to his Father. Boferes like to bee taken, flieeth to Salie. Muley Sidan commeth against Muley Hamet Bosonne; who flyeth, and is poysoned by old Azus. Muley Sheck sendeth into Spaine. Some observations of their Policie, and Trade to Gago. |


| CHAP. III. The African possessions of the King of Spaine, and the Turke. § 1. The Dominions and Fortresses which the King of Spaine hath upon the Iles and maine Lands of Africa, and of the Great Turkes. Kingdomes rich in Gold and Silver, and other commodities. vii |
THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—Continued.

CHAP. III.
The Description of the Citie of Alger, written by Nicholas Nicholay, and how it came into the possession of Barbarossa, and also of Malta and Tripolie.


CHAP. V.
A large Voyage in a Journall or briefe Repertory of all occurrents, happing in the fleet of Ships sent out by the King his most excellent Majestie, as well against the Pirats of Algiers, as others; the whole body of the Fleet consisting of eighteene saile. Sixe of his Majesties ships, ten Merchants ships, two Pinnaces. Under the command of Sir Robert Mansel Knight, Vice-Admirall of England, and Adimirall of that Fleet: and a Counsell of Warre appointed by his Majestie. Written by one employed in that Voyage, formerly published, and here contracted.

The names of the Captaines, Ships, their burdens, number of men, and Ordnance in his Majesties sixe Ships.

In the Merchants ships.

THE TABLE
The Contents of the Chapters—Continued.

CHAP. VI.
The Relation of the Jacob, a ship of Bristoll, of one hundred and twenty Tunnes, which was about the end of October 1621, taken by the Turkish Pirats of Argier: and within five dayes after, foure English youths did valiantly overcome thirteene of the said Turkes, where they sold nine of the Turkes for Gallic-slaves: with mention of some other like English adventures.


CHAP. VII.
The wonderfull recovery of the Exchange of Bristow, from the Turkish Pirats of Argier, published by John Rawlins, here abbreviated.


CHAP. VIII.
Relations of Africa, taken out of George Sandys his larger discourse observed in his Journey, begunne Ann. 1610.

Lib. 2.

§. 1. His Voyage from Rhodes to Alexandria, observations there, of Egypt in generall, and of Nilus.

The Contents of the Chapters—Continued.

§. 2. His journey to Cairo, the things remarkeable there, and by the way. . . . . . . 187


§. 3. The Pyramides viewed, Sphynx and other Antiquities. Journey from Cairo to Gaza. . . . . . . 202


§. 4. Arrivall at Malta, and observations there. . . . . 220


The Contents of the Chapters and Paragraphs in the seventh Booke of the First part of Purchas his Pilgrims.

CHAP. I.

A True Relation of Master Richard Jobsons Voyage, employed by Sir William Saint John, Knight, and others; for the Discovery of Gambia, in the Sion, a shippe of two hundred tunnes, Admirall; and the Saint John
THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—Continued.

of fiftie, Vice-Admirall, In which they passed nine hundred and sixtie miles up the River into the Con- tinent. Extracted out of his large Journall. 234


CHAP. II.

A description and historicall declaration of the golden King- dome of Guinea, otherwise called the golden Coast of Myna, lying in a part of Africa, shewing their believe, opinions, traffiquing, bartering, and manner of speech; together with the scituation of the Countrie, Townes, Cottages, and Houses of the same; with their Persons and Properties, Havens and Rivers, as they are now found out and discovered: all perfectly viewed and curiously discovered, and written by one that hath oftentimes beeene there. Translated out of Dutch, conferred also with the Latine Edition, and contracted. H.P. 247

§ 1. What course the ships hold which seeke to goe to the Gold Coast of Guinea. Of Cape Verde, and the course from thence. 247

Observations to find out the golden Coast of Guinea. Greedie eaters and drinkers. Leacherous men and women. Mellie, rich in Corne, Rice, Cotten, and flesh.

§ 2. How they marrie each with other, and what goods their Fathers give with their Children; their House-keeping together; the womans lying in; education of their Children: Their proportions, industry, and conditions. 255


§. 3. Of their Apparell, Customes within doores, manner of diet, Merchandising, the use of Dache; Wares carried thither. . . . . . . 266


§. 4. What Custome the Merchants pay to their Kings. Their Measures, Weights, Scales, Markets: Also their Sabbath, Fetisso, and superstition. . . . . 283


§. 5. Of their houses, townes, countrey wayes, warres, armes, state of their Kings, judgements, lawes, justice, thefts, promises, oaths, and other rites. . . . 298


§. 6. Of their Summer and Winter; And of their manner of Tilling and Sowing the Land; Their Corne, Rents, Raines, Beasts and hunting: Fowles, Trees, and Fruits. 319
THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—Continued.

Neighbourhood in Husbandrie, the King is first served. Raine hurtfull. Tempests, Snakes, Spiders, Dogs, &c. Leopards, Oxen, Monkies, Musk-cats, Hares, Harts. Varietie of strange Fowle. Bats and Flies, land Crabs. A strange tree, the supposed tree of Paradise.

§ 7. Of their Gentlemen, and how they are made; Their Dancings, Sports, Diseases, Cures, Visitations, Mournings, Funerals: and of their Gold. . . . 335


§ 8. The passage from the golden Coast to the Kingdome of Benni, or Rio de Benni, and Rio Floreado: The Citie, Court, Gentry, Apparel: also other places adjoyning described. . . . . 353


CHAP. III.

The strange adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Essex, sent by the Portugals prisoner to Angola, who lived there, and in the adjoyning Regions, neere eighteen yeeres. . . . . . . 367

§ 1. Andrew Battell, his Voyage to the River of Plate, who being taken on the Coast of Brasil, was sent to Angola. 367


xiii
§ 2. His trading on the Coast, offer to escape, imprisonment, exile; escape, and new imprisonment: his sending to Elambo, and Bahia Das Vaggas; Many strange occurrents.


§ 3. Discovery of the Gagas; Their Warres, Man-eating: Overrunning Countries: His Trade with them, betraying, escape to them, and living with them, with many strange adventures. And also the Rites and manner of life observed by the Jagges or Gagas, which no Christian could ever know well but this Author.


§ 4. His returne to the Portugals: invasions of divers Countries, abuse, flight from them, and living in the Woods divers moneths; His strange Boate, and coming to Loango.


§ 5. Of the Province of Engoy, and other Regions of Loango, with the Customs there observed by the King and people.

Present death to see the King eate or drinke. Burials of Kings. No white men buried in the Land.

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—Continued.

§. 7. Of the Zebra and Hippopotamus: The Portugals Warres in those parts: The Fishing, Graine, and other things remarkable. . . . . . . 403


CHAP. III.

A report of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Affrica, gathered by Philippo Pigafetta, out of the Discourses of Master Edward Lopes a Portugall, translated out of Italian into English, by Master Abraham Hartwell, and here abbreviated. . . . 407

§. 1. The journey by Sea from Lisbone to the Kingdome of Congo: Of the Ayre, Winds, Raines, Temperature thereof. . . . . . . 407


§. 2. Of the circuit of the Kingdome of Congo, and of the borders and confines thereof; As also of divers bordering Nations, and remarkeable rarities therein. . . 415


§. 3. Of Angola, the Warres betweene Congo and Angola: their manner of warfare. The present Kingdome of Congo bounded. Of Banba, one of the six Provinces of Congo, and the Creatures therein. . . . 431


§. 4. Of the five other Provinces of Congo, to wit, Sogno, Sundi, Pango, Batta, and Pemba.  

The Sunne, Moone, and other Creatures worshipped. The description of Batta. State Ceremonies. Pemba, the chiefe and Royall Principalitie of Congo.

§. 5. Of the situation of the Royall Citie of the Kingdome of Congo: of their first conversion and Warre, thence arising betwixt the Kings two Sonnes.


§. 6. The death of the King Don Alfonso, and the succession of Don Piedro. How the Iland of S. Thomas was first inhabited, and of the Bishoppe that was sent thither: The Kings lineage extinct: Invasion of the Jagges: Their savage conditions.


§. 7. Of the Court of the King of Congo. Of the apparell of that people before they became Christians and after. Of the Kings Table, and manner of his Court.

Apparell of the King, his Courtiers; and meaner sort. Time measured by the Moone. Musicall Instruments.
THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—Continued.

§. 8. Of the Countries that are beyond the Kingdomes of Congo, towards the Cape of Good-Hope: of the River Nilus, and of Sofala, Monomotapa, the Amazones, Saint Laurence, and other Æthiopian Countries. . 503

A faithfull Nation. Store of Gold Mines. Rich Com-

CHAP. V.

The Voyage of Sir Francis Alvarez, a Portugall Priest, made unto the Court of Prete Janni, the great Christian Emperour of Ethiopia. . . . . . 517

§. 1. Matthew the Ambassadour of Prete Janni, is conducted by the Portugals unto the Haven of Maczua in the Red Sea, and what hapned to his death. . . . 519


§. 2. Of the manner and scitution of the Monasteries, and of their holy Rites, Times, Places, and Things: And first of this of Saint Michael. . . . . 529


xvii
ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hondius his Map of Egypt,</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facsimile of the Title Page to the Second Part of Purchas His Pilgrimes,</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thomas Button,</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reproduced by permission from the portrait at Coedriglan Park, Glamorganshire.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Egyptian Pyramids and Colossus,</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Entrance into the Great Pyramid,</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian Gods,</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Zevera or Zebra,</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hondius his Map of Congo,</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE SIXTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries
of the Sea-Coasts and In-land Regions of
Africa, which is generally called
Æthiopia, by Englishmen
and others
§. VIII.

Notes of principall things in John Leo his eight Booke of the Historie of Africa.

The most noble and famous Province of Egypt bordering Westward upon the Desarts of Barca, Numidia, and Libya; Eastward upon the Desarts lying betweene Egypt it selfe and the Red Sea; and Northward upon the Mediterran Sea; is inclosed Southward with the Land of the foresaid people called Bugiha, and with the River of Nilus. It stretcheth in length from the Mediterran Sea to the Land of the people called Bugiha, about four hundred and fiftie miles: but in breadth it is very narrow; so that it contayneth nought but a small distance betweene both the bankes of Nilus, and the barren Mountaynes bordering upon the foresaid Desarts, being inhabited onely in that place where Nilus is separate from the said Mountaynes: albeit, towards the Mediterran Sea it extendeth it selfe somewhat broader.

For Nilus about fourescore miles from the great Cittie of Cairo is divided into two branches, one whereof running in his Chanell Westward, returneth at length into the mayne streame from whence hee tooke his originall, and having passed about threescore miles beyond Cairo, it divideth it selfe into two other branches, whereof the one runneth to Damiata, and the other to Rosetto. And out of that which tendeth to Damiata issueth another branch, which discharging it selfe into a Lake, passeth through a certaine gullet or strait into the Mediterran Sea, upon the banke whereof standeth the most ancient Cittie of
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Tenesse: and this division of Nilus into so many streames and branches causeth Egypt (as I have foresaid) to bee so narrow. All this Province is plaine, and is most fruitfull for all kind of Graine and Pulse. There are most pleasant and greene Medowes, and great store of Geese and other Fowles. The Countrey people are of a swart and browne colour: but the Citizens are white. Garments they weare which are strait downe to their wastes, and broad beneath, and the sleeves likewise are strait. They cover their heads with a round and high habit, called by the Italians a Dulipan. Their shooes are made according to the ancient fashion. In Summer they weare Garments of parti-coloured Cotton: but in Winter they use a certayne Garment lined with Cotton, which they call Chebre: but the chiefe Citizens and Merchants are apparelled in cloth of Europe. The Inhabitants are of an honest, cheerefull, and liberall disposition. For their victuals they use a kind of new and extreme salt Cheeses, and sowre Milke also artificially congealed: which fare albeit they account very dainty, yet cannot strangers digest it, and into every Dish almost they put sowre Milke.

Since the Mahumetans were Lords of Egypt, it hath beene divided into three parts. For the Region from Cairo to Rosetto is called the shoare of Errif: and from Cairo to the Land of Bugiha, it is called Sahid, that is to say, The firme Land: but the Region adjoyning upon that branch of Nilus, which runneth towards Damiata and Tenesse, they call by the name of Bechria or Maremma. All Egypt is exceeding fertile: but the Province of Sahid excelleth the two other parts for abundance of Corne, Cattle, Fowles and Flaxe: and Maremma aboundeth with Cotton and Sugar. Howbeit, the Inhabitants of Maremma, and Errif are farre more civill then the people of Sahid: because those two Provinces Iye neerer unto the Sea, and are more frequented by European, Barbarian, and Assyrian Merchants: but the people of Sahid have no conversation with strangers, except it be with a few Aethiopians.
The Egyptians (as Moses writeth) fetch their originall from *Mesraim the Sonne of Chus, the Sonne of Cham, the Sonne of Noe; and the Hebrewes call both the Coun-
trey and the Inhabitants of Egypt by the name of Mesraim. The Arabians call Egypt it selfe Mesre, but the Inhabitants Chibith. And Chibith (they say) was the man, that first tooke upon him the Government of this Region, and beganne first to build houses thereon. Also the Inhabi-
tants call themselves by the same name: neither are there left any true Egyptians, besides a few Christians, which are at this present remayning. The residue embracing the Mahumetan Religion, have mingled themselves amongst the Arabians and the Moores. This Kingdome was governed many yeares by the Egyptians themselves, as namely, by the Kings that were called Pharao, (who by their Monuments and admirable Buildings, seeme to have beene mightie Princes) and also by the Kings called Ptolomæi. Afterward, being subdued unto the Romane Empire, this Kingdome since the comming of Christ was converted unto the Christian Religion, under the said Romane Government: since the decay of which Empire, it fell into the possession of the Emperours of Constanti-nople; who being very carefull to maintayne this Kingdome, were at length deprived thereof by the Mahumetans, under the conduct of Hamrus the Sonne of Hasi, being appointed Captaine Generall over the Arabian Armie of Homar, the second Califa or Mahumetan Patri-
arke of that name: who permitting all men to have their owne Religion, required nought but Tribute at their hands. The said Captaine built upon the banke of Nilus, a certaine Towne called by the Arabians Fustato, which word signifieth in their Language a Tabernacle: for when he first undertooke this Expedition, he marched through wild and desart places void of Inhabitants, so that his Armie was constrained to lye in Tents. The common people call this Towne Mesre Hatichi, that is to say, the ancient Citie; in comparison of which Cairo may not unfitly be called the New Citie.
Neither Cairo nor any place neere unto it, can by any likelihood challenge that they were at any time inhabited by the ancient Pharaos. But heere it is to be noted, that the Nobilitie of the ancient Egyptians dwelt in times past in the Region of Sahid beyond Cairo, in the Cities of Fium, of Manschichmin, and in other such famous Cities. Howbeit, after Egypt was conquered by the Romanes, the Egyptian Nobilitie planted themselves in the Region of Errif, upon the Sea shoare thereof, namely, about the Cities of Alexandria, Rosetto, and other famous Townes retayning as yet the Latine names. Also when the Romane Empire was translated into Greece, the said Nobilitie still inhabited upon the Sea shoare, the Emperours Lieutenant residing at Alexandria: but after the Mahumetans got the Dominion of Egypt, the foresaid Nobilitie retyr'd themselves into the in-land, hoping thereby to reape a double commoditie: namely, first, in that they might bee a meanes to pacifie the Kingdome on both sides of them; and secondly, that they might bee free from the invasions of the Christians, whereof they should have beeone in danger, had they remayned any longer upon the Sea Coast.

The Ayre of this Countrey is hot and unwholesome: and it rayneth heere very seldom or never. And Raine is the cause of many Diseases in Egypt: for in raynie weather some of the Egyptians are subject unto dangerous Rheumes, and Fevers; and others unto a strange kinde of swelling in their privy Members: which swelling the Physicians impute unto Salt Cheese and Beefe, which are the common Dyet of the Egyptians. In Sommer time this Countrey is most extremely hot, for a remedie of which heat they build in every Towne certaine high Towres, having one doore aloft, another beneath, right over against the houses, through the tops whereof the wind passing down-ward, doth somewhat coole and refresh the Ayre: otherwise in regard of the intolerable heat of the Sunne it were impossible for any man to live there. Sometime the Pestilence is so hot among them, especially

[II. vi. 833.]
at Cairo, that sometimes there dye twelve thousand persons thereof on a day. But with the French Poxe, I thinke, that no other Countrey under Heaven is so molested, nor that contayneth so many people infected therewith. About the beginning of Aprill, they reap their Corne, and having reaped it, they presently thrash the same; neyther shall you see one eate of their Corne standing till the twentieth of May.

The inundation or overflow of Nilus beginneth about the middest of June, increasing afterward for the space of fortie dayes, and for the space of other fortie dayes also decreasing: during which time all the Cities and Townes of Egypt are like unto Ilands, which none can come unto but by Boats and Barges. At this time also Nilus is very fit to be sailed upon with vessels of burthen; some whereof are so bigge that they will contayne sixe or seven thousand bushels of Corne: and some hundreds of Cattell together: and in these Vessels they sayle onely downe the streame: for against the streame or without the overflowing time they would scarsly passe emptie. The Egyptians according to the increase of Nilus, doe foresee the plentie or dearth of the yeere following: as wee will more at large declare, when wee come to speake of the Iland of Nilus over against the olde Citie, where the inundation of Nilus is measured. Neither is it our purpose in this place particularly to describe all the Cities of Egypt, because our African Writers are of divers opinions thereabout; for some would have Egypt to bee a part of Africa, but others are of a contrary minde. Divers there are that affirme, that part of Egypt adjoyning upon the Desarts of Barbarie, Numidia and Libya, to belong unto Africa. Some others ascribe unto Africa all those places that border upon the principall and mayne Channell of Nilus: but as for other places, as namely, Manf, Fium, Semenud, Damanhore, Berelles, Tenesse, and Damiata, they thinke them not to be situate in Africa: which opinion, I my selfe, also upon many and great reasons take to be true. Wherefore my purpose is to
describe none other Cities but such as stand neere the mayne and principall Channell of Nilus.

The ancient Citie of Bosiri built by the Egyptians upon the Mediterren Sea, and standing twentie miles Westward from Alexandria, was in times past environed with most strong wals, and adorned with most beautifull and stately Buildings. At this present, it is compassed with many possessions or grounds bearing Dates, whereof no man taketh charge nor reapeth any commoditie: for when Alexandria was wonne by the Christians, the Inhabitants abandoned this Citie, and fled towards the Lake called Buchaira.

The great Citie of Alexandria in Egypt, founded by Alexander the Great, not without the advise of most famous and skilfull Architects, upon a beautifull point of Land stretching into the Mediterren Sea, and being distant fortie miles Westward of Nilus, was in times past, till it grew subject unto the Mahumetans, most sumptuously and strongly built, as divers and sundry Authors beare record. Afterward this Citie decaying, many yeares together, was deprived of the ancient renowne and honour, and remayned in manner desolate, because no Merchants of Greece nor of any other part of Europe exercised any longer Traffique therein. Howbeit, a certaine craftie Mahumetan Patriarke made the rude people beleewe, that by the Prophesie of Mahumet, most ample Indulgences were granted unto all such as would inhabit the Citie or guard it for certaine dayes, and would bestow some Almes for a publike benefit: by which whyli stratageme the Citie was in short time filled with forraigne people, which from all places resorted thereunto: by whom were built many houses neere unto the Citie wals, and many Colledges of Students, and divers Monasteries for the reliefe of Pilgrims.

[II. vi. 834.] The Citie it selfe is fooure square, and hath fooure Gates to enter in at: one standing on the East side towards Nilus, another on the South side towards the Lake of Buchaira, the third Westward towards the Desart of Barca,
and the fourth towards the Mediterranean Sea and the Haven; whereat stand the Searchers and Customers, which ransacke strangers even to their very shirts: for they demand custome, not onely for wares and Merchandize, but also some allowance in the hundred for all kinde of money. Neere unto this Citie-walles there are two other Gates also, being divided asunder by a faire walke, and a most impregnable Castle, which standeth upon the Strand or Wharfe of the Port, commonly called Marsa el Bargi, that is to say, the Port of the Castle: in which Port ride the principall and best ships, namely, such as come from Venice, Genoa, Ragusa, with other Ships of Europe. For hither resort the English, the Low Dutch, the Biscaines, the Portugals, and men of all other Nations in Europe for traffique sake. Howbeit, this Port is most usually frequented by the Ships of Appulia, Sicilia, and of Greece, which are Turkish Ships; all which resort into this Harbour to save themselves from Pyrats, and from tempestuous weather. Another Port there is also, called Marsa Essil Sela, that is to say, the Port of the Chaine, wherein the Ships of Barbary, namely, those of Tunis and of the Isle of Gerbi harbour themselves. The Christians are constrained to pay about the tenth part of all wares that they bring in and carry out, but the Mahumetans pay but the twentieth part: and whatsoever wares are carried by land to Cairo pay no custom at all. And at this present that part of the Citie which is next unto Cairo, is the most famous and best furnished with Merchandize brought by Merchants from all places of the world. The other parts of this Citie are destitute both of Civility and Inhabitants: for except one long street, and that part of the Citie next the Haven which is full of Merchants shops, and inhabited by Christians, the residue is void and desolate. Which desolation happened at that time, when Lewis the fourth, King of France, being restored to liberty by the Soldan, the King of Cyprus with a fleet, partly of Venetians, and partly of French-men suddenly assaile Alexandria, and with great slaughter surprized and sacked the same. But
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

the Soldan comming with an huge armie to rescue Alexandria, so discouraged the Cyprians, that they burn't downe the houses thereof, and betooke themselves to flight. Whereupon the Soldan repairing the wall's, and building a Castle neere unto the Haven, the Citie grew by little and little into that estate, wherein it standeth at this present.

In the Citie of Alexandria there is a certaine high Mount, fashioned like unto the place called Testaccio at Rome, whereon, although it hath no naturall situation, are found divers earthen Vessels of great antiquity. Upon the top of the said Mount standeth a Turret, where a certaine officer is appointed to watch for such Ships as direct their course towards the Citie, who for every ship that he giveth notice of unto the Customers, receiveth a certaine fee: but if he chanceth to fall asleep, or to be out of the way at the arrivall of any Ship, whereof he certifieth not the Customers, he paieth double for his negligence into the Soldans Exchequer. Under each house of this Citie there is a great vaulted Cisterne built upon mighty Pillars and Arches: whereinto the water of Nilus at every inundation is conveyed under the wall's of the Citie, by a certaine wonderfull and most artificiall sluice standing without the Citie it selfe. But these Cisternes growing sometime corrupt and foule, are often in Summer the occasion of many diseases and infirmities. This Citie standeth in the midst of a sandy Desart, and is destitute of Gardens and Vines, neither is the soile round about it apt to beare Corne; so that their Corne is brought them from places forty miles distant. Howbeit, neere the foresaid sluice, whereby the water of Nilus is conveyed into the Citie, are certaine little Gardens, the fruits whereof being grown to ripenesse, are so unwholesome, that they breed Fevers and other noysome diseases among the Citizens. Sixe miles Westward of Alexandria, among certaine ancient buildings, standeth a pillar of a wonderfull height and thickest, which the Arabians call Hemadussaocar, that is to say, the pillar of trees. Of this pillar there is a Fable.
HONDIUS HIS MAP OF EGYPT
reported, that Ptolemy one of the Kings of Alexandria built it upon an extreme point of land stretching from the Haven, whereby to the end he might defend the Citie from the invasion of forraigne enemies, and make it invincible; he placed a certaine Steele-glasse upon the top thereof, by the hidden vertue of which glasse, as many Ships as passed by while the glasse was uncovered should immediately be set on fire: but the said glasse being broken by the Mahumetans, the secret vertue thereof vanished, and the great pillar whereon it stood was remooed out of the place. But this is a most ridiculous narration, and fit for babes to give credite unto. At this present there are amongst the ancient Inhabitants of Alexandria many Christians called Jacobites, being all of them Artizans and Merchants: these Jacobites have a Church of their owne to resort unto, wherein the body of S. Marke the Evangelist lay in times past interred, which hath since beene privily stolne by the Venetians, and carried unto Venice. And the said Jacobites pay Tribute unto the Governour of Cairo. Neither is it to be passed over in silence, that in the midst of the ruinous Monuments of Alexandria, there remaineth as yet a certaine little house built in forme of a Chappell, and containing a Sepulchre much honoured by the Mahumetans, wherein they affirme, out of the authoritie of their Alcoron, that the body of the High Prophet and King (as they terme him) Alexander the great lieth buried. And thither resort yeerely great multitudes of Pilgrimes from forraigne Nations, to adore and reverence the said Sepulchre, and oftentimes do bestow large Almes thereupon.

The Citie of Rosetto was built by a slave of a certaine Mahumetan Patriarke and Governour of Egypt, upon the Easterne banke of Nilus three miles from the Mediterran Sea, not far from the place where Nilus dischargeth his streames into the said Sea. Heere is a stately Bath-stove also, having fountaines both of cold and hot water belonging thereunto, the like whereof for stately and commodious building is not to be found in all Egypt besides. I my selfe was in this Citie when Selim the great...
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Turke returned this way from Alexandria, who with his private and familiar friends beholding the said Bath-stove, seemed to take great delight and contentment therein.

Thebe, at this present, containeth but three hundred Families in all, being most of them very stately and sumptuously built. It abundeth with Corne, Rice, and Sugar, and with certaine fruits of a most excellent taste, called Muse. It is also furnished with great store of Merchants and Artificers: but the most part of the Inhabitants are husbandmen: and if a man walke the streets in the day-time, he shall see none but trim and beautifull women. The Territorie adjacent abundeth with Date-trees, which grow so thicke, that a man cannot see the Citie, till he approacheth nigh unto the walles. Here grow likewise store of Grapes, Figs, and Peaches, which are carried in great plentie unto Cairo. Without the Citie there are many ancient Monuments, as namely, pillars, inscriptions in Latine, Greeke, and Egyptian Characters, and wals of a great thicknesse, built of excellent stone, and such a number of ruinous places, that this Citie seemeth, in times past, to have beene very large.

The women of Fuoa, fortie miles South from Rosecco, live in so great libertie, that they may goe whither they will at the day-time, returning home at night, without any controlement of their husbands. The fields adjacent abound greatly with Dates, and neere unto them there is a certaine Plaine which is very apt for Sugar and Corne: howbeit, the Sugar Canes there bring not forth perfect Sugar, but in stead thereof a certaine kinde of Honie like sope, which they use throughout all Egypt, because there is but little Honie in the whole Countrey.

Over against the foresaid Citie the River of Nilus maketh an Ile, which being situate on an high place, bringeth forth all kinde of fruitfull trees except Olives.

They have a most beautifull Temple at Deretto, and the Citizens are exceeding rich: for their ground yeeldeth such abundance of Sugar, that they pay yeerely unto the Soldan* an hundred thousand pieces of Gold, called in
JOHN LEO ON AFRICA

A.D.
c. 1526.

their language Saraffi, for their libertie of making and refining thereof. In this Citie standeth a certaine great house like unto a Castle, wherein are their Presses and Caldrons, for the boyling and preparing of their Sugar. Neither did I ever in all my life see so many workemen employed about that businesse, whose daily wages (as I understood by a certaine publike officer) amounted to two hundred Saraffi.

Cairo is commonly reputed to be one of the greatest and most famous cities in all the whole world. But leaving the common reports and opinions, thereof, I will exactly describe the forme and estate wherein it now standeth. And that I may begin with the Etymologie or derivation of the name, Cairo is an Arabian word, corruptly pronounced by the people of Europe: for the true Arabian word is El Chahira, which signifieth an inforcing or imperious Mistresse. This City built in ancient times by one Gehoar Chetib a Dalmatian slave (as I have before signified in the beginning of my Discourse) containeth within the walles not above eight thousand Families, being Inhabited by Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants that sell wares brought from all other places. The famous Temple of Cairo, commonly called, Gemih Hashare, that is to say, the glorious Temple, was built also by the foresaid slave, whom we affirmed to be the Founder of the City, and whose surname was Hashare, that is to say, Famous, being given him by the Mahumetan Patriarke that was his Prince. This Citie standeth upon a most beautifull Plaine, neere unto a certaine Mountaine called Mucatun, about two miles distant from Nilus, and is environed with stately walles, and fortified with Iron-gates: the principall of which gates is called Babe Nansre, that is, the gate of Victory, which standeth Eastward towards the Desart of the Red Sea; and the gate called Beb Zuaila, being next unto the old Citie and to Nilus; and also Bebel Futuh, that is to say, the gate of Triumph, standing towards the lake and the fields. And albeit, Cairo aboundeth every where with all kind of Merchants
and Artificers, yet that is the principall street of the whole Citie which stretcheth from the gate of Nansre, to the gate of Zuaila; for in it are built most stately and admirable Palaces and Colledges, and most sumptuous Temples, among which is the Temple of Gimith Elhechim, the third Schismaticall Califa of Cairo. Other Temples there are of a marvellous bignes, which to describe in particular, I thinke is superfluous. Here are many Bath-stoves also very artificially built. Next of all is the street called Beinel Casrain, containing to the number of threescore Cookees or Victuallers shops, furnisshed with vessels of Tinne: there are certaine other shops also, wherein are to be sold delicate waters or drinkes made of all kinds of fruits, being for Noblemen to drinke of, and these waters they keepe most charily in fine vessels, partly of glasse, and partly of Tinne: next unto these are shops where divers confecctions of Hony and Sugar, unlike unto the confecctions of Europe, are to be sold: then follow the Fruiterers shops, who bring out-landish fruits out of Syria, to wit, Quinces, Pomegranates, and other fruits which grow not in Egypt: next unto them are the shops of such as sellEgges, Cheese, and Pancakes fried with Oyle. And next of all there is a streete of the principall Artificers Shops. Beyond which streete standeth a Colledge built by the Soldan, called Ghauri, who was slaine in a battaile against Selim the great Turke. And next unto the Colledge are divers rankes of Drapers Shops. In the first ranke there is most excellent out-landish Linnen Cloth to be sold, as namely, fine Cloth of Cotten brought from Balabach, and Cloth called Mosall, that is, of Ninou, of a marvellous breadth and finenesse, whereof Noblemen and others of account, have Shirts made them, and Scarfes to weare upon their Dulipans. Besides these, there are certaine Mercers Shops where the rich Stuffes of Italy, namely, Silke, Damaske, Velvet, Cloth of Gold, and such like are to be bought, unto which Stuffes I never saw any comparable (to my remembrance) in Italy, where they use to be made. Next unto the Mercers are the Woollen
JOHN LEO ON AFRICA

Drapers, which bring Cloth out of Europe, as namely, from Florence, Venice, Flanders, and other places. Next of all there are Chamblets to be sold: and from thence the way lieth to the Gate of Zuaila, at which Gate dwell great store of Artificers. Neere unto the said way standeth the famous Burse, called Canen Halili, wherein the Persian Merchants dwell. It is built very stately in manner of a Kings Palace, and is of three stories high: beneath it are certaine convenient roomes, whither Merchants for the exchange of rich and costly Wares doe resort: for here doe the principal and most wealthie Merchants abide; whose Wares are Spices, precious Stones, Cloth of India, & such like. Next unto the Burse standeth a street of Shops, where al kind of Perfumes, namely, Civet, Muske, Amber, and such like are to be sold: which commodities are here in so great plenty, that if you ask for twenty pounds of Musk, they wil presently shew you an hundred. Next followeth the street of the Paper-Merchants, where you may buy most excellent and smooth Paper: here also are to be sold Jewels and precious Stones of great value, which the Brokers carrie from one Shop to another. Then come you to the Gold-Smiths streete, being inhabited for the most part by Jewes, who deale for riches of great importance. And next unto the Gold-Smithes are certaine streetes of Upholsters or Brokers, who sell the apparell and rich furniture of Noblemen and other Citizens at the second hand, which are dot Cloakes, Coates, Napery, or such like, but things of exceeding price and value: amongst which I my selfe once saw a beautifull Pavilion embroidered with Needle-worke, and beset with Pearles that weighed fourtie pounds, which Pearles being taken out of it, were sold for ten thousand Sarafi. In this Citie also there is a most stately Hospital built by Piperis the first Soldan of the Mamalucks race: the yearely revenues whereof amount unto two hundred thousand Sarafi. Hither may any impotent or diseased persons resort, and bee well provided of Physicians, and of all things necessarie for those that are sicke, who if they

A stately Hospital.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

chance to die here, all their goods are due unto the Hospitall.

The Suburbe, called Bed Zuaila, belonging unto Cairo, and containing about twelve thousand Families, beginneth at the Gate of Zuaila, and extendeth Westward almost a mile and a halfe; Southward it bordereth upon the Palace of the Soldan, and stretcheth Northward for the space of a mile unto the Suburbe, called Beb Elloch. Here dwell as many Noblemen and Gentlemen almost, as within the Citie it selfe: and the Citizens have Shops both here and in the Citie, as likewise many Inhabitants of this Suburbe maintaine Families in the Citie also. Amongst all the buildings of this Suburbe, the principall is that stately Colledge built by Soldan Hesen, being of such a wonderfull height and great strength, that oftimes the Colledges have presumed to rebell against the Soldan, and therein to fortifie themselves against the whole Citie, and to discharge Ordnance against the Soldans Castle, which is but halfe a Crosse-bow shot distant.

The Suburbe called Gemch Tailon, confining Eastward upon the foresaid Suburbe of Beb Zuaila, extendeth Westward to certaine ruinous places neere unto the old Citie. Before the foundation of Cairo this Suburbe was erected by one Tailon, who was subject unto the Califa of Bagdet, and Governour of Egypt, and was a most famous and prudent man. This Tailon leaving the old Citie, inhabited this Suburbe, and adorned the same with a most admirable Palace, and sumptuous Temple. Here dwell also great store of Merchants and Artificers, especially such as are Moores of Barbary.

The Suburbe, called Beb Elloch, being distant from the Walles of Cairo about the space of a mile, and containing almost three thousand Families, is inhabited by Merchants and Artizans of divers sorts, as well as the former. Upon a certaine large place of this Suburbe standeth a great Palace, and a stately Colledge, built by a certaine Mammaluck, called Jazbach, being Counsellor unto the Soldan of those times; and the place it selfe is called after his name,
JOHN LEO ON AFRICA

Jazbachia. Hither, after Mahumetan Sermons & devotions, the common people of Cairo, together with the Bawds and Harlots, doe usually resort; and many Stage-Players also, and such as teach Camels, Asses, and Dogs, to dance; which dancing is a thing very delightfull to behold, and especially that of the Asse: who having frisked and danced a while, his Master comes unto him, and tells him with a loud voyce, That the Soldan being about to build some great Palace, must use all the Asses of Cairo to carry Morter, Stones, and other necessary provision. Then the Asse falling presently to the ground, and lying with his heeles upward, maketh his belly to swell, and closeth his eyes as if he were starke dead. In the meane while his Master lamenting the misfortune of the Asse unto the standers by, earnestly craveth their friendly assistance and liberalitie to buy him a new Asse. And having gathered of each one as much money as hee can get; You are much deceived my Masters (quoth he) that thinke mine Asse to be dead: for the hungry Jade knowing his Masters necessity, hath wrought this sleight, to the end hee might get some money to buy him Provender. Then turning about to the Asse, hee commandeth him with all speed to arise: but the Asse lyeth starke still, though hee command and beate him never so much: whereupon, turning againe to the people; Bee it knowne (quoth hee) unto you all, that the Soldan hath published an Edict or Proclamation, that to morrow next all the people shall goe forth of the Citie to behold a Triumph, and that all the honourable and beautifull Ladies and Gentlewomen shall ride upon the most comely Asses, and shall give them Oates to eate, and Christall water of Nilus to drinke. Which words being scarce ended, the Asse suddenly starteth from the ground, prancing and leaping for joy: then his Master prosecuting still his narration; But (saith he) the Warden of our streete hath borrowed this goodly Asse of mine for his deformed and old Wife to ride upon. At these words the Asse, as though he were indued with humaine reason, coucheth his
eares, and limpeth with one of his legges, as if it were quite out of joynt. Then saith his Master; What, sir Jade, are you so in love with faire women? The Asse nodding his head seemeth to say, yea. Come on therefore Sirra (quoth his Master) and let us see among all these pretty Damosels, which pleaseth your fancie best. Whereupon the Asse going about the company, and espying some woman more comely and beautifull then the rest, walketh directly unto her and toucheth her with his head: and then the beholders laugh and crie out amaine: Loe, the Asses Paramour, the Paramour of the Asse. Whereupon, the fellow that shewed all this sport leaping upon the backe of his Asse rideth to some other place. There is also another kind of Charmers or Juglers, which keep certaine little Birds in Cages made after the fashion of Cupboords, which birds will reach unto any man with their Beaks certaine skroules, containing either his good or evill successe in time to come. And whosoever desireth to know his fortune, must give the Bird an half-penny; which shee taking in her bill, carrieth into a little Boxe, and then comming forth againe, bringeth the said skroule in her beake. I my selfe had once a skroule of ill fortune given me, which although I little regarded, yet had I more unfortunate successe then was contained therein. Also, there are Masters of defence playing at all kind of weapons, and other that sing Songs of the Battels fought betwene the Arabians and Egyptians, when as the Arabians conquered Egypt, with divers others that sing such Toyes and Ballads unto the people.

The Suburbe called Bulach, standing two miles distant from the Walles of the Citie upon the banke of Nilus, containeth foure thousand Families. Upon the way lying betweene the Suburbe and this Citie, stand divers Houses, and Mills turned about by the strength of beasts. In this Suburbe dwell many Artificers and Merchants, especially such as sell Corne, Oyle and Sugar. Moreover, it is full of stately Temples, Palaces, and Colledges: but the fairest buildings thereof stand along the River of Nilus, for from
thence there is a most beautifull prospect upon the River, and thither doe the Vessels and Barkes of Nilus resort unto the common stathe of Cairo, being situate in this Suburbe: at which place you shall see at some times, and especially in the time of Harvest, above one thousand Barkes. And here the Officers appointed to receive Custome for Wares, brought from Alexandria and Damiata have their aboad: albeit, but little tribute be demanded for the said Wares, because it was paid before at the Port of their arrivall: but those Wares that come out of the firme land of Egypt allow entire custome.

The Suburbe of Carafa built in manner of a Towne, and standing from Mount Muccatim a stones cast, and from the Walles of the Citie about two miles, containeth almost two thousand Housholds. But at this day the greatest part thereof lyeth waste and destroyed. Here are many Sepulchers built with high and stately Vaults and Arches, and adorned on the inner side with divers Emblems and colours, which the fond people adore as the sacred Shrines and Monuments of Saints, spreading the pavement with sumptuous and rich Carpets. Hither every Friday morning resort out of the Citie it selfe, and the Suburbs, great multitudes of people for devotions sake, who bestow liberall and large almes.

The Citie Misrulhethich was the first that was built in Egypt in the time of the Mahumetans, founded by Hamre, Captaine Generall over the Forces of Homar, the second Mahumetan Patriarke upon the banke of Nilus, resembling a Suburbe because it is unwalled, and containing to the number of five thousand Families. It is adorned, especially by the River Nilus, with divers Palaces and Houses of Noblemen, and also with the famous Temple of Hamre, being of an huge bignesse, and most stately built. It is also indifferently well provided of Trades-men and Artificers. And here standeth the famous Sepulchre of a Woman, reputed most holy by the Mahumetans, and called by them Saint Nafissa, which was the daughter of one called Zenulhebidin, being the sonne
of Husein, the sonne of Heli, who was Cousen-german unto Mahumet. The said Nafissa seeing all of her Family to be deprived of the Mahumetan Patriarkship, left Cufa, a Citie of Arabia Foelix, and came and dwelt in this Citie; unto whom, partly because shee was of the Linage of Mahumet, and partly for that she lived an innocent and blamelesse life, the people after her death ascribed divine honours, canonizing her for a Saint. Wherefore the Schismaticall Patriarcks of her Kindred having got the upper hand in Egypt, began to build for Nafissa a most beautifull Shrine or Sepulchre, which they adorned also with Silver Lamps, with Carpets of Silke, and such like precious ornaments. So great is the renowne of this Nafissa, that there commeth no Mahumetan either by Sea or Land unto Cairo, but he adoreth this Sepulchre, and bringeth his Offering thereunto, as likewise doe all the Mahumetans inhabiting thereabout: insomuch that the yearely Oblations and Almes offered at this Sepulchre, partly for the reliefe of the poore Kinsfolks of Mahumet, and partly for the maintenance of the Priests which keepe the said Sepulchre, amount unto one hundred thousand Saraffi; which Priests by fained and counterfeit Miracles doe daily delude the minds of the simple, to the end they may the more enflame their blind devotion, and may stirre them to greater liberalitie. When Selim the Great Turke wonne the Citie of Cairo, his Janizaries rifting this Sepulchre, found there the summe of five hundred thousand Saraffi in ready money, besides the Silver Lampes, the Chaines and Carpets: but Selim tooke away a great part of that treasure from them. Such as write the Lives of the Mahumetan Saints, making very honourable mention of this Nafissa, say that she was descended of the noble Familie of Heli, and that she was most famous for her vertuous and chaste life: but the fond people and the Priest of that execrable Sepulchre, have devised many fained and superstitious Miracles. In this Suburbe also, neere unto the River of Nilus, is the Customers Office, for such wares as are brought out of the Province of Sahid.
Without the walled Citie stand the Magnificent and stately Sepulchres of the Soldans, built with admirable and huge Arches. But in my time a certaine Soldan caused a Walke to be built betweene two high Walls, from the Gate of the Citie to the place of the aforesaid Sepulchres, and at the ends of both Walls caused two Turrets of an exceeding height to be erected, for Markes and Directions unto such Merchants as came thither from the Port of Mount Sinai.

About a mile and an halfe from the said Sepulchres, in a certaine place called Amalthria, there is a Garden containing the onely Balme-tree, (for in the whole world besides there is not any other tree that beareth true Balme) which Balme-tree growing in the midst of a large Fountaine, and having a short Stocke or Body, beareth leaves like unto Vine-leaves, but that they are not so long: and this Tree (they say) would utterly wither and decay, if the water of the Fountaine should chance to be diminished. The Garden is environed with a strong Wall, whereinto no man may enter, without the speciall favour and licence of the Governour.

In the midst of Nilus, over against the old Citie standeth the Ile called Michias, that is to say, The Ile of Measure; in which Ile (according to the Inundation of Nilus) they have a kind of device, invented by the ancient Egyptians, whereby they most certainly foresee the plentie or scarcitie of the yeare following throughout all the Land of Egypt. This Iland is well inhabited, and containeth about fifteene hundred Families; upon the extreme point or ende whereof standeth a most beautiful Palace, built in my remembrance by a Soldan, & a large Temple also, which is very pleasant, in regard of the coole Streames of Nilus. Upon another side of the Iland standeth an house alone by it selve, in the midst whereof there is a fouresquare Cisterne or Chanell of eighteene cubits deepe, whereinto the water of Nilus is conveyed by a certaine Sluce under the ground. And in the midst of the Cisterne there is erected a certaine Pillar, which is marked and divided into so many cubits, as the Cisterne it selve containeth in depth. And upon
the seventeenth of June when Nilus beginneth to over-
flow, the water thereof conveyed by the said Sluce into the
Chanell, increaseth daily, sometimes two, and sometimes
three fingers, and sometimes halfe a cubit in height. Unto
this place there daily resort certayne Officers appointed by
the Senate, who viewing and observing the increase of
Nilus, declare unto certaine Children how much it hath
increased; which children wearing yellow Skarffes upon
their Heads, doe publish the said increase of Nilus in
every streete of the Citie and the Suburbs, and receive
gifts every day of the Merchants, Artificers, and Women,
so long as Nilus increaseth. The foresaid device or experi-
ment of the increase of Nilus, is this that followeth: If
the water reacheth onely to the fifteenth cubit of the fore-
said Pillar, they hope for a fruitfull yeare following: but
if it stayeth betweene the twelfth cubit and the fifteenth,
then the increase of the yeare will proove but meane: if it
resteth betweene the tenth and twelfth cubits, then is it a
signe that Corne will be sold ten Duckats the bushell: But
if it ariseth to the eighteenth cubite, there is like to follow
great scarcitie, in regard of too much moysture: and if the
eighteenth cubite be surmounted, all Egypt is in danger
to be swallowed up by the inundation of Nilus. The
Officers therefore declare unto the Children the height of
the River, and the Children publish the same in all streets
of the Citie, charging the people to feare God, and telling
them how high Nilus is increased. And the people being
astonied at the wonderfull increase of Nilus, wholly
exercise themselves in Prayers, and giving of Almes. And
thus Nilus continueth fortie dayes increasing, and fortie
dayes decreasing; all which time Corne is sold very deare,
because while the Inundation lasteth, every man may sell
at his owne pleasure: but when the eightieth day is once
past, the Clerke of the Market appointeth the price of all
Vichtuals, and especially of Corne, according as hee knoweth
by the foresaid experiment, that the high and low grounds
of Egypt have received either too little, or too much or
convenient moysture: all which Customes and Ceremonies

[II. vi. 839.]
being duly performed, there followeth so great a Solemnitie, and such a thundering noyse of Drummes and Trumpets throughout all Cairo, that a man would suppose the whole Citie to be turned upside downe. And then every Family hath a Barge adorned with rich Coverings and Carpets, and with Torch-light, and furnished with most daintie meates and confections, wherewith they solace themselves. The Soldan* also with all his Nobles and Courtiers resorteth unto that Sluice or Conduit, which is called the great Conduit, and is compassed round about with a wall, who taking an Axe in his hand breaketh the said wall, and so doe his Nobles and Courtiers likewise: insomuch, that the same part of the wall being cast downe, which stopped the passage of the water, the River of Nilus is so swiftly and forcibly carried through that Conduit, and through all other Conduits and Sluces in the Citie and the Suburbes, that Cairo at that time seemeth to be another Venice; and then may you row over all places of the Land of Egypt. Seven dayes and seven nights together the foresaid Festivall Solemnitie continueth in Cairo; during which space the Merchants and Artificers of the Citie may (according to the custome of the ancient Egyptians) consume and spend in Torches, Perfumes, Confections, Musicke, and such like jollities, all their gains that they have gotten the whole yeere past. Without the Citie of Cairo, neere unto the Suburbe of Beb Zuaila, standeth the Castle of the Soldan upon the side of the Mountain called Mochattan. This Castle is environed with high and impregnable wals, and contayneth such stately and beautifull Palaces, that they can hardly be described. Paved they are with excellent Marble, on the Roofes they are gilt and curiousely painted, their windowes are adorned with divers colours, like to the windowes in some place of Europe, and their gates be artificially carved and beautified with Gold and Azure. Some of these Palaces are for the Soldan and his Family; others for the Family of his Wife, and the residue for his Concubines, his Eunuches, and his Guard. Likewise the Soldan had one
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

palace to keepe publike Feasts in; and another wherein to give audience unto forraine Ambassadours, and to exalt himselfe with great pompe and Ceremonies: and another also for the Governours and Officials of his Court. But all these are at this present abolished by Selim the great Turke.

The Inhabitants of Cairo are people of a merry, jocund, and cheerefull disposition, such as will promise much, but performe little. They exercise Merchandize and Mechanicall Arts, and yet travell they not out of their owne native soyle. Many Students there are of the Lawes, but very few of other liberall Arts and Sciences. And their Colledges are continually full of Students, yet few of them attayne unto perfection. The Citizens in Winter are clad in garments of cloth lined with Cotton: in Summer they weare fine shirts; over which shirts some put on linnen garments curiously wrought with silke, and others weare garments of Chamblet, and upon their heads they carry great Turbants covered with cloth of India. The women goe costly attired, adorning their foreheads and neckes with frontlet and chaines of Pearle, and on their heads they weare a sharpe and slender bonet of a span high, being very precious and rich. Gownes they weare of woollen cloth with strait sleeves, being curiously imbroydered with needle-worke, over which they cast certaine veyles of most excellent fine cloth of India. They cover their heads and faces with a kind of blacke Skarfe, through which beholding others, they cannot bee seene themselves. Upon their feet they weare fine shoes and pantofles, somewhat after the Turkish fashion. These women are so ambitious and proud, that all of them disdain eyther to spinne or to play the Cookes: wherefore their Husbands are constrained to buy victuals ready drest at the Cookes shops: for very few, except such as have a great Family, use to prepare and dresse their victuals in their owne houses. Also they vouchsafe great libertie unto their Wives: for the good man being gone to the Taverne or Victuallng house, his Wife tricking
up her selfe in costly apparell, and being perfumed with sweet and precious Odours, walketh about the Citie to solace her selfe, and parley with her kinsfolkes and friends.

They use to ride upon Asses more then horses, which are broken to such a gentle pace, that they goe easier then any ambling horse. These Asses they cover with most costly Furniture, and let them out unto women to ride upon, together with a Boy to lead the Asse, and certain Footmen to run by. In this City, like as in divers others, great store of people carry about sundry kinds of victuals to be sold. Many there are also that sell water, which they carry up and downe in certayne Leather bags upon the backes of Camels: for the Citie (as I said before) is two miles distant from Nilus. Others carrie about a more fine and handsome Vessell with a Cocke or Spout of Brasse upon it, having a Cup of Myrrhe or Christall in their hands, and these sell water for men to drinke, and for every draught they take a farthing. Others sell young Chickens and other Fowles by measure, which they hatch after a wonderfull and strange manner. They put, great numbers of Egges into certayne Ovens built upon sundry lofts, which Ovens being moderately heat, will within seven dayes convert all the said Egges into Chickens. Their measures are bottomlesse, which being put into the basket of the buyer, and filled full of Chickens they lift it up, and so let the Chickens fall into the basket. Likewise, such as buy those Chickens having kept them a few dayes, carry them about to sell againe. The Cookes shops stand open very late: but the shops of other Artificers are shut up before ten of the clocke, who then walke abroad for their solace and recreation from one Suburbe to another. The Citizens in their common talke use ribald and filthy speeches: and (that I may passe over the rest in silence) it falleth out oftentimes that the Wife will complaine of her Husband unto the Judge, that he doth not his dutie nor contenteth her sufficiently in the night season wherupon (as it is permitted by the Mahumetan
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Law) the women are divorced and maryed unto other Husbands.

Among the Artizans whosoever is the first Inventor of any new and ingenuous Device, is clad in a Garment of cloth of Gold, and carried with a noyse of Musicians after him, as it were in triumph from shop to shop, having some money given him at every place. I my selfe once saw one carryed about with solemne Musicke and with great pompe and triumph, because hee had bound a Flea in a Chaine, which lay before him on a piece of Paper for all men to behold.

Amongst the sundry Sects of Religion in this Citie, there is one Sect of the Moores called Chenesia: and this Sect liveth upon Horse-flesh, so that their Butchers when they can heare of any halting or lame Jade, buy him forthwith, and set him up a fatting, and having killed him, the said Sect of Chenesia come and buy up his flesh hand-smooth. This Sect is rife also among the Turkes, the Mamalukes, and the people of Asia; and albeit the Turkes might freely use the food before-mentioned, yet doe they not inure themselves thereunto.

In Egypt and in the Citie of Cairo there are permitted foure several Sects of the Mahumetan Religion, permitted in the Citie of Cairo.

...
the Reasons and Allegations of both parts. Also there are in the Citie of Cairo foure principall Judges, who give sentence onely upon matters of great importance: under which foure are substituted other inferiour Judges, in every street of the Citie, which decide pettie contentions and brabbles. And if the parties which are at controversie chance to bee of divers Sects, the Plaintiffe may summon and convent the Defendant before the Judge of his street: howbeit, the Defendant may, if he will, appeale from him unto the highest Judge of all, being placed over the foure principall Judges aforesaid, and being governour of the Sect, called Essafichia; and this high Judge hath authoritie to dispense withall, or to disanull the Decrees of the foure principall, and of all the other inferiour Judges, according as hee shall see cause. Whosoever attempteth ought against the Canons and Precepts of his owne Religion, is severely punished by the Judge of the same Religion. Moreover, albeit the Priestes of the foresaid Sects differ very much, both in their formes of Lyturgie or Prayer, and also in many other respects, yet doe they not for that diversitie of Ceremonies hate one another, neyther yet doe the common people of sundry Sects fall to mutinie and debate: but men indeed of singular Learning and much reading conferre oftentimes together, and as in private each man affirmeth his owne Sect to be the best, so likewise doe they confirm their opinions by subtile Arguments, neither may any man under paine of grievous punishment reproch any of the said foure ancient Doctors. And in very deed they all of them follow one & the same Religion, to wit, that which is prescribed in the Canons of Hashari, the principall Doctor of the Mahumetans, which Canons goe for currant over all Africa, and most part of Asia, except in the Dominions of the Great Sophi of Persia; who because he rejecteth the said Canons, is accounted by other Mahumetans an Heretike and a Schismaticke. But how such varietye of opinions proceeded from the foure Doctors aforesaid, it were tedious and troublesome to rehearse: he that is desirous to know
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

more of this matter, let him read my Commentaries which I have written concerning the Law and Religion of Mahumet, according to the Doctrine of Malich, who was a man of profound Learning, and was borne at Medina Talnabi, where the bodie of Mahumet lyeth buryed: which Doctrine of Malich is embraced throughout all Syria, Egypt, and Arabia: wherewith if any be delighted, let him peruse my foresaid Commentaries, and they will satisfy him to the full.

Upon Malefactors they inflict most grievous and horrible punishment, especially upon such as have committed any heynous crime in the Court. Theeves they condemne to the Halter. A murther committed treacherously they punish in manner following: the Executioners assistants take the Malefactor one by the head, and another by the feet, and then comes the chiefe Executioner with a Two-hand-sword, and cutteth his bodie in twaine, the one part whereof adjoyning to the head is put into a fire full of un-slaked Lime: and it is a most strange and dreadfull thing to consider, how the same dismembred and halfe bodie will remayne a live in the fire for the space of a quarter of an houre, speaking and making answere unto the standers by. But rebels or seditious persons they flea alive, stuffing their skins with bran till they resemble mans shape, which being done, they carry the said stuffed skins upon Camels backes through every streete of the Citie, and there publish the crime of the partie executed: then which punishment I never sawe a more dreadfull, by reason that the condemned party liveth so long in torment: but if the tormenter once toucheth his navell with the knife, he presently yeeldeth up the Ghost: which he may not doe untill he be commanded by the Magistrate standing by. If any be imprisoned for debt, not having where withall to satisfie the same, the Governor of the prison payeth their creditors, and sendeth them, poore wretches, bound in chaines, and accompanied with certaine keepers, daily to begge almes from street to street, all which almes redoundeth to the Governour, and hee
alloweth the said prisoners very bare maintenance to live upon.

Moreover, there goe crying up and downe this Citie certaine aged women, who (though that which they say in the streets cannot be understood) are notwithstanding injoyed by their office to circumsice women according to the prescript of Mahumet: which Ceremonie is not observed but in Egypt and Syria.

The dignity and power of the Soldan was in times past exceeding great; but Selim the great Turke in the yeere of Christ (if I be not deceived) 1517. utterly abolished the saide dignity, and changed all the Customes and Lawes of the Soldan. And because it hath beene my hap thirse to travell into Egypt since the said wonderfull alteration befell, I suppose, it will not bee much beside my purpose, if I set downe in this place such particulars as I know to be most certaine true concerning the Court of the Soldan. Unto this high dignitie was wont to bee chosen some one of the most noble Mamaluks. These Mamaluks being all Christians at the first, and stolne in their child-hood by the Tartars out of the Province of Circassia, which bordereth upon the Euxin Sea, and being sold at Caffa, a Towne of Taurica Chersonesus, were brought from thence by certaine Merchants unto the Citie of Cairo, and were there bought by the Soldan; who constraining them forthwith to abjure and renounce their baptisme, caused them to bee instructed in the Arabian and Turkish Languages, and to bee trained up in Militarie Discipline, to the end they might ascend from one degree of Honour to another, till at last they were advanced unto the high dignity of the Soldan. But this Custome whereby it was enacted: that the Soldan should be chosen out of the number of such as were Mamaluks and slaves by their condition, began about two hundred and fifty yeers sithence, when as the Family of the valiant Saladin (whose name was so terrible unto Christians) being supported but by a few of the kindred, fell to utter decay and ruine.
PURCHASES HIS PILGRIMES

At the same time when the last King of Jerusalem was determined to sack the City of Cairo, which also in regard of the sloth and cowardize of the Mahumetan Califa then reigning over it, intended to make it selfe tributarie unto the same King, the Judges and Lawyers of the City with the consent of the Califa, sent for a certaine Prince of Asia, called Azedudin, of the Nation of Curdu (the people whereof live in tents like the Arabians) which Azedudin together with his sonne Saladin, came with an armie of fiftie thousand horsemen. And albeit, Saladin was inferiour in age unto his Father, yet in regard of his redoubted valour, and singular knowledge in Military affaires, they created him Generall of the field, and gave him free liberty to bestow all the Tributes and Revenues of Egypt, as himselfe should thinke expedient. And so marching at length against the Christians, he got the Victory of them without any bloodshed, and drave them out of Jerusalem and out of all Syria. Then Saladin returning backe with triumph unto Cairo, had an intent to usurpe the Government thereof: whereupon having slaine the Califa his guard (who bare principall sway over the Egyptians) hee procured the death also of the Califa himselfe, being thus bereft of his guard, with a poysoned cup, and then forthwith submitted himselfe unto the patronage of the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true and lawfull Mahumetan Prelate of Cairo. Thus the jurisdiction of the Califas of Cairo (who had continued Lords of that City by perpetuall succession for the space of two hundred and thirty yeeres) surceased, and returned againe unto the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true and lawfull Governour thereof. And so the Schismaticall Califas and Patriarkes being suppressed, there grew a contention betweene Saladin and the Soldan of Bagdet, and Saladin made himselfe a soveraigne of Cairo, because the said Soldan of Bagdet being in times past Prince of the Provinces of Mazandran and Evarizin situate upon the River of Ganges, and being borne in a certaine Countrey of Asia, laid claime notwithstanding unto the Dominion of Cairo,
and intending to wage warre against Saladin, hee was restrained by the Tartars of Corasan, who made invasions and inrodes upon him. Saladin on the other side fearing least the Christians in revenge of the foresaid injury would make an expedition into Syria, and considering that his forces were partly slaine in the former warres, and partly consumed by pestilence, except a few which remained for the defence and saveguard of his Kingdome, began to impoy himselfe about buying of slaves that came from Circassia, whom the King of Armenia by those dayes tooke and sent unto Cairo to bee sold: which slaves he caused to abjure the Christian faith, and to be trained up in feats of warre and in the Turkish Language, and being the proper Language of Saladin himselfe: and so the said slaves within a while increased so exceedingly both in valour and number, that they became not onely valiant Souldiers, and skillfull Commanders, but also Governours of the whole Kingdome. After the decease of Saladin, the Dominion remained unto his Family one hundred and fifty yeeres, and all his successors observed the Custome of buying slaves of Circassia: but the Family of Saladin growing at length to decay, the slaves by a generall consent elected one Piperis a valiant Mamaluk of their owne companie to be their Soveraigne Lord and Soldan: which Custome they afterward so inviolably kept, that not the Soldans owne sonne nor any other Mamaluk could attaine unto that high dignity, unlesse first he had bee a Christian, and had abjured his faith, and had learned also exactly to speake the Circassian and Turkish Languages. Insomuch, that many Soldans sent their sonnes in their childhood into Circassia, that by learning the Language and fashions of the Countrey, they might prove in process of time fit to beare Soveraigne authority; but by the dissension of Mamaluks, they were alwayes defeated of their purpose.

The Eddaguadare being in dignitie second unto the Soldan, and being as it were, his Vice-roy or Lieutenant, had authoritie to place or displace any Magistrates or
Officers; and maintained a Family almost as great as the Family of the Soldan himselfe.

The Amir Cabir having the third place of honour, was Lord Generall over the Soldans Militarie Forces; who was by office bound to leavy armies against the forraigne enemie, especially against the next Arabians, and to furnish the Castles and Cities with convenient Garisons: and also had authoritie to dispend the Soldans Treasure, upon such necessary affaires as hee thought good.

The fourth in dignity after the Soldan called Nai Bessan, beeing the Soldan his Lieutenant in Syria, and gathering up all the Tributes of Assiria, bestowed them at his owne discretion, and yet the Soldan himselfe was to place Garrisons in the Castles and Forts of those Provinces. This Nai Bessan was bound yeerely to pay certaine thousands of Saraffi unto the Soldan.

The fift Magistrate called the Ostadar, was the great Master or Steward of the Palace; whose duetie was to provide apparell for the Soldan, with Victuals and other necessaries for his whole family. And unto this dignity the Soldan used to advance some one of his most ancient, Honourable, and Vertuous Nobles, under whose tuition himselfe had in times past beene trained up.

The sixt called the Amiri Achor, was Master of the Horse and Camels; and distributed them unto each man in Court, according to his degree.

The seventh Office was performed by certaine principal Mamalukes, being like unto the Colonels of Europe: every of whom was Captaine of a thousand inferior Mamaluks; and their Office was to conduct the Soldans Forces against the enemie, and to take charge of his armour.

The eight degree of Honour was allotted unto certaine Centurions over the Mamaluks; who were continually to attend upon the Soldan, either when he road any whither, or when he exercised himselfe in armes.

The ninth person was the Treasurer, who made an account unto the Soldan of all the Tributes and Customes of
his Kingdome, disbursing money for the daily and necessary expenses of the Soldans Household, and laying up the rest in the Soldans Castle.

The tenth called the Amirsoleh, had the armour of the Soldan committed to his charge, which being contained in a great Armory was to be scoured, furbushed, and renued at his direction, for which purpose he had sundry Mamaluks placed under him.

The eleventh called the Testecana was Master of the Soldans Wardrobe, and tooke charge of all such Robes and Apparel as were delivered unto him by the Ostadar or high Steward of the Houshold; which Robes he distributed according to the appointment of the Soldan; for whomsoever the Soldan promoted unto any dignity, him he apparelled also. All the said garments were of cloth of Gold, of Velvet, or of silke.

The great Citie of Chanca situate about sixe miles from Cairo, at the very entrance of the Desart lying in the way to Mount Sinai, is replenished with most stately Houses, Temples, and Colledges. All the fields betwenee Cairo and this Citie abound with great plenty of Dates; but from Chanca to Mount Sinai, which is an hundred and fortie miles, there are no places of habitation at all. Through this Citie lie two mayne road-ways, the one leading to Syria, and the other to Arabia. This Citie hath no other water but such as remaine in certayne Chaneels after the inundation of Nilus; which chaneels being broken, the water runneth forth into the plaine, and there maketh a number of small lakes, from whence it is conveyed backe by certaine sluces into the Cisternes of the Citie.

Upon the same side of Nilus, standeth the faire Citie of Munia, which was built in the time of the Mahumetans by one Chasib, a Lieutenant and Courtier of the Califa of Bagdet, upon an high place. Heere are most excellent Grapes, and abundance of all kind of fruit, which albeit they are carried to Cairo, yet can they not come thither fresh and new, by reason that this City is distant from
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Cairo one hundreth and fourescore miles. It is adorned with most stately Temples and other buildings: and here are to be scene at this present, sundry ruines of the ancient Egyptian buildings. The Inhabitants are rich, for they travell for their gaine as farre as Gaoga, a Kingdome of the Land of Negros.

At this present there are found at Manf-Loth, certaine huge and high Pillars and Porches, whereof are Verses engraven in the Egyptian Tongue. Neere unto Nilus stand the ruines of a stately building, which seemeth to have been a Temple in times past; among which ruines the Citizens find sometimes Coyne of Silver, sometimes of Gold, and sometimes of Lead; having on the one side Hielygraphick notes, and on the otherside the pictures of ancient Kings. The fields adjacent being very fruitfull, are extremely scorched by the heate of the Sunne, and much haunted with Crocodiles, which was the occasion (as some thinke) why the Romans abandoned this Citie. The Inhabitants are men of indifferent wealth, for they exercise Traffick in the Land of Negros.

Azioth founded by the Egyptians upon the banke of Nilus, two hundred and fifty miles from Cairo, is most admirable in regard of the hugenesse, and of the varietie of old buildings, and of Epitaphes engraven in Egyptian Letters; although at this present the greatest part thereof lieth desolate. When the Mahumetans were first Lords of this Citie, it was inhabited by honourable personages, and continueth as yet famous, in regard of the Nobility and great wealth of the Citizens. There are in this Citie almost an hundred Families of Christians, and three or foure Churches still remaining: and without the Citie standeth a Monasterie, containing moe than an hundred Monks, who eate neither Flesh nor Fish, but onely Hearbs, Bread and Olives. And yet have they dainty Cates without any fat among them. This Monasterie is very rich, and giveth three dayes entertainement to all strangers that resort thither, for the welcomming of whom
Purchas
His Pilgrimes
in Five Books.
they bring up great store of Doves, of Chickens, and of such like commodities.

Ichmin being the most ancient Citie in all Egypt, was built by Ichmin, the sonne of *Misraim, the sonne of Chus, which was the sonne of *Hen, upon the Banke of Nilus, next unto Asia, and three hundred miles Eastward from Cairo. This Citie the Mahumetans, when they first began to usurpe over Egypt, so wasted and destroyed, for certaine causes mentioned in Histories, that besides the foundations and rubbish, they left nought remaining: for, transporting the Pillars and principall Stones unto the other side of Nilus, they built thereof the Citie called Munsia, even as we will now declare.

Georgia was in times past a famous Monasterie of Christians, called after the name of Saint George, and being sixe miles distant from Munsia. It was inhabited by more then two hundred Monkes, who enjoying large Territories, Possessions and Revenues, shewed themselves curteous and beneficiall unto strangers; and the overplus of their yearely revenues was sent unto the Patriarke of Cairo, who caused the same to be distributed amongst the poore Christians: but about an hundred yeares agoe, all the Monkes of this Monasterie died of a Pestilence, which spred it selfe over all the Land of Egypt. Whereupon the Prince of Munsia compassed the said Monasterie with a Wall, and erected divers houses for Artificers and Merchants to dwell in. And being allured by the pleasant Gardens situate amidst the beautifull Hills, hee himselfe went thither to inhabite: but the Patriarke of the Jacobites making his mone unto the Soldan, the Soldan caused another Monasterie to bee built in the same place, where in times past the old Citie stood; and assigned so much allowance thereunto, as might maintaine thirtie Monkes.

This little Citie of Chian was built in times past neere unto Nilus by the Mahumetans, which notwithstanding is not now inhabited by them, but by the Christians called Jacobites, who employ themselves either in Husbandrie, or in bringing up of Chickens, Geese, and Doves. There
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

A.D.
c. 1526.

remaine as yet certaine Monasteries of Christians, that
give entertainement to Strangers. But Mahumetans
(besides the Governour and his Family) there are none
at all.

Barbenda founded by the Egyptians upon Nilus, about
foure hundred miles from Cairo, was laid so waste by the
Romans, that nothing but the ruines thereof remained,
most of which ruines were carried unto Asna, whereof wee
will forthwith intreate. Amongst the said ruines are to
be found many pieces of Gold and Silver Coyne, and
sundry fragments of Smaragds or Emeralds.

The ancient Citie of Cana, built by the Egyptians upon
the banke of Nilus over against Barbenda, and environed
with Walls of Sunne-dried Bricke, is inhabited with people
of base condition, applying themselves unto Husbandrie,
by which meanes the Citie aboundeth with Corne.
Hither are the Merchandise brought against the streame of
Nilus, which are sent from Cairo to Mecca: for the dis-
tance from hence over the wildernesse unto the Red Sea,
is at least 120 miles, all which way there is no water at
all to bee found. And at the Haven of Chossir upon the
shoare of the Red Sea, are divers Cottages, whereinto the
said Merchandises are unladen. And over against Chossir
on the side of Asia lieth Jambuh, another Haven of the
Red Sea, whereat Travellers going on Pilgrimage to see
the Tombe of Mahumet at Medina, must make their
rendeous or generall meeting. Moreover, China fur-
nisheth Medina and Mecca with Corne, in which places
they suffer great and continuall scarcitie.

Asna in times past was called Siene. Round about this
Citie there are to bee seene divers huge buildings, and
admirable Sepulchres, together with sundry Epitaphes
engraven both in Egyptian and Latine Letters.

The great, ancient, and populous Citie of Assuan was
built by the Egyptians upon the River of Nilus, about
fourescore miles Eastward from Asna. The soyle adja-
cent is most apt and fruitfull for Corne. And the Citizens
are exceedingly addicted unto the Trade of Merchandise,
JOHN LEO ON AFRICA

because they dwell so neere unto the Kingdome of Nubia, upon the confines whereof standeth their Citie: beyond which Citie, Nilus dispersing himselfe over the Plaines through many small Lakes, becommeth innavigable. Also, the said Citie standeth neere unto that Desart, over which they travell unto the Port of Suachen upon the Red Sea, and it adjoyneth likewise upon the frontiers of Ethiopia. And here in Summer time the Inhabitants are extremely scorched with the heate of the Sunne, being of a swart or browne colour, and being mingled with the people of Nubia and Ethiopia. Here are to be seene also many buildings of the ancient Egyptians, and most high Towers, which they call in the language of that Countrey Barba. Beyond this place there is neither Citie nor habitation of any account, besides a few Villages of black people, whose speech is compounded of the Arabian, Egyptian, and Ethiopian languages. These being subject unto the people, called *Bugiha, live in the Fields after the Arabian manner, being free from the Soldans jurisdiction, for there his Dominions are limited.

And thus much concerning the principall Cities standing along the maine Chanell of Nilus: Some whereof I saw, others I entred into, and passed by the residue: but I had most certaine intelligence of them all, either by the Inhabitants themselves, or by the Mariners which carried me by water from Cairo to Assuan, with whom returning backe unto Chana, I travelled thence over the Desart unto the Red Sea, over which Sea I crossed unto Jambuth, and Ziddem, two Haven Townes of Arabia Desarta; of which two Townes, because they belong unto Asia, I will not here discourse, lest I should seeme to transgresse the limits of Africa. But if it shall please God to vouchsafe me longer life, I purpose to describe all the Regions of Asia which I have travelled; to wit, Arabia Desarta, Arabia Foelix, Arabia Petraea, the Asian part of Egypt, Armenia, and some part of Tartaria; all which Countries I saw and passed through in the time of my youth. Likewise I will set downe my last Voyages from Fez to
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Constantinople, from Constantinople to Egypt, and from thence into Italie, in which Journey I saw divers and sundry Islands. All which my Travels I meane (by Gods assistance) being returned forth of Europe into mine owne Country, particularly to describe; deciphring first the Religion of Europe and Asia which I have seen, and thereunto annexing this my Discourse of Africa, to the end that I may promote the endeavours of such as are desirous to know the state of forraigne Countries.

§ IX.

Principall occurrents in John Leo his ninth Booke of the Historie of Africa.

The Elephant keepeth in the Woods, and is found in great numbers in the forrests of the Land of Negros. They use to go many in one company, & if they chance to meet with any man, they either shun him, or give place unto him. But if the Elephant intendeth to hurt any man, he casteth him on the ground with his long snout or trunke, and never ceaseth trampling upon him till he be dead. And although it be a mighty and fierce beast, yet are there great store of them caught by the Ethiopian Hunters, in manner following. These Hunters being acquainted with the Woods and Thickets where they keepe, use to make among the trees a round hedge of strong boughes and rafts, leaving a space open on the one side thereof, and likewise a doore standing upon the plaine ground which may be lift up with ropes, wherewith they can easily stoppe the said open place or passage. The Elephant therefore comming to take his rest under the shady boughes, entreth the hedge or inclosure, where the Hunters by drawing the said rope, and fastening the doore, having imprisoned him, descend downe from the trees, and kill him with their Arrows, to the end they may get his Teeth, and make sale of them. But if the Elephant chanceth to breake through the hedge, he murthereth as many men as he can find.
In Ethiopia the higher, and India, they have other devices* to take the Elephant, which, least I should seeme over-tedious, I passe over in silence.

The Giraaffa so savage and wild, that it is a very rare matter to see any of them: for they hide themselves among the Desarts and Woods, where no other beasts use to come; and so soone as one of them espieth a man, it flieth forthwith, though not very swiftly. It is headed like a Camell, eared like an Oxe, and footed like a * : neither are any taken by Hunters, but while they are very young.

Camels are gentle and domesticall beasts, and are found in Africa in great numbers, especially in the Desarts of Libya, Numidia, and Barbaria. And these the Arabians esteeme to bee their principall possessions and riches: so that speaking of the wealth of any of their Princes, or Governours, he hath (say they) so many thousands Camels, and not so many thousand Duckats. Moreover, the Arabians that possesse Camels live like Lords and Potentates in great liberty, because they can remaine with their Camels in barren Desarts, whither no Kings nor Princes can bring armies to subdue them.

African Camels farre excell them of Asia; for travelling fortie or fifty dayes together, without any provender at all, they are unladen in the evening, and turned loose into the next fields, where they feed upon Grasse, Brambles, and the boughes of trees; which hardnesse the Camels of Asia cannot endure, but when they set forth any journey, they must be well pampered and full of flesh. Experience hath taught, that our Camels having travelled laden fifty dayes together without any provender, have so wasted; first, the flesh of their bunches; secondly, of their bellies, and lastly, of their hips, that they have scarce beene able to carry the weight of one hundreth pounds. But the Merchants of Asia give their Camels provender, halfe of them being laden with wares, and the other halfe with provender, and so their whole Carovane of Camels goeth foorth and returneth home laden: by which meanes

---

*As by a tame Female drawing him to an inclosed place: and by a tame Male fighting with the wilde one in the Wood, and meanes while men with ropes fastning his hinder legs. The Beast called Giraaffa. *Here is a word wanting in the original. The Camell.

The African Camels ar the best.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

they keepe them in good plight. Of Camels there are three kinds, whereof the first being called Hugiu, are grosse, and of a tall stature, and most fit to carrie burthen, but ere foure yeeres end they grow unprofitable: after which time every Camell but of meane stature will carry a thousand pounds of Italian weight. When any of the said Camels is to bee laden, being beaten upon his knees and necke with a wand he kneeleth downe, and when he feeleth his load sufficient, he riseth up againe. And the Africans use to geld their Camels which they keepe for the burthen, putting but one male Camell among ten femals. The second kinde of Camels called Becheti, and having a double bunch, are fit both to carrie burthen, and to ride upon: and these are bred onely in Asia. The third kind called Raguahill, are Camels of a slender and low stature, which albeit they are unfit to carry burthen, yet doe they so excell the two other kinds in swiftnesse, that in the space of one day they will travell one hundred miles, and will so continue over the Desarts for eight or ten dayes together with very little provender: and these doe the principall Arabians of Numidia, and the Moores of Libya usually ride upon. When the King of Tombuto is desirous to send any message of importance unto the Numidian Merchants with great celeritie, his post or messenger riding upon one of these Camels, will runne from Tombuto to Darha or Segelmesse, beeing nine hundred miles distant, in the space of eight dayes at the farthest: but such as travell must be expert in the way through the Desarts, neither will they demand lesse then five hundred Duckats for every journey. The said Camels about the beginning of the spring inclining to their lust and venerie, doe not onely hurt one another, but also will deadly wound such persons as have done them any injury in times past, not forgetting light and easie stripes: and whomsoever they lay hold on with their teeth, they lift up on high, and cast him downe againe, trampling upon him with their feete, and in this madde moode they continue fortie dayes together.
Neither are they so patient of hunger as of thirst; for they will abstaine from drinke, without any inconvenience, for fifteene dayes together: and if their guides water them once in three dayes, they doe them great hurt, for they are not usually watered but once in five or nine dayes, or at an urgent necessity once in fifteene dayes. Moreover, the said Camels are of a gentle disposition, and are indued as it were with a kinde of humaine reason: for when as betweene Ethiopia and Barbarie they have a dayes journey to travell more then their woont, their masters cannot drive them on, being so tired, with whips, but are faine to sing certaine songs unto them; wherewith being exceedingly delighted, they performe their journey with such swiftnesse, that their said masters are scarce able to follow them. At my beinge in Cairo I saw a Camell dance; which arte of dancing how he learned of his master I will heere in few words report. They take a young Camell, and put him for halfe an houre together in a place like a Bath-stove prepared for the same purpose, the floore whereof is het with fire: then play they without upon a drumme, whereat the Camell not so much in regard of the noyse, as of the hot pavement which offendeth his feet, and lifteth up one legge after another in manner of a dance, and having beene accustomed unto this exercise for the space of a yeere or ten moneths, they then present him unto the publike view of the people, when as hearing the noyse of a drum, and remembrance the time when he trode upon the hot floore, he presently falleth a dancing and leaping: and so, use being turned into a kind of nature, he perpetually observeth the same custome.

The Horses of Barbary differ not in any respect from other Horses: but Horses of the same swiftnesse and agilitie are in the Arabian tongue called throughout all Egypt, Syria, Asia, Arabia Fœlix, and Deserta, by the name of Arabian Horses: and the Historiographers affirm, that this kind of wilde Horses ranging up and downe the Arabian Desarts, and being broken and
Purchas His Pilgrimes

managed by the Arabians ever since the time of Ismael, have so exceedingly multiplied and increased, that they have replenished the most part of Africa: which opinion savoureth of truth, for even at this present there are great store of wild Horses found both in the African and Arabian Desarts. And I my selfe sawe in the Numidian Desart a wild Colt of a white colour, and having a curled maine. The most certaine triall of these Horses is when they can overtake the beast called Lant, or the Ostrich in a race: which two, if they be able to performe, they are esteemed worth a thousand Duckats or an hundred Camels. Howbeit, very few of these Horses are brought up in Barbarie, but the Arabians that inhabite the Desarts, and the people of Lybia bring up great numbers of them, using them not for travell or warfare, but onely for hunting, neither doe they give them any other meate but the milke of Camels, and that twise every day and night, to the end they may keepe them nimble, lively, and of spare flesh; and in the time of Grasse they suffer them to eede in Pastures, but then they ride not upon them.

The wilde Horse is one of those beasts that come seldom in sight. The Arabians of the Desarts take the wild Horse and eate him, saying, that the younger the Horse be, the sweeter is his flesh: but he will hardly be taken either with Horses or Dogs. In the waters where this beast keepeth, they lay certaine snares, covering them over with sand, wherein his foot being caught, he is intangled and slaine.

The beast called Lant or Dant in shape resembledth an Oxe, saving that he hath smaller legs, and comlier hornes. His haire is white, and his hoofs are as blacke as Jet, and he is so exceeding swift that no beast can overtake him, but onely the Barberie Horse, as is aforesaid. He is easlier caught in Summer then in Winter, because that in regard of the extreme fretting heat of the sand his hoofs are then strained and set awry, by which meanes his swiftnesse is abated, like as the swiftnesse of Stagges and Roe-Deere. Of the hide of this beast are made Shields and
Targets of great defence, which will not be pierced, but onely with the forcible shot of a bullet, but they are sold at an extreme price.

The wild Oxe resembleth the tame Oxe, save that it is lesse in stature, being of a gray or ash-colour, and of great swiftnesse. It haunteth either the Desarts, or the confines of the Desarts. And the flesh thereof (they say) is very savoury.

The wilde Asse being found either in the Desarts, or upon the borders thereof, is of an ash-colour. In swiftnesse they are surpassed onely by the Barbary Horses, and when they see a man, they bray out aloud, kicking and wincing with their heeles, and standing stone-still, till one approacheth so neare them, that he may touch them with his hand, and then they betake themselves to flight. By the Arabians of the Desarts they are caught with Snares, and other Engins. They goe in companies either when they feede or water themselves. Their flesh is hot and unsavory, and hath a wilde taste: but being set a cooling two dayes after it is sodden, it becommeth very savoury and pleasant.

All the Oxen upon the Mountaines of Africa being tame cattell, are of so meane a stature, that in comparison of other Oxen they seeme to be but Heifers of two yeeres old: but the Mountaineers using them to the plough, say, that they are strong, and will indure much labour.

Adimmain, is a tame beast, beeing shaped like a Ramme, and of the stature of an Asse, and having long and dangle eares. The Libyans use these beasts in stead of Kine, and make of their milke great store of Cheese and Butter. They have some Wooll, though it bee but short. I my selfe upon a time beeing merrily disposed, roade a quarter of a mile upon the backe of one of these beastes. Very many of them there are in the Desarts of Libya, and but fewe in other places: and it is a rare matter to see one of them in the Numidian fields.

There is no difference betweene these Rammes of Africa and others, save onely in their tayles, which are
of a great thickeannes, being by so much the grosser, by how much they are more fat, so that some of their tayles weigh ten, and other twenty pounds a pence, and they become fat of their owne naturall inclination: but in Egypt there are divers that feed them fat with Bran and Barley, untill their tayles grow so bigge that they cannot remoue themselves from place to place: insomuch that those which take charge of them are faine to bind little carts under their tayles, to the end they may have strength to walke. I my selfe saw at a City in Egypt called Asiott, and standing upon Nilus, about an hundred and fifty miles from Cairo, one of the said Rams tayles that weighed foure-score pounds, and others affirmed, that they had seene one of those tayles of an hundred and fifty pounds weight. All the fat therefore of this beast consisteth in his tayle; neither is there any of them to be found but onely in Tunis and in Egypt.

The Lyon. The Lion is a most fierce and cruell beast, being hurtfull unto all other beasts, and excelling them both in strength, courage, and crueltie, neither is he onely a devourer of beasts, but of men also. In some places one Lyon will boldly encounter two hundred Horsemen. They range without all feare among the flockes and droves of Cattell, and whatsoever beast they can lay hold on, they carry it into the next Wood unto their Whelpes: yea, some Lyons there are (as I have before said) that will vanquish and kill five or sixe Horsemen in one Company. Howbeit, such Lyons as live upon the cold mountaynes are not so outrageous and cruell: but the hotter the places be where they keepe, the more ravenous and bold are they, as namely, upon the Frontiers of Temesna, and of the Kingdome of Fez, in the Desart of Angad neere Telensin, and betweene the Citie of Bona and Tunis, all which are accounted the most famous and fierce Lyons in all Africa. In the Spring, while they are given to Lust and Venery, they have most fierce and bloudie conflicts one with another, eight or twelve Lyons following after one Lyonsse, I have heard many both men and women report, that if a
JOHN LEO ON AFRICA

woman chanceth to meet with a Lyon, and sheweth him her privie parts, hee will with crying and roaring, cast his eyes upon the ground and so depart. Beleeve it they that list. But this I am well assured of, that whatsoever a Lyon getteth in his pawes, though it be a Camell, he will carry it away.

The Leopard living in the Woods of Barbarie, will not for all their great strength and crueltie hurt any man, unlesse it be very seldom, when as they meete with a man in a narrow passage, and cannot shunne him, or when they are checked and provoked unto fury; for then they will flye upon a man, laying hold upon his visage with their talents, and plucking off so much flesh as they can catch, insomuch that sometimes they will crush his braines in pieces. They invade not any flockes or droves of tame Cattell, but are at deadly feude with Dogges, whom they will kill and devour.

The Mountayners of the Region of Constantina hunt them on Horse-backe, stopping all passages, where they might escape. The Leopard ranging up an downe, and finding every place so beset with Horsemen that he cannot get away, windeth and turneth himsellfe on all sides, and so becommeth a fit marke for the Hunters to discharge their Darts and Arrowes upon. But if the Leopard chanceth to escape, that man that lets him passe, is bound by an usual custome to invite the residue of the Hunters unto a Banquet.

The beast called by the Arabians, Dabuh, and by the Africans, Jesef, in bignesse and shape resembleth a Woolfe, saving that his legges and feet are like to the legges and feet of a man. It is not hurtfull unto any other beast, but will rake the carkasses of men out their graves, and will devour them, being otherwise an abject and silly creature. The Hunters being acquainted with his Den, come before it singing and playing upon a Drum, by which Melodie beeing allured forth, his legs are intrapped in a strong Rope, and so he is drawne out and slaine.

The Civet Cats are naturally wilde, and are found in
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

the Woods of Æthiopia. The Merchants taking their 
young Whelpes or Kittes, feed them with Milke, Branne, 
and Flesh, and keepe them in Cages or Grates. But their 
odoriferous Excrement (which is nought else but their 
sweat) they gather twice or thrice every day in manner 
following: first, they drive them up and downe the Grate 
with a Wand, till they sweat, and then they take the said 
sweat from under their flankes, their shoulders, their 
neckes, and their tayles: which Excrement of sweat is 
commonly called Civet.

Of Apes there are divers and sundry kinds, those which 
have tayles, being called in the African Tongue, Monne, 
and those which have none, Babuini. They are found in 
the Woods of Mauritania, and upon the Mountaynes of 
Bugia and Constantina. They live upon Grasse and 
Corne, and goe in great companies to feed in the Corne 
fields, and one of their company which standeth Centinell, 
or keepeth watch and ward upon the borders, when hee 
espyneth the Husbandman comming, he cryeth out and 
giveth, as it were, an alarme to his fellows, who every 
one of them flee immediately into the next Woods, and 
betake themselves to the trees. The shee Apes carrie 
their Whelpes upon their shoulders, and will leape with 
them in that sort from one tree to another.

The Sea Horse. The Sea Horse is commonly found in the Rivers of 
Niger and Nilus. In shape it resemblith an Horse, and 
in stature an Asse, but it is altogether destitute of haire. 
It liveth both in the water and upon the Land, and 
swimmeth to the shoare in the night season. Barkes and 
Boates laden with Wares and sayling downe the River 
of Niger, are greatly endangered by this Sea Horse, for 
often times he over-whelmeth and sinketh them.

The Sea Oxe. The Sea Oxe being covered with an exceeding hard 
skinne, is shaped in all respects like unto the Land Oxe; 
save that in bignesse it exceedeth not a Calfe of fixe 
monethes old. It is found in both the Rivers of Niger 
and Nilus, and being taken by Fishers, is kept a long time 
alive out of the water. I my selfe saw one at Cairo lead
up and downe by the necke in a Chaine, which (they say) was taken at the Citie of Asna, standing upon the banke of Nilus, about foure hundred miles from Cairo.

In the Libyan Desarts are found very many Tortoyses as bigge as a Tunne. And Bicri the Cosmographer in his Booke of the Regions and Journies of Africa reporteth, that a certaine man being weary of travelling, ascended to his thinking, upon an high stone lying in the Desart, to the end he might free himselfe from the danger of Serpents and venemous beasts; who having slept soundly thereupon all night, found himselfe in the morning remooved three miles from the place where he first lay downe, and thereby understood that it was not a stone but a Tortoise whereon he reposed himselfe, which lying still all the day long creepeth for food in the night-season, but so slowly, that her pace can hardly be perceived.

The Crocodile commonly frequenteth the Rivers of Niger and Nilus, and contayneth in length twelve Cubits and above, the tayle thereof being as long as the whole bodie besides, albeit, there are but few of so huge a bignesse. It goeth upon foure feet like a Lizard, neither is it above a Cubit and an halfe high. The tayle of this beast is full of knots, and the skinne thereof is so exceeding hard, that no Crosse-bow will enter it. Some prey upon fishes onely, but others upon beasts and men. Which lurking about the bankes of the River, doe craftily lay wait for men and beasts that come the same way, about whom suddenly wending their tayles, they draw them into the water, and there devour them. Howbeit, some of them are not so cruell by nature; for if they were, no Inhabitants could live neere unto the Rivers of Nilus and Niger. In eating they moove the upper Jaw onely, their neather Jaw being joyned unto their brestbone. Not many yeeres sidenince, passing up the River of Nilus towards the Citie of Cana, standing in the upper part of Egypt, foure hundred miles from Cairo, on a certaine night whilst we were in the midst of our Journey, the Moone being over-shadowed with Clouds, the Mariners and
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Passengers all fast a sleepe, and the Barke under sayles, I my selfe studying by Candle-light in my Cabben, was called upon by a devout old man in the Barke, who bestowed the same night in watching and prayer, and said unto me, call (I pray you) some of your company, who may helpe me to draw up this piece of wood floting upon the water, which will serve to-morrow for the dressing of our Dinner. My selfe, Sir (quoth I) will come and helpe you, rather then wake any of our company in the dead of the night. Nay (quoth the old man) I will try whether I bee able to draw it up alone or no. And so when the Barke was neere unto the Wood, as he supposed, holding a Rope in his hand to cast into the water, hee was sodainly intangled with a Crocodiles long tayle, and was in a moment drawne under the water. Whereupon, I making a shoute, all the people in the Barke arose, and striking sayles we stayed for the space of an houre, divers in the meane time leapinge into the water to seeke the man, but altogether in vaine: and therefore all of them affirmed, that he was caught by a Crocodile. As we sayled further, we saw great numbers of Crocodiles upon the bankes of the Ilands in the midst of Nilus lye beaking them in the Sunne with their Jawes wide open, whereinto certaine little Birds about the bignesse of a Thrush entring, came flying forth againe presently after. The occasion whereof was told me to be this: The Crocodiles by reason of their continuall devouring of beasts and fishes, have certaine pieces of flesh sticking fast betweene their forked teeth, which flesh being putrified, breedeth a kind of Worme wherewith they are cruelly tormented. Wherefore the said Birds flying about, and seeing the Wormes, enter into the Crocodiles Jawes, to satisfie their hunger therewith. But the Crocodile perceiving himselfe freed from the Wormes of his teeth, offereth to shut his mouth, and to devour the little Bird that did him so good a turne, but being hindered from his ungratefull attempt by a pricke which groweth upon the Birds head, hee is constrainyed to open his Jawes and to let her depart. The shee Crocodile

Little Birds flying into the Crocodiles mouth to pick wormes from betweene their teeth.
laying Egges upon the shoare covereth them with sand; and so soone as the young Crocodiles are hatched, they crawl into the River. Those Crocodiles that forsake the River and haunt the Desarts become venomous; but such as continue in Nilus, are destitute of Poyson. Of these beasts I saw above three hundred heads placed upon the wals of Cana, with their Jawes wide open, being of so monstrous and incredible a bignesse, that they were sufficient to have swallowed up a whole Cow at once, and their teeth were great and sharpe.

In the Caves of Atlas are found many huge and monstrous Dragons, which are heavie, of a slow motion, because the midst of their body is grosse, but their neckes and tayles are slender. They are most venomous creatures, insomuch, that whosoever is bitten or touched by them, his flesh presently waxeth soft and weake, neither can he by any means escape death.

The Hydra being short in proportion of body, and having a slender tayle and necke, liveth in the Libyan Desarts. The poyson thereof is most deadly, so that if a man be bitten by this beast, he hath none other remedy, but to cut off the wounded part, before the Poyson disperseth it selfe into the other members.

The Dub living also in the Desarts, resembleth in shape a Lizard, saving that it is somewhat bigger, and containeth in length a Cubite, and in breath foure fingers. It drinketh no water at all, and if a man pour any water into the mouth thereof, it presently dieth. It layeth egges in manner of a Tortoyse, and is destitute of poyson. The Arabians take it in the Desarts: and I my selfe cut the throat of one which I tooke, but it bled very little. Being slayed and roasted, it tasteth somewhat like a frogge. In swiftnesse it is comparable to a Lizard, and being hunted, if it chanceth to thrust the head into a hole, it can by no force be drawn out, except the hole be digged wider by the hunters. Having beene slaine three dayes together, and then being put to the fire, it stirreth it selfe as if it were newly dead.
The Guaral is like unto the former, saving that it is somewhat bigger, and hath poyson both in the head and tayle, which two parts being cut off, the Arabians will eate it, notwithstanding it be of a deformed shape and ugly colour, in which respects I loathed alwayes to eate the flesh thereof.

The Camelion being of the shape and bignesse of a Lizzard, is a deformed, crooked, and leane creature, having a long and slender tayle like a Mouse, and being of a slow pace. It is nourished by the Element of Ayre, and the Sun-beames, at the rising whereof it gapeth, and turneth it selfe up and downe. It changeth the colour according to the varietie of places where it commeth, being sometimes blacke and sometimes greene, as I my selfe have seene it. It is at great enmitie with venemous Serpents, for when it seeth any lie sleeping under a tree, it presently climeth up the same tree, and looking downe upon the Serpents head, it voydeth out of the mouth, as it were, a long thread of spittle, with a round drop like a Pearle hanging at the end, which drop falling wrong, the Camelion changeth his place, till it may light directly upon the Serpents head, by the vertue whereof he presently dieth.

The Ostrich in shape resembleth a Goose, but that the neck and legges are somewhat longer, so that some of them exceede the length of two cubites. The body of this Bird is large, and the wings thereof are full of great feathers both white and blacke, which wings and feathers being unfit to flie withall, doe helpe the Ostrich, with the motion of her traine, to runne a swift pace. This Fowle liveth in drie Desarts, and layeth to the number of ten or twelve Egges in the Sands, which being about the bignesse of great Bullets, weigh fifteene pounds a piece; but the Ostrich is of so weak of memorie, that she presently forgetteth the place where her Egges were laid. And afterward the same, or some other Ostrich-hen finding the said eggs by chance, hatcheth and fostereth them as if they were certainly her owne: the Chickens are no sooner
crept out of the shell, but they prowle up and downe the Desarts for their food: and before their feathers be growne, they are so swift, that a man shall hardly overtake them. The Ostrich is a silly and deafe creature, feeding upon any thing which it findeth, be it as hard and undigestable as yron. The flesh, especially of their legs, is of a slymie and strong taste: and yet the Numidians use it for food, for they take young Ostriches, and set them up a fatting. The Ostriches wander up and downe the Desarts in orderly troopes, so that a farre off a man would take them to be so many Horsemen, which illusion hath often dismayed whole Carovans.

Of Eagles there are divers kinds, according to their naturall properties, the proportion of their bodies, or the diversitie of their colours: and the greatest kind of Eagles are called in the Arabian Tongue, Nesir. The Africans teach their Eagles to prey upon Foxes and Wolves; which in their encounter ceaze upon the heads of the said Beasts with their bills, and upon the backs with their talents, to avoid the danger of biting. But if the Beast turne his belly upward, the Eagle will not forsake him, till she hath either peckt out his eyes, or slaine him. Many of our African Writers affirme, that the male Eagle oftentimes ingendring with a shee-Wolfe, begetteth a Dragon, having the beake and wings of a Bird, a Serpents taile, the feete of a Wolfe, and a skin speckled and partie coloured like the skin of a Serpent; neither can it open the eye-lids, and it liveth in Caves. This Monster, albeit my selfe have not seene, yet the common report over all Africa affirmeth, that there is such an one.

The Nesir is the greatest Fowle in all Africa, and exceedeth a Crane in bignesse, though the bil, necke, and legs are somewhat shorter. In flying, this Bird mounteth up so high into the Aire, that it cannot be discerned: but at the sight of a dead carcasse it will immediately descend. This Bird liveth a long time, and I my selfe have seene many of them unfeathered by reason of extreme old age: wherefore having cast all their
feathers, they returne unto their nest, as if they were newly hatched, and are there nourished by the younger Birds of the same kind. The Italians call it by the name of a Vulture; but I think it to be of another kind. They nestle upon high Rocks, and upon the tops of wilde and desert Mountaines, especially upon mount Atlas: and they are taken by such as are acquainted with those places.

The best African Hawkes are white, being taken upon certaine Mountaines of the Numidian Desarts, and with these Hawkes they pursue the Crane. Of these Hawkes there are divers kinds, some being used to flye at Patridges and Quailes, and others at the Hare.

Parrats there are as big as a Dove of divers colors, some red, some black, and some ash-coloured, which albeit they cannot so fitly expresse mans speech, yet have they most sweet & shril voices.

Of Locustes there are sometimes seene such monstrous swarmes in Africa, that in flying they intercept the Sunne-beames like a thicke Cloud. They devour trees, leaves, fruites, and all greene things growing out of the earth. At their departure they leave egges behind them, whereof other young Locusts breede, which in the places where they are left, will eate and consume all things even to the very barke of trees, procuring thereby extreme dearth of Corne, especially in Mauritania. Howbeit, the Inhabitants of Arabia Desarta, and of Libya, esteeme the comming of these Locusts as a fortunate boading: for, seething or drying them in the Sunne, they bruse them to powder, and so eate them.

The greater part of Africa hath none other Salt but such as is dugged out of Quarries and Mines, after the manner of Marble or Free-stone, being of a white, red, and gray colour. Barbarie aboundeth with Salt, and Numidia is indifferently furnished therewith: but the Land of Negros, and especially the inner part of Ethiopia, is so destitute thereof, that a pound of Salt is there sold for halfe a Duckat. And the people of the said Regions use not to set Salt upon their tables; but holding a crum
of Salt in their hands, they lick the same at every morsell of meate which they put in their mouthes. In certaine Lakes of Barbarie all the Summer time, there is faire and white salt congealed or kerned, as namely, in divers places neere unto the Citie of Fez.

Antimonie growing in many places of Africa in the Lead-mines, is separated from the Lead by the helpe of Brimstone. Great plenty of this Minerall is digged out of the bottome of Mount Atlas, especially where Numidia bordereth upon the Kingdome of Fez. Brimstone likewise is digged in great abundance out of other places of Africa.

Euphorbium is the Juyce or Gumme of a certaine Hearbe, growing like the head of a wilde Thistle, betwene the branches whereof grow certaine fruites as big in compass as a greene cucumber; after which shape or likenesse, it beareth certaine little graines of seedes; and some of the said fruits are an elle long, and some are longer. They grow not out of the branches of the Herbe, but spring out of the firme ground, and out of one flag you shall see sometimes twentie, and sometimes thirtie of them issue forth. The people of the same Region, when the said fruites are once ripe, doe pricke them with their knives, and out of the holes proceedeth a Liquor, or Juyce much like unto milke, which by little and little groweth thick and slimi. And so being growne thick, they take it off with their knives, putting it in Bladders, and drying it. And the Plant or Hearbe it selfe is full of sharpe prickles.

Of Pitch there are two kinds, the one being naturall, and taken out of certaine Stones, which are in Fountaines; the water whereof retained the unsavorie smell and taste of the same; and the other being artificiall, and proceeding out of the Juniper or Pine-tree: and this artificiall Pitch I saw made upon Mount Atlas, in manner following. They make a deepe and round furnace with an hole in the bottome, through which hole the Pitch may fall downe into an hollow place within the ground, being made in
Purchas His Pilgrimes

Frome a little vessel: and putting into the said furnace the boughes of the foresaid trees broken into small pieces, they close up the mouth of the furnace, and make a fire under it, by the heat whereof the Pitch distillete forth of the wood, through the bottome of the furnace into the foresaid hollow place; and so it is taken up and put in bladders or bags.

Musa is a fruit growing upon a small tree, which beareth large and broad leaves of a cubit long, hath a most excellent and delicate taste, and springeth forth about the bignesse of a small Cucumber. The Mahumetan Doctors affirm, that this was the fruit which God forbad our first Parents to eate in Paradise, which when they had eaten they covered their nakednesse with leaves of the same fruit, as being of all other leaves most meete for that purpose. They grow in great abundance at Sela, a Towne of the Kingdome of Fez; but in farre greater plenty in the land of Egypt, and especially at Damiata.

Of Cassia.

The trees bearing Cassia are of great thicknesse, having leaves like unto the Mulberie tree. They beare a broad and white Blossome, and are so laden with fruits, that they are constrained to gather great store before they be ripe, lest the tree should breake with overmuch weight. And this kind of tree growth onely in Egypt.

The Roote Tauszarghente growing in the Westerne part of Africa upon the Ocean Seashore, yeeldeth a fragrant and odoriferous smell. And the Merchants of Mauritania carry the same into the Land of Negros, where the people use it for a most excellent Perfume, and yet they neither burne it, nor put any fire at all thereto: for being kept onely in an house, it yeeldeth a naturall sent of it selfe. In Mauritania they sell a bunch of these Rootes for halfe a Duckat which being carried to the Land of Negros, is sold againe for eighty, or one hundred Duckats, and sometimes for more.

The Hearbe Addad is bitter, and the Roote it selfe is so venemous, that one drop of the water distilled thereout,
will kill a man within the space of an houre, which is commonly knowne even to the Women of Africa.

The Roote Surnag growing also upon the Westerne part of Mount Atlas, is said to be very comfortable and preservative unto the privie parts of man, and being drunke in an Electuary, to stirre up venereal lust, &c. Neither must I here omit that, which the Inhabitants of Mount Atlas doe commonly report, that many of those Damosels which keepe Cattell upon the said Mountaines, have lost their Virginitie by none other occasion, but by making water upon the said Roote: unto whom I would in merriment answere, that I beleewed all which experience had taught, concerning the secret vertue of the same Roote, yea, they affirmed moreover, that some of their Maidens were so infected with this roote, that they were not onely defloured of their Virginitie, but had also their whole bodies puffed up and swolne.

These are the things memorable and worthy of knowledge, seen and observed by me John Leo, throughout all Africa, which Country I have in *all places travelled quite over: wherein whatsoever I saw worthy the observation, I presently committed to writing; and those things which I saw not, I procured to bee at large declared unto mee by most credible and substantiaall persons, which were themselves eye-witnesses of the same: and so having gotten a fit opportunitie, I thought good to reduce these my Travels and Studies into this one Volume.

Forasmuch, as men desire to reade later occurrents, and these my Labours are intended not to the profit and pleasure alone, but to the honour also of the English Name and Nation, I have added this following Discourse of the late Warres in Barbarie: not yet pursuing them to these Times, but contenting my selfe with the beginnings, and some yeares proceedings thereof, the English having (as you shall see) yea, being no small part therein; Quæ regio in terris nostrī non plena laboris; The volun-
tarie English adventures in the Civill uncivill broiles of
Purchas His Pilgrimes

[II. vi. 851.] Ice-frozen Muscovia, of Sunne-scorched Barbarie, of Turkish and Persian fights by Sea, the Mogols by Land, the Sweden, Polish, Germane, Bohemian, Belgian, and many-headed-Italian Broyles neerer home; the Eastern and Western Indies, the Artike Northernne Circle, and Southermost Africa remote, have really exceeded the fabulous Devices of devising Fable, in Knight-Adventures, the Issues and Occupations of idle braines. As for the manner of the Serifian Family, attayning at first to the Barbarian Scepter, and the monstrous Saint-ship and portentous power of Side Hamet, getting the Kingdome from the Brethren, and of Side Hia which dispossessed him of it and his life, you have more full Relations in my Pilgrimage, with other Occurrents. Here it is more fit to let you heare others speake then my selfe.

Chap. II.

Collections of things most remarkeable in the History of Barbarie, written by Ro. C.

§. I.

How the Kingdome of Barbarie came to Muley Hamet Xarif, the late deceased King, and the course of his government; of his Sonnes and their behaviour: Shecks misgovernment and imprisonment: Hamets death.

He Family of the Mareines, being Larbies, were long times Kings of Barbarie: untill a plaine Hali some hundred yeeres ago, calling himselfe Muley Hamet Xarif, came out of the Countrey of Dara, (lying beyond the Mountaynes of Atlas) with a great number of Mountayners, called in their owne Language Bребlers: these with their strength large entries into Barbary) to usurpe the State and dispossesse the former Kings. So that even in order of time and affaires, this Historie fitly succeeds the former of Leo; for Barbary. Of their manner of getting the Kingdome, and the rest of the story, see my Pilgrimage, I. 6. c. 11. §. 2.

54
got Moruecos from the Mareins. And going forward following the fertilnesse of the soyle, drave the Mareins out of Fez: getting into his power all the flat Countrieys comprized under the Titles of Sus, Moruecos and Fez, from the hils of Atlas to the Streights of Gibraltar. Being thus growne great, hee would prove himselfe a Xarif, that is, one of the Kindred of the Prophet Mahomet, desiring his birth might be held answerable to his new acquired fortunes: But within a little time after this his sodaine invasion, Sus rebelling, refused his Government, wherefore hee sent to the bordering Turkes for ayde, who fulfilled therin his request. Ayded with these Turkish auxilliary forces, he set forward, and at his entrance into that Kingdome, the Turkish Soulidiers through Treason killed him, and cut off his head; sacked Taradant, and running over the whole Countray, spoyled it by the space of two monethes, which done, they would gladly have returned to Trimasine: yet fearing their owne strength to retorne the same way Hamet had brought them; it was held their better course and shorter Journey, to passe over the Mountaynes: but the Montayners knowing this their new done bloudie fact, and seeing them have good store of pillage, set upon them, so that few or none escaped their hands, but were all slaine. After this Hamet Xarifs death, who raigned some eight yeeres, succeeded his Brother Muley Abdela, having all his life time great warre with the Mareins, to keepe that his Brother had conquered: he having raigned some fifteene yeeres dyed, leaving behind him thirteene Sonnes, the eldest Muley Abdela (who at his entrance to the Kingdome, commanded all his Brethren to be killed:) but the second Brother Abdelmelech fearing hard measure, fled presently upon the death of his Father into Turkie, and so saved his life. The third Brother Muley Hamet of whom wee are hereafter to entreate, being held a great Church-man, simple and humble spirited, not any way addicted unto armes, was spared alive as lesse feared. The other ten were all put to death in one day at Taradant
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

in Sus, where they were kept in their Fathers life time. This Abdela raigned fortie yeeres, and dying, left behind him three Sonnes, Muley Mehamet, Muley Sheck, Muley Nassar. Muley Mehamet being King, his two young Brethren ranne away into Spaine, the elder whereof named Muley Sheck is yet living, and there turned Christian. The younger Brother called Muley Nassar returned into Barbarie, in the fourteenth yeere of Muley Hamets Raigne, who dyed at last. At this Muley Nassars landing in the Countrey of Fez, much people favoured him and his Title, and two thousand of Muley Shecks Souldiers (who now liveth, and then governed Fez, for his Father revolted from him to Nassar; insomuch, as Muley Sheck was in minde to have fled unto his Father. But that Alkeyd Hamet Ben Jau, being a very wise Captaine, and there placed to helpe Muley Sheck by his counsell, who was very young,) kept him from running away: and Muley Nassar with a dilatorie warre, with whom if the Souldiers had stayed, hee might peradventure have gotten the Countrey. But their Lent approaching, the Souldiers told Nassar, they would goe keepe their Easter at their owne houses. Whereupon Nassar, thinking if they were once gone, they would never returne to him againe, would give present battaile, and so was this Nassar slaine. Abdelmelch being second Brother to Abdela, got such favour in Turkie where he lived, as entering Barbarie with foure thousand Turkish Souldiers, he got the Kingdome from his Nephew Mehamet the eldest Sonne of Abdela, and there raigned two yeeres. Muley Mehamet thus deprived of his Kingdome, fled for succour to Sebastian then King of Portugall, who came in person into Barbarie, to helpe him with thirtie thousand men; giving battaile, the Moores fled, and the Christians retyred, hoping the Moores would returne, that so the Christians might make the greater slaughter of them. According to this expectation Abdelmelch with his Armie returned, and the Christians charged the foremost of their Horse-men very hotly, who would have fled. But such was the abundance
of Abdelmelechs Horse-men, following the foreward which were discomfited, as they could not have fieldroome to flye, but were forced to fight it out. This was a bloudie battale wherein three Kings lost their lives, Don Sebastian King of Portugall: Muley Mehame unto whose ayde Sebastian came over: And Abdelmelech who came out of Turkie being second Brother to Abdela; This Abdelmelech left behind him a Sonne yet living at this day in Turkie, whose name is Muley Smime. After the death of these two, Abdelas third Brother, Muley Hamet Xarif, was made King, raigned about seven and twentie yeeres in great peace and felicitie, untill he went to take his Sonne Muley Sheck at Fez, where the Father dyed, whose death hath caused all these Warres, as yee may reade hereafter.

Touching this Muley Hamet, I thought good, to insert this Letter of Master Bernhere, the Sonne of that worthy Augustine Bernhere (as I have heard) which is so commended by Master Foxe for his zeale in Queene Maries dayes, in the Historie of Bradford, Carelesse, Glover, &c.

To his loving Brother Master Edward Wright.

The King Muley Hamet is much delighted in the studie of Astronomie and Astrologie, and valueth Instruments serving for the course of the Sunne and Moone, that are of rare device, exceedingly. Wherefore your Spheare, your Watch, your Mundane Diall, and your Sextans, your new Magnetical Instrument for Declination, or any Astrolable that hath somewhat extraordinarie in it will be accepted: and you might sell the same at good prices. Now with the Eagle there goe from hence certaine Ambassadors, and one of them is the Kings Secretarie, named Abdala Wahed Anoone, who hath some insight in such matters. This Bearer my friend Master Pate, and Robert Kitchen the Master of the Ship, I thinke, will bring him unto you, unto whom I would have you shew all the varietie of Instruments that you have either in your owne hands, or have sold and lent to others; that
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

hee may choose some for the Kings use and his owne. You may shew them also the Draughts and Lineaments of whatsoever you have in Paper, all which I know, will make them admire and be desirous to have some that they can understand how to use. You may cause to be framed some Instruments in Brasse or Silver, leaving the spaces for Arabique words and figures, yet drawing the Pictures of them in Paper exactly, and setting downe the Latine figures, and the words in Latine, or Spanish, which is farre better: there will be found here that can grave the same in Arabique upon the Instruments having some direction from you about the matter. Or Abdala Wahed being a perfect Pen-man, can set the Arabique Letters, figures, and words downe very faire; and so any of your Gravers can worke the same in Metall, having his Writing before them. Master Cyprian would be a good Interpreter betweene you and them, or some that understandeth and speaketh both Latine and Spanish, and knoweth what the words of Arte meane.

The experiments Mathematicall of the Load-stone, will content the Ambassadour much. Make no scruple to shew them what you can; for it may redound to your good. I desire to heare more of Magneticall workes, and the discovery of the North passage. Write to me thereof, and send any Maps or draughts of instruments, or what you thinke fit about Dyalling, or the course of time, and the motion of the Heavens, which you thinke I can understand: but direct the same either to me, or to one Master John Wakeman, servant to Master Alderman Hamden; who, though he have small skill in such things, yet is desirous to see and learne, and can preferre such matters to the view of the King, and his sonnes, who all are exceeding strictious of matters tending this way: so that if I had skill my selfe, or but some of your Instruments, whereof I could make demonstration for their use, I could give great content, and be a meanes to pleasure you much. But conferre with Master Pate, and Master Kitchen, who will direct you in this businesse, and from whom you may
receive money before hand, for making any instruments that the Ambassadours would have for themselves or the King.

Your Magneticall Instrument of Declination, would be commodious for a yeerely Voyage, which some make for the King over a Sandy Sea (wherein they must use Needle and Compass) to Gago. If you question about the matter, and shew them some instrument serving for this purpose, it will give great content. Other directions I might add unto you; but from the parties above named, you may receive the same fully. And thus with my good will, hoping and wishing to see you shortly, I take my leave. This 24. of June, 1600. From the Citie of Maroco.

From Maroco in Barbary.

Your loving Brother-in-law,

THOMAS BERNHERE.

Obtaining the Scepter, hee first provided himselfe of the gravest men hee could find in his Kingdomes, to be Counsellors of estate; then of the most experienced, and valiant Souldiers, for Commanders over his Campe, and Garrison Townes. And whereas he was Monarch over two Nations, the Larbies, and Brebers, he found it requisite to use a two-fold government. The Larbies dwelling in the most plaine Champion Countrey of his three Kingdomes, Moruecos, Sus, and Fez, were easily governed, being of mild and peaceable nature, given to thrift and tillage of the ground, sought no alterations, but receiving from him a due forme of justice, executed by his Ministers: protecting them from the Montaneirs which are robbers, willingly obeyed his Regall authoritie, and yeerely payed their tenths toward their Kings maintenance. As for the Brebers, or Montaneirs, being of an untamed and fierce disposition, speaking the Tamiset tongue, which is as much different from the Larbee, as Welch is from our English, dwelling in places by nature defencible, and almost inaccessible: He could not so well

[Ii. vi. 853.]
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

governe, neither had ever such absolute power over them, nor received the fift pennie of profite from them, as he did from the Alarbies. Therefore he sought by all meanes to diminish their strength of people, drawing them always into forraigne expeditions, especially into that warre, against the Negros, which continued a long time, thereby extending his Empire so farre that way, as by Camell it was sixe moneths journey from Moruecos, to the farthest parts of his Dominion. Likewise, he used this people to goe with the Caravans to Gago, to fetch home his yeerely Tribute and Custome, whereby many were consumed in travelling over the Saharas: for any offence or robbery committed by them, his sword should punish severely, that the rest might feare: dividing their Countrey into several divisions or Cantons, in every of which he placed an Alkeid, with Souldiers to suppressse any sudden uproares, much like our Lieutenant set over our several Counties, but that the Alkeid is continually resident, and hath greater power in executing Marshall law. And lastly, as pledges of their loyalties, he would get their chiefest mens sonnes into his hands, bringing them up in his Court to a more civill and delicate kind of life. He was alwaies of mind to keepe peace with Christendome; with Spaine, who was his next Potent neighbour; but above all loved the English Nation, and admired the late Queenes happie Government, willing to entertaine trading with us, witnessse his many Letters written to that worthy Lady of happie Memorie, and his Embassage sent unto her, Anno 1601. Performed by Abdala Wahad Anowne, and Hamet Alhadg, their great travailer to Mecha, and other places.

Toward his subjects he was not too tyrannicall, but sweetned his absolute power and will, with much clemencie. By divers wayes he got excessive store of gold. First, by seeing his tenths truly payd from the Larbees: Secondly, by trading with the Negro, taking up the salt at Tegazza, and selling it at Gago, having from thence returne in good gold. Thirdly, by husbanding his Mase-raws, or Ingenewes, where his Sugar Canes did grow,
A HISTORY OF BARBARY

(though now all spoyled with these warres) for it is sufficiently knowen, all of them about Moruecos, Taradant, and Magador, were yeerely worth unto him, sixe hundred thousand ounces at the least. I omit his love he tooke in entertaining foraigne Artizans, the reedifying of his house in Moruecos, getting Italian Marbles, the richest that could bee bought for money, and workemen hired from thence at great wages. His sumptuous provisions for the Sarraile, and maintenance of his women, not so much delighting in the sinne, as his predecessors had done before, as to shew his glory, because the fashion of the Countrey is such, to shew their riches and greatnesse upon that fraile sexe, and their attendances. For his chieuest pleasures were to see the Gallantrie of his kingdome, managing their good Barbarian Steeds, and the Falchons upon their wing, making faire flights after the Heron: for these sports he was provided, no man better, from which he was recalled by certaine discontents, which as clouds fore-runne his owne Sun-set.

At the time of his death, he left five sonnes alive. The eldest Muley Mahemet, commonly called Muley Sheck, a Title given alwayes to the eldest of the Kings sonnes: The second, Muley Boferes, which two sonnes were both by one woman, a Negra, one of his Concubines: The third son Muley Sidan, whom he had by one of his wives: The fourth sonne Muley Nassar, who was about the age of nineteene yeers: And the fift, Muley Abdela, about fourteene yeers old at the time of the old Kings death, and these two last were the sons of two severall Concubines. This deceased King in his life time, had placed his three elder sonnes in severall parts of his Kingdome, to governe for him in them, to Muley Sheck his eldest he had given the Kingdome of Fez, which Kingdome hath in former times continually beeene allotted by the late Kings of Barbary to their eldest sonnes: Muley Boferes he placed in his Kingdome of Sus, to Muley Sidan he gave the Province of Tedula, which lyeth in the mid-way betweene Moruecos and Fez: his two younger sonnes [II. vi. 854.]
Muley Nassar, and Abdela remained with him in his house, whom by reason of their young yeeres, he had not as yet placed in any part of his Kingdemes. The eldest sonne Muley Sheck in his younger yeeres governed Fez, and those parts of Barbarie, with great approbation of his Father, through the Counsell of Basha Mustepha a Spanish Renegado: which Basha in continuance of time, grew into such favour with him, that the whole Government of the Kingdome of Fez was wholly by Muley Sheck put in his hands: Whereupon, the Alkeids of the Countrie that were naturall borne Moores, and continuall attendants upon the old King, envyng the greatnesse of the said Basha, raised divers accusations against him: Complaining to the King that he learned Muley Sheck to drinke wine (a thing unlawfull to the Moores, being forbidden them by their Prophet Mahomet) and that now having the whole Government of the Kingdome of Fez in his hands, under the Kings son, he purposed after he had possessed himself of Muley Shecks Treasure, to flie, and carrie it with him to some parts of Christendome. Which accusations, the old King upon some probabilities and likelihoods, conceiving to be true, these Alkeids procured at last with him, that he should send to his sonne Muley Sheck, commanding him to send the head of the said Basha, which command, howsoever, Muley Sheck (who greatly loved, and favoured the said Basha) at the first delayed to performe, yet after divers messages, the old King sending at the last a principall servant of his, to see the execution done, he was forced much against his will, to see fulfilled.

In these younger yeeres of Muley Sheck, whilst this Basha was alive, none of the Kings sonnes was more dutifull to their father then he, neither any of their actions so contended the old King as his; insomuch, as the whole Kingdemes hope for a successor after the old Kings decease, was onely in Muley Sheck. Whereupon, and by the Kings voluntary motion, all the principall Alkeids, and men of Command that were in the Kingdemes, by
solemne oath vowed allegiance to Muley Sheck, after the old Kings decease. And at that time Boferes the second sonne, by reason of the great plague in Sus, and other discontents, he received from that rebellious people, stayed not long there, but returned againe to his Father in Moruecos, where he stayed with him untill his Fathers departure to Fez in September, 1602. Muley Sidan the third sonne, continued in Tedula, (a Province fruitfull and scituate in the flat of Barbarie, the mid-way betweene Fez and Moruecos, as I have told you) who governed those parts in great peace and quietnesse, even in the chiefe times of the tumults that were in the bordering Dominions of his eldest brother Sheck, (whereof you shall read hereafter) insomuch, that hee was generally commended and liked both of his Father and of all the Kingdome for his government, being strict in seeing the execution of Justice to be done in those parts that hee governed, not sparing his Kindred or neerest Followers in those cases: From his infancy hee naturally hated all maner of Theeves whatsoever, especially those who robbed by the high-ways, and without any favour or mercy severely punished them. Howsoever, he carryed himselfe very dutifull to his Father, whilst hee was living, yet from his child-hood he was alwayes of an aspiring and ambitious nature, which could never be brought to subject it selfe to give any awfull respect to his elder Brethren, but to hazard his whole estate in obtyning the Kingdome, accounting himselfe his Fathers lawfull heire, in that he was his Fathers eldest Sonne, which he had by any of his married Wives: In this point, not regarding the custome & Law of the Moores, who in title of Inheritance or succession, respect not the mother, whether she be married Wife or Concubine bought with money, so that her Sonne be the eldest in birth.

But to returne againe to Muley Sheck the Kings eldest Sonne, who after the death of his Basha Mustepha, (be-headed by his Fathers command) soone shewed unto all men the want of government that was in him; for in his
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

latter times, giving himselfe over to drunkennesse, and other detestable vices, which amongst the Moores commonly accompanieth that sinne, regarded not at all the government of his Kingdome, but suffered his servants, followers, and Souldiers to doe what they would in robbing and spoiling the goods of his honest minded Subjects, without controlment: And through want of Justice duely executed, his whole Countrey in a short time swarmed so with theves and robbers by the high ways, that there was no travelling through his Dominions, but in Cassilias or companies of three hundred & foure hundred persons at a time, and they hardly sometimes escaped the hands of theves. The Alarbies, who continue to this day, in Tribes and kindreds, being the husbandmen of the Coun-
trey, living in the fields in Tents, by Tilling of the Ground, and breeding up of Cattell, when as they could not quietly gather in, and peaceably enjoy the Corne and Fruits of the Ground, denied to pay the King their ac cus-
tomed duetie: and in the fields followed the courses of Muley Shecks servants in the Citie, in robbing of all passen-
gers that came within their power. And such was the lavishing manner of spending and consuming of his Treasure, that in his humours, hee neither regarded what he gave, nor to whom: in so much, that a Jew who was a Musician, and used to play before him in his drunken fits, (what with the gifts given him by the Prince, and what else he got out of his house) had gotten together in money and Jewels, (in the space of foure or five yeeres) to the value of foure hundred thousand Duckats, which is about fortie thousand pound sterling.

This dissolute life and carelesse government of Muley [II. vi. 855.] Sheck, grieved the old King not a little, especially to see such a change or alteration in him, whose forwardnesse in former times had been the stay of his age, and had mooved him to cause the Alkeids of the Kingdome, by oath to confirme their alleageance after his owne death. Many wayes he sought to amend what was amisse in those parts, and to draw his sonne to a more strict course of life, and

64
more carefull kind of government, as well by his Letters, as by sending divers principall Alkeids to be Counsellors unto him. Yet such was the small account he made either of the one or the other, that the old King in the end seeing no amendment, but the estate of that Kingdome to grow daily worse and worse, determined to goe to Fez in his owne person with an Armie, aswell to displace his son, who had denied to come unto him, upon his sending for: as also to put in order all matters in those parts, which through the ill government of his sonne, were all out of frame. And so about the beginning of October, 1602. hee set forwards from Moruecos with an Army of eight thousand Shot, and some five thousand Horse towards Fez, leaving his second sonne Muley Boferes to governe Moruecos and Sus in his absence, untill his returne; making such speedy journeys, that he was with his Forces within one dayes journey of Fez, before his sonne Muley Sheck was certainly advised of his setting forth from Moruecos. Who, when he understood of his Fathers being so neere, and himselfe every way unprovided to resist him, would have fled towards Tafilet; but being followed by Basha Mustepha, he was constrained to take Sanctuarie, with five hundred of his best souldiers, being very good Shot and well provided. The old King the Father, seeing his sonne take the Priviledge of the place (which is much respected in that Country) willed him to come forth, and submit himselfe to his mercy: But Muley Scheck refused, either obstinate in not obeying, or fearefull he could not render a good account of his five and twentie yeaeres government in Fez. Wherefore Muley Hamet commanded Mustepha, a Basha of Sidans, though then in the old Muleys service, to take three thousand men, and perforce to enter the place; which he performed, bringing Scheck prisoner, and the rest of his company which were left alive after the conflict. The old man would in no wise admit him into his presence, but comitted him to the charge and custodie of Basha Judar, one of greatest place about the King, who carried Scheck
to Mickanes, a strong Garrison Towne, and there remained untill the time of his Fathers death, which was some five moneths after.

The old King in his journey to Fez, against his eldest sonne, passed by the Province of Tedula, and from thence tooke amongst with him his third sonne, Muley Sidan, whom he commanded to remove his household to Fez, from Sidania (a Citie which he had begun to build in Tedula, and called it after his owne name) intending to leave him Vice-roy of those parts, in the roome of his eldest sonne, whom he purposed to carry with him from Mickanes, where he was prisoner to Moruecos; which he had also performed, if hee had not been prevented by sudden death. For in August, 1603. he having set all matters in order in those parts of Fez, providing for his returne to Moruecos, put out his Tents without Fez Gates; but being abroad, he suddenly fell sicke, and his sicknesse so sore increased, that on Thursday falling sicke, on Sunday morning being the fourteenth of August, 1603. he died.

§. II.

Muley Sidan proclaimeth himselfe King in Fez. Muley Boferes in Moruecos. Muley Nassar would have done the like in Taradant, but is hindred. The death of Nassar. Warre betwenee Sidan and Boferes. Sheck set free. Fokers employed. The Battell. Sidans flight. Fewds and robberies.

Muley Sidan, by reason his Mother Lilla Isha governed the old Kings House, understood of his Fathers death, before it was noysed abroad; whereupon hee presently went forth into his Fathers Camp and Tents, from whence he carried away al such Jewels and treasure as he found there. And after his Fathers death, hee caused himselfe in Fez to be proclaimed King of Barbarie, as lawfull Heyre of his deceased Father. Lilla
A HISTORY OF BARBARY

Johora, mother to Muley Scheck, and Muley Boferes, seeing her eldest Sonne in prison, and void of all meanes to helpe himselfe at that instant, was not unmindfull of her second Sonne Boferes, whom the old King had left to governe Moruecos during his absence. To whom shee dispeeded presently Letters by one of the Kings Eunuchs: who made such haste, that in foure dayes hee came from Fez to his Tents, which were some two leagues from Moruecos, where hee had lien all the Summer before (to avoide the infection of the Plague, which had been that Summer in Moruecos) and with him was his younger Brother Muley Nassar, and his eldest Brothers Sonne Muley Abdela. Muley Boferes understanding of his Fathers death, presently entred Moruecos, and gat possession of the Alcasava, his Fathers House, before the newes of his Fathers death was noysed abroad, and generally knowne, fearing how the Alkeyds, and people of Morruceos might stand affected unto him, and knowing that if he had once possession of the Alcasava, and of his Fathers treasure, he had the best part of the Kingdome. And the next day after his entrance, he caused to be published generally thorow the whole Citie, the newes of his Fathers death; and withall, himselfe to be proclaimed King: writing Letters to the Vice-roy of Sus to doe the like in Taradant, the chiefe Citie of that Kingdome; the which he accordingly performed.

Muley Nassar, the fourth sonne of the deceased King, having been all the Summer abroad with his Brother Boferes, when now he understood of his Fathers death, followed his brother a farre off, as though he meant to have entred Morruceos with him: but comming to the Gates of the Citie, in company with Muley Abdela his Nephew, being sonne to Muley Scheck, with whom he was familiar, conferred with him about their flying into the Mountaines, perswading Muley Abdela, that he might no waies put any trust in Boferes, since his father and hee were the chiefest impediments, that hindred Boferes from claiming the Kingdom by course of justice; his Father,
Purchas His Pilgrimes

Muley Sheck being the old Kings eldest sonne, and he the eldest Sonne of his Father. Besides, his Father being in prison so neare Fez, where Muley Sidan was, it was to bee doubted, that Muley Sidan had already gotten him into his power, and it might be, had made some agreement with him already, to joyne both against Muley Boferes: which if it should so fall out, would cause Boferes to deale more cruelly with him. But these persuasions moved not Abdela, who rather chose to enter the Citie, and follow his Uncle, on whose curtesie he would relie. Though Nassar fearing how Boferes would deale with him, with all speed fled into the Mountains to the Kindred of his Mother, from whence after a few dayes with some eight hundred, or a thousand of these people whom he joined together, he passed into the Plaines of Sus, sending to the Alkeid in Taradant to proclaime him King, or else to suffer him quietly to depart. But the Alkeid having already proclaimed Muley Boferes, withstood him, and hee having no meanes wherewith to pay his soldiery and people that he had gathered together, was soone left of all, and so returned againe to his Mothers Kindred, and lived privately there about seven moneths, and then died of the plague, or as some reported, secretly poysioned, was brought to Morruecos, and there buried.

But to returne to Fez and those parts: after the death of the old King (Sidan being now proclaimed King in Fez; Boferes in Morruecos and Sus; and Muley Sheck prisoner in Mickanes, in the keeping of Basha Judar) the Souldiers being abroad in their Tents, without Fez Gates, began to be in a muteny, as well for sixeene moneths pay, which the old King owed them, as also about their returne to Morruecos, where the most part of them had left their wives and children. To appease this mutenie, Muley Sidan sent out of Fez unto them Alkeid Hamet Monsore, their chiefe Commander in the old Kings time, to promise them as well content in payment, as also a speedy returne to Morruecos with Muley Sidan himselfe. But Monsore in stead of pacifying, laboured to increase
their mutenous humours, and at last agreed with them suddenly in the night to take up their tents, and to march with him to Morruecos, alleging unto them both the uncertaintie of Muley Sidans pay, and the small likelihood of any speedy journey hee meant to take to Morruocos. And being to passe within a little of Mickanes, where the Basha kept Muley Sheck prisoner, he wrote unto the said Basha to know his intent, whither he would goe to Morruocos or no with him. To whom the Basha came, and brought Muley Sheck with him, whom they brought along as prisoner to Morruocos, and delivered him up to his brother Boferes, who kept him close prisoner in his House, some foure or five moneths, untill the comming of Muley Sidan against him in battell, by this meanes thinking to have established the whole Kingdome to Muley Boferes; who now, besides the possession of the Citie of Morruocos, and his Fathers treasure, had brought unto him the greatest part of his Fathers forces, and his elder brother put prisoner into his hands. Muley Sidan being thus deceived by Monsore, and likewise by divers other principall Alkeids (who had secretly departed from Fez, and left him) forthwith dispeeded one Mustefa, a Renegado of his owne, whom he had made a Basha, with two thousand Shot, and some Companies of Horse to Tedula, aswel to receive from the Alarbies, those duties which they alwaies pay unto their King, as also to stop, and returne to Fez, whomsoever he should find flying from thence to Morruocos, keeping possession of that Province for his use. He made likewise great preparations both of Horse and Foot in Fez, to be alwaies readie to accompany himselfe in person if need should so require, having with him in Fez of principall Alkeids, Azus, chiefe Counsellor to the late deceased King, and Lord over his Bitlemel: Bocrasia, Absadiks, and divers others.

Muley Boferes likewise in Morruocos, fore-slacked no time in making preparation to send forth against him, sending first Alcaide Gowie with some sixe hundred men to make provision of Corne, and other victuals amongst the
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Alarbies; and after he had certaine news of Muley Sidans forces to be in Tedula, he sent out his Basha Judar with five thousand Shot, choyce men; foure Pieces of Artillerie, and certaine Companies of Horse to enter Tedula, and to give battell to Mustefa the Generall of Sidans forces, or perforce to drive him out of that Country.

[II. vi. 857.] At whose comming thither, Mustefa seeing himselfe no waies strong enough to encounter with Judar, retyr'd backe againe with his Armie out of Tedula: and Judar destroyed the foundation of Sidania, (which Muley Sidan at his being in Tedula had begun to build upon the River of Morbaie, and called it Sidania, after his owne name) likewise wasted and destroyed the Country thereabout, at least so many of the Kindreds of the Alarbies as he knew to be friends to Muley Sidan, or those that would not acknowledge Boferes for King. Sidan understanding what Judar had done in Tedula, and likewise of the great preparations that his brother in Moruecos daily made to send out against him, forthwith put forth his Tents, and joyned together his whole forces, which were some eight or nine thousand Shot, and some twelve thousand Horse, with two and twentie Pieces of Artillerie, himselfe in person going along with them. And because hee was altogether unprovided of skilfull Gunners for his Ordinances, he procured from Salie out of certaine English men of warre, who at that instant were there, two English Gunners, to whom he committed the charge of his Artillerie: but by reason of much raine that had fallen, it being in the moneth of Januarie, 1604. the ground in many places was so soft, that they could not march with their Artillerie so fast as need required; so that his Artillerie never came at the battell, which was thought to be a chiefe cause of his overthrew.

Whilst these preparations were in hand on either side, Muley Boferes sent certaine Fokers, held of great estimation amongst the Moores, to his brother Muley Sidan, to treate conditions of peace: howbeit, after their dispeeding from Moruecos, hee omitted no time and diligence in
A HISTORY OF BARBARY

sending forth new Armies and fresh supplies, both of
souldiers and provision, to Judar Basha that was in Tedula,
and understanding for certaine that his brother Sidan was
in the field in person (because he himselfe had never been
inured to travell, and knowing it would bee no small
discouragement to his side, and encouragement to the
other, that Sidan should be in person in the field, and no
other his equall in Bloud in his Armie to withstand him)
hee concluded a colourable Peace betweene himselfe and
his eldest brother Muley Sheck, whom untill that time hee
kept close prisoner in his house, agreeing with him that
hee should goe forth into his Armie, and joyne with Judar
to fight against Muley Sidan, whom if hee overthrew in
battell, hee should enjoy the Kingdome of Fez, and so
much of those Easterne parts of Barbarie, as hee injoyed
in their Fathers time: on condition, that at his entrance
into Fez, he should proclaime Muley Boferes King, and
himselfe onely Vice-roy, and so still acknowledge his
government there, as derived from Boferes. And to the
intent Muley Sheck should the better observe these condi-
tions according to their agreement, hee was to leave his
eldest sonne in pawne with Muley Boferes in Moruecos.
On these plausible conditions, Muley Sheck was set at
libertie, a happie turne for himselfe as hee thought, who
never looked for any better but perpetuall imprisonment,
with much miserie. But the truth is, Basha Judar had
secret advertisement from his Master Boferes (yet not so
secret, but it was knowne to Muley Sheck, and closely
carried of him by interception of Letters betwixt Moruecos
and the Campe in Tedula), that hee should abridge Muley
Sheck of any command in the Campe, or matter of coun-
sell in ordering of the Fight; onely shew him to the
Souldiers under his Canopie, that the Fezes who were
the strength of Sidans Armie, might know Sheck was in
the Campe of Boferes, whom they loved in regard partly
of his long abode amongst them, but especially of his great
liberalitie, or rather prodigalitie, formerly shewed unto
them, which wrought much in their minds at the ensuing
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

battell: and withall the Basha had a speciall charge sent, and his Guard so to watch him, that (if hee got the battell) hee should bring Muley Sheck in Yrons as safe a prisoner from the Campe to Moruecos, as once hee had done from Mickanes. But this being discovered. Muley Sheck so shuffled his Game, that though Judar won the Field, Muley Sheck escaped unto Fez, and was lovingly entertained of the Citizens, proclaiming himselfe King of Barbarie.

But returne we to the Fokers, treating about conditions of Peace in Fez with Muley Sidan, who by intelligence understood from Moruecos of the fresh supplies of Souldiers, daily sent out by his brother to the Basha, whereby hee greatly suspected those offers of Peace, to bee but a device to prolong the time, whilst his whole forces were in a readiness, and then suddenly to have come upon him unawares, before he should be provided for him. And therefore hee returned the Fokers with denials of the offered conditions of Peace, and himselfe thinking to take the oportunitie and advantage of the time, before either his brothers new forces should come to the Basha, or Muley Sheck his eldest brother be set at libertie. He caused with all diligence to bee gotten together some two thousand Mules and Horses, and upon everie Mule to bee set two Souldiers with their furniture, and so (without any stay for the rebarring of Tents, or carrying along of his Artillerie with him) to bee with all haste possible, sent and joyned to the Almohalla of Alkeid Mustefa which lay hard by the River of Morbaie, in the fight of the Almohalla of Basha Judar, the River onely betweene them: hee himselfe likewise in person went along with some seven or eight thousand of his Horsemen, thinking by this meanes to come with the chiepest and best of his forces upon Basha Judar, before the Basha should expect him, or before the comming of Muley Sheck, who for his liberalitie and bounty in former times, was greatly beloved of all the Souldiers both of Fez, and also of Moruecos. But this policie of his herein tooke no place, for Muley Sheck after hee was set at libertie, made such speedie
Journies that he came to the Almohalla of the Basha, before the Muley Sidan had certaine intelligence of his libertie, and yet hee entred the Almohalla but on the Tuesday, the battel being fought upon the Friday following. Muley Sidan understanding for certayne that his eldest Brother was come into the Basha his Almohalla, thought it no time for him to deserre giving of Battayle, least it should be knowne amongst his Souldiers, (many of whom in former times had served the said Muley Sheck.) And therefore on Friday the sixt of January 1604. the Forces of each side met and joyned together, betweene whom there was no long fight, for upon the discharging of foure Peeces of Artillery, (which Judar Basha had with him) some three or foure times, a great part of the Souldiers of Muley Sidan beganne to fuye: except some choice men which were in that part of the Battayle where the Muley himselfe was: by reason of the resolution of their Commander, continued somewhat longer, but in the end fled when as the Canopie over Muley Sidans head was shot downe with a Piece of Ordnance. At which mischance, and not before, the Muley himselfe began to leave the field; who in the managing of this battayle was some thing to be blamed; for being come to his Campe an houre before day, he should not have delayed two houres and more the present on-set, gazing in his Enemies face, and giving them time to ready themselves to fight, whom otherwise hee might have taken at the disper-view, and his Fezzzes whom he halfe mistrusted, no premeditation to revolt or runne away. On Muley Shecks side few were slaine, and of Muley Sidans side the greatest number was some sise hundred men.

The three Brethren thus striving for the Golden Ball of Soveraigntie, Justice was trodden downe. The Larbees robbed one another, the strongest carrying away all. Quarrels betwixt Families and Tribes, which durst not be talked of in old Muley Hamets time, came to be decided with the Sword. After this battaile all wayes were stopped with Robbers, no trading from the Port Townes
to Moruecos, without great strength of men. Muley Boferes (who had the Imperiall seat) was neither so fit for action, or to doe Justice, as Muley Sidan who had lost the day. And that the Kindred, called Weled Entid, well knew, which presuming upon the soft nature of Boferes and their owne strength, which consisted of fifteene thousand horse, foraged up to Moruecos gates, fore-closed all passages for Travellers, making Merchants goods their prizes: Wheras an exemplary punishment executed upon them for their robbing in Fez by Muley Sidan, whilst he reigned there, made them thinke the Countrey too hot: For Sidan commanded Alkeid German with two thousand Souldiers in hostile manner, to fall upon the next Dwar of Tents belonging to that Tribe, to burne Man, Woman, Childe, Kine, Sheepe, and whatsoever belonged to them, not to spare it upon his owne life from Fire and Sword, which fully executed and so boldly, that Muley Sidan sighed hearing the true report, yet it made Fez the peaceablest part in Barbarie. But returne we to Sidans fortunes after he lost the field, having the overthow, retyr'd backe to Fez, and forthwith was Alkeid Azus (the onely man in the latter dayes of the old King, favored by the whole Countrey) dispeeded towards Moruecos, to treate of a peace, and himselfe beganne to make head againe to resist such forces as should follow him; but before he could bring his forces together againe, newes was brought unto him that his Brother Muley Sheck, was neere at hand with certain companies of Horse-men, and that the whole Almohalla of the Basha was not farre behind. So that then hee was rather to consider of, and to provide for his escaping by flight, then any ways to resist: and having before put some nine hundred thousand Duckats in Allarocha, for the which money he had sent one of his Alkeids after his returne from the battayle; hee thought it his best course to passe that way, and to take that money along with him, but he was followed so hardly by Alkeid Abdela Wahad, and Alkeid Umsoud Umbily, Boferes Servants, that he was forced to flye directly towards
Trinisine, and to leave that Treasure behind him which was taken by his Brother Muley Sheck.

In these his frowning fortunes, the most of his Alkeids left him, and amongst others Mumine Bocrasia flying to Moruecos, in whom he put no small trust: and more then the Servants of his house, he had no man of account but forsooke him, onely Alkeid Absadicke, Hado Tabid, and Mustepha; the two latter of them being his houshold Servants, and belonging to him in his Fathers time, left him not in his adversitie: So that any Alkeid of the Cassas or Castes in Barbarie, he had no more then Absadicke, who rather then he would leave him (although allured by the persuasions of his Brother Alkeid Abdela Wahad, and entreated by the teares of his Sonne to returne, both of them being in the pursuit of Muley Sidan, and in a Playne overtooke the said Absadicke,) yet he left his house and children at the mercie of Muley Boferes his Master and Enemie. The Alkeids who followed in pursitue of Muley Sidan, followed him so hard, that besides the treasure of Allarocha, they likewise tooke much of the Muleys Treasure that hee carried along with him, although with that small company of Horses, which were no more then twentie Horse-men or thereabout, hee returned many times, and fought with those who pursued him, in person, being still one of the foremost in these Skirmishes, untill Alkeid Umbilie who pursued him, admiring his resolution, and pittyng his miserable estate, requested his Majestie to keepe on his way, and save himselfe by flight, he not purposing to pursue him any further. And so the Muley in this miserable estate (forsaken almost of all) kept on his way to Trinisine a Towne bordering upon the Turkes, in the Frontiers of the Kingdome of Argiers: and the Alkeids who pursued him, returned againe to Fez.

[§. III.]
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

§. III.

Muley Sheck proclaymeth himselfe King in Fez, Sidan goeth to Tafilet, from thence into Sus. Peace concluded betwenee Muley Boferes, and Muley Sidan. Abdela Shecks Sonne escapeth Sir Anthony Sherleys Embassage, Bountie and State.

After Muley Sidans flight in this manner, Muley Sheck entred Fez, where hee was joyfully received of them, proclaymed himselfe King, and not Governour under his Brother Boferes. And it being in the time of Rummadan, all the Almohallas of Moruecos returned home against the Pascha: from whence after the celebration of the Feast, they were sent forth to all parts of the Country against the Larbies: among whom were as great Civill Warres, as among the Brethren, for in this time of so many Kings, they would acknowledge none, or pay duty to any of the three Brethren. Whereupon Hamet Monsore with three thousand Souldiers, was sent into Sus in the moneth of Aprill, 1604. but his men dying of the Plague (which was very hot at that time) and thereby the Larbies little regarding his power, would bring him no victuals, so that with the remaynder of his men, he was constrained to returne towards Moruecos. Divers other Almohallas were sent abroad into severall parts of the Countrey, but in the beginning of June, newes comming of Muley Sidans returne from Trimasine to Tafilet, they were all sent for by Boferes to returne to Moruecos, and be joyned together the second time against Muley Sidan: who having some few monethes lived about Trimasine with some fiftie Souldiers, went towards Tafilet, about which part lived the Cassa or Caste of Alkeid Absadock (who was Master of the Hawkes to Muley Hamet) and brought to Sidan, of his Caste some twelve hundred Horses, with which force he entered Tafilet: The Alkeid of Muley Boferes flying to Dara or Draw with his
A HISTORY OF BARBARY

Souldiers. In Tafilet, Muley Sidan stayed some forty dayes, where he understood perfectly of the estate of Sus, and had Letters from divers of his Wel-willers there: understanding of Alkeid Hamet Monsores departure from thence: And that the Shebanites which is the greatest Cast in all Barbarie, and the Casse or Cast of the Muleys Mother, would not acknowledge Boferes for King, and likewise, how most of all the Casts in Sus desired his comming thither: Whereupon hee prepared what Forces he could there get, to goe into Sus. Muley Boferes upon the first newes of his Brothers comming to Tafilet, called in all his Almohallas, and joyning some foure thousand shot of them besides Horse, sent them from Moruecos to Dara, under the command of his Son Muley Abdelmelech, with whom went divers principall Alkeids, as Alkeid Gowie, Umbilie, and Mumine Bocraasia, who in the first battayle of Muley Sidan was a principall man of command on his side, and after his overthrow fled from him to Moruecos, with divers others. The chiefe intent of these Forces was to stop the passages from thence to Sus, which Muley Sidan perceiving before the comming of their whole Forces, he passed by Alcatouy, where the Horse-men on each side skirmished, the Footmen not being able to come up, and some slaine of either side, but no man of account, save onely Alkeid Mumine Bocraasia, who as some reported dyed with thirst, beeing over-heated (the battayle beeing fought in the middest of July) or as others reported, beeing wounded, and returning to his Tent, calling for water, after hee had drunkne it presently dyed; whose death was little lamented or pittyed of the Moores, they saying, hee was justly rewarded for being a Traytour to Muley Sidan his Master, who was not onely contented to leave him in his misfortunes, and to flye to his Brother, but also to goe forth into the field against him.

Muley Sidans Forces were so small, that he was not able to match in strength the Forces of his Enemies, & therefore was constrained to passe into Sus by the way of the Sahara, and durst not passe by Draw: In which Sands
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

for want of water, both he and his whole company had almost perished, and after much misery indured in that Journey, hee arrived at Aca, where Sidie Abdela Imbark the great Foker dwelleth, the friendship of whom obtained, hee knew that all his Brothers Forces could not dispossesse him of the Kingdome of Sus, in such great reverence is that Church-man held in those parts, that the people will obey none, but whom he commandeth them.

He being come hither, the Foker by letters to Muley Boferes, then at Moruecos, procured that there might be a Treaty of peace betweene the two brethren: Wherupon, in August following, Anno 1604. Alkeyd Azus was sent to Muley Sidan to Aca, where by the endeavours of the said Alkeyd and the Foker, a peace was concluded, betweene Muley Boferes and his brother Muley Sidan, this to injoy the Kingdome of Sus, and the other the residue of the Empire, whereupon Sidan peaceably entered Taradant the chiefe City in that Kingdome: upon whose entrance thither, Sus which in all former times had beene the most unquiet and rebellious part of all Barbary, through his execution of Justice, became the onely peaceable and well governed Countrey of that Kingdome, all other parts of Barbarie, that were under the government, and belonging to the other two brethren, as then remaining very unquiet, and full of all tumults: Neither was his government any way to be misliked, but that scarce setled, he charged the Countrey with greater impositions then his Father ever demanded, insomuch as Sedie Abdela Imbark, who was the onely man that first brought him thither, reprooved his courses: and the Mountainers of Atlas, being good Souldiers, excellent shot, and their dwelling by nature defencible, finding his yoke too heavy, the lesse regarded him or his power; which humour of theirs was nourished by secret practises of Boferes, loth that Sidan should either grow great in friends, or treasure. But the Inhabitants of the Plaine and lower Regions felt the smart of his rod, knowing their throats lay at his mercy, when
as the Mountaineers defended themselves with open armes, and oftentimes gave the new king his hands full.

The peace concluded betwixt Boferes and Sidan, by the meanes of Abdela Imbark, and Azus, the wisest Counsellor that Barbary hath: we will leave Sidan at Sus, seeking his owne end once more to become Master of Moruecos, and returne to Boferes, who was troubled which way to contrive the regaining of Muley Sheck: who like a Bird had broken cage, and was flown to Fez, making a faire pretence to governe but as Vice-roy, yet secretly practised with forraigne States, either to make them his friends, whereunto he might flie, if Muley Boferes by force should drive him out of Fez, or rather then he would lose footing in Afrike, determined to bring in forraigne power, for his aid. Wherefore Boferes fearing a Christian storme which might haile bullets, was carefull to keepe Abdela, Muley Sheck his eldest son, the safer to keepe the father surer from doing mischiefe. But it happened the plague was sharpe in Moruecos, therefore Boferes sent his son Muley Abdelmanelge some five miles forth of Moruecos with his Tents, and Muley Shecks sonne with him, but either his keepers were negligent and corrupted, or else young Abdela too wilie, for one night he made escape out of the Campe, and having horses ready layd, posted to his Father at Fez. This gallant being at liberty, sought all meanes to defend his Title, being the eldest brothers sonne: his stirring spirit and youthful hopes drew all the minds of the Fezzes unto him: insomuch as Muley Boferes sore afflicted with his escape, but more with the newes of his preparations, dispeeded Azus unto Muley Sidan then in Sus, with request he would goe personally to bataille against Sheck and Abdela his sonne: Muley Sidan well entertained this message, and with all convenient speed drawing his owne forces together, came within halfe a dayes journey of Moruecos, there pitching his Tents, but not determining to hazard his fortune, or trust the price of his owne head under his brothers hands, yet daily he sent letters by his servants of great credite, wherein he was
willing to undertake the charge of warre against Abdela, so that he might make choice of Captaines and Commanders, and such proportion of Souldiers as he thought fit, to undergoe an action of such import. This proposition was neither liked of Boferes or his Counsell, yet making faire weather to Muley Sidan, letters passed from him daily of great love farced with many complements, much misliking his brothers mistrust, not daring to jeopard his person within Moruecos.

Muley Sidan meaning to prove what correspondency his brother Boferes heart carried with his hand, framed a letter which was sent as from the chieuest man in those Mountaine Countreys of Atlas, to Muley Boferes, full of duety and services, offering withall to send him Sidans head, who was encamped within his Countrey, at the foot of the hilles. Answere to this letter was returned with great thankes, and a large reward of gold promised, if a businesse of that high and important service would be performed. When Sidan by this had construed his brothers meaning, he raysed Campe, went to Tafilet, and remained in the Countrey of Dara, gathering in of money and men, after two moneths spent with his brother to no effect at all. Boferes seeing Sidan departed, and destitu of his helpe for Fez, committed his Campe to Abdelmelch his owne son, who was to be advised by the Counsels of Basha Judar, Alkeyd Hamet Monsore, Sedy Gowie, and Alkeyd Bokerse (thorow whose hands passed all businesse of Christian Merchants, so well dispatched, and so good regard thereof taken, that he was well liked of every man for his good dealing.) This Campe being come within a dayes journey of Fez, which is twenty dayes march from Moruecos, there the Souldiers fell to a mutenie, and three thousand of them revolted unto Sheck, crying openly, Long live Muley Sheck. Hereupon Abdelmelch called a Counsell of warre, wherein it was concluded, though their number were twice as many, to returne without blow given backe to Moruecos, perceiving indeed their Souldiers hearts quite alienated from them.
About this time being the beginning of October, arrived at Saphia Sir Anthony Sherley, as Ambassadour from the Emperour of Germanie, to the King of Moruecos: his attendance was better then a private man, though somewhat wanting of the person from whom he was sent, few of note were in his company, being in all about thirteene persons, of every Christian language one, because he would be fitted for interpretation of tongues. Amongst these was Sir Edwin Rich, whose behaviour was good and well spoken of in every place where he came, not straying his credite to borrow money, but well provided to serve his owne turne, answering to his birth, state, and disbursements for the time. Sir Anthonie then taking the Title of Ambassadour, during foure Moneths aboad in Saphia, kept open house; invited all Christian Merchants daily, both to dinner and supper: to supplie his owne turne for money, he got credite of Jewes to take up money, and pay them in Morruecos, but at excessive rate, almost fifty for a hundred. He bought likewise of an English Merchants Factor, being at dinner with him, at two or three words, a ship of a hundred & sixty Tunne, with all her lading being Wheat, paying him in hand two thousand ounces, and if he were not paid the rest of his money within ten dayes after his arrivall in Morruecos, then the buyer to lose his earnest. But before he went up, Abdelmelech returning from Fez, by reason of his Souldiers Treason, the King of Fez marched towards Morruecos, some foure dayes journey, and there gave siege unto a Port Towne called Sally, and tooke it, but the Castle he could not win. So the Alkeyd of the Castle wrote to Muley Boferes, that though the Towne were lost, the Castle he would keepe for him, if he sent three hundred quarters of Corne to victuall his men, and a fresh supply for fifty Souldiers. Boferes loath to lose the place, and hearing Sir Anthonie had bought a ship of Corne, writ to Saphie, and willed him to send his ship to Sallie, and there to unlade her Corne for the reliefe of the Castellan, and his Souldiers. Sir Anthonie, willing to doe the King
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

a favour, sent for the Captaine and Merchant of the ship, willed them to goe for Sallie, and paying them for three hundred quarters, dealt so that thither they went, but the Castell being yeelded before they came, the Captaine and Merchant landed neither men, nor corne, but returned to Saphie.

By this time were sent for the Conduct of the Embassadour five hundred men, under the command of two Alkeyds: unto every Souldier Sir Anthonie gave a Turbith as a Livery of his love, which made them respect and honour him exceedingly, insomuch as one of the two Alkeyds, not hastning to conduct the Embassadour up to Morruecos, but to provide himselfe of Corne, it being exceeding deare at Morruecos, Sir Anthonie desirous to set forward, and the Souldiers willing to pleasure him, fell to mutenie, in regard of the Alkeyds slacknesse, killing two of his men to hasten their master forward. After his foure moneths abode in Saphie, wherein his bountie was extraordinary, not to his Countri-men onely, but to Flemish, French, and Spanish, admired of his Souldiers, he was received into Morruecos with great state, having by the way, as also during his abode in Saphie, divers letters from the King, extolling his honourable endeavours, and approoved valiantnesse in his farre adventures both by sea and land, not omitting any Courtship to win his love, or make him doubt his welcome.

After two dayes stay in the Citie, the King made preparation for his entertainment at Court, whether he went, suting his followers as well as the shortnesse of time could suffer, and his credite with the Christian Merchants could affoord, which was good, for two Spaniards were so rapt with admiration of his worth, and by his speeches allured with so strange hope, that they fell in emulation, whether should doe him more services, or helpe him to more money: reasonably attended, he rode to Court, not lighting from his horse, where the Kings sonnes usually doe, but rode thorow the Mushward, (which is the Kings great Hall, wherin most of his Lords, Gentlemen, and
chiefe sort of people doe attend, when they come to Court) which none but the King himselfe doth. Being come into the Kings presence, his Letters of credite were received, with great shew of kindnesse, and himselfe entertained with all gracious respect, not onely at the Kings hands, but of the principallesse men in office or favour about the Court, and so for that time was dismissed, the chiefest men attending him backe to the place where hee tooke horse. Some five dayes after, Sir Anthonie Sherley comming to audience, and thinking to have ridden in as he did before, a chaine was hung crosse the entrance of the Mushward, which he perceiving onely done to hinder his passage, would not alight from his Horse, but returned backe very discontented. This being certified to Boferes, presently three of his chiefest Alkeyds were sent to qualifie the matter. But Sir Anthonie tooke the disgrace not as his owne, but his whose person he represented, telling the Alkeyds, his master the Emperor, was able and would requite the injury, neither did he feare, though now within the power of Boferes, knowing the greatnesse of him in whose service he was imploied, so farre surpassing the King of Morruecos, as maugre the proudest, he would be fetched from thence, and be fully revenged of the least injury done unto him. The three Alkeyds layd the blame upon the Kings Porter, offering Sir Anthonie the Porters head, if he would have it, so spending an houre to pacifie his choller, and bring him backe, the Porter before his face was sore beaten and imprisoned, neither ever after was hee hindered of riding thorow the Mushward.

During his abode in Morruecos, which was five moneths, Boferes and he had divers private conferences, as it was generally thought, which way to keepe him in the Kingdome against his two brethren Sheck and Sidan; as also to give the great Turke a blow to drive him out of Argiers and Tunes. From Morruecos Sir Anthonie departed with great content to himselfe, and good liking of Boferes, of whom he bought two Portugall Gentlemen,
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

for a hundred and fifty thousand ounces, which amounteth to some ten thousand pound sterling. These two had beene Captives in Moruecos almost sixeene yeeres, the one, sonne to the Vice-roy of the East Indies, the other of a Noble house in Portugall. The first had his resgat thrise sent for to ransome him out of the East Indies, but twise it was taken by the English, once by Flemmings during our late warres with them: the other, his brethren drive him off for his resgat, either to save so much money, or not able to pay so great a fine. To accompany him from the Court to Saphie, was sent one of the Kings Gentlemen Ushers, to whom at his parting, he threw him his Hat which he wore from his head, with a Jewell of great value, rewarding largely all the Ushers followers. For his Guard (the wayes being then very dangerous) was sent downe with him, foure hundred shot, under the Command of Alkeyd Abdela Sinko, a Portugall Renegado, (which is a Christian turned Moore.) This man, whether by persuasian, or voluntarily, desiring to see his native Countrey, in the night gat aboard of the ship Sir Edwin Rich was in, not Sir Anthonies, the ship presently weighing Anchor, made saile for Spaine, but the other remaining with Sir Anthony in the Harbour.

This dealing was taken in ill part, insomuch that five of his men being sent to shoare for certayne provision which they lacked, were clapped up in prison, and sent in chains to Moruecos, but afterward released. Sir Anthonie writing to the King, both to cleare himselfe of the fact, and desiring remedie for these his new sustained grievances, set a good shew upon the matter, staid foure dayes after the other ship which had carried away the Alkeyd, and would have tarried untill he had his five men againe, but that he was written unto to be gone from an especiall friend a shoare, advising him he did not wel to ride so long in the Port, divers Flemish-men of war being abroad, and if any should chance to come in there, as seldome it is without, they finding these two Gentlemen as prize would sease upon them, and then was there lost
thirty five thousand ounces, which a Merchants Factor had lent Sir Anthonie Sherley to cleare him out of the Countrey, for which the Factor had the two Portugals bound to pay this debt at their arrivall in Lisbon. Upon this advertisement he departed, and the next day Boferes sent him a letter, to cleare his men. And so I returne to the file of my continued History.

§. IIII.

Muley Abdela goeth in person against Muley Boferes; driveth him out of Moruecos; Putteth to death Basha Sidar, and other Noblemen; Sidan expelleth him, and killeth three thousand Fezans perfideously, requited by Abdela. Shracles trechery unjustly punished. Sidans flight. Many Englishmen imploied in these warres, and slaine.

Uley Sheck, putting his sonne Abdela forward to the whole Command of the armie, himselfe meaning to save one, kept in Allaroca three Italian ships, purposing if matters prospered not well, with Treasure sufficient to goe to Florence: but the battell not fought, his determination altered, for he presently seized all strangers ships which came either to Laratch, Salie, or other parts, as also some Merchants ships of Fez, robbing them of their goods, making their Mariners land their Peeces, and all the men either to serve him, or else to have the Iron given them. Heereby he fitted himselfe of Captaines and Souldiers being English, French, and Dutch, with seven and twentie Peeces of Ordnance and shot threunto sufficient. And so fired the mind of his sonne Abdela, with hope of winning Moruecos (being of himselfe drunken with the ambitious desire of a Kingdome) that Abdela about the latter end of November 1606. marched to Moruecos with his troupes being some ten thousand horse and foot, besides his Christian
Mariners, whose helpe won him the field, fought some
sixe miles Southeast from Moruecos, on the eight of
December, 1606. Sheck bore his sonne company no
farther then Salie, from whence three houres riding, is a
River called Mamora, into which Bay the Italian ships
put in: Sheck went thither, and hard by the ships upon
the shoare pitched his Tent wherein he lay, part of his
Treasure being shipped, himselfe determined there to stay,
and expect the event of his sonne, if it passed well with
him, then Africke should hold him, otherwise to visite
the great Duke of Thuscane, on whose curtesie he much
rested. But the Christian Gunners so well observed their
times of shooting and placing their Ordnance, as they got
Abdela the field, hoping thereby to have obtained both
liberty, and pillage, of which most of them poore men
failed, as afterward you shall read.

When Sheck heard Abdela had got Moruecos, hee grew
carelesse to send provision or supplie the wants of his three
Italian ships, wherefore, they set sayle from Mamora
homewards, taking such Treasure for their pay as were in
their custodies. Boferes lost in this battayle about sixe
hundred men, fled into the Citie to save his Treasure and
his women, but for feare of being surprized, durst not
tarry to take his Treasure away with him, but in all haste
posted toward the Mountaynes, willing the Alkeids and
chiefest men of his Court to bring it after him, with the
rich Sword, the like whereof is not in the World: com-
mitting also to their conduct his Daughter, and the
choyseth of his women, amongst whom was the Wife of
Ben Wash the Kings Merchant. At the entry of the hils,
A kindred of the Larbies being five hundred Horse-men,
seized upon these people, pillaged their Carriages, rifled
and dishonoured the women, not sparing Boferes Daughter,
whom Abdela determined to have married, but hearing
divers Moores to have lyen with her, and also that she
was suspected to have lived in Incest with her Father;
after his entrance into Moruecos, he never enquired farther
after her. The Alkeids beeing well mounted by the
swiftnesse of their Horses, returned backe to Moruecos, and there tooke Sanctuary. Abdela upon their submission promised them pardon, on whose Princely word they relying, came forth, the Foker of the place presenting them: But Muley Abdela, whether incited by envious counsell, or on his owne blody minde, putteth them so secretly to death, that sending all their heads in one Sacke to Fez, for a Present to his Father, their deaths was not fully knowne in the Citie of Moruecos, before their heads were set upon Fez gates. Here was the end of Basha Judar a great Souldier in old Hamets time, a faithfull Commander during his life to Boferes, accompanied with Sedie Gowie, Alkeid Azus his Sonne, Alkeid Moden the Cassemie, and some foure great men more.

This tyranny of Abdela shewed upon these valiant and worthy men; and the spoyle which the Fezees had made aswell in robbing the Alkeids houses, as in rifing the Citizens goods, and committing all out-rages which follow Warre, caused many to flye to Muley Sidan, and the rest which remayned in Moruecos grew discontented, so that the Sunne-shine of Abdelas happinesse scarce lasted two monethes: for Sidan resting in the halfe way betweene Moruecos and Fez, taking oportunitie of this uproare of the Townesmen, marched toward Moruecos on the North-side of the Towne, determining to give present battayle, hearing by the Scowts, that Muley Abdela his Campe was lodged in the great Garden or Orchard called the Almowetto, being some two English miles about. The first night of Sidans approach, the Prisoners were released, the Prisons broken open, so that these men getting libertie, ranne halfe madde up and downe the Citie, crying, Long live Sidan, which troubled the Citizens not a little: And in this uproare, Sidans Faction let into the Citie (at a secret gate) many of his Souldiers, which made a Sally upon the Regiment of Zalee, meaning to have surprized Abdelas Campe, but himselfe comming to the rescue with two thousand men, continued a hot Skirmish against the Sidanians, in which the Christians fought vali-
 PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

antly to recover their Peeces of Artillery which were lost, until the Sidians were forced to retyre. The next day beeing the five and twentieth of Aprill, Stilo novo, Abdela remooved towards Muley Sidan, who was encamped on the North-side of the Citie, not daring to come on the South-side, for feare of the shot which galled his men from the Battlemets of the Kings House. Therefore he hearing of Abdelas remove, and intending to venture his fortune upon a present battayle, set forward to meet him with a Regiment of his best Horse: Abdela perceiving this, caused his Canoniers to march formost, which could but place five Peeces of their Artillery in a brest, because the Orchards and Gardens made the passages very narrow and strait; where as the Armies should meete, Sidans Horse-men gave a very gallant charge, but the Canoniers made them retyre: Which Abdelas Horse-men perceiv- ing, being encouraged, and too eager of the Chase, some thousand Horse galloped before their owne Ordnance, and followed their Enemie close to Sidans Campe, their Peeces of Artillery being drawne after them. Muley Sidan well knowing the advantage of the place, seeing his Enemies deprived of the benefit of their great Ordnance, which he most feared, encouraged his men to keepe their ground, and bringing with his owne person fresh supplyes to second them, gave his Adversaries the Abdelians so hot a charge, that they were fayne to retyre in great disorder, upon the mouthes of their owne Artillery. This dis-array perceived by the Christian Gunners, it put them in minde to discharge upon their owne men the Abdelians, holding it better to kill five or sixe hundred of their owne side, then to lose the battayle. But the Moore, who was Captayne over the Canoniers and other Commanders, would not suffer it: Wherefore the Sidians following in good order, and very close, fell to the execution with their Swords, surprized the Artillery, and slue the men. The slaughter continued some foure houres, betwixt seven or eight thousand killed, and few to speake on left alive, for what the Souldiers spared, the Citizens in revenge of
A HISTORY OF BARBARY

their Disorders, Pillages, and Villanies done to their women, bereaved them of their lives, who beeing dead were not suffered to bee buryed, but lay above the ground as a prey to the Dogges and Fowles of the Ayre. Heavie likewise was the Conquerours hand upon the Christians which tooke Abdelas part, most of them for their five monethes service to Abdela, were either slayne in the fury of battayle, or after had his throat cut. And this was the end of them, who had lived in the Streights of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean Sea, not as Merchants by honest Trading, but having committed spoyle upon divers Sea-faring men, felt the bloudie hand of a barbarous Nation, (as a deserved punishment sent from God) to execute Justice for their manifold committed wrongs and out-rages.

This battayle being lost with the greatest bloud-shed that any hath beene since these Warres beganne, Muley Abdela fled to Fez, a hundred persons of his whole Army not left alive to beare him company: And Sidan Master of the field, entred the Citie of Moruecos, having another taske to take in hand ere he could settle himselfe quietly in his owne Nest. For the Kings House being Castle-wise builded, and severed from the Citie with a defencible and a strong wall, lacking no kind of Munition for the defence thereof, had within it, besides Souldiers of Moruecos, three thousand Fezees who were not at the last battayle, but left there to guard the place for Abdela.

These presuming on their owne valour and strength of the place, denied to render it upon any termes to Sidan, though they were sollicited, during the space of two dayes, by all faire meanes thereunto: Sidan bringing his Artillery to the wals, yet delayed, as loth to deface a building so strong, costly, and beautifull; So that in the meane time a Captaine whose house joyned to the wall, by stealth with five hundred men, scaled and wonne the top of the wall, crying, Victory for Muley Sidan, which so amazed the Souldiers within, thinking the Forces which were entered farre greater then they were, without more adoe or
offering to resist, they tooke Sanctuary in the great Church belonging to the Kings House, every man with his Peece and Furniture about him.

Muley Sidan upon this, sent Basha Seleman, willing them to deliver up their Armes, with promise they should bee pardoned, which presently they did, yeelding and delivering both Swords and Peeces. Thus disarmed, they, silly soules, came forth, when presently after, message came from the King to butcher and cut the throats of them all, which was executed. A pittifull matter in my judgement, so many men yeelding upon good composition, after fury of battayle, upon cold bloud to bee made so pittifull a spectacle: it was bootlesse for them to allege eyther Law or reason in defence of their lives; such is the misery and slavery of that people, whose goods and lives lyeth alwayes in the will of the King, eyther to save, or destroy at his pleasure.

Now is Sidan settled in Moruecos but scarce secure, for the chiefest men in the Citie wished an alteration, because their King to get their money and wealth to maintayne his owne estate, beganne to picke quarrels with them, making some who began to speake and repine at his doings, lose their heads, Quoniam Canis mortuus non latrat: The common people whose naturall condition is always to desire Novelties, wished for a new King, feeling his oppression, and the Famine whereof many dyed, grew carelesse of peace, thinking every change would bring a remedie, when indeed it was like the Incision of an unskilfull Surgeon, not curing the Malady, but making the wound wider, Gangrened, and incurable. Sidan purposing to purge this male-contented humour of the Commonalty, rysed an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and sixe thousand Horse, determining to take Fez. The chiefe men of command over this Army, were these, Basha Mustepha, Alkeid Hamet Benbreham, Alkeid Ally Tahila, Alkeid Gago, and Alkeid Hadoe Tobib, with divers others: Muley Sidan not going in person with this Army, least in his absence Moruecos the Seat of the Empire
should revolt. Muley Sheck hearing these newes, went to Allarocha, there take a great Flemmish ship from the Merchants, with all the goods in her, therein shipping his Treasure, determining to runne away, if his Sonne Abdela should lose Fez. Abdela omitted no time to gather new Forces, so that in small time he thought himselfe sufficient to meete the Sidanians in open field, and so he did neere to Mickanes, where the people on Sidans part, missing their King in the field, or any one of the Bloud Royall refused to fight, and in stead of striking, fell to parley; That if Abdela would pardon them, they would yeeld, and so they did, yet most of them ranne away, except three thousand Morruekyns, who presuming upon Abdelas gentle nature, stayd with him, hoping kind entertainment into his pay, in stead whereof, Muley Abdela commanded all their throats to be cut, granting them onely this favour: first, to be stripped for fowling their clothes.

Thus we may see, mercilesse Sidan butcher poore soules at Moruecos, pittilesse Abdela murder these unfortunate slaves at Mickanes, both verifying the old Proverbe, Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi. In this battayle were taken betwixt thirtie and fortie Englishmen, who served Muley Sidan as Canoniers, yet not any of that company which served Abdela at Moruecos, when he lost the Citie and field, but other Voluntaries, part of these fled with the bodie of the Army backe to Moruecos, part were taken, whom Abdela spared, as well in regard of former services the Nation had done him, as also for the present use he was to employ them in. This Expedition of Sidans comming to so unlooked a disaster, made him send forth his Commanders with divers companyes, to the Alarbies, for fresh supply of men and Treasure: amongst which as Chiefe was dispeeded Basha Seleman, Master of the old Kings Horse for Tafilet, there to governe the Countrey, carrying with him some fiftene hundred Shot, of which sixe hundred were Shracies, people of the King of Chaus, or Concoes Countrie, who

A.D.
c. 1609.

Faithlesse butcherie.

Thirty or forty Englishmen Canoniers, taken by Abdela.

[II. vi. 867.] Shracies muteny.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

hath alwaies warres with Algiers or Argiers. These Shraceis were borne in the Mountaines at Atlas, being of a fierce and bloody nature, not respecting the Turkes might or government, no more then the Mountainers of Moruecos, will acknowledge the Soveraigntie of the Barbarian. Some twelve hundred of these had Sidan in his pay, halfe part whereof he kept at Moruecos, the other was sent with Solyman. These amongst themselves fell into a muteny, neither for want of pay, or ill usage, but in desire to doe a mischiefe, by force cut off the Bashaes head, carrying it with them as a Trophy of their victorie, and a fit present to win Abdela's favour, who was then at Fez, whither they went for entertainement, Sidan herewith moved, made Proclamation, that for three moneths what Shracee soever, Souldier, or any other, were to be found in Moruecos, or elsewhere in his Dominions, should be put to the Sword, and to have it better & more fully executed, it was proclaimed, that the Man-killer should have the goods of the Shracee so killed. Many rich men of this Nation or Kindred resiant in Moruecos, felt the furie of the Sword, for the folly and foule fault of their Tribe: such as could get packing, ran away; others of the better sort, their friends hid them in their houses, untill Sidan scared with newes of Abdela comming towards him, proclaimed generall pardon for the remainder left alive, and free passage of trading or commerce for any Shracee, which would venture to Moruecos. Yet few durst come upon these goodly termes, or those who lay hid in Moruecos, if they were worth any thing, shew themselves in publike, for feare this were a pretence to bring the residue unto the halter. Those Shracees who were sole causers of this massacre, being with Abdela at Fez, daily moved him to goe towards Moruecos, vowing everie man to die in his cause, and for revenge of their Wives, Children, and Friends, who had smarted for their sakes. Abdela something animated with their offers, yet delayed, knowing his Forces farre inferior unto Sidans, untill still urged by the Shracee, which had brought from
A HISTORY OF BARBARY

the Mountaines some store of their Kindred, very able and resolute men to his aide, he set forwards about the latter end of August, towards Moruecos, determining to give battell once more to Muley Sidan. Of what strength Abdelas Armie consisted, the certaintie is not knowne, but gessed to bee very neere fifteene thousand Horse and Foote.

Muley Sidan was very strong, for beside his owne Souldiers, the Moruecans aided him with eight thousand men, and divers tribes sent supplies to augment his forces. He had two hundred English, the most of them voluntaries, sixtie field Pieces, with sufficient Shot and Powder. Over the English and all the Christians, was Generall Captaine John Giffard, a Gentleman of a worthy spirit, and descended from the ancient and honourable stem of the Giffards in Buckingham-shire. Upon his first entertainement and welcome into the Country, Sidan bestowed upon him a rich Sword, valued at a thousand Marks, and a Scarlet Cloake, richly imbrodered with Pearle, sent as a present to Muley Hamet, the Kings Father, from our late Soveraigne of famous memorie Queene Elizabeth, besides many other extraordinary favours of good value; and often conversing familiarly; yea, sometimes visiting Captaine Giffard at his owne Tent. His entertainent was twentie five shillings per diem, besides many supplies proceeding from the Kings bountie. With him as secondary men in charge, was one Master Philip Giffard, his neere and very deare Kinsman; Captaine Jaques, a very valiant Souldier; Captaine Smith, one of the most exquisite Enginers in Europe; Captaine Baker, an ancient Britaine Souldier; Captaine Tailer, Captaine Faukes, Captaine Chambers, Captaine Isack, men every way able to undergoe their severall commands. These were daily stipendaries, at twelve shillings a man, except the two Sea Captaines, Isack, and Chambers, who had foure shillings a day, and everie common Souldier twelve pence truly payd them. These preparations considered, Muley Sidan had small reason to leave the field, or feare Abdelas
forces, being nothing in respect of his. But certaine it is, the Muley sending for his Wizzards, Soothsayers, willing them to foretell, that he might foreknow the successe of his embattailed Armie. Their answere was; He should loose the battell, bee driven into Sus, within five moneths should regaine Moruecos, and there during life enjoy the Kingdome. Upon this answere, the Muley giving great credit thereunto, as the nature of a Barbarian is very suspicous, commanded Basha Mustepha, with three thousand Souldiers to convey away his Mother, Wives and Children. To Alkeid Hamet Benbreham and Hado Tabib, hee commended the charge of his Treasure, who laded sixtie Mules with Gold, garding them and the Muleters, with two thousand of his choysest Shot.

These dispeeded, it may appeare Sidan but hovered, and would follow; yet the battels met the 26 of November, 1607. some sixteene miles from the Citie of Moruecos, the Canoniers of Muley Sidan, part having in the forefront discharged, their Enemies being somewhat farre off; but before they could charge againe, the Enemie was with them. The Shracies did not once discharge a Piece, great nor small, but joyning themselves close to the Abdelians, charged the Sidanians very fiercely, with their Sables, in revenge of Sidans tyrannie shewed upon their Kindred, enraging their minds and courages, or their faithfull promise (which they sought to make good) to Abella, made them put the Sidanians to flight: or else it was Sidans feare, that hee should not make good his Soothsayers Prophecie, which made his men to runne away: For at the first encounter, his Moores fell into a dis-array, and presently into a dishonorable flight: whereupon Muley Sidan fled, sent to the English Captaines to be gone, and to Captaine Giffard a good Horse to save himselfe. The English returned word, that they came not thither to run, but rather die an honourable death. Captaine Giffard encouraged his men, telling them, there was no hope of victorie, but to prepare and die like men like English men: and then asking for his Jaques, whom he loved
dearely, and taking a Pike in his hand, thought to have rode unto him, being told hee was not sixescore from him, and to have died together: but in the way, Captaine Giffard being charged by eight Abdelians, one behind him shot him thorow, and so was he there slaine. Few of all the English Nation were left alive, the number not exceeding thirtie, and none of the Commanders escaped, except Captaine Isack, and Captaine Faukes; of the Moores were not slaine in all fortie persons.

Sidan being gone, as loath to tarry, spend bloud, and win a Field, Abdela got the ground his Enemies marched upon, but no great victory, entred Moruecos without applause, or rejoice of the Citizens, some yet feeling his late done injuries, sorie for the losse of Sidan, who had proved a Tyrant, nor welcomming Abdela upon hope of amendment, but with policie and patience fitted themselves to the miserie of the time. Abdela once againe Master of Moruecos, got the Kings House, but found no treasure to relieve his wants. Great were his promises to reward the Shraces with bountie, and enrich his followers, when the Citie was recovered: now hee having it, there failed of his expectation, and his Souldiers lacking both meate and money: yet to keepe them still in hope, and so in government, it was bruited, the young King had found a Well full of treasure within the House, which Muley Hamet Xarif had layed up for a deare yeare: but this good newes quickly vanished, the Well not yeielding water to refresh their fainting stomachs. Therefore the Shraces having released their Kindred, recovered their Wives and Children, which had escaped the fury and bloudie Decree of Sidan the last King, they tooke good words and kind usages of Abdela, in lieu of payment, seeing Moruecos neither affoorded them meate, nor Abdelas fortune further maintenance, and so three thousand of them departed at one time. Muley Abdela with the residue of his forces kept Moruecos, laboring by all possible meanes to give his souldiers content, and keepe them together; so with much adoe hee lived in Moruecos
some two moneths, during which time, Muley Sidan was
gathering a fresh Army in Sus.

§. V.
Muley Hamet Bosonne commeth against Abdela,
and causeth him flye, to his Father. Boferes
like to be taken, fieth to Salie. Muley Sidan
commeth against Muley Hamet Bosonne; who
flyeth, and is poysoned by old Azus. Muley
Sheck sendeth into Spaine. Some observations
of their Policie, and Trade to Gago.

But whilst Abdela and Sidan were contriving their
owne ends, there arose a storme in the Mountaines
which fell in the Plaines of Moruecos. The
tempest driver was one Muley Hamet Bosonne, Cousin
to the three Brethren which have striven for the King-
dome. This man gathering treasure, and temporising
with them all three, so played their Game, that finding
their weakenesse which these quarrels had brought them
unto, upon a sudden seeing his time, went into the
Mountaines to his Mothers Kindred, mustered verie neere
twenty thousand able men. The Muley being well pro-
vided of treasure, gave them due pay and large, winning
them to his respect and service, so that in lesse then two
moneths space, he got all things in readinesse, descended
from the Tesseuon Mountaines towards Moruecos.

This newes brought to Abdela was very unwelcome,
yet (calling his wits and Counsell together) it was con-
cluded, considering the Shraces were gone, his remnant
of Souldiers feeble and out of heart and the Moruecans
daily fled to Hamet Bosonne, whose uprising like a
blazing Star drew their eyes upon him, that Abdela should
travell to Fez, which hee might well doe without a guide,
having heretofore upon like necessities, often measured
the miles: and though hee was determined so to do, yet
a smal occasion hastned his journey, for some mile from

96
A HISTORY OF BARBARY

Abdelas Campe, upon a Hill on the back-side of Moruecos, a man being seen with a Speare in his hand, and a white linnen upon it as a Flagge. Abdela thought Hamet Bosonne to be with his whole Forces behind the Hill, when he was a full dayes march from Moruecos. Therefore in all haste he tooke up some of his Tents, but the greater part left standing in a manner, being feared, ran away. And afterward when this matter was discovered, which Abdela held a token of his surprise, it was nothing else but a poore Moore washing his Napery, and for the speedier drying used this meanes, which terrified Abdela from the seate of his Empire, to Fez, the safest place for his abode.

Lylla Isha, Sidans Mother, hearing of Hamet Bosonnes approch, was persuadec his movements were onely to defend her Sonnes right, knowing Bosonne of late favoured Sidans title, comming into his pay, and in person serving the Muley at the last battaile when Sidan fled into Sus. Heereupon she sent divers Captaines, part of her owne Guard, others of her friends and kindred to his ayd, thinking he would have taken Moruecos for Sidan. But Bosonne having entred the Citie peaceably, proclaimed himselfe King, dismissed all Sidans favourers, which were not willing to be his servants, who returned to their Lady Mistresse, certifying her error and their successe: his Treasure he imparted largely to his followers, by strong hand desired no mans service, but those who were willing. Some thirty English-men remayning, weary of their sustained mesery, and the state of the Countrey, he gave them licence to imbarke, and writ to the Governour of Saphia to give them their passe, notice whereof being given to the Factor Marine for the English, he disparsed them into divers ships with all conveniency, though to his cost and charges; charity to helpe the distressed soules, and love to his native Countrey, mooving him thereunto. This Muley Hamet Bosonne, during the time of his government was a very good and just man, offered no discouresie, or tooke away any mans goods.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

but paid the Merchants truely for the same, who liked well his current and true dealing.

Bosonnes mother hearing her sonne was setled in Moruecos, brought what strength she could from the Mountaine, and in her way knowing Boferes lodged in a fortresse, whereunto hee was fled, not to bee well guarded, she beset the house, meaning to take the Muley prisoner, who being void of meanes to resist in the night, made a hole through the wall and so escaped privately to Salie, a Port Towne within the jurisdiction of his brother Sheck, where at this day he remaineth.

On the morrow betimes, Bosonnes mother with her men entered the Fort, missing Boferes, cut off the head of Umsed Benbela, one of his chiefest servants and Commanders: then went she forward to congratulate her sonnes comming to the Kingdome, being then in Moruecos. But an Empire ill got, is seldomse seeone of long continuance, for within lesse then two moneths, Muley Sidan came out of Sus with a great armie, for whose ayd Lylla Isha sold her Jewels, and Plate, to furnish her son with Swords, Pike, Horsemen, Staves, and other War-like Munition.

On the other side Hamet Bosonne prepared to welcome his cousin the Muley Sidan; so about the beginning of April, 1608. both their Forces met hard by Moruecos where a chiefe of a kinred one Grufe, which came out of Sus, a great wine drinker, alwayes a favourer of Muley Sidan (though little valuing any of the three Kings) presuming upon his owne strength, and valour, desired the honour, that hee might give charge upon the enemy with five hundred Horse, which was his owne Regiment, and of his owne kindred: Sidan refused to grant him his request, therefore the Casima tooke his owne leave and gave the enemy a full charge upon the body of his armie, which receiving him very bravely, the Casima and his company were in great danger to be overthoune: but Sidan to relieve him, sent five hundred Horse-men of his owne: so with these thousand, the Casima broke the ranks
A HISTORY OF BARBARY

of Bosonnes battalions, then with their sables fell to execution, untill the whole campe seeing the field lost, fled towards the Mountaine: thus Sidan without further resistance entering Moruecos, resting there in quiet three moneths, untill Hamet Boson recovering new Forces in July following, presented himself before the Citie, trusting aswel upon his own strength, as the love of the Citizens: hoping his good and gentle usage when he was amongst them, would have bred a liking in them, of his mild and gentle government: but either the servile mind of the multitude little respected his fore-passed kindnes, or the feare of Sidan made them loath to shew any signe of good will; for at his approach no man in the Citie was knowne to draw a sword in his defence. So on the eight of July, Bosonnes was discomfited with the losse of some thousand men, fled to the Mountaines, where within foure dayes after Alkeid Azus got him poysioned, hoping thereby to win the favour of Muley Sidan.

This Azus is aged and substill, by his long experience best knoweth the secrets of that state, was brought up under Abdela, Muley Hamet Xarifs brother, and for his Counsell to Abdela, willing him either to put out the eyes of Hamet Xarif, or cut his throat, was in danger to have lost his life when Hamet Xarif came to be King, but the wisedome of the man won such respect with Hamet, that of a prisoner, he made him his chiepest Counsellor, and Master of his Treasurie, during whose life time his behaviour was such, as he won great love among the Commons, Nobility, and many of the blood Royall. When old Hamet died, he was in his Campe neere Fez, and after his death rested all his love upon Muley Sidan (holding him the prime man and fittest of the three brethren, to rule the Kingdome) untill both he and Sidy Im bark could not counsell and rule Muley Sidan, for his owne good and benefit of the Common-weale being head-strong, and would take no mans counsell but to his owne liking and hurt. Therefore Sedy Abdela Im bark went to his contemplation at Aca: And Azus to
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

a Castle in the Mountains, which he had stored with Treasure against a storme, or to refresh the winter of his age, from whence he will not come downe, untill he see some hope of peace, having at this instant more Treasure in his Coffers, then all the three brethren besides, and hopeth to keepe it, being in the midst of his friends and kindred, and in a place as well fortified as any in Barbary.

[II. vi. 870.] Muley Sheck fearfull lest Sidans next enterprise would be to rowze him out of Fez, fell in conference with an Italian Merchant, named John Etina, making him his Agent to go into Spain, there to conclude, that if the Catholique King would ayde him with men and money to recover his right, there should be delivered up into his hands, Allaroche, Saly, Alcasar, and other Townes lying fit for his mouth: This negotiation was well entertained. And John Etina was promised for his labour in this businesse, and bringing it to effect, upon the deliverie of the Port Townes, to have yeerely paid him two thousand Duckats during his life. In June, this matter was first mooved; in the latter end of August, seven Gallions (as was reported) and the Gallies of Naples, in all a hundred sayle, well manned with store of Pioners to rayse Forts, went to Allaroche, thinking to be received, but thirty thousand Alarbees came downe to the shoare, not alowing any such neighbour-hood, though they hold the Andelusian halfe their blood.

Whether Sir Anthony Sherley was imploied in this service it is not certainly knowen: some are of opinion that hee was induced thereunto, because they have formerly heard the King of Spaine hath royally rewarded him for his travailes with Boferes, by giving him the places and pay of two Captaine in the Indies, made him Admirall of the Levant Seas, and next in place to the Vice-roy of Naples, having for his entertainement five hundred Duckats a moneth. Without question, he knoweth well the state of that uncivill and barbarous Nation, having an apprehending and admirable wit to conceive the disposition
of any people with whom hee shall converse, whilst he was amongst them, he behaved himselfe very well toward the better sort, winning credite with them, and gaining the love of the poorer sort exceedingly, by his larges (for if a Moore or slave gave him but a dish of Dates, he should receive a reward as from an Emperour) and howsoever some may hold this a vice, counting him a lavisher: yet by this meanes he came to the knowledge of that which otherwise he never should have attained unto. The more credible fame is, Sir Anthonie was not with this Fleet, therefore they sped never the better, for had he beene in company, and had command, he would either have taken footing, or ventered all, scorning to returne with doing nothing, and so be laughed at.

The Policie of Barbarie.

Every Kingdome consisteth of men, not of buildings, therefore the Kingdome of Barbary consisteth of bond and free men: the naturall bond men are such as are descended either from Christians or Negros; the free men are Larbies or Brebers, which may be termed the Valley and Mountaine men. Over all, as absolute Monarch is the King, who maintaineth his seat by the sword, and power of justice: the sword men according to their degrees are thus placed.

First, the Muleis, are the Kings children, and all other who are of the blood Royall, are termed by this name. Secondly, Bashas, are Captaine Generalls over armies. Thirdly, Alkeids be the Lords, set aswell over Garrison Townes as Countrys, to rule and keepe the people in subjection. Fourthly, Ferres, Gentlemen who carrie armes, yet lesse Commanders then Alkeids. Fiftly, Bahaiia, Lieutenant to an Alkeid. Sixtly, Brakbashi, a Sergeant at armes. Seventhly, Debushi, a Captaine over thirty. Eightly, Romie, the common Souldier of these men of warre, there were kept in daily pay in the old Kings time, to the number of fifty thousand Horsemen: part serving with the Launce, others with the Speare
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

called Spahaias, and some, especially the Horsemen of Fez, serve with the Crosse-bow on Horse-backe, bending it as they ride, shooting a strong shot and sure: and sixteene thousand foot-men, the Alarbies being fitter for the Horsemen, but the Brebers the stronger footmen, most of them shot.

The chiefest men of Command in the latter times, were these.

First, Alkeid Azus, chiefe Counsellor of State. Secondly, Hamet ben Breham Sefiani, Master of the Horse, and ruler over the Alkeids. Thirdly, Sedi Hamet ben Bouker. Fourthly, Sedi Abdela Wahad Anoune: These two were Treasurers. Fiftly, Alkeid Hamet, a Capatho or Eunuchs, Governour over the women and Eunuches. Sixty, Alkeid Mustepha File Master of the Ordnance. Sevently, Rishavan, Admirall over the Gallies at Saly.

Note, though these be enobled, taking priority or precedency before others, yet is not this noblenesse hereditary, for the children of these men must claime no honour by birth-right, but what they get by their service and honour of their sword, live unrespected unlessy they be valiant, and so proveing, the King will take them into his service, whereupon by desert, the sonne may obtaine his fathers fortune and honour.

There is another title of dignity termed Sheck, attributed to the chiefe man of every Family or Cast, neither doth the Kings eldest sonne scorne the title, signifying that he is the prime or best blood of his Royall kindred. These Shecks are much respected, because it is the nature of the people, the whole kindred to follow their head: insomuch, as one of these Shecks can bring into the field ten thousand Horsemen of their owne Cast, or kindred, and some more. So that it is a matter of great consequence, the King to have an eye over such a man, and know how his affection resteth towards him, either in love or hatred.

[II. vi. 871.]
A HISTORY OF BARBARY

The King once in a moneth, on Fridayes in the afternoone after prayers, either in his house or Church sitteth to doe Justice, hearing complaints or appeales from subalterne Ministers, from whom the grieved persons doe appeale to his Royall person: when the King sitteth, the stranger shall have freer accesse to plead his cause before the King, then his owne borne subject.

All inferiour Judges and Ministers are their Churchmen or Talbies, and those are soonest chosen into offices which are of stricktest life, being free from avarice, and such other sinnes as may pervert and hinder the course of equitie and justice. The chiepest man for judgement under the King is Mufftie, to whom the party grieved may appeale from any other ordinary Judge. There be three of these men, one in Moruecos, another in Fez, the third at Taradant in Sus. The Mufftie of Moruecos, sitteth with the King in Judgement, and every Friday in the afternoone by himselfe, to heare and determine causes of the subject and stranger, though hee bee in eminent place, he is a poore man, in respect what he might be, if he would sell Justice, and take bribes.

The ordinary Judge sitteth all the yeere long two hours before noone, and two hours after noone: in every great Towne throughout the three Kingdomes in places one of these Judges, to whom not onely the Inhabitants of every Towne and Citie doe repaire, but the Countrey people or Larbees upon differences come thither to have their causes decided: every one must tell his owne tale, and plead his owne matter. When both parties have spoken, then giveth the Judge sentence; so that in one day the cause is brought into Court, and the same day ended. If either part have witnesse to produce, then the Judge giveth three dayes respite to bring them in, which being brought, the adverse party shall have other three dayes respite to disprove them. And if he can proove the witnesses either infamous in manners, or given to detestable sinne, as drunkennesse, adultery, or such like: And can proove the witnes saith not his prayers sixe times
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

duely in foure and twenty houres, then shal he be utterly disabled to beare witnesse, and thus in seven dayes the longest sute shall be ended. If an Obligation or rather Bill of debt be brought into Court, the Obligee must either pay the debt, goe to prison, or to pawne the value of the debt, or better: which pawne may be kept in Deposito nine dayes upon great reason, to see if the debtor can redeeme it at the nine dayes end, if he doth it not, then is it sold, and the party who should pay the money, must sustaine the losse.

As Coadjutors to these Judges, and next in place to them be the Scrivanos, who upon death or other remooe are commonly made Judges. These are Talbies which make writings betweene partie and partie, short and plaine, without multiplication of words, and they are of opinion, Abundans cautela nocet: in their Obligatory Bils they put neither Forfeit nor Condition, having for the making thereof two pence English, and no more. They use no long draughts in matters of purchase, or these tripartite Indentures, with such large and long implicite and explicite Covenants, but thus the people deal in matters of Contracts and Bargaines. I buy of you a Vineyard, House, Merchandize, at such a price, to be paid at such a time, calling two honest men, whereof one shall be a Talbie, if I can get him, to witnesse this our Bargaine. We foure goe to the Scrivener, who likewise is a Talbie, and have this set downe in writing; and if our bargaine be for twenty thousand pounds, it is set downe in ten lines, and the Justice of the Countrey will allow me my bargaine with as great reason, as if I had a great ingrossed Booke of Conveyance, as big as the Map of the whole world in the newest Edition.

Next in this nature to these, be the Steryes, which have smal Fees to see the execution of Law and sentence of the Judge fulfilled; these likewise fetch men to answere their Adversary, which would delay, and not come before the Judge, eyther upon perversenesse, or badnesse of their plea, or any other cause whatsoever. Wherefore to bee
always ready, these are continually attendant in the House of the Judge, and waiting upon him whethersoever he goeth.

Muttißeb, is an Officer to see true Weights and Measures; if any be faultie, all the Wares in such a mans shop hee giveth to the poore, the party proclaymed an unjust man, and sore whipped.

The Hackam, is the Lord Marshall in every City, who judgeth upon life and death, assoone as the party Delinquent is taken, and his offence proved, presently his throat is cut: Murder there is death, so is manifest Theft, Adultery, likewise proved by very good witnesse: And somtimes it is death for any man to weare a Sword who is not an Officer, yea, though hee bee a Souldier. Other offences according to the necessitie of the time and pleasure of the King, by Proclamation are made death, which the Hackam must see executed upon losse of his owne head.

Muckaden, be Substitutes to the Hackam, seeing his judgement fulfilled, and in his absence hath his authoritie.

Fokers or Saints, dwell in the best places of the Countrey, keepe great Hospitality for all Travellers, whither any man come for a night, and be gone in the morning: much good these doe in the Countrey by their example of morall living, and bestowing their owne goods in their life time to helpe the needy and distressed, comprimising differences betwixt parties, and repressing all disorders, winning great love and respect, for their Houses are held Sanctuaries, whose Priviledges the King will not violate, but upon great and weightie reason.

The King, Nobility, and Souldiers desire to serve on Horse-backe, which most commonly they doe, for in any Army there be three Horse for one foot: the King will seldome venture to fight out a battayle, but as you may perceive by the precedent, it was and is the usage amongst the three Brethren, when they meete in a field, whosoever getteth at the first on-set the advantage, maketh the other presently leave the field, and flye unto some place of
PURCHASES HIS PILGRIMES

strength: they fight with no Armour except a Buffe Jerkin, for the better sort; and a Leather Hide tanned for the meaner, and some Coats of Male, their Armes is a Horse-mans Staffe, Target, and Sword, or a Horse-mans Peece and Sword.

The Alarbies serve all upon Horse, will fight sorer battayles to maintayne their deadly feud, than in service of their King: Insomuch that upon losse of any great Lord or Chief of their Bloud, cruel battailes have ensued, wherein ten thousand men have beene slayne at one time, and it is their fashion, the fairest Virgin to ride upon a Camell with a flagge in her hand decked in all pompe to sollicite her Kindred to revenge, and goeth foremost in the field, encouraging them to follow; upon which incitement much bloud is spilt, her Kindred as loth to lose their Virgin, and not revenge their injuries: the other side striving to winne her and the field, holding that a continuing glory to the seventh Generation.

When a man is killed, his Tribe seeketh not revenge only upon the man which killed the party, but the first man of that Tribe hee meeteth withall, him will hee kill if he can, and so thinketh he hath satisfied his Kinsmans death.

The Brebers or Mountayners likewise maintayne this feud, who are most shot and Swordmen, upon the day of battaile their women follow hard behind them, with a colour in their hands, called Hanna: And if they see any of their side offer to runne away, or retyre, presently they will throw some of this Hanna upon their clothes, which will stayne, and the party ever after is held for a Coward and a dishonoured Jew. For feare of this Infamy, few forsake the field, but eyther conquer their Enemies, or dye like men, who are presently stripped and buryed by these women which follow them.
The trading of the Moores into Guinee and Gago for Gold Ore, or sandie Gold.

Muley Hamet being at peace with his Neighbours, at quiet with his Subjects, determined to warre upon the Negros, knowing the conquest easie, because the people are undisciplined in warre, and the profit would be exceeding great by bringing their Gold into his Countrey, exchanging for it Salt, and other baser Commodities. And howsoever certayne Miners had found rich Mines of Gold in the Hills of Atlas, yet hee held it better policy to fetch his Gold farther off, then to digge that which was found in the Centre of his owne Kingdome, fearing if the Mines proved rich, the Golden Ore would draw thither Christian Armes, therefore he cut the throats of all such as were the Authors, and gave the Masters of the Workes death for their hyre.

But to perfect his other Designe, he chose Judar Basha, sent him with great store of Souldiers, who entred farre into the Negros Countrey, depriving them of a great City, called Gago, which standeth upon the River of Synega, three hundred Leagues within the firme Land, builded there an Alpandeca for Barbarian Merchants, and a Custome-house for the King. The Merchants make it sixe monethes Journey from Moruecos thither, of which, two monethes they passe thorow the Sandy Desarts, where no people dwell, neyther any road way, but directed by Pilots, as ships at Sea, observe the courses of Sunne, Moone, and Stars, for feare of missing their way: If they lose themselves, they meete with Famine, and dye for lacke of water, whose dead carkasses consume not, but maketh Munna,* or Otema flesh, every way as Physicall or Medicinable, as that which commeth from Alexandria. They never travell under two or three hundred in a company: it may be not meeting with water in twelve or fifteene dayes space, but carry water by Camels, both for them and their beasts to drinke, which failing, to save their owne lives, they kill their Camels, and drinke the

* Mummi, but the best Mummi is made of embalmed bodies which have been long since buryed, as in Egypt, &c.
blood. If the wind blow at North-east, they cannot unlade their Camels, least the Sands should cover them. The Merchandize carried from Moruecos to the Negros, is much Cloth, Amber Beads, Corall, but the chiefest Commodity is Salt, which is bought at Tegazza, and other places, for foure shillings a Camels lading, which is sixe hundred weight, and payeth at Gago five pounds for Custome to the King of Barbarie, afterward sold farre within the Countrey to a kind of deformed Negros, who will never be scene in the commerce of trading with the Barbarian, or any stranger: Wherefore they lay their Salt in the fields and leaveth it, then commeth the deformed Negro, and layeth against every mans pricell of Salt, as much of his gold as he thinketh the Salt is worth, and goeth his way, leaving his gold with the Salt: Then returns the Moore, if he like the gold, taketh it away, if not, detracteth so much from his heape, as he will sell to the Negro for his gold. The Negro returning, if he like the quantity, putteth too more gold, or else will not barter, but departeth. Yet they seldom mislike, for the Moore maketh a rich returne, and his King a full Treasure. Wherefore, the deformed Negro is prayed for the truest dealing man in the world: the gold which they have is not coyned, but like small Gravell or Sand gathered after the gluts of raine, in the drie bankes of Mountaines and Rivers.

Touching Voyages of Englishmen to Barbarie, as also Embassages sent thither by Queene Elizabeth: likewise touching many English Voyages to Guinny, Benin, and other places on the Continent, and the Ilands adjoyning; with Patents also for those parts: the Reader may, if he please, certifie and satisifie himselfe in Master Edens, and Master Hackluyts Voyages. English Navigations are now advanced to so great Adventure, and new or remote Discoveries, that I rather haste to them: Yet because I thinke it meete to acquaint the Reader with the present State of the neerer parts of Africa: I have added these following Discourses. And because Algier is the Whirle-
SPANISH DOMINIONS IN AFRICA

poole of these Seas, the Throne of Pyracie, the Sinke of Trade and Stinke of Slavery; the Cage of uncleane Birds, of Prey, the Habitation of Sea-Devils, the Receptacle of Renegadoes to God, and Traytors to their Countrey; I have the longer stayed there: both to shew the place out of Nicholay; His Majesties zealous Designe against them, and Gods goodnesse in two notable Deliverances from them.

As for Ward, or other English, infesting the World from that Hel-mouth, I was loth to blot these Papers with so rotten Names.

Chap. III.

The African Possessions of the King of Spaine, and the Turke.

§. I.

The Dominions and Fortresses* which the King of Spaine hath upon the Iles and mayne Lands of Africa, and of the Great Turkes.

*Taken out of Botero, Pory, &c.

Esides Oran, Mersalquibir, Mililla and Pennon which the King of Spaine possesseth within the Streights; as likewise, Ceuta, Tanger, and Arzil, which by the Title of Portugall, he holdeth very neere the Streights of Gibraltar; and Mazagan in like sort without the Streights mouth, twenty miles to the South-ward of Arzil: he hath along the Coast of Africk, from Cape de Guer, to that of Guardafu, two sorts of States: for some are immediately under him; and others are as it were his Adherents. The Ilands of Madera, Puerto Santo, the Canaries, the Iles of Arguin, of Cabo Verde, the Ile Del Principe, with that of Sant Thomas, and others neere adjoyning, are immediately under his Dominion. These Ilands are maintayned with their owne victuall, and provision, and yet they have also some out of Europe, as in like manner they send some
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

thither: especially Sugars and Fruits, wherewith the Ile of Madera wonderfully aboundeth, as also with Wine. And the Iland of Sant Thomas likewise hath great abundance of Sugars.

These States have no incumbrance, but by the English and Frenchmen of Warre. At the Ilands of Arguin, and at Sant George de la Mina, the Portugals have planted Factories in forme of Fortresses, by meanes of which, they trade with the bordering people of Guinny and Libya, and get into their hands the Gold of Mandinga, and other places neere about. Among the adherent Princes, the richest and most honourable, is the King of Congo, in that his Kingdome is one of the flourishing and plenfull Countryes in all Æthiopia. The Portugals have there two Colonies, one in the City of S. Salvador, and another in the Iland Loanda. They have divers rich Commodities from this Kingdome, but the most important is every yeere about five thousand Slaves, which they transport from thence, and sell them at good round prices in all the Iles and mayne Lands of the West Indies: and for the head of every slave so taken up, there is a good taxe payd to the Crowne of Portugal.

From this Kingdome one might easily goe to the Country of Prete Janni, for it is not thought to be very farre off: and it doth so abound with Elephants, Victuall, and all other necessarie things, as would bring singular ease and commoditie to such an enterprise. Upon the Kingdome of Congo confineth Angola, with whose Prince of late yeares, Paulo Dias, a Portugall Captaine, made warre. And the principall occasion of this warre are certaine Mines of Silver, in the Mountaines of Cabambe, no whit inferior to those of Potossi; but by so much are they better, as fine Silver goeth beyond that which is base, and course. And out of doubt, if the Portugals had esteemed so well of things neere at hand, as they did of those farther off and remote, and had thither bent their forces wherewith they passed Capo de buena esperança, and went to India, Malaca, and the Malucoes; they had more
SPANISH DOMINIONS IN AFRICA

easily, and with lesse charge found greater wealth: for there are no Countries in the world richer in Gold and Silver, then the Kingdomes of Mandinga, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Butua, Toroa, Maticuo, Boro, Quiticui, Monomotapa, Cafati, and Bohememugi. But humane avarice esteemeth more of another mans, then his owne: and things remote appeare greater, then those neere at hand. Betweene Capo de buena esperança, and Cape Guardafu, the Portugals have the Fortresses of Sena, Cephala, and Mozambique. And by these they continue Masters of the Trade with the bordering Nations, all which abound in Gold and Ivorie. By these Fortresses they have speciall commoditie for their Navigation to the Indies, because their Fleeetes sometimes winter, and otherwise victuall, and refresh themselves there. In these parts the King of Melinde is their greatest friend; and those of Quiloa, and other Neighbour Ilands, are their Tributaries. The Portugals want nothing but men: for besides other Ilands, which they leave in a manner abandoned, there is that of Saint Laurence, one of the greatest in all the world (being a thousand two hundred miles long, and four hundred and fourescore broad) the which, though it be not well tilled, yet for the goodnesse of the soyle, it is apt and fit to be manured, nature having distinguished it with Rivers, Harbours, and most commodious Bayes. These States belonging to the Crowne of Portugall, were wont to feare no other, but such Sea-forces as may be brought thither by the Turks. But the daily going to and fro of the Portugall Fleeetes, which coast along up and downe those Seas, altogether secureth them. In the yeare 1589. they tooke neere unto Mombaza foure Gallies, and a Galliot, belonging to the Turkes, who were so bold as to come even thither. But since the English and Hollanders have traded the Indies, the Portugall affaires have much decaied in those parts, their opposing them turning to such effect as you have heard.

The great Turke possesseth in Africa all the Sea-coast from Velez de Gumera, or (as some hold opinion) from
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

the River Muluia, which is the Easterne limite of the
Kingdome of Fez, even to the Arabian Gulfe or Red Sea,
except some few places (as namely, Mersalcabir, Melilla,
Oran, and Pennon) which the King of Spaine holdeth. In
which space before mentioned, are situate sundry of the
most famous Cities and Kingdomes in all Barbarie; that
is to say, Tremizen, Alger, Tenez, Bugia, Constantina,
Tunis, Tripolis, and all the Country of Egypt, from
Alexandria to the Citie of Asna, called of old Siene,
together with some part of Arabia Troglydtyca, from the
Towne of Suez to that of Suachen. Also in Africa the
Grand Signior hath five Vice-royes, called by the names of
Beglerbegs or Bassas, namely, at Alger, Tunis, Tripolis, at
Missir for all Egypt, and at Suachen for those places which
are chalenged by the Great Turke, in the Dominions of
Prete Janni. Finaly, in this part at Suez, in the bottome
of the Arabian Gulfe, is one of his foure principal Arsenals,
or places for the building, repairing, docking, and harboring
of his warlike Gallies, which may lie here under covert,
to the number of five & twentie Bottoms.

Chap. IIII.

The Description of the Citie of Alger, written
by Nicholas Nicholay and how it came into
the possession of Barbarossa, and also of
Malta and Tripolie.

Lger is a Citie in Africa very ancient, first
builded by a people of Africa, called
Mesgana, of whom she tooke her first
name: afterwards was called Jol, and was
the Seate Royal of Juba, in the time when
the Romans bare dominion in Africa, in
honour of Cæsar it was called Julie
Cæsare; and since the Moores called it Gezeir Arab
Eleagair, which in their Language signifieth Iles, because
she is cituated neere Majorque-Minorque Jevise, and
Fromentierre: but the Spaniards now doe call her Alger:
howbeit, shee is scituated upon the Mediterran Sea, upon the hanging of a Mountaine environed with strong Walls, Ramperds, Ditches, Platformes, and Bulwarks, in forme almost three-square; the largenesse which goeth towards the Sea side stretcheth narrowly almost unto the highest part, whereas there is a great building made in forme of a Citadell, to command the Towne and entrie of the Haven. As for the buildings being beyond the Pallace Royall, are very faire Houses belonging too particular men, with a great number of Bathes and Cookes houses. The places and streetes are so well ordained, that every one in his Occupation apart: there are about three thousand Hearth-steads. At the bottome of the Citie which is towards the North joyning to the Walles, which are beaten with the Surges of the Sea in a great place, is by great Artifice and subtill Architecture builded their principall and head Mosque; and a little below that is the Arcenall, which is the place into which are hailed up, and trimmed the Gallies and other vessels. This Citie is very Merchant-like, for that she is situated upon the Sea, and for this cause marveilously peopled, for her bignesse: she is inhabited of Turkes, Moores, and Jewes in great number, which with marveilous gaine exercise the Trade of Merchandise, and lend out money at Usury. They have two Market days in every weeke, to the which resort an infinite number of people of the Mountaines, Plaines and Vallies, being neighbours thereabouts, which do bring thither all sorts of Fruits, Corne and Foule, of very cheape price: for I have seene a Patridge sold for a Judit, which is a small piece of Silver mony, in manner foure square, and is in value of our mony foure pence and a mite, but true it is that their Partridges be not so big nor delicate as ours are: the Hennes and Chickins be also very good cheape, for that they have in most parts of their Houses Furnaces, made in manner like unto the Hot-houses or Stoves of Germany, in the which with a small heate they doe breed and hatch their Eggs without helpe of the Hen, and therefore it is not to be marveiled at, though they have

Furnaces fuly made for breeding of Chickins.
great plentie of such Pullen. They also have a great number of Camels and Oxen, which they doe shoo, lade, and ride upon, as upon Horses. And going through the streets, because of the multitude of people, which there is marveilous, they goe crying with a loud voyce, Baluc, Baluc; which is too say, Beware, beware. I have also seen divers Moores mounted on Barbarie Horses without Saddle, Bridle, Stirrops or Spurres, having onely a string in the mouth to stay them withall. And as for the men, they are altogether naked, having onely about their middle part to cover their privities, some piece of a white Sarge or Blanket in manner of an apron, and about their head a Linnen cloth rowled, which they bring about and under their chin.

Their weapons are three Darts or long Javelins, which they carry in their right hand, and doe shoote and throw with wonderfull dexteritie, and upon their left arm is fastned a large Dagger made a little crooked after the fashion of a Wood-knife, which they call Secquin, and use to fight at hand strokes withall, and to annoy their Enemies comming to the close. The most part of the Turkes of Algier, whether they be of the Kings Houshold or the Gallies, are Christians renied, or Mahumetised, of all Nations, but most of them Spaniards, Italians, and of Provence, of the Ilands and Coasts of the Sea Meditarran, given all to Whoredome, Sodomtrie, Theft, and all other most detestable vices, living onely of rovings, spoyles, and pilling at the Seas, and the Iland, being about them: and with their practike Art bring daily to Algier a number of poore Christians which they sell unto the Moores, and other Merchants of Barbarie for slaves, who afterward transport them, and sell them where they thinke good, or else beating them miserably with staves, doe imploy and constraine them to worke in the Fields; and in all other vile and abject occupations and servitude almost intollerable. And therefore it is not to be marveiled at, though these poore Christian Slaves made of it no scruple at all in putting of us in danger, to set themselves at libertie.
Without the Citie towards the West are many faire and pleasant Gardens, set and adorned with divers trees bringing forth fruits of al sorts. Amongst other things there be Milons of marvellous goodnesse, and incomparable sweetnesse: they have also another fruite called Pateque, which the Italians call Anguries, being like in bignesse and colour to our greene Citrouilles in Winter, which they eate raw without Bread or Salt, and hath a taste so delicate and sweete, that it melteth in one's mouth, giving a water as it were sugred, and serve greatly to refresh and digest. About their Gardens are many Wells full of good water, and the ground there abouts, although it is Mountaines and Vallies, is very fertile for fruites and Vines. On the other part towards the East, without the Towne runneth into the Sea a small River called Saoo, which serveth aswell to drinke of, as other commodities, and also maketh many mills to grind. The course of the Sea from the Cape of Marfuz, (where as yet are seene the foundations of the ancient Citie Tipasa, which in times past was by the Emperours of Rome honoured in prayse of the Country Latine) doth bow and wind like unto a Crosebow-lath, and all along the River and the shooare the Moorish Women and Maiden Slaves of Algier doe goe to wash their Linnen, being commonly whole naked, saving that they wear a piece of Cotten Cloth of some strange colour to cover their secret parts (which notwithstanding for a little piece of money they will willingly uncover.) They wear also for an ornament about their necke, armes, and legges, great collers or bracelets of Latten, set with certaine false Stones. But as for the Wives of the Turks or Moores, they are not seene go uncovered, for they weare a great Barnuche made of a Blanket of white, blacke, or violet colour, which covereth their whole body and the head.

The second day after our arrivall at Algier, I found the meanes for money, and with faire word too hyre a renyed Spaniard, to conduct and leade me thorow all places that I most desired to see. So as by his meanes, I saw and
learned many things within foure or five dayes that wee were there in quiet. And namely, brought mee upon a high Mountayne being a mile from the Towne, to see and behold the situation of a very strong and great Tower, beeing builded upon another Mountayne there neere about, and gently enquiring of him what strength the Tower might be of: he declared unto me, that the breadth of the Ditches about the same, was seventeene brases, saving about the gate and entry into it towards the North, it was only seven fathomes broad, and two Speares lengths deepe. Moreover, he said unto mee, that within the Fortresse there were nine great cast Pieces, and eighteene other, as well Mynions, as Fawconets, and other: and that in the midst of the Tower there was a Well of very good water, upon the height thereof standing a wind-mill, and another standing without the gates. And that thirtie ordinary Souldiers are committed within it to keepe the same. And to make short, that this Tower was made to none other intent (as also others since have confirmed) then for the garding and keeping of the Fountayne heads, which from thence are brought and conveyed under the water into the Citie.

Alger was long time under the Dominion of the King of Telensin, untill such time as they of Bugie chose a new King, unto whom they gave and rendred themselves as his Tributarie, because he was neerer unto them then the King of Telensin, and that hee could sooner helpe them (if need were.) But in processe of time, perceiving themselves to be as it were free and out of all doubt: armed certayne ships to the Sea, with the which they became such Coursaires or Pirates that in short time they annoyed by their Piracies and Robberies on the Sea, not onely the Coast of Spaine, but also all the Mediterrane Ilands. Which perceiving, Ferdinando the King Catholike sent to Alger a great Armie to assiege them, and for to keepe them in most distresse, caused with a marvellous readinesse a Fort to bee made in a small Iland, which lyeth before the Citie, keeping them by that meanes so straightly
besieged, that in short time they were constrainned to require a Truce for ten yeares: Which was agreed unto them upon condition of a certayne Tribute, which they payed untill the death of King Ferdinando, for then they espying a convenient time and means, to breake the Truce, and to set themselves at liberty, called unto them Cairadin Barbarosse, who after the siege of Bone, retyred to the Castle of Geggill, standing in the Coast of the Mediterran Sea, upon the top of a high Rocke, seventy miles from Bugie, who being by them chosen to bee their chiefe Captayne, gave many fierce assaults unto the Fortresse, so as he put the Spaniards to flight, and incontinent after caused it to bee ruined and pulled downe even to the foundation. He then seeing so happie successe of his Enterprize, could no longer abide to be as companion, but in a Bath trayterously slue a Prince of Arabie, called Selim: who declared himselfe to be Lord of the Citie.

Afterwards forsaking the name of a Captaine any longer, caused himselfe to bee called King, and coynd money under his name, and so well guided his Affaires that in short time after hee brought all his Neighbours about him to become contributory unto him. Such was the beginning of the magnificent estate of Cariedin Barbarosse: after whose death, his Brother Hariadene succeeded him in the Kingdome, and after him his Sonne Cassam, who raigned at the time we arrived there.

To returne to the Discourse of our Navigation, which I left at the Cape Matafuz, from whence (having sojourned there a night) wee departed in the morning: the wind was so contrary that it forced us to come to an Anchor neere to the Cape Tedele: at which place wee saw within a great Rocke a deepe entrance, being two flight shot long, into the which the Sea entreteth even to the very bottome, where we entred with our Skiffe, even to the halfe way of it: and thinking to passe on further, we found so great a number of strange Mice, that we were constrainned to turne backe: so were we persecuted. And so for feare

Selim slaine by Treason.
The King had not complete power: but they enjoyed as this Author saith, a kind of Commonwealth.
This Hariadene was the famous Sea Captaine, Admiral of the Turkes Navie, mentioned in the Turkish Historie, which affrighted Rome, and was terrible to Christendom.
See my Pilgrimage, l. 6. c. 9. §. 2.
Cape of Teddel.
Strange Mice.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

A.D. 1551.

they should pisse on our heads (their pisse being venemous) we were forced to cover us, and to wrap our selves in our Clokes. This part of the Sea is very full of Mountainyes and great Rockes.

Teddell is a Citie contayning about two thousand Harth-steeds, situated upon the Sea Mediterrane, threescore miles from Alger at the bottome of a Mountainye, and on the hanging of a great Rocke. On the midst of the Mountainye is a little Castle, from the which along goeth a wall stretching to that of the Citie. The Africans first did edifie it, and at this present is inhabited of a people very merry and pleasant. For, for the most part of them they are given to the exercise of the Harpe and Lute. Their principall Craft and Occupation is fishing, and dyeing of Wooles and Cloth, by reason of divers small Brookes very fit for their dyings, which descending from the Mountaines through divers places of the Towne, issue into the Sea. The Inhabitants of the same place are under the same Obeysance and Justice that they of Alger are. Leaving the Coast and Towne of Teddell, we bare room to Sea-wards, and had so good speed, that the four and twentieth of July in the Evening, we discovered the Citie of Gigeri, but even thinking to be neere it, within a moment arose such a sudden Borasque or Flaa, that if our Mariners had not nimblly bestirred themselves in taking in of their Sayles, wee had beene in great danger to have beene all drowned, and immediately saw our Frigate (which was made fast to our Gally) lost before our eyes, because they had not quickly cut the Halser, but all our men were saved by swimming to our Gallies. These Borasques (engendred of a wind, called by the Græcians, Typhon; or Plinie, Vertex or Vortex, but vulgarly Tourbillion, or Whirlwind, proceed not out of the West, notwithstanding doe often happen in Winter) are very often and dangerous all along the Coast of Barbarie, and as they come very suddenly, so are againe soone appeased.

Porte of Bone. The twentie five in the Evening, we arrived at the Port [II. vi. 877.] of Bone: where wee being come to an Anker, the
Nicholas Nicholay

Ambassadour sent to salute the Caddy, which keepeth the towne upon tribute under the King of Alger. This Caddy was a rened Christian, and notwithstanding shewed himselfe very curteous and liberall towards us, for over and above the refreshings of flesh, bread and fruits which he gave us, about supper time sent unto the Ambassador two great Platters of Macolique, full of their kinde of meate, dressed according to their fashion, which was a kinde of Menudes made in Paste with Onions, and fat Pullets with certaine sawces of very good taste and savour.

Bone, ancietly called Hippon, of which Saint Augustine hath beene Bishop in times past, edified of the Romans upon the Mediterranean Sea, standeth of the one side upon high and ragged Rockes, and there is a very faire and sumptuous Mosque, unto which is adjoyned the house of the Caddy: but the other side of the Towne towards the South, and the Valley is situated more lower, and as well within as without accommodated with Wells and good Fountains. The Houses within it (having beene twice saccaged and spoyled by the Spaniards) are evill builded, and this Towne doth not now containe above three hundred Harthes. The Empeour Charles the fift, after he had subdued the Towne, caused upon a height of one side towards the West, a great Castle to be builded: which commanded of all sides, and did accommodate it with a number of Cisternes to gather Water in, for that on this height there is neither Well nor Fountaine. Notwithstanding, shortly after it was rased by the Turkes and Moores, and the Spaniards driven out of it; without the City towards the East, is seene a goodly and large Champion Countrey, inhabited and tilled by a kinde of People called Merdez; which Countrey, besides the great quantitie of Corne that it bringeth forth, nourisheth and pastureth in the Valley a great number of Oxen, Kine, Sheepe and other Cattell, so plentifully, that with their Milke and Butter, not onely the City of Bone is provided and furnished, but also Tunes and the Isle of Gerbes: there
are also about it many faire Garden Plats, plentifull
abounding with Dates, Figgges, and sweet Mellons. At
the beginning of the Valley passe two small Rivers,
whereof, the next and greatest hath a Bridge of stone,
under the which is a way to an old ruined Church, being
betwenee two Rocks, which the Moores doe say to have
beeene the Church of Saint Augustine, which made me the
more desireous to goe and see it: Notwithstanding, that
a Jew, borne in Spaine, being then with me, used all the
meanes he could to perswade mee from it: for the dangers
which he said to be there of the Theeves called Alerbes,
which thereabouts doe lye secretly hid, to intrap them that
came thereabouts; by which his remonstrances notwith-
standing he could not dissuade me, but that needes he
must accomanie mee: and certainly there I found by
experience: and upon the top of a high Mountaine hee
shewed me a small troope of these Alerbes starke naked,
mounted on horse-backe with their Dartes in their hands,
after the fashion of those I saw in Alger: In the Haven
or Roade which lyeth before the Fortresse is found great
quantitte of very faire Corrall, which Andre Doria then
had in forme of the King of Alger, for which he paid unto
him yeerely great summes of Money. By chance we
found there a Ship of Marsellie conducted by a Cursarie,
to gather the same, who presented unto the Ambassador,
many faire and great branches. The next day being the
six and twentieth, after Sunne-set, waying our Ankers,
we departed from Bone, and passed from the Gulfe, which
continueth about eightene miles to the Cape of Rose,
and passing further towards the sight of the Iles De la
Galite, and des Symboles, there flew a Fish into our
Gallie, of the length, colour and bignesse of a great Sardin,
which before had two great wings, and two lesse behinde;
his head and mouth being great according to the propor-
tion of the body: this fish is by the Moores called Indole.
And having doubled the Cape Bone, the twenty and eight
day we arrived at the Ile of Pantalarree.

This Ile of Pantalarree, which by the Ancients was called
Nicholas Nicholay

Paconia, is very Hilly and full of great Rocks. There
growth great quantitie of Cotton, Capers, Figges,
Mellons and Reisins: and throughout the Ilands is full
of Cisternes. There are also many small Houses very
anciently builded within the ground (made like unto
Caves) made by the Moores in the time they possessed
the Iland: along the Sea side are found Stones being
blacke, and glistering like unto fine Jet, and certaine
rough Stones. They have no Horses, but of Oxen great
store, with the which they do labour and till the ground,
how well there growth no Corne. Of which they furnish
themselves out of the Ile of Sicilia, unto which they are
subject. But well there growth certime other Graine
and Herbes of small estimation. There growth a small
Tree like unto Nerte: which the Moores called, Vero;
and the Sicilians, Stinco, bringing forth a small round
fruit, which at the first is red, and being ripe, waxeth
blacke. Of which, the Inhabitants of the Iland (which
are very poore) make Oyle, which they use as well to burne
in their Lampes, as to eate: and the Women after having
washed their heads, doe anoint their haire with it to make
it grow long and faire: As well the men as women are of
nature good Swimmers, as by experience we saw by a
woman of the Countrey, bringing a great Basket with
Fruit, entred into the Sea, and swimming, brought the
same to sell in our Galley. This Iland containeth thirty
miles in length, and in breadth about ten miles.

The thirtieth day of the same moneth of July, we
departed from Pantalaree with such a favourable wind:
that the first day of August, being passed the Ile of Goze,
we arrived about the evening in the Road of Malta, where
incontinent we were visited by the Knights Parisot and
Villegaignon, and of many others of divers Nations.
And after the Ambassador had given to understand to
the great Master his comming, the chaines of the Haven
being opened with salutation accustomed of the one side
and other, we entred into the Haven, upon the sides
whereof were with the afore named, divers other Knights
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

come thither in the behalfe of the grand Master (of birth a Spaniard) named Omede, which received the Ambas-
sador, and presented unto him a Mulet, on which he
lighted, and accompanied him to the great Hall of the
Castle, where the grand Master with divers Knights
attended him, and having done reverence unto him, and
declared part of his authorisation, the night approaching,
taking his leave returned to his Gallies. The next day
he was by the great Master bidden to a sumptuous dinner,
unto the which all the ancient and notable Knights of the
Religion were also bidden and assembled, and there was
openly rehearsed, how that certaine dayes before Sinan
Basha, Captaine Generall of the Turkes army had taken
and saccaged the Castle of the Towne of Augusta in
Sicilia, and that he from thence arriving in a Port of
Malta called Mechetto, neere unto that of the Castle,
pit his men there on land to over-run, ravish and spoyle
all whatsoever they should find for their advantage, which
they executed most cruely, as such barbarous people in
like affaires are accustomed to doe. But a most valiant
and well advised Knight a Spaniard, named Guimeran,
Captaine of one of the Gallies of the Religion, who could
not abide such insolency, and secretly assembling certaine
number of Souldiers, did by ambushes and other meanes
so distresse them, that after having taken and slaine such
as fell into his laps, made them to remooe from that
place: but notwithstanding did not desist of their enter-
prise: for from thence they went to the Road of S. Paul
where they landed their Ordnance to assiege the City,
whereof they got the Suburbs, and framed their Trenches
to make the battery. And forsomeuch, as they could not
atchieve the end of their enterprise (by reason as well of
the roughnesse of the place being full of Rocks, as seeing
their men faile them, dying through extreme heat) they
resolved to remove their siege, and to imbarke them-
selves with their Ordnance, having slaine, taken and
saccaged all that they met withall at advantage. From
thence they went to the Ile of Goze, being very neere and

Road of S.
Paul.

Goze saccaged.
subject to the Ile of Malta, which they saccaged, and by deceitfull composition tooke the Castle, leading the people both men, women and children as slaves into miserable captivity: being in number sixe thousand and three hundreth. The Knight de Villegaignon in his Treaty which he hath made of the warres of Malta, doth recite a History no lesse lamentable then full of dispaire, and unnaturall cruelty: and is of a Sicilan which in that place had dwelled of long time, and there married a wife, by whom he had two faire daughters then, being in state to be married, who seeing his last calamity approaching, because he would not in his presence see his wife and his daughters ravished and violated, and to be brought in shamefull servitude, and to deliver them from all shame and bondage, having called them into his house, first slew with his sword his two daughters, and afterwards their mother. And this done, with a Harquebuse and a Crossebow bent (as cleane bereft of sences) made towards his enemies, of whom he slew twaine at the first encounter, afterwards fighting a while with his sword, being invironed with the multitude of the Turkes, brought himselfe to the end of his most unhappy life. Behold the summary of the miseries happened through the Turkes in few dayes in the Iles of Sicila, Malta, and Goze. After which things the Bascha caused his army with the whole booty and prey to embarke, and removed the seven and twenty of July towards Barbary, to assige the Castle of Tripoli.

The sixt of August we came to Tripoli, a City which Charles the fifth had given in keeping to the Knights of Malta, and then besieged by Sinan Bash. Where having well considered the placing of the Campe, the Towne and Castle, we returned to the Bascha, with whom the Ambassador talked a while, and in the meane while I went to see the market of the Turkes (which they call Basar) being hard by where the poore Christians of Sicil, Malta, and Goze, were sold unto those that most offered for them, the last inhaunser, being permitted unto those that bought them (as the ancient Custome of the Orientall
Barbarians is) to strip them starke naked, and to make them goe, to the intent to see if they have any naturall impediment in their bodies, visiting afterwards their teeth and eyes, as though they had beene horses, and standing there, I saw creeping upon the ground a Scorpion of yellow colour, being of length more then a long finger. The same day the Turkes brought their Ordnance and Gabions unto the Trenches, which Gabions are made of great Plankes of three inches, which they carry upon their Gallies or Shippes to serve them when they have need of them: for when they will batter any place, they set them in the ground in forme of Baskets. Afterwards being set in rankes, they fill them with earth, and is a very commodious invention, for the shot which can but slippering passe over it, and can doe no hurt nor damage. The Turkes having in the night placed their Gabions, and their Ordnance ready to the Battery, did the next day following being the eight of August, begin to shoot at the Castle with great furie, which was not left unanswered, and every houre some slaine.

[II. vi. 879.] The besieged sent to the Basha, if he would receive certaine of them to treat of some good accord touching the giving over of the Castle, wherento the Bascha lightly consenting, was in all diligence dispatched a brave Spaniard, named Guivare, and a Knight of Majorque, to offer unto the Bascha the Castle with the Artillery and Munition, so as he would furnish them of ships to bring them with bagge and baggage safely to Malta: to whom summarily was answered, that (forasmuch as, as yet they had not deserved any grace, presuming to be so bold as to keepe so small a place against the armie of the highest Prince on the earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the armie, he would gladly agree to the matter proponed, or if they would not thereunto consent (as it became them) that for their recompence, all they within the Castle should continue slaves and prisoners: notwithstanding, if they incontinently and without delay, did surrender the place he would exempt out of them two hundreth. Where-
upon, the messengers returning in dispaire of any further grace, was stayed by Drogot and Salarai, with flattering words, and fayned promises, that they would endeavours so much as in any wise lay in them, to make the Bascha condiscend to a better and more gracious composition: for they feared that the assiaged through dispaire, would resolve (as their extreame refuge) to defend themselves even to the last man. And incontinent went to the Bascha, to declare unto him his oversight, in refusing those which of their owne voluntary came to surrender themselves into his hands, and that to put them out of doubt and dispayre, he ought with all mildnesse to agree unto all that they demanded. For after he had the Castle, and all the men under his authoritie, he might afterwards dispose of them, as he should thinke good. The Bascha finding this counsell good, caused the two messengers to be called againe unto him, declaring unto them with fained and dissembling words, that at the instance and request of Drogot and Salarai there present, inclining unto their request, he did discharge them of all their costs and charges of the armie, swearing unto them (the better to deceive them) by the head of his Lord and his owne, inviolably to observe all that which he had promised unto them, which they (too easily) beleved, and forthwith went to declare the same unto the Governour and others within the Castle.

The Bascha the better to atchieve to his enterprise, sent forth after the Deputie aforesaid, a Turke (one of the most subtil to his mind, that he could choose) to whom he gave expresse charge to perswade the Governour to come with him, to conclude and treat concerning the giving over, and for the vessels which should bee necessary for their conduct to Malta, and that if hee made difficultie to come, he should make a semblance as though hee would remaine there in hostage for him, and that above all things hee should have an eye to consider of the strength and assurance of the assiaged, and of the disposition of all things there, which the Turke could execute so finely, that the
Governour by the counsell of those that had persuad
him to surrender, notwithstanding the reasons of warres,
and duetie of his office, forbade him in such manner to
abandon the place of his charge, resolved upon so small
an assurance of the Bascha, who having rigorously
reproached his timery, said unto him: that forsomuch
as he had given his word, that if he would pay the charges
of the armie, he would let them go with bagge and
baggage, otherwise hee would discharge but two hundred,
whereat Vallier being greatly mooved, answered, that it
was not that which with the Deputie of the Castle he had
agreed unto: But seeing he would doe none otherwise, that
it would please him to suffer him to returne to the place
for to have the advise and deliberation of the assiéged,
which he could not obtaigne, but it was onely permitted
unto him, to send backe the Knight that he had brought
with him, to make report of these pittious newes unto
the assiéged; and on the other party, Vallier was sent to
the Gallie with Irons on his legges. They of the Castle
having understood the Premisses, were greatly afraid of
the mischiefe, which they perceived approaching towards
them, and could take none other resolution, then the next
day in the morning early to returne the said Knight to
the Bascha, to know whether they should looke for no
better. But as soone as he was come before him, the
Governour was brought in, of whom the Bascha asked,
which of both he would choose, either to pay the expences
of the armie, or that he and all they of the Castle would
remaine prisoners, to whom he answered, that a slave had
none other authoritie then that which by his master was
given unto him, and that having lost, besides his libertie,
the power to command if any thing were yet reserved in
him, could not counsell him to command to agree unto
any thing but that which was concluded with the delegates,
which the Bascha hearing, for feare that such an answere
should not come to the knowledge of the assiéged, and
that it should cause them desperately to fight it out, having
taken counsell of his Captaines, tooke the Governour by
the hand, and with a smiling and dissembling countenance
said unto him, that without any doubt he would as
he had promised them, set them at free liberty: and
that therefore without fearing any thing, hee would
cause them all to come out of the Castle: but the
Governour, because he had before beene deceived, would
not trust to his words, but said unto him, that he should
command him that was come from the Castle, for that he
knew they would doe never a whit the more for him.
So that the Bascha turning towards the Knight, com-
manded him that he forthwith should goe unto him, and
cause them to come forth: swearing unto them by the
head of his great Lord, and his owne, that they should
all be delivered and set at liberty, according to the first
conventions agreed upon. Which the Knight beleeving,
went to report unto them these good newes: which they
received with such joy, that without any further care or
consideration of their misse-hap so neere, and prepared for
them, they ran to the prease with their wives, children,
and best moveables, preasing who should first goe forth.
But they were not so soonie issued, but were cleane spoyled,
and of the enemies, part of the Knights were sent to the
Gallies, and the rest to the Bascha: who beeing by the
Knight Vallier admonished of his faith, which hee had
twise given, answered, that there was no promise to be
kept with dogges, and that they had first violated their
Oath with the great Lord, unto whom at the giving over
of the Rhodes, they had sworne that they never would
take on armes against the Turkes. The Castle being
taken and spoyled, and about two hundreth Moores of
that Countrey that had served the Knights, cut in pieces,
with great cries and shouts, rejoicing of their victory,
they discharged a great peale of Ordinance.

Although the houses and buildings within the Towne
be ruined, yet it is invironed with very faire and strong
wals, accompanied with a great number of Turrets, double
Ditches and false breaches, and the same are on the three
parts invironed with the sea, and within them are very

[II. vi. 880.]

Faith and promis broken.

Tripoli desribed.
good Wels and Fountaines. We saw in the middest of the Towne an Arch triumphall of white Marble with foure
faces upon foure pillars of Corinth foure square, being
graven in the Front that looketh towards the East (by
excellent Sculpture) a Chariot drawen by two great
Griffins, and within it was Victory sitting with two wings:
Toward the West was graven a Chariot, whereupon was
sitting Pallas, and about the edge were written divers
Romane letters, but were so ruined, that scarce they were
to be knowne. Notwithstanding, by that which can be
read, we understand, that they were made in the time of
P. Lentulus, which is a good winnesse to beleve that this
City, as before I have said, was builded by the Romanes.
The inside of the Arch was full of divers inrichtments,
and above after the fashion of a foure-square Turret: and
two other faces looking towards the North and South,
were cut as from the upper part of the body unto the
girdlestead without any heads, two great figures of the
overcome. All the rest was set forth with all sorts of
weapons in forme of Trophee, not farre from thence was
seen a great foure-square place, invironed with many
great and high Pillars in two rankes, after the manner of
a Porch, and neere that are the destructions of a high
Tower, which in times past was (as a Moore of that
Countrie told me) the great Temple or Mosque of the
Citie: there are a number more of antiquities ruined.
The Chiaous being come was sent by the Bascha, we
returned towards the Castle, but might not at that time
enter in all, because the Bascha had given commandement,
that there should not enter with the Ambassadour above
five or sixe at the most, which were Sant Veran de Fleury,
de Montenard, Batolomy and the Dragoman, and I: at
the entry we met with Morataga and the Captaine which
had the charge of the Castle, which caused us to be
brought upon the Rampards, to the end we might the
better view and consider of all things, and having seen
both above and below, we perceived for certaine, that all
things were well repaired and furnished, and well appointed

128
with sixe and thirty peeces of Ordnance, as well small as great, and that there was a great number of Pikes, and pots to cast fire, abundance of all kind of victuals and other Munitions, a good Well and Fountaine: and that at the time when the siege was laid to it, there was as well of Knights as Souldiers of divers Nations, about sixe hundred, and the best Gunners of the world, it is an everlasting shame to them that so faint-heartedly surrendred the same unto those barbarous people without any warlike reason. All which having well considered, with a heavy mind we returned againe to our Gallies, whither incontinent the Bascha sent to desire the Ambassadour that the next day he would come to his solemnne dinner, which he pretended to make for joy of his victory, and taking of the Castle, and that he would bring Vallier with him, which he would not refuse, thinking by such occasion to recover the rest of the two hundred Knights and Souldiers which were yet to be delivered: and therefore the day following, being the sixteenth day of August, 1551. accompanied by the Governour Vallier, the Knight de Seur, Cotignac, Captain Coste, Montenard and me, went towards Bascha, being within the Ditch against the breach of the Castle, where for a magnificency were set up two faire Pavillions, the one for him, joyning unto a very faire Fountaine: and the other for the Ambassador and his company: and so soone as he had sent his presents, as well to the Bascha, as to others his familiares (which of old time hath beene the manner and custome that they that have to do with these Barbarians must observe) he was brought unto the Pavillion that was prepared for him, and forthwith served with all magnificence, honour, and superfluity of meats as well of flesh as fish, diversely dressed according unto their fashion: and with wines very excellent that they had found within the Castle, and this service was done with noyse of all their instruments, and by Officers in number above one hundred, apparellled for the most part in long Gownes of fine cloth of Gold, tuffed or figured, and the other of Velvet and Crimson Damaske,
and divers others colours. The Bascha was no sooner set
downe, but all the Ordnance of the Gallies, Foists and
Galliots of the army (being in all one hundred and forty,
besides the great Gallion and two Mahumetz) was
discharged, with such a noyse and thundring, that it
seemed the heavens and skyes did shake. The table being
taken up, the Ambassador and Governour Vallier entred
into the Pavillion of the Bascha, which in the end agreed
to deliver the two hundred men which he had promised:
and moreover, gave twenty unto the Ambassador upon
promise, that he should cause to be released the thirty
Turkes taken at Malta, at the landing of the army. But
the most part of them that were delivered, were Spaniards,
Sicilians and Calabres, and few French-men: for the most
part of them were put to the ranke of criminals forsworne:
that day were brought into our Gallies, the Coffers of
Vallier, within which were found certaine apparell, a sacke
with money, and a cup of silver, the rest which he said to
be more worth then two thousand Crownes, the Turkes
had taken away and spoiled: besides, two Pavillions
which he esteemed worth three hundred Crownes. The
Turkes having in their hands an ancient Gunner of the
Castle, named John de Chabas, borne within the Towne of
Romance in Dauphine (to the end that their feast of
victory should not be unfurnished of some sacrifice of
cruelty) for that with a Canon he had shot off the hand
of the Clerke generall of the army, brought him into the
Towne: and having cut off his hands and his nose, they
put him quicke into the ground even to the girdle stead,
and there with a cruelty was persecuted and shot at with
arrowes, and in the end for to accomplish the execution of
his glorious martyrdom, they cut his throat. About eight
a clocke in the evening, were lighted upon all the Gallies,
Galliots, Foists, & other vessels, all along upon the
Tackels, Yeards, and other ropes and poupes, in every of
them above three hundred candles, with cries and shouts
accustomed, and sound of drums and other instruments.
To make an end of all their triumphs, they againe
NICHOLAS NICHOLAY

A.D.
1620.

discharged all their Ordnance. The next day being the seventeenth, the Bascha sent to be presented unto the Ambassador a gowne of cloth of Gold tissued, and with the same his leave to depart, which he so long had desired; and was not received without a present given him that brought it, and to divers other Officers of the Bascha, which on all sides came running one after another, as a sort of Hounds, to have their fee and share in the Game, for they are the most barbarous, covetous, and cruel Nation of the world, and in whom there is neither truth nor fidelity, never observing the one halfe of that they promise: and yet men must always be giving to them.

Chap. V.

A large Voyage in a Journall or briefe Reportary of all occurrents, hapning in the Fleet of ships sent out by the King his most excellent Majestie, as well against the Pirats of Algiers, as others; the whole body of the Fleet, consisting of eighteen Sayle. Sixe of his Majesties ships, ten Merchants ships, two Pinnaces. Under the command of Sir Robert Mansel Knight, Vice-Admirall of England, and Admirall of that Fleet: and a Counsell of Warre appointed by his Majestie. Written by one employed in that Voyage, formerly published, and here contracted.

PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

The names of the Captaines, Ships, their burdens, number of men and Ordnance in his Majesties sixe Ships.

First, Sir Robert Mansell Admirall in the Lyon, burden sixe hundred Tuns, men two hundred and fiftie, Peeces of Brasse Ordnance forty. Secondly, Sir Richard Hawkins Vice-Admirall in the Vantguard, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Thirdly, Sir Thomas Button Reare-Admirall in the Raine-bow, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Fourthly, Captaine Arthur Manwaring in the Constant Reformation, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Fiftly, Sir Henry Palmer in the Antheloape, burden foure hundred Tuns, men one hundred and sixty, Brasse Ordnance thirty and foure. Sixty, Captaine Thomas Love in the Convertine, burden five hundred Tun, men two hundred and twenty, Brasse Ordnance sixe and thirty.

In the Merchants Ships.

and twentie. Seventhly, Sir John Hamden in the Prim-
rose, burden one hundred and eighty tunnes, men eightie
Iron Ordnance eighteene. Eightly, Captaine Eusabey
Cave in the Hercules, burden three hundred tunnes, men
one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance foure and twentie.
Ninthly, Captaine Robert Haughton in the Neptune,
burden two hundred and eighty tunnes, men one hundred
and twentie, Iron Ordnance one and twentie. Tenthly,
Captaine John Chidley in the Merchant Bonaventure,
burden two hundred and sixtie tunnes, men one hundred
and ten, Iron Ordnance, three and twentie. Eleventhly,
Captaine George Raymond in the Restore, burden one
hundred and thirtie tunnes, men fiftie, Iron Ordnance
twelve. Twelfthly, Captaine Thomas Harbert in the
Marmaduke, burden one hundred tunnes, men fiftie, Iron
Ordnance twelve.

The Fleet thus furnished set sayle in the sound of
Plimmouth, the twelfth of October in the morning, in
the yeare 1620.

The one and thirtie of October, in the morning wee
turned into the Road of Gibraltar, where were riding at
anchor two of the King of Spaines ships of warre, the
Vice-Admirall of a Squadron with the Kings Armes in his
fore-top and another, who so soone as they perceived us
weighed their Anchors, set sayle, and comming Lee-ward
of our Admirall, strooke his flag, saluting him with their
small shot and great Ordnance, after haled him with
voyces; our Admirall striking his flag, answered them
with voyces, gave them his Ordnance and small shot, all
the Fleet following in order: this done, we saluted the
Towne with our Ordnance, the Towne doing the like by
answering us. Our Admirall being at an Anchor, the
Spanish Captaine accompanied with other Gentlemen,
came aboord our Admirall, who told us that there were
great store of Pirats abroad, and that two of the Pirats
shippes had fought with seven Spanish Gallies, and had
slaine them foure hundred men, and that they had beene
at Steria a small Towne with thirty sayle of ships and
ten Gallies, and had taken it, and carryed away divers Prisoners, and that they had threatened to take Gibraltar; there the Admirall sent his sicke men ashoare, having houses and lodgings provided for them, amongst whom was Captaine John Fenner who here dyed.

The second of November, about seven in the morning, having a fresh gale at North-west, the Admirall with the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor and standing off, met North the Reare-Admirall of the Spanish Fleet, who saluting us North his Ordnance and wee stood on our course North-east and by East, being bound for Malhaga. The third, about two in the morning, wee came to an Anchor in Malhaga Road, and about eight of the clocke wee saluted the Towne with our Ordnance and divers Vollies of small shot; here divers Spaniards of account came aboard our ships whom we kindly entertayned, here we likewise expected Letters but heard not of any.

The sixth, our Admirall dispatched a Gentleman, one Master John Duppa, with Letters to the English Embassador at the Court of Spaine, to let him know of our arrivall and proceedings. This day about eleven of the clocke, the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle the wind at North-west. But before wee weighed, our Admirall gave order to the Fleet to divide themselves into three Squadrons, the Admirall Squadron was kept sixe leagues from the shore, with pendants in the mayne tops for their signes; the Vice-Admirals Squadron three leagues without him, on his Bow with pendants on his fore-tops; the Reare-Admiral three leagues within him on his quarter with pendants on their Misen tops, who deviding themselves according to their order steered away East and by South along the shoare, being bound for Allicant.

The seventh, about sixe in the morning, it being calme, and all the Fleet together, the Admirall take in all her sayles, and lay a hull, all the Fleet doing the like, the Admirall put out his flag of generall Councell which was Saint George. Whereupon all the Captaines and Masters repayred aboard him, where it was concluded, and thought
MANSELL'S VOYAGE TO ALGIERS

meet that two ships of least draught of water, and one Pinnasse should hale the shoare close aboard to see if any Pirats were at an Anchor, eyther in Bayes or Coves, and to free the shoare; here likewise was given a word wherby to know our owne Fleet from others, if any strangers should chance to fall amongst us in the night, the word was Greenwich Tower. The Councell ended, and every man repayred aboard his owne shippe, in the evening the whole Fleet in their order sayled alongst towards Cape Degat.

The eight and ninth dayes having but little wind, we gayned not much way. The tenth, in the morning, falling with the point of Muttrill, and having the wind Southerly, the whole Fleet put into the Road and there anchored.

The nineteenth, in the morning, we came to Anchor in Allicant Road, where the whole Fleet saluted the Towne with their Ordnance, and the Towne us: heere our Admirall having provided houses for his sicke men, as before hee had done at Gibraltar, sent thirty seven sicke men of his owne ships Company ashoare, here likewise he dispatched a Gentleman, one Master Walter Long to Carthagena, with Letters of advice; but all this while could receive no such Letters as we expected.

The fife and twentieth, beeing fitted with Wine, Water, and other such necessaries as wee wanted, the wind being Northerly, the whole Fleet set sayle, leaving behind the Good Will, out of whom our Admirall had taken most of her men to supply his wants for those sicke hee left ashoare, and being under sayle we shaped our course South-west for Algier.

The seven and twentieth, about ten in the morning, wee came to Anchor in Algier Road in seven and twentie fathome water, out of command of the Towne or Castle, the Admirall and Reare-Admirall wearing white Ancients on their Poops, the rest of the Fleet wearing no Ancients at all, going in the whole Fleet, saluted the Towne with their Ordnance, but the Towne gave us none againe.
The eight and twentieth, our Admirall sent a Gentleman ashore, one Captaine Squibe, with a white flag of Truce in his Boat, to give the Vice-Roy to understand the cause of our comming; hereupon the Vice-Roy sent a Boat aboard our Admirall, with a white flag and four men in her, one principall man in the Towne who delivered our Admirall, signifying the Vice-Roy, had received command from the Grand Seignior, to use us with all respect, and that our men might have the free libertie of the shoare to buy fresh victuals or whatsoever they wanted; they promised our Admirall if on the morrow hee would send any Gentleman of qualitie ashoare with the Kings Majesties Letters, that upon the shooting off a Peece of Ordnance, according to our Admirals demand, he should receive sufficient Hostages aboard for his safetie: this night the Pirats brought in three Prizes, one Flemming, the other two Englishmen, the one a Plimmouth man, and the other of North Yarmouth.

The third of December, came sice of the King of Spaines ships into the Road, the Admirall striking his flag, saluted our Admirall with small shot and Ordnance, this done, he came aboard our Admirall in his Boat, and told him hee came in pursuite of certaine Pirats, who had taken divers of their men, who being in a ship of seven hundred tuns neere Carthage, in fight with a Turkish Pirat, had booraded her, entred her men and taken her, had not their owne ship unfortunately falne on fire with a mischance hapning, they were forced to forsake the Turkes ship to save their owne, and so lost both, for being not able to quench the fury of the fire, were forced to yeeld themselves to the slavery of the Turkes to save their lives, beeing in all three hundred men, whereof thirty perished in the fire. This Spanish Admirall sayling neere the Towne, the Turkes let flye seventie foure great shot at him, and hee gave them some sixeene backe in exchange, but the distance betweene them was so farre, that the shot falling short, no harme was done on eyther side.
The fourth, our Admirall received from the Towne an answere of the Kings Letters.

The sixth, after long debating, finding the Turkes perfidious and fickle, as well in detayning our Messenger, who delivered his Majesties Letters, notwithstanding we had sufficient Hostages for him, as in breaking all other promises: in the end it was agreed thus, upon leaving a Consull with them, they would let our Messenger come aboard againe; whereupon the Admirall sent a common man, well clothed, by the name of a Consull, whom they received with good respect, and sending our Messenger aboard, received their owne pledges, and delivered us some forty poore Captives, which they pretended was all they had in the Towne, this was all wee could draw from them. The seventh, in the morning, our Admirall sent a Letter with instruction to our Councell, with another Letter to the Bashaw, to let him know how ill wee tooke his perfidious dealing.

The eight, in the morning, our Admirall and all the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle.

The tenth day at night, the wind shifted to the South and East, and so to the East.

The fourteenth, came to Anchor in the Road of Alacotha, on the North side of the said Iland, we found this to be a very good place, yeelding us Wood, Water and Ballast, whereof we had great need, the people very kind courteous, bringing us great store of all manner of provisions which we bought at easie rates, whereby wee supplied our wants, and releeved our sicke men, whereof we had great store in our Fleet.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning, the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle.

The five and twentieth, about nine at night, came eight or nine sayle of Turkes into our Fleet, whom so soone as we discovered, we chased them and made shot at them, but by reason it was a darke night, and that they sayled better then our ships, they escaped us.

The sixe and twentieth, about three in the afternoone,
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

wee put into Alicant Road, hoping there to receive Letters of advice, else some newes of a supply of victuals out of England, but missed both.

The seven and twentieth at night the Reare-Admirals Squadron went out to Sea in pursuit of two Turkish Pirats, who had taken about three hours before two Flemmish ships; the Flemmings quiting their ships, saved themselves in their Boats.

The fourth of January at night, the Constant Reformation and the Golden Phenix had order to goe to Sea, to seeke two Pirats ships, which we heard were on the Christian shore. The fifth at night, they returned into the Road againe, but met not with any.

The sixth, the Vice-Admirall with his Squadron set sayle for Malhaga, to see if they could heare of any newes of a supply of victuals, or whether the two Princes which were long expected were come thither. The twelfth, Master John Duppa came from Carthagena, bringing with him a packet of Letters of advice sent out of England, bearing date the fourteenth of December, he signified that there was sixe monethes victuals sent out of England, for a supply of his Majesties ships, and that they were at Malhaga with the two Pinnasses, this night the Reare-Admirall with his Squadron was sent to Sea to see if he could meet with certaine Pirats, which we had intelligence of. The thirteenth, the Reformation, the Samuel, and the Restore, put to Sea, to see if they could meet with any Pirats. The eighteenth, the Reformation with the other ships returned into the Road, where we found the Reare-Admirall with his Squadron likewise returned, but met no Pirats.

The one and twentieth, there came a Flemish Boat with fifteene Flemmings in her aboard our Admirall, who being chased by the Turkish Pirats off of Cape Martine, left their shippe and saved themselves by their Boat, this night was the Anthelope with other ships sent out to see if they could meete with them. The foure and twentieth,
the Anthelope with the other ships returned into the Road, but met with none.

The five and twentieth, our Admirall beeing invited to the English Consuls house went ashoare, where at his arrivall he was entertained with small shot and Ordnance both from the Towne and Castle, and at night with Fireworkes, running of Horses, shooting of Ordnance, and other sports; this day Captaine John Roper was dispatched with Letters for England. The sixe and twentieth, our Admirall returned aboard the Towne, giving him a friendly farewell with their Ordnance.

The seven and twentieth, the Admirall with the rest of the Fleet set saile, leaving the Marmaduke behind, whose Captaine and Master were both sicke ashoare. The eight and twentieth at midnight, we met with seven saile of Flemmings ships of Warre, neere Cape Paul, under the command of Captaine Haughton Admirall of Zealand, who the next morning, after he had saluted our Admirall with Ordnance, came aboard in his Boat, he told our Admirall he had two and twentie ships of Warre under his charge, whom he had divided into Squadrons, imploying them some without the Streights, and some within. The one and thirtieth, wee came to an anchor againe in Alicant Road.

The first of February, the Reare-Admirall put to Sea with foure shippes, to see if he could meet with any Pirats, and this day dyed Captaine Eusabey Cave, Captaine of the Hercules, and the Admirall disposed the command of the same ship to Captaine Alexander Bret. The fifth the Reare-Admirall returned with the other foure ships but had met none.

The sixth, the wind being Easterly, the Fleet weighed Anchor about midnight, shaping our course for Malhaga, during the time of our staying here we refreshed our sicke men ashoare, having convenient houses provided for them in the fields Gardens, with carefull people to attend them, providing them such necessaries as they should need. The Constant, for her part, sent ashore ninetie two persons,
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

who as they recovered their strength were sent for aboard, yet notwithstanding all their care, at their departure they were forced to leave behind them ffortie two desperately ill, the Admirall taking order both for them and others, that they should bee carefully provided for untill the Fleets returne.

The sixteenth, came into the Road the Vice-Admirall and his Squadron with the two Pinnasses which we so long expected out of England, the one the Mercurie, of the burden of two hundred and ffortie tunnes, sixtie five men, and twentie peecees of Brasse Ordnance, under the command of Captaine Phineas Pet; the other the Spy, of the burden of one hundred and sixtie tunnes, fiftie five men, and eighteene Peecees of Brasse Ordnance, under the command of Captaine Edward Gyles: there came also two Merchants ships with a supply of victuals for his Majesties ships.

The eighteenth, the Zouch Phenix, the Hercules, the Neptune, and the Spy put to Sea, with order to ply betweene Gibraltar and Shutte point. The nineteenth, the Anthelope put to Sea, and with those ships which went out the day before, had order to ride in Shutie Road, to see if they could descry any Pirats come into the Streights.

The three and twentieth, the Reare-Admirall put to Sea with five other shippes, the Golden Phenix, the Samuel, the Centurion, the Marigold, and the Restore, with order to ride in Tansey Bay, where they were to attend the comming in of divers Pirats whom we heard to be without the Streights mouth.

The foure and twentieth, the Anthelope with the rest of the shippes returned, bringing with them a prize being a small Frenchman, which had fiftie Buts of Oyle in her, and divers Moores and Jewes, men, women and children, Passengers bound from Tituong to Algier, all the Turkes saving themselves in their Boat: this day also came into the Road Captaine Gyles Penne, in a ship of Bristoll, from Tituong Road, bringing a Letter from the Mogoden to our Admirall, and two Moores who treated with him
concerning the redemption of their people, whom our ships had taken, offering for so many Moores, so many English, whom they held in the Towne as slaves, having bought them of the Turkes Pirats. The seven and twentieth, the Samuel and the Centurion returned into the Road from Tansey, then also went out the Anthelope, the Zouch Phenix, the Barbarie, the Neptune and the Restore, with order to ride at Shutey, to see if they could discover any Pirats comming into the Streights, the wind being Westerly. The eight and twentieth, the wind likewise Westerly, the Reformation having taken in some of the Captives, had order to weigh and set sayle for Tituon, to treat with the Moores, and to take in her company the Samuel, the Bonaventure, and the ship of Bristol, where the same day about noone they came to an Anchor in the Road of Tituon in twelve fathome water, the wind at West.

The fourth of March, Master Ashfield, Minister of the Reformation dyed, much lamented of the whole company, of whom in the extreame of their sicknesses they had received much comfort. The fifth, having a faire gale at South-east, our Admirall with the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor, and set sayle for Gibraltar, having concluded nothing with the Mogoden. The sixth, wee came to an Anchor in Gibraltar Road, where wee found our Vice-Admirall with his Squadron.

The thirteenth, we came to an Anchor in Malhaga Road.

The eight and twentieth, about eight in the morning, the Admirall and Reare-Admirall set sayle for Alicant.

The second of Aprill dyed Captaine Manwaring. The fourteenth, about three in the afternoone wee came to an Anchor in Alicant Road, where wee found our Admirall with the rest of the Fleet: here our Admirall had hyred a Pollacre about the burden of one hundred and twentie tunne, for that she was reported to bee an excellent Sayler, and likewise bought three Brigandines which rowed with nine Oares on a side: hee also hyred a house wherein hee
made divers workes for the firing of the ships within the Mould of Algier.

The one and twentieth, we received Letters out of England, by a Post sent from Malhaga, signifying a remaynder of victuals, which wee expected, was arrived at Malhaga. The five and twentieth, about nine in the morning, the whole Fleet sayle for Alicant Road, beeing bound for Firma terra, to supply our wants for wood. The eight and twentieth in the evening, having fitted our selves with wood, we set sayle for Mayorke to take in water. The nine and twentieth, in the after-noone, we came to an Anchor in Mayorke Road. The Towne of Mayorke is large and well fortififed, the people industrious, both men, women and children given to labour, loving and courteous to strangers: heere wee found all manner of victuals in plentie and at easie rates. Their chiefe Merchandise are Oyle, Wood, and Cheese, whereof the Countrey affoordeth plentie.

The one and twentieth of May, at sixe in the after-noone, we came to an Anchor in Algier Road, order being first given by our Admirall how every ship should berth herself.

The ships being come to an Anchor in their orders, our Admirall caused sixe of the Merchants ships presently to weigh, with directions to ply off and on of the Westermost part, keeping as neere the shoare, as conveniently they might, to prevent the coming in of any Pirats betweene the Fleet and the shoare. In the beginning of this night, the Boats and Brigandines appointed for the assistance of two shippes, which our Admirall resolved should that night goe into the Mould, and there to set themselves on fire, being chained and linked to the Pirats ships, repayed aboord our Admirall, there to receive their directions. The manner and preparations for firing of the ships was thus.

First, there were two small ships which we had taken from the Turkes, the one of the burden of an hundred tunnes, the other of sixtie, with great store of fire-workes
in them. There was layd in them plentie of dry Wood, Wood of Ocham, Pitch, Rozen, Tarre, Brimstone and other Materials fit to take fire: they had likewise in them Chaines and Grapnels of Iron to fasten themselves to the ships which they were to fire: they had also Boats to bring off their men when they had fired the ships: then were there three Brigandines fitted with fire-bals, buckets of wild-fire, and fire Pikes to make their fire-workes fast unto the ships: there was also a Gund-lod fitted with fire-workes, Chaines and Grapnels of Iron; she was to goe into the middest of the ships in the Mould, where fastning her to some ship, was to be set on fire. Shee had likewise with her a Boat to bring off her men. Likewise, there were seven Boates which wee called Boats of rescue, well filled with armed men, who were to rescue and relieue the Boats of execution, if they should chance to be pursued by other Boats or Gallies at their comming off. These had also fire-workes in them, to fire the ships which rode without the Mould: these Boats being all aboard, the Admirall sent for most of the Captaines and Masters in the Fleet, to advise whether it were fit to attempt it with Boats and Brigandines, in regard it was little wind, and that Westerly, so that it was impossible for the ships to get in. After some deliberation, it was concluded, that it was not fit, for that the surest and most certaine means of firing was by the ships which were to bee made fast to the shippes in the Mould, and to burne with them. Whereupon it was deferred for that time till a fitter opportunitie was offered. The two and twentieth at night, there were like preparations made, but deferred for like reasons. The three and twentieth, in the beginning of the night wee had a fresh gale of wind at South by South-west, continuing the space of two houres or more, with Thunder, Lightning, and some drops of Raine: the two ships weighed, and with the Brigandines and Boats set forwards towards the Mould, but the wind shifting before they came neere, they were forced also to give over for that night.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

The foure and twentieth at night, after a great showre of Raine, wee had the wind out of the Bay at South Southwest, the weather then cleering up, both the ships and Boats advanced themselves towards the Mould, as before they had done: but comming within lesse then Musket shot of the Moulds head it fell calme, so that the ships could by no meanes get in, the Boats and Brigandines finding that they were discovered, by reason of the brightness of the Moone, which was then at full, and hearing it reported by a Christian Captive which did swimme from the Towne the night before to the ships, that the Turkes had left their ships without guard, saving one or two in a ship, as fearing no such attempt from us. And moreover, hearing the Alarum given to the Towne by those which kept watch on the walls, with good resolution went on, but wanting wind to nourish and disperse the fire, the fire-workes tooke no effect at all. In this service were onely sixe men slaine out-right, foure or five dangerously hurt (which not long after dyed) and some thirteene sleightly hurt, yet notwithstanding, the attempt was given under the wals of the Towne, where both small shot and Ordnance played continually upon them: the hurt done our men was their comming off, for that they were got into the Mould before the Towne was risen, and beeing in, the shippes in the Mould defended them both from small shot and Ordnance of the Towne, our Boates still keeping the shippes betweene them and the Towne.

The five and twentieth, there came in foure sayle of Pirates by the Wester-most point of Land, notwithstanding sixe ships were appointed to lye off at that place, for the wind being Westward and a great Current setting to the Eastward our ships were put so farre to lee-ward that they could not prevent the Pirats comming in betweene the shoare and them, but yet the Bonaventure loosed so neere, that there passed some shot betweene her and the Pirats ships, but no hurt done: this night our Admirall and the whole Fleet weighed Anchor and stood off to the Sea.
MANSELL'S VOYAGE TO ALGIERS

The six and twentieth, the fore-part of the day, the wind was shifting to and fro, from the South-east to the South-west; in the after-noone at South, and South South-east hard gale and raynie weather; and at night having the wind shifting at South and South-west, we played off and on all night by a wind.

The eight and twentieth, we had faire weather the wind Westerly, this night the Bonaventure, and the Hercules put a Pirat ashore, he having an hundred and thirtie Turkes in her, and twelve poore Christians Captives, they were all drowned but twelve Turkes, who got the shoare by swimming.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, our Boates tooke up two Genowayes Captives, who adventured to swimme from the Towne to the ships. They told that the same night our shippes stood off to Sea, there came into the Mould seven of the best ships belonging to Algier, and that if we had stayed they had fallen into our laps. They likewise told us, that the Turkes had Boomed up the Mould, so that it was not possible for eyther shippe or Boate to get in to fire the ships, which were now filled with armed men, besides three Gallies and fifteen Boates which lay continually well fitted without the Mould before the Boome for a Guard, &c.
Chap. VI.

The Relation of the Jacob, a ship of Bristoll, of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, which was about the end of October, 1621, taken by the Turkish Pirats of Argier: and within five dayes after, four English youths did valiantly overcome thirteene of the said Turkes; and brought the ship to Saint Lucas in Spaine, where they sold nine of the Turkes for Gallie-slaves: with mention of some other like English adventures.

Eere the latter end of October last, 1621, a ship belonging to the Citie of Bristoll, being about the burden of one hundred and twenty Tuns, was met withall and set upon by Turkes or Pirats of Argier, where after a long and sharpe fight (being in the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar) the English ship being opprest with the multitude of their enemies, was taken, their Ordnance, Cables, Anchors, Sailes, Ship and men pillaged, ransacked, and at the mercy of the insulting Barbarians, who to make their worke the surer, tooke all the English-men out of the ship, except four youths, whose names were John Cooke, William Ling, David Jones, and Robert Tuckey, into which ship the Turkes did put thirteene of their owne men to command the English, and to bring the ship as a prize to Argier; amongst which one of the Pirats was appointed Captaine, being a strong, able, sterne, and resolute fellow.

These four youthes being thus fallen into the hands of mercilesse Infidels, began to studie and complot all the meanes they could for the obtaining of their freedoms: First, they considered the lamentable and miserable estates that they were like to be in, as to be
THE 'JACOB' AND THE PIRATES

A.D.
1621.

debard for ever from seeing their friends and Countrey, to be chained, beaten, made slaves, and to eate the bread of affliction in the Gallies, all the remainder of their unfortunate lives, to have their heads shaven, to feed on course dyet, to have hard boords for beds, and which was worse of all, never to be partakers of the heavenly Word and Sacraments.

Thus being quite hopelesse, haplesse, and for any thing they knew, for ever helplesse, they sayled five dayes and nights under the command of the Pirats, when on the fifth night, God in his great mercy shewed them a meanes for their wished for escape, for in the dead of the night, the wind began to arise, and in short space it blew so stiffe that they were enforced to strike both their top Sayles; and at last, it encreased to such a gust or storme, that they must take in their maine Saile, and being unable to doe it themselves, John Cooke and William Ling did call to the Turkes for helpe: whereupon the Captaine himsef came to helpe them: who standing by the ships side, betweene the foresaid John and David Jones, lending his hand to hale in the saile, the said John and David suddenly tooke him by the breech and threw him overboard, but by fortune hee fell into the bunt of the sayle, where quickly catching hold of a rope, he (being a very strong man) had almost gotten into the ship againe: which John Cooke perceiving, leaped speedily to the Pumpe, and tooke off the Pumpe brake or handle, and cast it to William Ling, bidding him knocke him downe, which he was not long in doing, but lifting up the woodden weapon, he gave him such a palt on the pate, as made his braines forsake the possession of his head, with which his body fell into the Sea.

An Objection may be made here, why the Turke cried not to his fellowes at first for helpe, or how these things could be done, but the rest of his company must either see or heare it: to which I answere, that at Sea a Gust, Flaw, or Storme, hath many times a louder voice then a man; besides, when Mariners doe hale or pull any thing,
they doe make a noyse, as it were crying ha woet hale men hale, which with the noyse of the wind whizzing and hizzing in the shrowds and cordage, would overcome and drowne the voice or crie of any man whatsoever. Besides, his companions were all busie, some at the mizen, some at the sprit-saile, some to trim the fore-saile, and the night exceeding darke, all these things concurring, and chiefly, God graciously assisting, thus these brave Lads began the businesse luckily.

Nor must I forget Robert Tuckey, who was imploied all this while in a place of maine importance, for he stood at the Helme, and in all the weather guided the Ship; now after the Captaine was thus cashierd, John Cooke ran hastily up the halfe Decke to the Masters Cabin, neere which, were standing six or seven Turkes, but hee being nothing daunted or discouraged for them, slipt roughly by them, and gat out two good Cuttleaxes, or short Swords, one of which he delivered to William Ling, withall saying, courage my fellowes and Countrey-men, God strengthen and assist us; with that, they laid about them so manfully, that they drove the Turkes from place to place in the Ship, and having coursed them from the Poope to the Forecastle, they there valiantly killed two of them, and gave another a dangerous wound or two, who to escape the further fury of their Swords, leap'd suddenly overboord to goe seeke his Captaine. Thus foure of the thirteene Turkes being made sure for doing any harme, they chased and followed the other nine so close, that they (to save themselves) being also many of them, sore hurt and wounded, ranne betweene the Ships Decks; whereupon the English men fastned the Deckes to keepe them under: the Turkes not knowing how to be revenged, ran afterward toward the Helme, and unshipt their Whip-staffe, or as some call it, a Whip-stocke (which is the staffe that a Mariner holds in his hand, when he guides or steere a Ship) by which meanes the English men were in some distresse, by reason the Ship lay tumbling and rowling unguided in the raging and boystrous billowes of
THE 'JACOB' AND THE PIRATES

the Sea: at last, John Cooke and William Ling got each of them a Musket, which they quickly charged, and went downe where the nine Turkes were, making offers to shoote at them, at which they were much terrified; whereupon they quickly ship'd their Whip-stocke againe, delivering the Helme to Robert Tuckey, and then presently they stowed all the Turkes under the Hatches, where they kept them close till the next morning, and then as they had occasion to use them, they would call up two or three of them at a time, to hale and pull Sheetes, Tackes, Braces, and Boleins, to hoysse and strike Sayles, or any such necessary and laborious imployments; in all which, the English made the Turkes attend them, and directing their course for the Port of Saint Lucas in Spaine, they in short time (by Gods ayde) happily and safely arrived at the said Port, where they sold the nine Turkes for Gally-slaves, for a good summe of money, and as I thinke, a great deale more then they were worth.

Nor doe I write this to the intent that any man should presume that their owne strengths, valour or courage, is sufficient to doe these or the like actions, for they are not ordinary, and therefore man is but made the ordinary instrument of an extraordinary power, and he that shall attribute such things as these to the arme of flesh and bloud, is forgetfull, ingratefull, and in a manner Atheisti-call.

One John Fox an expert Mariner, and a good approoved and sufficient Gunner, was (in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth) taken by the Turkes, and kept eighteene yeeres in most miserable bondage and slavery, at the end of which time, he espied his opportunity (and God assisting him withall) that hee slew his Keeper, and fled to the Seas side, where he found a Gally with one hundred and fifty Captive Christians, which hee speedily waying their Anchor, set Saile, and fell to worke like men, and safely arrived in Spaine; by which meanes, hee freed himselfe and a number of poore soules from long and intolerable servitude; after which, the said John Fox came into

See the History in Hakluyt's Voyages.
England, and the Queene (being rightly informed of his brave exploit) did graciously entertaine him for her Servant, and allowed him a yeerely Pension.

Captaine Nichols with a Ship of London, called the Dolphin, fought a long and bloody fight, with many of the Turkish men of warre at one time, at which time hee sunke some of them, slew many of their men, and having his owne Ship exceedingly rent and torne with the Enemies great shot, yet at last it pleased God to deliver him from them, so that hee safely arrived at home.

Master William Malam of Rotherhith within these three yeeres was set upon by these Rovers, and after a long fight, being much hurt by the Ordnance of the Turkes (the night comming on) which made the fight to cease, when the Generall of the Pirats past his word, and bound it with an Oath, that if Master Malam would come aboard his Ship all night, that hee should well and safely bee set aboard againe his owne Ship the next morning, upon which word and oath Master Malam went aboard the Turke, and a Merchant with him; but first, before he went, commanded his Mate to watch his opportunitie, and steale away with the Ship in the night, if he could, which fell out as he wished, whereby all the Merchants goods were saved, and the Ship safely arrived here at London: but in the morning, when the Turkes did perceive the English Ship was gone, then would they have put Master Malam and the Merchant that was with him, to death, whereupon he urged him with his oath and promise, which was, that he should come and goe safely, and that if a Christian had made him or any man such a promise, and bound it with a vow, hee would have kept his word. And (that for any thing he knew) his Ship being so dangerously hurt by them, might be sunke in the night, and not escaped away as he imagined. Now whilst they were in this discourse, presently came a Saile in sight, which afterward they found to be a small Scottish Ship bound for England, whom the Turkes quickly tooke, and pillag'd at their pleasure, taking from them their
THE 'JACOB' AND THE PIRATES

Saile, Cables, Anchors and all things necessary for their use or preservation, and having robd and rifled the poore Scot in that manner, they put Master Malam and the Merchant into her, to trie their fortunes, either to sinke or swim, but it pleased God they safely arrived in the West part of England, where they came home by land sad and disconsolate, because they could not heare any newes of the Ship: but the same night that hee came home, before day, there was happy tidings brought of the Ships safe arrivall into the River of Thames.

All these things are true upon mine owne knowledge, and these worthy Mariners that have beene so delivered, doe, and ever did, attribute all the meanes of their deliverance to the mighty hand of God; and they are so farre from taking any of these things to their owne praise or glory, that some of them have ever done their best to suppress them from being printed.

Chap. VII.

The wonderful recovery of the Exchange of Bristow, from the Turkish Pirats of Argier, published by John Rawlins, heere abbreviated.

In the yeere 1621. the first of November, there was one John Rawlins, borne in Rochester, and dwelling three and twenty yeere in Plimouth, imploied to the strait of Gibraltar, by Master Richard, and Steven Treviles, Merchants of Plimmoth, and fraughted in a Barke, called the Nicholas of Plimmoth, of the burden of forty Tun, which had also in her company another ship of Plimmoth, called the George Bonaventure of seventy Tun burthen, or thereabout; which by reason of her greatnesse beyond the other, I will name the Admirall; and John Rawlins Barke shall, if you please, be the Vice-admirall. These two according to the time of the yeere, had a faire
passage, and by the eighteenth of the same moneth came to a place at the entring of the straits, named Trafflegar: but the next morning, being in the sight of Gibraltar, at the very mouth of the straits, the watch descried five saile of ships, who as it seemed, used all the means they could to come neere us, and we as we had cause, used the same means to go as farre from them: yet did their Admirall take in both his top sailes, that either we might not suspect them, or that his owne company might come up the closer together. At last perceiving us Christians, they fell from devices to apparent discovery of hostility, and making out against us: we againe suspecting them Pirats, tooke our course to escape from them, and made all the sailes we possibly could for Tirriff, or Gibraltar: but all we could doe, could not prevent their approach. For suddenly one of them came right over against us to wind-ward, and so fell upon our quarter: another came upon our luffe, and so threatned us there, and at last all five chased us, making great speed to surprise us.

Their Admirall was called Callfater, having upon her maine top-saile, two top-gallant sailes, one above another. But whereas we thought them all five to be Turkish ships of warre, we afterwards understood, that two of them were their prizes, the one a smal ship of London, the other of the West-countrey, that came out of the Quactath laden with figges, and other Merchandise, but now subject to the fortune of the Sea, and the captivity of Pirats. But to our businesse. Three of these ships got much upon us, and so much that ere halfe the day was spent, the Admirall who was the best sailer, fetcht up the George Bonaventure, and made booty of it. The Vice-admirall againe being neerest unto the lesser Barke, whereof John Rawlins was Master, shewed him the force of a strong arme, and by his Turkish name, called Villa-Rise, commanded him in like sort to strike his sailes, and submit to his mercy, which not to be gaine-saied nor prevented, was quickly done: and so Rawlins with his Barke was quickly taken, although the Reare-Admirall being the
worst sayler of the three, called Reggiprise, came not in, till all was done.

The same day before night, the Admirall either loth to pester himselfe with too much company, or ignorant of the commodity was to be made by the sale of English prisoners, or daring not to trust them in his company, for feare of mutinies, and exciting others to rebellion; set twelve persons who were in the George Bonaventure on the land, and divers other English, whom he had taken before, to trie their fortunes in an unknowne Countrey. But Villa-Rise, the Vice-Admirall that had taken John Rawlins, would not so dispence with his men, but commanded him and five more of his company to be brought aboard his ship, leaving in his Barke three men and his boy, with thirteene Turkes and Moores, who were questionlesse sufficient to over-master the other, and direct the Barke to Harbour. Thus they sailed directly for Argier; but the night following, followed them with great tempest and foule weather, which ended not without some effect of a storme: for they lost the sight of Rawlins Barke, called the Nicholas, and in a manner lost themselves, though they seemed safe a shipboard, by fearefull conjecturing what should become of us: at last, by the two and twentieth of the same moneth, they, or we (chuse you whether) arrived at Argier, and came in safety within the Mould, but found not our other Barke there; nay, though we earnestly inquired after the same, yet heard we nothing to our satisfaction; but much matter was ministred to our discomfort and amazement. For although the Captaine and our over-seers, were loth we should have any conference with our Country-men; yet did we adventure to informe our selves of the present affaires, both of the Towne, and the shipping: so that finding many English at worke in other ships, they spared not to tell us the danger we were in, and the mischeifes we must needs incurrre, as being sure if we were not used like slaves, to be sold as slaves: for there had beene five hundred brought into the market for the same purpose, and
above a hundred handsome youths compelled to turne Turkes, or made subject to more viler prostitution, and all English: yet like good Christians, they bade us be of good cheere, and comfort our selves in this, that Gods trials were gentle purgations, and these crosses were but to cleanse the drosse from the gold, and bring us out of the fire againe more cleare and lovely. Yet I must needs confesse, that they afforded us reason for this cruelty, as if they determined to be revenged of our last attempt to fire their ships in the Mould, and therefore protested to spare none, whom they could surprise, and take alive, but either to sell them for money, or torment them to serve their owne turnes. Now their customes and usages in both these was in this manner.

First, concerning the first. The Bashaw had the over-seeing of all prisoners, who were presented unto him at their first comming into the harbour, and so chose one out of every eight for a present or fee to himselfe: the rest were rated by the Captaines, and so sent to the Market to be sold; whereat if either there were repining, or any drawing backe, then certaine Moores and Officers attended either to beate you forward, or thrust you into the sides with Goades; and this was the manner of the selling of Slaves.

Secondly, concerning their enforcing them, either to turne Turke, or to attend their filthines and impieties, although it would make a Christians heart bleed to heare of the same, yet must the truth not be hid, nor the terror left untold. They commonly lay them on their naked backs or bellies, beating them so long, till they bleed at the nose and mouth; and if yet they continue constant, then they strike the teeth out of their heads, pinch them by their tongues, and use many other sorts of tortures to convert them; nay, many times they lay them their whole length in the ground like a grave, and so cover them with boords, threatening to starve them, if they will not turne; and so many even for feare of torment and death, make their tongues betray their hearts to a most fearefull
THE 'EXCHANGE' AND THE PIRATES

wickednesse, and so are circumcised with new names, and
brought to confesse a new Religion. Others againe, I
must confesse, who never knew any God, but their owne
sensuall lusts and pleasures, thought that any religion
would serve their turnes, and so for preferment or wealth
very voluntarily renounced their faith, and became Renegadoes in despight of any counsell which seemed to
intercept them: and this was the first newes wee
encountred with at our comming first to Argier.

The 26. of the same moneth, John Rawlins his Barke,
with his other three men and a boy, came safe into the
Mould, and so were put all together to be carried before
the Bashaw, but that they tooke the Owners servant, and
Rawlins Boy, and by force and torment compelled them
to turne Turkes: then were they in all seven English,
besides John Rawlins, of whom the Bashaw tooke one,
and sent the rest to their Captaines, who set a valuation
upon them, and so the Souldiers hurried us like dogs into
the Market, whereas men sell Hacknies in England, we
were tossed up and downe to see who would give most
for us; and although we had heavy hearts, and looked
with sad countenances, yet many came to behold us, some-
times taking us by the hand, sometime turning us round
about, sometimes feeling our brawnes and naked armes,
and so beholding our prices written in our breasts, they
bargained for us accordingly, and at last we were all sold,
and the Souldiers returned with the money to their
Captaines.

John Rawlins was the last, who was sold, by reason of
his lame hand, and bought by the Captaine that tooke
him, even that dog Villa Rise, who better informing him-
selpe of his skill fit to be a Pilot, and his experience to bee
an over-seer, bought him and his Carpenter at very easie
rates. For as we afterwards understood by divers English
Renegadoes, he paid for Rawlins but one hundred and
fiftie Dooblets, which make of English money seven pound
ten shillings. Thus was he and his Carpenter with divers
other slaves sent into his ship to worke, and imploed

A.D. 1621.

Sale of the English.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

about such affairs, as belonged to the well rigging and preparing the same. But the villainous Turkes perceiving his lame hand, and that he could not performe so much as other Slaves, quickly complained to their Patron, who as quickly apprehended the inconvenience, whereupon hee sent for him the next day, and told him he was unserviceable for his present purpose, and therefore unlesse he could procure fifteene pound of the English there for his ransome, he would send him up into the Countrey, where he should never see Christendome againe, and endure the extremity of a miserable banishment.

But see how God worketh all for the best for his servants, and confoundeth the presumption of Tyrants, frustrating their purposes, to make his wonders knowne to the sonnes of men, and releevs his people, when they least thinke of succour and releasement. Whilst John Rawlins was thus terrifed with the dogged answere of Villa Rise, the Exchange of Bristow, a ship formerly surprised by the Pirats, lay all unrigged in the Harbour, till at last one John Goodale, an English Turke with his confederates, understanding shee was a good sailer, and might be made a proper Man of Warre, bought her from the Turkes that tooke her, and prepared her for their owne purpose: now the Captaine that set them on worke, was also an English Renegado, by the name of Rammetham Rise, but by his Christen name Henrie Chandler, who resolved to make Goodale Master over her; and because they were both English Turkes, having the command notwithstanding of many Turkes and Moores, they concluded to have all English slaves to goe in her, and for their Gunners, English and Dutch Renegadoes, and so they agreed with the Patrons of nine English, and one French Slave for their ransoms, who were presently imployed to rig and furnish the ship for a Man of Warre, and while they were thus busied, two of John Rawlins men, who were taken with him, were also taken up to serve in this Man of Warre, their names, James Roe, and
THE 'EXCHANGE' AND THE PIRATES

John Davies, the one dwelling in Plimmoth, and the other in Foy, where the Commander of this ship was also borne, by which occasion they came acquainted, so that both the Captaine, and the Master promised them good usage, upon the good service they should performe in the voyage, and withall demanded of him, if he knew of any Englishman to be bought, that could serve them as a Pilot, both to direct them out of Harbour, and conduct them in their voyage. For in truth neither was the Captaine a Mariner, nor any Turke in her of sufficiency to dispose of her through the Straites in securitie, nor oppose any enemie, that should hold it out bravely against them. Davies quickly replied, that as farre as he understood, Villa Rise would sell John Rawlins his Master, and Commander of the Barke which was taken, a man every way sufficient for Sea affaires, being of great resolution and good experience; and for all he had a lame hand, yet had he a sound heart and noble courage for any attempt or adventure.

When the Captaine understood thus much, he imploled Davies to search for Rawlins, who at last lighting upon him, asked him if the Turke would sell him: Rawlins suddenly answered, that by reason of his lame hand he was willing to part with him; but because he had disbursed money for him, he would gaine something by him, and so prized me at three hundred Dooblets, which amounteth to fiftenee pound English; which I must procure, or incurre sorer indurances. When Davies had certified thus much, the Turks a ship-board conferred about the matter, and the Master whose Christen name was John Goodale joynd with two Turkes, who were consorted with him, and disbursed one hundred Dooblets a piece, and so bought him of Villa Rise, sending him into the said ship, called the Exchange of Bristow, as well to supervise what had been done, as to order what was left undone, but especially to fit the sailes, and to accommodate the ship, all which Rawlins was very carefull and indulgent in, not yet thinking of any peculiar plot of
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

deliverance, more then a generall desire to be freed from this Turkish slaverie, and inhumane abuses.

By the seventh of Januarie, the ship was prepared with twelve good cast Pieces, and all manner of munition and provision, which belonged to such a purpose, and the same day haled out of the Mould of Argier, with this company, and in this manner.

There were in her sixtie three Turkes and Moores, nine English Slaves, and one French, foure Hollanderers that were free men, to whom the Turkes promised one prize or other, and so to returne to Holland; or if they were disposed to goe backe againe for Argier, they should have great reward and no enforcement offered, but continue as they would, both their religion and their customs: and for their Gunners they had two of our Soulndiers, one English and one Dutch Renegado: and thus much for the companie. For the manner of setting out, it was as usuall as in other ships, but that the Turkes delighted in the ostentous braverie of their Streamers, Banners, and Top-sayles; the ship being a handsom ship, and well built for any purpose: the Slaves and English were imploied under Hatches about the Orndance, and other workes of order, and accommodating themselves: all which John Rawlins marked, as supposing it an intolerable slaverie to take such paines, and be subject to such dangers, and still to enrich other men and maintaine their voluptuous filthinesse and lives, returning themselves as Slaves, and living worse then their Dogs amongst them. Whereupon hee bust out into these, or such like abrupt speeches: Oh Hellish slaverie to be thus subject to Dogs! Oh, God strengthen my heart and hand, and something shall be done to ease us of these mischiefs, and deliver us from these cruell Mahumetan Dogs. The other Slaves pitying his distraction (as they thought) bad him speake softly, lest they should all fare the worse for his distemperature. The worse (quoth Rawlins) what can be worse? I will either attempt my deliverance at one time, or another, or perish in the enterprise: but if you would be
THE 'EXCHANGE' AND THE PIRATES

contented to hearken after a release, and joyne with me in the action, I would not doubt of facilitating the same, and shew you a way to make your credits thrive by some worke of amazement, and augment your glorie in purchasing your libertie, I prithee be quiet (said they againe) and thinke not of impossibilities: yet if you can but open such a doore of reason and probabilitie, that we be not condemned for desperate and distracted persons, in pulling the Sunne as it were out of the Firmament: wee can but sacrifice our lives, and you may be sure of secrete and taciturnitie.

The fifteenth of Januarie, the morning water brought us neere Cape de Gatt, hard by the shoare, we having in our companie a smal Turkish ship of Warre, that followed us out of Argier the next day, and now joyning with us, gave us notice of seven small vessels, sice of them being Sattees, and one Pollack, who very quickly appeared in sight, and so we made toward them: but having more advantage of the Pollack, then the rest, and loth to lose all, we both fetcht her up, and brought her past hope of recoverie, which when she perceived, rather then she would voluntarily come into the slaverie of these Mahumetans, she ran her selfe a shoare, and so all the men forsooke her; we still followed as neere as we durst, and for feare of splitting, let fall our anchors, making out both our boates, wherein were many Musketeers, and some English and Dutch Renegadoes, who came aboard home at their Conge, and found three pieces of Ordnance, and foure Murtherers: but they straightway threw them all over-boord to lighten the ship, and so they got her off, being laden with Hides, and Logwood for dying, and presently sent her to Argier, taking nine Turkes, and one English Slave, out of one ship, and six out of the lesse, which we thought sufficient to man her.

In the rifling of this Catelaynia, our Turks fell at variance one with another, and in such a manner, that we divided our selves, the lesser ship returned to Argier, and our Exchange tooke the opportunitie of the wind, and
Purchas His Pilgrimes

plied out of the Streights, which rejoiced John Rawlins very much, as resolving on some Stratageme, when opportune should serve: in the meane-while, the Turkes began to murmurre, and would not willingly goe into the Marr Granada, as the phrase is amongst them: notwithstanding the Moores being very superstitious, were contented to be directed by their Hoshea, who with us, signifieth a Witch, and is of great account and reputation amongst them, as not going in any great Vessell to Sea without one, and observing whatsoever he conclueth out of his Divination: the Ceremonies he useth are many, and when they come into the Ocean, every second or third night he maketh his Conjuration; he beginneth and endeth with Prayer, using many Characters, and calling upon God by divers names: yet at this time, all that he did consisted in these particulars.

Upon the sight of two great ships, and as wee were afraide the chasing, being supposed to bee Spanish men of Warre, a great silence is commanded in the ship, and when all is done, the company giveth as great a skrigh; the Captaine still comming to John Rawlins, and sometimes making him take in all his sylues, and sometimes causing him to houye them all out, as the Witch findeth by his Booke, and presages; then have they two Arroes, and a Curtleaxe, lying upon a Pillow naked; the Arroes are one for the Turkus, and the other for the Christians; then the Witch readeth, and the Captaine of some other taketh the Arroes in their hand by the heads, and if the Arrow for the Christians commeth over the head of the Arrow for the Turkus, then doe they advance their sylues, and will not indure the fight, whatsoever they see: but if the Arrow of the Turkus is found in the opening of the hand upon the Arrow of the Christians, then will they stay and encounter with any shippe whatsoever: the Curtleaxe is taken up by some Childe, that is innocent, or rather ignorant of the Ceremonie, and so layd downe againe; then doe they observe, whether the same side is uppermost, which lay before, and so proceed accordingly.
THE 'EXCHANGE' AND THE PIRATES

They also observe Lunatickes and Changelings, and the Conjurer writeth downe their Sayings in a Booke, groveling on the ground, as if he whispered to the Devill to tell him the truth, and so expoundeth the Letter, as it were by inspiration. Many other foolish Rites they have, whereon they doe dote as foolishly.

Whilst he was busied, and made demonstration that all was finished, the people in the ship gave a great shout, and cryed out, a sayle, a sayle, which at last was discovered to bee another man of Warre of Turkes: for he made towards us, and sent his Boat aboord us, to whom our Captaine complained, that being becalmed by the Southerne Cape, and having made no Voyage, the Turkes denied to goe any further Northward: but the Captaine resolved not to returne to Argier, except he could obtayne some Prize worthy his endurances, but rather to goe to Salle, and sell his Christians to victuall his ship; which the other Captaine apprehended for his honour, and so perswaded the Turkes to be obedient unto him; whereupon followed a pacification amongst us, and so that Turke tooke his course for the Streights, and wee put up Northward, expecting the good houre of some beneficiall bootie.

All this while our slavery continued, and the Turkes with insulting tyrannie set us still on worke in all base and servile actions, adding stripes and inhumane revilings, even in our greatest labour, whereupon John Rawlins resolved to obtayne his libertie, and surprize the ship; providing Ropes with broad speckes of Iron, and all the Iron Crowes, with which hee knew a way, upon consent of the rest, to ramme up or tye fast their Scuttels, Gratings, and Cabbins, yea, to shut up the Captaine himselfe with all his consorts, and so to handle the matter, that upon the watch-word given, the English being Masters of the Gunner roome, Ordnance, and Powder, they would eyther blow them into the Ayre, or kill them as they adventured to come downe one by one, if they should by any chance open their Cabbins. But because hee would proceed the
PURCHARS HIS PILGRIMES

better in his enterprise, as he had somewhat abruptly discovered himselfe to the nine English slaves, so he kept the same distance with the foure Hollanders, that were free men, till finding them comming somewhat toward them, he acquainted them with the whole Conspiracie, and they affecting the Plot, offered the adventure of their lives in the business. Then very warily he undermined the English Renegado, which was the Gunner, and three more his Associates, who at first seemed to retract. Last of all were brought in the Dutch Renegadoes, who were also in the Gunner roome, for always there lay twelve there, five Christians, and seven English, and Dutch Turkes: so that when another motion had settled their resolutions, and John Rawlins his constancie had put new life as it were in the matter, the foure Hollanders very honestly, according to their promise, sounded the Dutch Renegadoes, who with easie perswasion gave their consent to so brave an Enterprize; whereupon John Rawlins, not caring whether the English Gunners would yeeld or no, resolved in the Captaines morning watch, to make the attempt: But you must understand that where the English slaves lay, there hung up always foure or five Crowes of Iron, being still under the carriages of the Peeces, and when the time approached being very darke, because John Rawlins would have his Crow of Iron ready as other things were, and other men prepared in their several places, in taking it out of the carriage, by chance, it hit on the side of the Peeee, making such a noyse, that the Souldiers hearing it awaked the Turkes, and bade them come downe: whereupon the Botesane of the Turkes descended with a Candle, and presently searched all the slaves places, making much adoe of the matter, but finding neyther Hatchet nor Hammer, nor any thing else to move suspition of the Enterprize, more then the Crow of Iron, which lay slipped downe under the carriages of the Peeces, they went quietly up againe, and certified the Captaine what had chanced, who satisfied himselfe, that it was a common thing to have a Crow of Iron slip from his place. But by this occasion
THE 'EXCHANGE' AND THE PIRATES

wee made stay of our attempt, yet were resolved to take another or a better opportunitie.

For we sayled still more North-ward, and Rawlins had more time to tamper with his Gunners, and the rest of the English Renegadoes, who very willingly, when they considered the matter, and perpended the reasons, gave way unto the Project, and with a kind of joy seemed to entertayne the motives: only they made a stop at the first on-set, who should begin the enterprize, which was no way fit for them to doe, because they were no slaves, but Renegadoes, and so had alwayes beneficall entertainement amongst them. But when it is once put in practice, they would be sure not to faile them, but venture their lives for God and their Countrey. But once againe he is disappointed, and a suspitious accident brought him to recollect his spirits anew, and studie on the danger of the enterprize, and thus it was. After the Renegado Gunner, had protested secrecie by all that might induce a man to bestow some believe upon him, he presently went up the Scottle, but stayed not aloft a quarter of an houre, nay he came sooner down, & in the Gunner roome sate by Rawlins, who tarryd for him where he left him: he was no sooner placed, and entred into some conference, but there entred into the place a furious Turke, with his Knife drawne, and presented it to Rawlins his body, who verily supposed, he intended to kill him, as suspitious that the Gunner had discovered something, whereat Rawlins was much moved, and so hastily asked what the matter meant, or whether he would kill him or no, observing his countenance, and according to the nature of jealouesie, conceiting that his colour had a passage of change, whereby his suspitious heart, condemned him for a Traytor: but that at more leisure he sware the contrary, and afterward proved faithfull and industrious in the enterprize. And for the present, he answered Rawlins in this manner, no Master, be not afraid, I thinke hee doth but jest. With that John Rawlins gave backe a little and drew out his Knife, stepping also to the Gunners sheath and taking out

Another danger.
his, whereby he had two Knives to one, which when the Turke perceived, he threw downe his Knife, saying, hee did but jest with him. But (as I said) when the Gunner perceived, Rawlins tooke it so ill, hee whispered something in his eare that at last satisfied him, calling Heaven to witnesse, that he never spake word of the Enterprize, nor ever would, either to the prejudice of the business, or danger of his person: Notwithstanding, Rawlins kept the Knives in his sleeve all night, and was somewhat troubled, for that hee had made so many acquainted with an action of such importance; but the next day, when hee perceived the Coast cleere, and that there was no cause of further feare, hee somewhat comforted himselfe.

All this while, Rawlins drew the Captaine to lye for the Northerne Cape, assuring him, that thereby he should not misse purchase, which accordingly fell out, as a wish would have it: but his drift was in truth to draw him from any supply, or second of Turkes, if God should give way to their Enterprize, or success to the victorie: yet for the present the sixth of February, being twelve leagues from the Cape, wee descried a sayle, and presently tooke the advantage of the wind in chasing her, and at last fetcht her up, making her strike all her sayles, whereby wee knew her to be a Barke belonging to Tor Bay, neere Dartmouth, that came from Averare laden with Salt: ere we had fully dispatched, it chanced to be foule weather, so that we could not, or at least would not make out our Boat, but caused the Master of the Barke to let downe his, and come aboard with his Company, being in the Barke but nine men, and one Boy; and so the Master leaving his Mate with two men in the same, came himselfe with five men, and the boy unto us, whereupon our Turkish Captaine sent ten Turkes to man her, amongst whom were two Dutch, and one English Renegado, who were of our confederacie, and acquainted with the businesse.

But when Rawlins saw this partition of his friends, before they could hoyse out their Boat for the Barke, he
made means to speake with them, and told them plainly, 
that he would prosecute the matter eyther that night, or 
the next and therefore whatsoever came of it they should 
aquaint the English with his resolution, and make toward 
England, bearing up the helme, whiles the Turkes slept, 
and suspected no such matter: for by Gods grace in his 
first watch about mid-night, he would shew them a light, 
by which they might understand, that the Enterprize was 
begunne, or at least in a good forwardnesse for the 
execution: and so the Boat was let downe, and they came 
to the Barke of Tor Bay, where the Masters Mate being 
left (as before you have heard) apprehended quickly the 
matter, and heard the Discourse with amazement. But 
time was precious, and not to be spent in disputing, or 
casting of doubts, whether the Turkes that were with 
them, were able to master them, or no, being seven to 
sixe, considering they had the helme of the ship, and the 
Turkes being Souldiers, and ignorant of Sea Affaires, 
could not discover, whether they went to Argier or no; 
or if they did, they resolved by Rawlins example to cut 
their throats, or cast them over-board: and so I leave them 
to make use of the Renegadoes instructions, and returne 
to Rawlins againe.

The Master of the Barke of Tor Bay, and his Company 
were quickly searched, and as quickly pillaged, and 
dismissed to the libertie of the shippe, whereby Rawlins 
had leisure to entertaine him with the lamentable newes 
of their extremities, and in a word, of every particular 
which was besfitting to the purpose: yea, he told him, that 
that night he should lose the sight of them, for they would 
make the helme for England, and hee would that night 
and evermore pray for their good successe, and safe 
deliverance.

When the Master of the Barke of Tor Bay had heard 
him out, and that his company were partakers of his Storie, 
they became all silent, not eyther diffident of his Discourse, 
or afraid of the attempt, but resolved to assist him. Yet 
to shew himselfe an understanding man, hee demanded
of Rawlins, what weapons he had, and in what manner he would execute the businesse: to which he answered, that he had Ropes, and Iron Hookes to make fast the Scottels, Gratings, and Cabbines, he had also in the Gunner roome two Curtleaxes, and the slaves had five Crowes of Iron before them: Besides, in the scuffling they made no question of some of the Souldiers weapons: then for the manner, hee told them, they were sure of the Ordnance, the Gunner roome, and the Powder, and so blocking them up, would eyther kill them as they came downe, or turne the Ordnance against their Cabbins, or blow them into the Ayre by one Stratageme or other, and thus were they contented on all sides, and resolved to the Enterprize.

The next morning, being the seventh day of February, the Prize of Tor Bay was not to bee seene or found, whereat the Captaine began to store and sweare, commanding Rawlins to search the Seas up and downe for her, who bestowed all that day in the businesse, but to little purpose: whereupon when the humour was spent, the Captaine pacified himselfe, as conceiting he should sure find her at Argier: but by the permission of the Ruler of all actions, that Argier was England, and all his wickednesse frustrated: for Rawlins beeing now startled, lest hee should returne in this humour for the Streights, the eight of February went downe into the hold, and finding a great deale of water below, told the Captaine of the same, adding, that it did not come to the Pumpe, which he did very politickly, that he might remove the Ordnance: For when the Captaine askt him the reason, he told him the ship was too farre after the head: then hee commanded to use the best meanes he could to bring her in order: sure then, quoth Rawlins, wee must quit our Cables, and bring foure Peeces of Ordnance after, and that would bring the water to the Pumpe, which was presently put in practice, so the Peeces beeing usually made fast thwart the ship, we brought two of them with their mouthes right before the Biticle, and because the Renegadoe Flemmings would not begin, it was thus concluded: that the ship
having three Deckes, wee that did belong to the Gunner roome should bee all there, and breake up the lower Decke. The English slaves, who always lay in the middle Decke, should doe the like, and watch the Scuttels: Rawlins himselfe prevayled with the Gunner, for so much Powder, as should prime the Peeces, and so told them all there was no better watch-word, nor meanes to begin, then upon the report of the Preece to make a cry and skrich, for God, and King James, and Saint George for England.

When all things were prepared, and every man resolved, as knowing what hee had to doe, and the houre when it should happen, to be two in the afternoone, Rawlins advised the Master Gunner to speake to the Captaine, that the Souldiers might attend on the Poope, which would bring the ship after: to which the Captaine was very willing, and upon the Gunners information, the Souldiers gat themselves to the Poope, to the number of twentie, and five or sise went into the Captaines Cabbin, where always lay divers Curtleaxes, and some Targets, and so wee fell to worke to pumpe the water, and carried the matter fairely till the next day, which was spent as the former, being the ninth of February, and as God must have the prayse, the triumph of our victorie.

For by that time all things were prepared, and the Souldiers got upon the Poope as the day before: to avoid suspition, all that did belong to the Gunner-roome went downe, and the slaves in the middle decke attended their businesse, so that we may cast up our account in this manner. First, nine English slaves, besides John Rawlins: five of the Tor Bay men, and one boy, foure English Renegadoes, and two French, foure Hollanders: in all foure and twenty and a boy: so that lifting up our hearts and hands to God for the successe of the businesse, we were wonderfully incouraged; and setled our selves, till the report of the preece gave us warning of the enterprise. Now, you must consider, that in this company were two of Rawlins men, James Roe, and John Davies, whom he brought out of England, and whom the fortune of the
Sea brought into the same predicament with their Master. These were employed about noone (being as I said, the ninth of February) to prepare their matches, while all the Turkes or at least most of them stood on the Poope, to weigh downe the ship as it were, to bring the water forward to the Pumpe: the one brought his match lighted betweene two spoons, the other brought his in a little piece of a Can: and so in the name of God, the Turkes and Moores being placed as you have heard, and five and forty in number, and Rawlins having proined the Tuch-holes, James Roe gave fire to one of the pceces, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and the confederates upon the warning, shouted most cheerfully: the report of the pcece did teare and breake downe all the Bitickell, and compasses, and the noise of the slaves made all the Souldiers amased at the matter, till seeing the quarter of the ship rent, and feeling the whole body to shake under them: understanding the ship was surprised, and the attempt tended to their utter destruction, never Beare robbed of her whelpes was so fell and mad: For they not onely cald us dogs, and cried out, Usance de Lamair, which is as much as to say, the Fortune of the wars: but attempted to teare up the planckes, setting a worke hammers, hatchets, knives, the oares of the Boate, the Boat-hooke, their curtleaxes, and what else came to hand, besides stones and brickes in the Cooke-roome; all which they threw amongst us, attempting still and still to breake and rip up the hatches, and boords of the steering, not desisting from their former exerations, and horrible blasphemies and revilings.

When John Rawlins perceived them so violent, and understood how the slaves had cleared the deckes of all the Turkes and Moores beneath, he set a guard upon the Powder, and charged their owne Muskets against them, killing them from divers scout-holes, both before and behind, and so lessened their number, to the joy of all our hearts, whereupon they cried out, and called for the Pilot, and so Rawlins, with some to guard him, went to them, and understood them by their kneeling; that they
cried for mercy, and to have their lives saved, and they would come downe, which he bade them doe, and so they were taken one by one, and bound, yea killed with their owne Curtleeaxes; which when the rest perceived, they called us English dogs, and reviled us with many opprobrious tearmes, some leaping over-boord, crying, it was the chance of war, some were manacled, and so throwne over-boord, and some were slaine and mangled with the Curtleeaxes, till the ship was well cleared, and our selves assured of the victory.

At the first report of our Peece, and hurliburly in the decks, the Captaine was a writing in his Cabbin, and hearing the noyse, thought it some strange accident, and so came out with his Curtleeaxe in his hand, presuming by his authority to pacifie the mischiefe: But when hee cast his eyes upon us, and saw that we were like to surprise the ship, he threw downe his Curtleeaxe, and begged us to save his life, intimating unto Rawlins, how he had redeemed him from Villa-Rise, and ever since admitted him to place of command in the ship, besides honest usage in the whole course of the Voyage. All which Rawlins confessed, and at last condescended to mercy, and brought the Captaine and five more into England. The Captaine was called Ramtham-Rise, but his Christen name, Henry Chandler, and as they say, a Chandlers sonne in Southwarke. John Good-ale, was also an English Turke. Richard Clarke, in Turkish, Jafar; George Cooke, Ramdam; John Browne, Mamme; William Winter, Mustapha; besides all the slaves and Hollanders, with other Renegadoes, who were willing to be reconciled to their true Saviour, as being formerly seduced with the hopes of riches, honour, preferment, and such like devillish baits, to catch the soules of mortall men, and entangle frailty in the tarriers of horrible abuses, and imposturing deceit.

When all was done, and the ship cleared of the dead bodies, John Rawlins assembled his men together, and with one consent gave the praise unto God, using the
acustomed service on ship-board, and for want of bookes
lifted up their voyces to God, as he put into their hearts,
or renewed their memories: then did they sing a Psalme,
and last of all, embraced one another for playing the men
in such a Deliverance, whereby our feare was turned into
joy, and trembling hearts exhilirated, that we had escaped
such inevitable dangers, and especially the slavery and
terror of bondage, worse then death it selfe: The same
night we washed our ship, put every thing in as good
order as we could, repaired the broken quarter, set up the
Biticle, and bore up the Helme for England, whereby
Gods grace and good guiding, we arrived at Plimmoth,
the thirteenth of February, and were welcomed like the
recovery of the lost sheepe, or as you read of a loving
mother, that runneth with embraces to entertaine her
sonne from a long Voyage and escape of many dangers.

Not long after we understood of our confederats, that
returned home in the Barke of Torbay, that they arrived
in Pensance in Corne-wal the eleventh of February: and
if any aske after their deliverance, considering there were
ten Turkes sent to man her, I will tell you that too: the
next day after they lost us, as you have heard and that the
three Renegadoes had acquainted the Masters Mate, and
the two English in her with Rawlins determination, and
that they themselves would be true to them, and assist
them in any enterprise: then if the worst came, there were
but seven to sike: but as it fell out, they had a more easie
passage, then turmoile, or man-slaughter. For they made
the Turkes beleev, the wind was come faire, and that they
were sayling to Argier, till they came within sight of
England, which one of them amongst the rest discovered,
saying plainly, that that land was not like Cape Vincent;
yes saith he, that was at the Helme, and you will be
contented, and goe downe into the hold, and trim the salt
over to wind-ward, whereby the ship may beare full saile,
you shall know and see more to morrow: Whereupon five
of them went downe very orderly, the Renegadoes faining
themselves asleepe, who presently start up, and with the
helpe of the two English, nailed downe the hatches, whereat the principall amongst them much repined, and began to grow into choller and rage, had it not quickly beene overpassed. For one of them stepped to him, and dasht out his braines, and threw him over-board: the rest were brought to Excester, and either to be arraigned, according to the punishment of delinquents in such a kind, or disposed of, as the King and Counsell shall thinke meet: and this is the story of this deliverance, and end of John Rawlins Voyage. The Actors in this Comick Tragedie are most of them alive; The Turkes are in prison; the ship is to be seene, and Rawlins himselfe dare justifie the matter.

The names of the English Renegadoes, which consented, and joyned with the slaves in the recovery of the ship, were these.

Richard Clarke, the Gunner, called in Turkish, Jafar, George Cooke, Gunners-mate, called in Turkish, Ramedam. William Winter, Carpenter, in Turkish, Mustapha. John Browne, in Turkish, Memme. One Dutch Renegado. Four Dutch slaves. One French slave. Five Englishmen and one boy, taken but three dayes before. Nine English slaves which they tooke with them from Argier. In all fourse and twenty men and a boy. Which were all safely landed at Plimmoth, the thirteenth of February, 1621. They saved alive the five and forty Turkes and Moores, the Captaine, one Henry Chandlor, borne in South-warke, an English Renegado; and five Turkes more, who are at this present in Plimmoth Goale, &c.
Chap. VIII.

Relations of Africa, taken out of Master George Sandys his larger discourse observed in his Journey, begun Ann. 1610. Lib. 2.

§. I.

His Voyage from Rhodes to Alexandria, observations there, of Egypt, in generall, and of Nilus.

Rhodes is now inhabited by the Turkes and Jewes: those Christians that be, being Greekes, and not suffered after Sun-set to abide in the Citie: the Suburbs whereof are utterly razed. I have heard that all the Monuments, Statues, and inscriptions belonging to the Knights of the Order, are by the Turkes preserved entire, excepting such as the warres had demolished. Heere the Grand Signior maintaineth five Gallies. About this Iland, we expected to have met with Pirats, but were happily deceived.

Now having lost the sight of Rhodes, we saw no land untill the third night after: in the Evening, doubtfully discovering the Coast of Aegypt. Fearing the Lee-shoare, all night we bore out to Sea: the lightning ministring uncomfortable light, intermixed with thunder and tempests. The next day we entred the Haven of Alexandria, newly defamed with a number of wracks, which scattered here and there, did miserably testifie the unsafe protection of that Harbour. For not past two nights before the Northerne winds beating full upon the mouth of the Haven, with violent Seas drove the fore-most ships from their Anchors, who falling foule on the rest, sunke all for company, even two and twenty in number: amongst the rest, that great and warlike ship, called the Red-Lion, but taken the yeere before from the Knights of Malta.
But before we proceed any further in particulars, meet it is that something be said of Ægypt in generall. The wonderfull fertility of the soile, is rather to bee admired then expressed: in times past reputed the granary of the world; insomuch as it was not thought possible for the Romane Empire to subsist, if not assisted by the affluence of Ægypt. The occasion of that saying of Selymes when he had conquered the Country, that, Now he had taken a Farme that would feed his Jemoglans. Amongst other commodities which this earth doth yeeld, and are fetcht from hence by forrainers, Sugar, Flaxe, Rice, all manner of Graine, Linnen-cloth, Hides, Salt, Buttargo, and Cassia, being now the principall.

Whatsoever here is estimable, proceedeth from the munificency of this River; for progress, and property of all other the most excellent: unto former ages, though often attempted, (and that by great Potentates) of an undiscovered originall.

Foure miles below Cairo, it devideth into two maine and navigable branches; that next the East running into the Mid-land Sea by Damiata (heretofore Pelusium:) the other inclining unto the West, and formerly called Canopus, falleth into the selfe-same Sea a little below Rosetta, making of the richest portion of the Land a triangular Iland, named Delta, in that it beareth the forme of that letter: the fresh water keeping together, and changing the colour of the Salt, farre further into the Sea, then the shoare from thence can be discerned. Two other branches there be that runne betweene these, but poore in waters; besides divers channels cut by the labour of man, for conveiances in the time of the inundation; which also are no small strengthening to the Countrey. Of those seven mentioned by Herodotus, and those nine by Ptolomy, these are all that I either saw or could heare of. Nor is it a thing extraordinarie for Rivers to lose their channels, either choaked by themselves, or by the adverse Seas, with beds of Sand, and turned up gravell resisting their passages. But amongst the hidden mysteries of Nature,
there is none more wonderfull, then is the overflowing of
this River; making of a meere Desart (for such is Egypt
unwatred by Nilus) the most fruitfull part of the habitable
world, little when others are great, and their decrease
increasing.

Not tide to lawes of other streames; the Sunne
When farthest off, thy streames then poorest runne.
Intemperate heaven to temper, midst of heate;
Under the burning Zone, bid to grow great.
Then Nile assists the world; lest fire should quell
The earth: and makes his high-born waters swell
Against the Lions flaming jaws——

Inde etiam leges aliarum nescit aquarum:
Nec tumet hybernus quum longe Sole remoto
Officiis caret unda suis, dare jussus iniquo
Temperiem coelo, medis estatibus exit.
Sub torrente plaga, ne terras dissipet ignis
Nilus ad est mundo, contraque accensa leonis
Ora tumet——Lucan. l. 10.

The earth then burnt with the violent fervour, never
refreshed with raine (which here falls rarely, and then
only in the Winter) hath helpe from Nilus, most
constantly observing his accustomed seasons, beginning to
arise with the arising Sunne on the seventeenth of June;
swelling by degrees untill it mount sometimes foure and
twente cubits, but that the uttermost.

This yeare* at Cairo it rise three and twenty. About
two miles above the Citie, at the end of old Cairo, in the
beginning of August they cut the bankes; then when
ascended unto his principall height; before kept in, lest
that the too timely deluge should destroy the fruiites of
the earth ere fit to be reaped. At which the Bassa is
himselfe in person (who giveth the first stroke) accom-
panied with a world of people, rowed in Gallies and Barges
of triumph, and for divers dayes feasting: the Bassa in
the Castle of Michias, an Iland surrounded with Nile (so
called, in that there the Pillar doth stand, by which they
SANDYS' RELATIONS OF AFRICA

A.D.
1610.

observe the increase of the River) others under Pavilions pitched by the shoare, with barbarous solemnities, and generall rejoynings. At their returne they are met by those of the Citie, who bestrew their heads with flowers, as the welcome forerunners of that they long wished. They turned in water following them at the heele; boats now rowed, where but now they trampled, filling the dustie trenches and long emptied Cisternes: and a while after covering in many places the superfcies of the land, which there then appeareth as a troubled Lake. Answerable to the increase of the River, is the plentie or scarcitie of the yeare succeeding, bringing with it both earth and water into a sandie and thirstie soile, of it selfe unprofitable: so that it as well manures as moistens, with the fat and pregnant slime which it leaveth behind it. Unto which they owe not their riches onely, but themselves. For the plague which here oft miserably rages, upon the first of the flood doth instantly cease: insomuch as when five hundred die at Cairo the day before, which is nothing rare (for the sound keepe companie with the sicke, holding death fatall, and to avoid them irreligion) not one doth die the day following. Wherefore no marvell though ignorant and superstitious antiquitie, under the name of Osiris adored this River, which afforded them so many benefits, and such as not apprehended were thought supernaturall. Thus where covered with water, it is no unpleasant sight to behold the Townes appearing like little Ilands; the people passing and repassing by boate, and not seldom swimming: who the lesse they see of their Country, the more is their comfort. About the midst of September it ceaseth to augment: and retiring a moneth after within his proper bounds, giveth way unto Husbandrie (the earth untilled, by throwing the Graine on the mud, and Rice into the water, affording her first increase) untill May decreasing, and then in a marvelous penurie of water. To prove that it proceedeth from a naturall cause, this one, though strange, yet true experiment will suffice. Take of the earth of Egypt adjoining
to the River, and preserve it carefully, that it neither come
to be wet nor wasted; weigh it daily, and you shall find
it neither more nor lesse heavie until the seventeenth of
June, at which day it beginneth to grow more ponderous,
and augmenteth with the augmentation of the river,
whereby they have an unfallible knowledge of the state of
the Deluge: proceeding without doubt from the humiditie
of the Aire, which having a recourse through all passible
places, and mixing therewith, increaseth the same as
it increaseth in moysture. In the tenth and eleventh
yeare of Cleopatra, it is by Writers of those times
for a certainty affirmed, that the Nilus increased not;
which two yeares defect prognosticated the fal of two
great Potentates, Cleopatra and Anthony. Many ages
before, Callimachus reports, that it did the like for
nine yeares together. From the same cause, no question,
but that seven yeares dearth proceeded in the time of
Pharao.

It also produceth abundance of Fish, in shape and
qualitie much differing from ours: but by reason of the
muddy channell, not altogether savorie nor wholsome.

Throughout this Countrie there are no Wines, yet
want they none, in that they desire them not. Neither
are here any trees to speake of, but such as are planted,
and those in Orchards only: excepting Palmes, which
delight in Desarts; and being naturally theirs, doe grow
without limits. Of these they have plenty, pleasing the
eye with their goodwill formes, and with diversitie of
benefits inriching their owners. Of body straight, high,
round, and slender (yet unfit for buildings) crested about,
and by meanes thereof with facilitie ascended. The
branches like Sedges, slit on the neather side, and ever
greene; growing onely on the uppermost height, resemble
faire plumes of feathers, which they yearely prune, by
lopping off the lowest, and at the top of all by bearing a
little of the bole. Of these there be male and female,
both thrust forth cods (which are full of seeds like knotted
strings) at the roote of their branches, but the female is
onely fruitfull; and not so, unlesse growing by the male (towards whose upright growth she inclines her crowne) and have of his seedes commixed with hers; which in the beginning of March they no more faile to doe, then to sow the earth at accustomed seasons. Their Dates doe grow like fingers, and are thereof named; not ripe untill the fine of December, which begin to cod about the beginning of February. They open the tops of such as are fruitlesse, or otherwise perisht; and take from thence the white pith, of old called the braine, which they sell up and downe: an excellent sallad, not much unlike in taste, but farre better then an Artichoke. Of the branches they make Bed-steads, Lattices, &c. of the web of the Leaves, Baskets, Mats, Fans, &c. of the outward huske of the Cod, good Cordage; of the inward, Brushes, &c. such and such like affoord they yearely without empaire to themselves. This tree they held to be the perfect image of a man, and by the same represented him: First, for that it doth not fructifie, but by coiture: next, as having a Braine, as it were, in the uppermost part: which once corrupted, as man, even so it perisheth: and lastly, in regard that on the top thereof grow certaine strings, which resemble the haire; the great ends of the branches appearing like hands stretcht forth, and the Dates as fingers. And because the Palme is never to be suppressed, but shooteth up against all opposition, the boughs thereof have been proposed as rewards for such as were either victorious in armes or exercises. Wood then is here but scarce in regard of the quantitie; and yet enough, if their uses for the same be considered. For they eate but little flesh (fresh Cheese, sower Milke made solid, Roots, Fruits and Herbs, especially Colocasia, anciently called the Egyptian Beane, though bearing no Beane, but like the leafe of a Colewort, being their principal sustenance; baking their bread in Cakes on the hearth, and mingling therewith the seeds of Coriander.) As for cold, they know it not; having sufficient of the refuse of Palmes, Sugar-canies, and the like, to furnish them with fuell, answerable to their necessities.
But forrainers that feed as in colder Countries, doe buy their Wood by weight, which is brought in hither by shipping. The Gallions also of Constantinople, alwaies goe into the Blacke Sea for timber, before they take their voyage for Cairo. Omit I must not the sedgie reeds which grow in the Marishes of Egypt, called formerly Papyri, of which they made paper; and whereof ours made of rags, assumeth that name. They divided it into thin flakes, whereinto it naturally parteth: then laying them on a table, and moistening them with the glutinous water of the River, they prest them together, and so dried them in the Sunne. It is now governed by a Bassa who hath his residence in Cairo, and commandeth as an absolute Soveraigne; under whom are sixteene Sanziackes, and a hundred thousand Spacheis. The revenues of this little Countrie amounting to three Millions of *Shariffes. The Great Turke having one (viz. foure hundred thousand disbursed yearly in Sugar and Rice, and sent to Constantinople; the residue sent over-land with a guard of six hundred Souldiers, for feare of the Florentine:) another Million is spent in payes, and in setting forth the Carvan unto Mecha; the third hee hath for the supportance of his owne estate, and entertainement of his dependents. But this is little in regard of that which was raised thereof in the regne of Aulettes, who received seven Millions and a halfe of Crownes; much more supposed to have yeelded to the more provident Romanes.

The Bassa now being, and called Mahomet, is a man well striken in yeares, of a sowre and inflexible nature. At his first entrance hee cut off the heads of foure thousand Spacheis, that had borne themselves too insolently, and committed many outrages and extortions. Hee sent the great men that bore overmuch sway unto Constantinople; those that refused to goe, he caused to be strangled, using the aide of the Arabians (who justly hated the other) in all his executions. If a robberie be committed, and the theieves escape, such as are appointed to guard those quarters, do suffer in their stead; insomuch as often they
attach poore innocents when they cannot appre hend the guiltie, to deliver themselves from punishment: boring holes through the condemned's armes, stretcht wide on staves, in which are Candles stucke, that burne downe into the flesh, and are led in that manner through the Citie unto the place of execution. Others are stript of their skinnes, yet live in horrible torment so long as the Executioners Steele offends not the Navell. Drunkennesse is punished with death; and all disorders so severely lookt into, that I thinke in no other place you shall see so few amongst such a multitude of people. The malice his rigour procured, had caused himselfe to confine himselfe to the Castle for a twelve-moneth, before our comming to Cairo: but his government is so well approved by the Grand Signior, that to doe him the more honour, he hath given him his daughter in marriage, a childe of four yeares old, which hath beene solemnized with all possible Ceremonies. One thing more is in him prayseworthy; that hee will hardly suffer a Christian to turre Mahometan, either out of the dislike of his owne Religion, or knowing well that they doe it onely for commoditie and preferment.

Those that now inhabit the Countrey, are for the most part Moores. Turkes there are many, and Jewes, which reside onely in Cities. Store of Arabians, and not a few Negroes. Of Christians, the native Copties are the most in number: some Greekes there bee, and a few Armenians.

The Egyptian Moores (descended of the Arabians, and understanding each other) are men of a meane stature, tawnie of complexion, and spare of bodie, shrill tongued, and nimble footed; naturally industrious, affecting more their profit then their ease; yet know they not how to live of a little, as in nothing riotous. Rather craftie they are then wise; more observant then faithfull, by much more devout then the Turkies in the Mahometan Religion. In Learning they are utterly ignorant. Amongst them none are Noble: few admitted to the Souldiery, (nor suffered in Townes to weare Weapons) not any to Magistracie. In Cities the best of them exercise Merchandize: rich by
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

meanes of their Traffike with the Indians; yet that
decayed since our East Indian Voyages: insomuch, as
Spices brought out of the Levant heretofore, are now with
profit brought thither by our Merchants. In habit they
differ little from the Turkes, excepting some of the yonger
sort, who weare side Coates of Linnen (the ancient habit of
that Countrey) girt to their wastes, and Towels throwne
about their neckes of the same. Divers of the Negroes
weare Vests like Surplices. Those of the poorest, long Gar-
ments of Hayre, streakt blacke and white; in the winter,
side Coates of Cotten. The Beggers by singing, both get
reliefe, and comfort their povertie, playing withall upon
Drummes which are fashioned like Sives.

A number here be afflict with sore eyes, eyther by the
reflecting heate, the salt dust of the soyle, or excessive
Venerie: for the Pockes is uncredibly frequent amongst
them. The women when out of their houses, are wrapt
from the crowne of the head to the foot in ample Robes of
Linnen, spreading their armes underneath to appeare more
corpulent: for they thinke it a speciall excellencie to be
fat; and most of them are so; so in frequenting the
Bannias for certayne dayes together, wherein they use such
dyet and frictions, as daily use confirmeth for effectuall.
They cover their faces with black Cypresse bespotted with
red. Their under garments of lighter stuffes then the
Turkish, not differing in fashion. The better sort weare
hoopes of Gold and Silver about their armes, and above
their ancles: others of Copper, with Peeces of Coyne halfe
covering their fore-heads, and plates hung about their
neckes, &c. Both men and women doe brand their armes
for the love of each other. Divers of the women have I
seene with their chinnes distayed into knots and flowres
of blue, made by prickinge of the skinne with Needles, and
rubbing it over with Inke and the Juyce of an herbe,
which will never weare out againe. They have quicke
and easie labour, bearing heretofore often two, and some-
times three at a burthen: those also borne in the eighth
moneth living, rarely if else-where heard of. In the
adjoyning Deserts of Saint Macario, a Plant there is, low, leavelesse, browne of colour, branched like Corall, and closed at the top, this in the time of the labour of women, they set in water in some corner of the roome, which strangely displayeth, procuring (as they generally conjecture) easie deliveries. The Countrey people doe follow Husbandry. They are not long in dressing themselves, being onely wrapt in a russet Mantle: nor have the women any better coverture, hiding their faces with beastly clouts, having holes for their eyes; which little is too much to see, and abstayne from lothing. Over their shashes the men weare rounds of stiffned russet, to defend their braines from their piercing fervour. A people breathes not more savage and nastie, crusted with dirt, and stinking of smoke, by reason of the *fuell, and their houses which have no Chinnies. Some of them dwell under beggerly Tents, and those esteemed of the old Inhabitants.

But the Copties are the true Egyptians, retayning the name of Coptus that ancient Citie and Terrorie, a little below, and on that side the River where once stood Thebes, against the Iland of the Tenterites. The name signifieth Privation, so called, for that there Isis cut off a locke of her Hayre, and put on funerall Garments for the death of Osiris. Others will have them so called in regard of their Circumcision. These, as I said, are Christians, notwithstanding they are circumcised, whereof they now begin to bee ashamed; saying, that in the Countrey they are thereunto compelled by the Moores; and in Cities where secure from violence, they use it not; howbeit, doing it rather in that an ancient custome of their Nation (mentioned by Herodotus) then out of Religion. They were infected with that heresie of one nature in Christ, long before Jacobus (of whom now named, and of whom wee shall speake hereafter) divulged it in Syria.

At this day they professe him to be perfect God and perfect man; yet dare not distinguish his natures, for feare of dividing his person. They baptize not their Children untill fortie dayes old. Presently after mid-night

*Stercus bovinum.

The Christians called commonly and corruptly Copties.

[II. vi. 900.]

Their Christianity & rites.
they repaire to their Churches, where they remaine wel nigh untill Sunday at noone; during which time, they neither sit nor kneele, but support themselves upon crutches. The Priest is veiled and vested in Linnen, having two or three Boyes appareled alike, and sequestred from the rest of the people, to assist him; for they conferre inferiour Orders upon children. They sing over most part of the Psalms of David at every meeting, with divers parcels of the Old and New Testaments; the latter, as written by Nicomedes: some in the Copticke Language, understood but by few, most in the Moresco. Often both Priest and people conjoinned in Savage noyses, to our judgements not articulate. The Priest not seldom elevating a red cloth (under which, I suppose, was the Sacrament) which they administer in both kinds, and give it to Infants presently after Baptisme. In their Churches they have the Picture of our Saviour, and the blessed Virgin, but not over their Altars; nor for any thing I could perceive, doe they reverence them.

In certaine Chests they preserve the bones and ashes of such as have turned Mahometan, and afterward recanted; for which they have suffered Martyrdome. At their entrance they kisse their hands, and lay them upon one another: the women in grated Galleries separated from the men. Extremae Unction, Prayer for the Dead, and Purgatory, they admit not of. The Romane Church they hold for Hereticall, and reject all generall Councils, after that of Ephesus. Yet a multitude of late have beene drawne to receive the Popish Religion (especially in Cairo) by the industry of Friers, having had the Romane Liturgie sent them from Rome, together with the Bible, in the Arabecke Language. Of Alexandria hath their Patriarke his name, but his abode is in Cairo. Sixe dayes journey above Cairo up the River, they have a great Citie, called Saiet; where Christ, with his mother, is said to have made their abode untill the death of Herod: unto which, growing old and sickly, they repaire, as desirous to die there: where there is a goodly Church, though something
ruinous, built by Hellen the mother of Constantine, and consecrated to the blessed Virgin. They never eate in the day time during the Lent, but on Saturdayes and Sundayes. They wear round Caps, Towels about their neckes, and gowynes with wide sleeves of Cloth, and Stuffes lesse ponderous. These live in more subjection then the Moores, by reason of their Religion, and pay yeryly a certaine summe for their heads to the Bassa. Ignorant in the excellencies of their ancestors, but retaining their vices. Some of them profess some knowledge in Magicke, being but Juglers, compared with the former, by whom such miracles were effected.

The Lake Mariotis afforded another Haven unto the Citie,* then that of the Sea more profitable: by reason of the commodities of India, the Arabian Gulph, and up-land parts of Ægypt, brought downe by the conueniency of that passage by Channels now utterly ruined. And the same by a narrow cut was joyned unto another Lake, farre lesse, and neerer the Sea, which at this day too plentifully furnisheth all Turkie with Salt-peter. Betweene the lesse Lake and the Citie, there passeth an artificiall channell which serveth them with water (for they have no wells) in the time of the deluge, conveyed by Conduits into ample Cisterns (now most of them Fennie for want of use, an occasion of much sickenesse in the summer) and so preserved untill the succeeding overflow. For Alexandria is all built upon vaults, supported with carved pillars one above another, and lined with stone; insomuch, as no small proportion thereof lay concealed in earth consider we either of the Coast or quantity.

Such was this Queene of Cities and Metropolis of Africa: who now hath nothing left her but ruines; and those ill witnesses of his perished beauties: declaring rather, that Townes as well as men, have their ages and destinies. Onely those wals remaine which were founded (as some say) by Ptolomie: one within another, imbatled, & garnished with threescore & eight Turrets, rather stately then strong, if compared with the moderne. Yet these,
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

by the former descriptions, and ruines without appeare to have immured but a part of the Citie. After that destroyed by the Saracens, it lay for a long time waste, untill a Mahometan Priest, pronouncing (as he said, out of Mahomets prophesies) indulgences to such as should re-edifie, inhabite, or contribute money thereunto, within certaine dayes, did in a short season repeople it. But a latter destruction it received by the Cypriots, French, and Venetians, about the time that Lewis the fourth was enlarged by the Sultans, who surprised the Citie with a marveilous slaughter. But hearing of the approach of the Sultan, (who had raised a great army for their reliefe) desparing to maintaine it, they set it on fire, and departed. The Sultan repairing the walls as well as he could, built this Castle that now stands on the Pharos for the defence of the Haven; and brought it to the state wherein it remaineth. Sundry Mountaines are raised of the ruines, by Christians not to be mounted; lest they should take too exact a survey of the Citie: in which are often found (especially after a shower) rich stones, and medals engraven with the figures of their Gods, and men, with such perfection of Art; as these now cut, seeme lame to those, and unlively counterfeits. On the top of one of them stands a watch-tower, where continuall centinell is kept, to give notice of approaching sailes. Of Antiquities there are few remainders: onely Hieroglyphicall Obeliske of Theban Marble, as hard wel-nigh as Porphir, but of a deeper red, and speckled alike, called Pharoes Needle, standing where once stood the Palace of Alexander: and another lying by, and like it, hafe buried in rubbidge. Without the walls on the South-west side of the Citie, on a little hill stands a Columnne of the same, all of one stone, eightie sixe Palmes high, and thirty sixe in compasse, the Palme consisting of nine inches and a quarter, according to the measure of Genoa, as measured for Zigal Bassa by a Genoues, set upon a square cube (and which is to be wondered at) not halfe so large as the foot of the Pillar, called by the Arabians, Hemadeslaeor, which is, the Columnne of the Arabians.
They tell a Fable, how that one of the Ptolomies erected the same in the furthest extent of the Haven, to defend the Citie from Navall incursions: having placed a Magickal glasse of Steele on the top, of vertue (if uncovered) to set on fire such ships as sailed by. But subverted by them, the glasse lost that power, who in this place re-erected the Column. But by the Westerne Christians it is called the pillar of Pompey: and is said to have beene reared by Cæsar, as a memoriall of his Pompeian Victory. The Patriarke of Alexandria hath here a house adjoyning to a Church, which stands (as they say) in the place where Saint Marke was buried, their first Bishop and Martyr: who in the dayes of Trajan, haled with a rope tied about his neck, unto the place, called Angeles, was there burned for the testimonie of Christ, by the idolatrous Pagans. Afterward his bones were removed to Venice by the Venetians, he being the Saint and Patron of that Citie. There be at this day two Patriarkes, one of the Greeks; another of the Circumcised, the universall Patriarke of the Copties and Abassines. The name of the Grecque Patriarke now being, is Cyril, a man of approved vertue and learning, a friend to the reformed Religion, and opposing the contrary; saying, that the differences betwenee us and the Greekes, be but shels; but that those are Kernels betwenee them and the other. Of whom something more shall be spoken hereafter. The buildings now being, are meane and few, erected on the ruins of the former: that part that lieth along the shoare inhabited onely, the rest desolate: the walls almost quadrangular; on each side a gate, one opening towards Nilus; another regards Mariots; the third, the Desarts of Barcha; and the fourth, the Haven. Inhabited by Moores, Turkes, Jewes, Copties, and Grecians; more in regard of Merchandize, (for Alexandria is a Free Port, both for friend and enemy) then for the conveniency of the place: seated in a Desart, where they have neither Tillage nor Pasturage, except what borders on the Lake; that little, and unhusbanded: yet keepe they good store of Goats, that
have eares hanging downe to the ground, which feed amongst ruins. On the Ile of Pharos, now a part of the Continent, there stands a Castle, defending the entrance of the Haven; which hath no water but what is brought upon Camels from the Cisterns of the Citie: this, at our comming in, as is the use, we saluted with our Ordnance. As many of us as came ashoare, were brought to the Custome-house, to have our selves and our valeisas searched: where ten in the hundred is to be paid for whatsoever we have, and that in kind, onely money payes, but one and a halfe; whereof they take an exact account, that thereby they may aime at the value of returned commodities; then paying eleven in the hundred more, even for such goods as are in property unaltered. At so high a rate is this free traffique purchased, the Mahumetan here paying as much as the Christian. The Customs are framed by the Jewes, paying for the same unto the Bassa twenty thousand *Madeins a day, thirty of them amounting to a Ryall of eight. Wee lodged in the house of the French Consul, unto whose protection all strangers commit themselves. The Cane lockt up by the Turkes at noones and at nights, for feare that that the Franks should suffer or offer any outrage. The Vice-consul keepes a table for Merchants, he himselfe a Magnifico, lesse liberall of his presence, then industrious to pleasure; yea, rather stately then proud; expecting respect, and meriting good will: that was a Priest, and would be a Cardinall; with the hopes whereof, they say, that he feasteth his ambition. By him we were provided of a Janisary for our guard unto Cairo: his hire, five piecees of gold, besides his owne diet and his mans, with provision of Powder. For our Asses (not inferiour in this Countrey unto horses for travell) halfe a Shariffe a piece, for our Camels a whole one. At the gate they tooke a Madein a head, for our selves and our Asses, so indifferently doe they prise us: through which wee could not passe without a Tescaria from the Cadee, the principall officer of this Citie.

186
§. II.

His Journey to Cairo, the things remarkeable there, and by the way.

On the second of February in the afternoone, we undertooke our Journey: passing through a Desart, producing here and there a few unhusbanded Palmes, Capers, and a weed called Kall by the Arabs. This they use for fuel, and then collecting the ashes, which crush together like a stone, they sell them in great quantity to the Venetians, who equally mixing the same with the stones that are brought them from Pavia by the River of Ticinum, made thereof their Christaline Glasses. On the left hand we left divers ruinous buildings: one said to have been the Royall mansion of Cleopatra. Beyond, which, Bucharis, once a little but ancient Citie, now onely shewing her foundations, where grow many Palmes which sustaine the wretched people that live thereabout in beggerly Cottages; where on a Rock stands a Tower, affording light by night to the sailor, the place being full of danger. Anon we passed by a guard of Souldiers, there placed for the securing of that passage, paying a Madein for everie head. Seven or eight miles beyond, we ferried over a Creeke of the sea. On the other side stands a handsome Cane, not long since built by a Moore of Cairo for the reliefe of Travellers, containing a quadrangle within, and arched underneath. Under one of these wee reposed; the stones our beds, our fardels the bolsters. In such like places they unloade their merchandize, refreshing themselves and their Camels with provision brought with them, secured from theeves and violence. Giving a trifle for Oyle, about midnight we departed, having here met with good store of company, such as allowed travelling with their matches light, and prepared to receive all onsets. The Moores to keepe themselves awake, would tell one tale a hundred times over. By the way againe we should have paid Caphar,
but the benefit of the night excused us. Travelling along
the Sea shoare, and at length a little inclining on the right
hand, before day we entred Rosetta, repairing to a Cane
belonging to the Frankes. Our best entertainement an
under-roome, musty, without light, and the unwholsome
floore to lie upon.

This Citie stands upon the principall branch of the Nile,
(called heretofore Canophus) which about some three miles
beneath dischargeth it selfe into the Sea. Having here
(as at Damiat) his entrance crossed with a barre of Sand,
changing according to the changes of winds, and beating of
the Surges, insomuch, that the Jerbies that passe over, are
made without keeles, having flat and round bottoms. A
Pilot of the Towne there sounding all the day long, by
whose directions they enter, and that so close unto him,
that one leapes out of that boate into the other to receive
pilotage, and returneth swimming. The Jerbies that can
passe over this barre, may, if well directed, proceed unto
Cairo, Rosetta (called Rasia by the Egyptians) perhaps
derived of Ros, which signifieth Rice in the Turkish
Tongue, and so named for the abundance that it uttereth
(they here shealing monethly three hundred quarters) was
built by the slave of an Egyptian Caliph. The houses
are all of Brick, not old, yet seeming ancient: flat-rooft,
as generally all bee in these hotter Countries (for the
Moores use much to lie on the tops of their houses)
jetting over aloft like the poopes of ships, to shadow the
streets that are but narrow, from the Sunnes reflections.
Not small, yet of small defence; being destitute of walls,
and other fortifications. I thinke no place under heaven
is better furnished with Graine, Flesh, Fish, Sugar, fruietes,
Rootes, &c. Raw hides are here a principall commoditie,
from hence transported into Italy.

The next day but one that followed, we imbarked for
Cairo in a Jerbie, unto which seven water men belonged,
which we hired for twelve Dollars. This Arme of the
Nile is as broad at Rosetta, as Thames about Tilbury,
streightning by little and little; and then in many places so
shallow, that oft we had much adoe to free our selves from the flats that had ingaged us: the water being ever thicke, as if lately troubled; and passing along with a mute and unspeedy current. Ten miles above Rosetta, is that cut of the River which runnes to Alexandria. By the way wee often bought as much Fish for sixe pence, as would have satisfied twentie. On each side of the River stands many Townes, but of no great esteeme, for the most part oposite, built partly of Brick, and partly of Mud; many of the poorer houses appearing like Bee-hives, seated on little Hills throwne up by the labour of man, to preserve them and their Cattell in the time of the overflow. Upon the bankes all along are infinite numbers of deepe and spacious Vaults, into which they doe let the River, drawing up the water into higher Cisterns, with wheeles set round with Pitchers, and turned about by Buffoloes: from whence it runnes along little trenches, made upon the ridges of banks, and so is conveyed into their several grounds, the Countrie lying all in a levell. The winds blew seldom favourable, insomuch as the poore Moores for most part of the way were enforced to hale up the boate, often wading above their middles to deliver it from the shallowes. At every enforcing of themselves (as in all their labours) crying Elough, perswaded that God is neare them when they name him, the divell farre off, and all impediments lessened. Of these it is strange to see such a number of broken persons, so being by reason of their strong labour and weake food. The pleasant walkes which we had on the shoare, made our lingering passage lesse tedious. The fruitfull soyle possessing us with wonder; and early maturitie of things, there then as forward as with us in June, who beginne to reape in the ending of March.

The Sugar Canes served our hands for staves, and feasted our tastes with their Liquor. By the way we met with Troupes of Horsemen, appointed to cleere those passages from Theeves, whereof there are many, who also rob by water in little Frigats. Which made our carefull Janizary (for so are most in their undertaken charges) assisted by
two other (to whom wee gave their passage, who otherwise would have taken it) nightly to keepe watch by turnes, discharging their Harquebuses in the evening, and hanging out kindled matches, to terrifie the Theeves, and testifie their vigilancie. Five dayes now almost spent since we first imbarked, an houre before Sun-set we sayled by the Southerne angle of Delta: where the River divideth into another branch, not much inferiour unto this, the East bounds of that Iland (which whether of Asia or Africa is yet to be decided) entring the Sea (as hath beene said before) below Damiata. Proceeding up the river, about twilight we arrived at Bolac the Port Town to Cairo, and not two miles distant: where every Franke at his landing is to pay a Dollar. Leaving our carriages in the Boat, within night we hired sixe Asses with their drivers for the value of sixe pence, to conduct us unto Cairo, where by an English Merchant we were kindly entertyned, who fed and housed us gratis.

This Citie is seated on the East side of the River, at the foote of the rockie mountaine Muctac: winding therewith, and representing the forme of a crescent, stretching South and North with the adjoyning Suburbs, five Italian miles; in breadth scarce one and a halfe where it is at the broadest: the walles (if it be walled) rather seeming to belong unto private houses then otherwise. Yet is the Citie of a marveilous strength, as appeared by that three dayes battell carried through it by Selymus, and maintained by a poore remainder of the Mamalucks. For the streets are narrow, and the houses high-built, all of stone well nigh to the top, at the end almost of each a Gate, which shut (as nightly they are) make every street as defensive as a Castle. The houses more beautifull without, then commodious within, being ill contrived with combersome passages. Yet are the roofes high pitcht, and the uppermost lightly open in the middest to let in the comfortable aire. Flat, and plaistred above: the walls surmounting their roofes, commonly of single bricks (as are many of the walls of the uppermost stories)
which ruined above, to such as stand aloft afford a confused spectacle, and may be compared to a Grove of flourishing Trees that have onely seere and perished Crownes. Their Lockes and Keyes bee of wood; even unto doores that are plated with Iron. But the private buildings are not worth the mentioning, if compared to the publike, of which the Mosques exceed in magnificencie: the stones of many being curiously carved without, supported with Pillars of Marble, adorned with what Art can devise, and their Religion tollerate. Yet differ they in forme from those of Constantinople; some being square with open roofes in the middle of a huge proportion, the covered Circle Tarrast above: others stretching out in length, and many fitted unto the place where they stand. One built (and that the greatest) by Gehor, called Gemith Hashare: hee beeing named Hashare by the Caliph, which signifieth Noble. Of these in this Citie there is reported to bee such a number, as passes believe, so that I list not name it.

Adjoyning unto them are lodgings for Santons, (which are fooles, and mad men) of whom we have spoken already. When one of them dye, they carry his body about in procession with great rejoycings, whose soule they suppose to bee rapt into Paradise. Heere bee also divers goodly Hospitals, both for building, revenue, and attendance.

Next to these in beautie are the Great mens Serraglio. By which if a Christian ride they will pull him from his Asse (for they prohibit us Horses as not worthy to bestride them) with indignation and contumely. The streets are unpaved, and exceeding dirtie after a shower (for here it rayneth sometimes in the winter contrary to the received opinion, and then most subject to plagues) over which many beames are laid athwart on the tops of houses, and covered with Mats to shelter them from the Sunne. The like coverture there is betweene two high Mosques in the principall street of the Citie, under which when the Basha passeth, or others of qualitie, they shoot up arrows, which sticke above in abundance. The occasion of that
 custome I know not. During our abode in the Citie fell out the Feast of their little Byram, when in their private houses they slaughter a number of sheepe; which cut in gobbets, they distribute unto their slaves and poorer sort of people, besmearing the doores with their bloud: perhaps in imitation of the Passeover.

The Nile (a mile distant) in the time of the inundation, by sundry channels flowes into the Citie. When these channels grow emptie, or the water corrupted, they have it brought them thence-forth from the River by Camels. For although they have many Wels, yet is the water bad, and good for no other use then to coole the streets, or to cleanse their houses. In the heart of the Towne stands a spacious Cave, which they call the Besestan; in which (as in those at Constantinople) are sold all kind of Wares of the finer sort, selling old things by the call, of, Who gives more? imitating therein the Venetians, or imitated by them. Three principall gates there be to this Citie, Bebe Nanfrez, or the Gate of Victorie, opening towards the Redde Sea; Bab Zueila leading to Nilus, and the old Towne (betweene these the chiefe street of the Citie doth extend) and Bebel Futuli, or the Port of Triumph, on the North of the Citie, and opening to the Lake called Esbykie. Three sides thereof are inclosed with goodly buildings, having galleries of pleasure which jettie over, sustayned upon Pillars. On the other side (now a heape of ruins) stood the stately Pallace of Dultibe, Wife to the Sultan Catheus: in which were doores and Jaumes of Ivorie; the walles and pavements checkered with discoloured Marble, Columns of Porphir, Alabaster, and Serpentine: the seelings flourished with Gold and Azure, and inlayd with Indian Ebony, a Tree, which being cut downe, almost equals a stone in hardnesse. In a word, the magnificencie was such as could be devised or effected by a womans curiositie, and the Purse of a Monarch, levelled with the ground by Selymus, the stones and ornaments thereof were conveyed unto Constantinople.

The Lake.

The Lake both square and large, is but onely a Lake
when the River over-floweth; joyned thereunto by a channell, where the Moores (rowed up and downe in Barges, shaded with Damaskes, and Stuffes of India) accustome to solace themselves in the evening. The water fallen, yet the place rather changeth then loseth his delightfulnesse: affoarding the profit of five Harvests in a yeare, together with the pleasure, frequented much in the coole of the day. I cannot forget the injurie received in this place, and withall the justice. Abused by a beggerly Moore, (for such onely will) who then but seemed to begin his knavery, wee were glad to fyle unto another for succour, seeming a man of good sort; and by kissing of his garment, insinuated into his favour; who rebuked him for the wrong hee did us. When crossing us againe, ere wee had gone farre, he used us farre worse then before: we offering to returne to the other, which he fearing, interposed; doing us much villany to the merriment of the beholders, esteeming of Christians as of Dogges and Infidels. At length we got by, and againe complayned. Hee in a marvellous rage made his slaves to pursue him; who caught him, stript him, and beat him with Rods all along the Levell, calling us to bee lookers on, and so conveyed him to the place of correction; where by all likelihood he had a hundred blowes on the feet to season his pastimes. Beyond this are a number of stragling houses, extending well-nigh to Bolac, which is the Key unto Cairo, a large Towne, and stretching amongst the River; in fashion of building, in some part not much inferiour to the other. Within and without the Citie are a number of delicate Orchards, watered as they doe their fields, in which grow variety of excellent fruits; as Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Apples of Paradise, Sicamor figs, and others, (whose barkes they bore full of holes, the trees being as great as the greatest Oakes, the fruit not growing amongst the leaves, but out of the bole and branches) Dates, Almonds, Cassia fistula, (leaved like an Ash, the fruit hanging downe like Sausages) Locust, (flat, and of the forme of a Cycle) Galls growing upon
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Tamarix, Apples no bigger then Berries, Plantains that have a broad flaggie leafe, growing in clusters, and shaped like Cucumers, the rind like a Pescod, solid within, without stones or kernels, to the taste exceeding delicious, (this the Mahometans say was the forbidden fruit; which being eaten by our first Parents, and their nakednesse discovered unto them, they made them Aprons of the leaves thereof) and many more, not knowne by name, nor seene by mee else-where: some bearing fruit all the yeare, and almost all of them their leaves. To these adde those whole fields of Palmes (and yet no prejudice to the under-growing Corne) of all others most delightfull.

In the aforesaid Orchards there are great numbers of Cameleons; yet not easily found, in that neere to the colour of that whereon they sit. A creature about the bignesse of an ordinary Lizard. His head unproportionably bigge, his eyes great, and mooving without the writhing of his necke which is inflexible, his backe crooked, his skinne spotted with little tumors, lesse eminent as neerer the belly; his tayle slender and long: on each foot he hath five fingers, three on the out-side, and two on the inside slow of pace, but swiftly extending his tongue, of a marvellous length for the proportion of his body, wherewith he preyes upon Flyes, the top thereof being hollowed by Nature for that purpose. So that deceived they be who thinke that they eat nothing, but onely live upon Ayre; though surely Aire is their principall sustenance. For those that have kept them for a whole yeare together, could never perceive that they fed upon any thing else, and might observe their bellies to swell, after they had exhausted the Ayre, and closed their jaws; which they expanse against the rayes of the Sunne. Of colour greene, and of a duskey yellow: brighter and whiter towards the belly, yet spotted with blue, white, and red. They change not into all colours, as reported: laid upon greene: the greene predominates; upon yellow the yellow: but laid upon blue, or red, or white, the greene retayneth his hue notwithstanding; onely the other spots

194
receive a more orient lustre: laid upon black, they looke black, yet not without a mixture of greene. All of them in all places are not coloured alike. They are said to beare a deadly hatred to the Serpent, insomuch as when they espie them basking in the Sunne, or in the shade, they will climbe to the over-hanging branches, and let downe from their mouthes a thred, like to that of a Spinsters, having at the end a little round drop, which shineth like Quicksilver, that falling on their heads doth destroy them: and what is more to be admired, if the boughes hang not so over, that the thred may perpendicularly descend, with their former feet they will so direct it, that it shall fall directly.

Aloft, and neere the top of the Mountaine, against the South end of the Citie, stands the Castle (once the stately Mansion of the Mamaluck Sultans, and destroyed by Selymus) ascended unto by one way onely, and that hewen out of the Rocke; which rising leisurely with easie steepes and spacious distances, (though of a great height) may bee on horse-backe without difficultie mounted. From the top, the Citie by reason of the Palmes dispersed throughout, appeareth most beautifull; the whole Countrey below lying open to the view. The Castle so great, that it seemeth a Citie of it selfe, immured with high wals, divided into partitions, and entred by doores of Iron; wherein are many spacious Courts, in times past the places of exercise. The ancient buildings all ruinated, doe onely shew that they have beene sumptuous, there beinge many Pillars of solid Marble yet standing, of so huge a proportion, that how they came thither is not least to be wondred at. Here hath the Bassa his Residence, wherein the Divan is kept, on Sundayes, Mundayes, and Tuesdayes the Chauses as Advocates, preferring the Suites of their Clients. Fortie Janizaries he hath of his Guard, attyred like those at Constantinople, the rest employed about the Countrey, for the most part are not the sonnes of Christians, yet faithfull unto such as are under their charges, whom should they betray, they not onely lose their lives,
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

but also the pay which is due to their Posteritie. Such
is this Citie, the fairest in Turkie, yet differing from what
it was, as from a body being young and healthfull, doth
the same growne old and wasted with Diseases.

Now Cairo, this great Citie is inhabited by Moores,
Turkes, Negroes, Jewes, Copties, Greekes, and Arme-
nians: who are here the poorest, and every-where the
honestest; labouring painfully, and living soberly. Those
that are not subject to the Turke, if taken in warres, are
freed from bondage: who are, live freely, and pay no
Tribute of Children as doe other Christians. This privi-
ledge enjoy they, for that a certaine Armenian foretold of
the greatnesse and glory of Mahomet. They once were
under the Patriarke of Constantinople: but about the
Heresie of Eutyches they fell from his government, and
communion with the Grecians, whom they detest above
all other: rebaptizing such as convert to their Sect. They
beleeve that there is but one nature in Christ, not by a
commixtion of the divine with the humane, as Eutyches
taxt, but by a conjunction, even as the soule is joyned
to the body. They deny the Reall Presence in the Sacra-
ment, and administer it as the Copties doe: with whom
they agree also, concerning Purgatorie, and not praying
for the dead: as with the Greekes, that the Holy Ghost
proceedeth onely from the Father, and that the dead
neither doe nor shall feele joy or torment untill the day of
Doome.

Their Patriarke hath his being at Tyberis in Persia: in
which Countrey they live wealthyly, and in good estima-
tion. There are three hundred Bishops of that Nation;
the Priests marry not twice: eat flesh but five times a
yeare, and then lest the people should thinke it a sinne to
eate, in regard of their abstinence. They erre that write,
that the people abstaine from all meates prohibited by the
Mosaical Law; for Hoggis flesh they eate where they
can, without offence, to the Mahometans. They observe
the Lent most strictly, yet eate flesh upon Fridayes betweene
Easter and Whitson tide. As for Images they adore them

196
not. Here they have their Assemblies in obscure Chambers. Comming in (which was on a Sunday in the afternoon) we found one sitting in the midst of the Congregation, in habit not differing from the rest, reading on a Bible in the Chaldean Tongue. Anon the Bishop entred in a Hood and Vest of blacke, with a staffe in his hand, to which they attributed much holinessse. First, hee prayed, and then sung certaine Psalms, assisted by two or three; after all sung joyntly, at interims praying to themselves: resembling the Turkes in the posture of their bodies, and often prostrations: the Bishop excepted; who erecting his hands stood all the while with his face to the Altar. The Service ended, one after another doe kiss his hand, and bestowe their Almes, he laying the other on their heads, and blessing them. Lastly, prescribeth succeeding Fasts and Festivals. Where is to be noted, that they fast upon the Day of the Nativitie of our Saviour.

Here also is a Monasterie of Greeke Coloieros, belonging unto the capitall Monastery of Saint Katherine of Mount Sina, from Cairo some eight days journey over the Deserts; said to bee the daughter of King Costa, a King of Cyprus, who in the time of Maxentius converted many unto Christ. Tortured on a Wheele, and finally beheaded at Alexandria (where two goodly Pillars of Theban Marble (though halfe swallowed with ruines) preserve the memory of the place,) she was conveyed (as they affirme) by an Angell, and buried in this Mountaine. It hath three tops of a marvellous height: that on the West-side of old called Mount Horeb, where God appeared to Moses in a bush, fruitfull in pastorage; farre lower, and shadowed when the Sunne ariseth by the middlemost, that whereon God gave the Law unto Moses. The Monastery stands at the foot of the mountaine, resembling a Castle, with an Iron doore; wherein they shew the Tombe of the Saint much visited by Pilgrims, from whence the top by fourteene thousand steps of stone is ascended, where stands a ruined Chappell. A plentifull Spring
descendeth from thence and watering the Valley below, is
againe drunke up by the thirstie sand. This strong
Monasterie is to entertayne all Pilgrims, (for there is no
other place of entertainment) having an annuall Revenue
of sixtie thousand Dollars from Christian Princes. Of
which foundation sixe and twentie other depend, dispersed
through divers Countries. They give also daily Almes
to the Arabs, to be the better secured from out-rage. Yet
will they not suffer them to enter, but let it downe from
the Battlements. Their Orchard aboundeth with excellent
Fruites: amongst which Apples, rare in these Countries,
transferred from Damasco. They are neither subject to
Pope, nor Patriarke, but have a Superintendent of their
owne, at this present in Cairo. These here made us a
collation, where I could not but observe their gulling in
of Wine with a deare felicitie, whereof they have their
provision from Candy.

During our abode here, a Carvan went foorth with much
solemnity, to meet and relieve the great Carvan in their
returne from Mecha, which consisteth of many thousands
of Pilgrims that travell yeerely thither in devotion and for
Merchandize; every one with his bandroll in his hand,
and their Camels gallantly trickt (the Alcoran carried upon
one, in a precious case covered over with needle-worke,
and laid on a rich pillow, invironed with a number of their
chanting Priests) guarded by divers companies of Souldiers,
and certaine field pieces. Forty easie dayes Journey it
is distant from hence: divided by a wildernes of sand,
that lyeth in drifts, and dangerously mooveth with the
wind, through which they are guided in many places by
starres, as ships in the Ocean.

Then Cairo, no Citie can be more populous, nor better
served with all sorts of provision. Here hatch they eggges
by artificiall heat in infinite numbers, the manner as scene
thus brieffy. In a narrow entry on each side stood two
rowes of Ovens, one over another. On the flooers of the
lower they lay the offals of flaxe; over those mats, and
upon them their eggges, at least sixe thousand in an Oven.
The floores of the upper Ovens were as roofes to the under, grated over like Kilnes, onely having tunnels in the middle, with covers unto them. These gratings are covered with Mats, on them three inches thicke lyeth the dry and pulverated dung of Camels, Buffoloes, &c. At the hither and farther sides of those upper Ovens are Trenches of Lome; a handful deepe, and two handfuls broad. In these they burne of the foresaid dung, which giveth a smothering heat without visible fire. Under the mouthes of the upper Ovens are conveyances for smoke, having round roofes, and vents at the top to shut and to open. Thus ly the Egges in the lower Ovens for the space of eight dayes, turned daily, and carefully lookt to that the heate be but moderate. Then cull they the bad from the good, by that time distinguishable (holding them betweene a Lampe and the Eye) which are two parts of three for the most part. Two dayes after they put out the fire, and convey by the passages in the middle, the one halfe into the upper Ovens: then shutting all close, they let them alone for ten dayes longer, at which time they become disclosd in an instant. This they practise from the beginning of January untill the midst of June, the Egges being then most fit for that purpose; neither are they (as reported) prejudiced by Thunder: yet these declare that imitated Nature will never be equalled, all of them being in some part defective or monstrous.

Most of the Inhabitants of Cairo consist of Merchants and Artificers: yet the Merchants frequent no forrein Marts. All of a Trade keepe their shops in one place, which they shut about the houre of five, and solace themselves for the rest of the day, Cookes excepted, who keepe theirs open till late in the evening. For few, but such as have great Families dresse meate in their houses, which the men doe buy ready drest; the women too fine fingerd to meddle with houswifry, who ride abroad upon pleasure on easie-going Asses, and tye their Husbands to the benevolence that is due; which if neglected, they will complaine to the Magistrate, and procure a Divorcement.
PURCHASES HIS PILGRIMES

Many practitioners here are in Physick, invited thereunto by the store of Simples brought hither, and here growing, an Art wherein the Egyptians have excelled from the beginning.

A kind of Rue is here much in request, wherewith they perfume themselves in the mornings, not onely as a preservative against infection, but esteeming it prevalent against hurtfull spirits. So the Barbarians of old accustomed to doe with the Roots of wild Galingal. There are in this Citie, and have beene of long, a sort of people that doe get their livings by the shewing of feats with Birds and Beasts, exceeding therein all such as have beene famous amongst us. I have heard a Raven to speake so perfectly, as it hath amazed me. They use both their throats and tongues in uttering of sounds, which other Birds doe not, and therefore more fit for that purpose. Scaliger the Father, reports of one that was kept in a Monasterie heard by him; which, when hungry, would call upon Conrade, the Cooke, so plainly, as often mistaken for a man. I have seene them make both Dogges and Goats to set their fourfe feet on a little turned Pillar of wood, about a foot high, and no broader at the end then the palme of a hand, climing from one to two, set on the top of one another, and so to the third and fourth; and there turne about as often as their Masters would bid them. They carry also dancing Camels about, taught when young, by setting them on a hot hearth, and playing all the while on an Instrument: the poore beast through the extremity of heat lifting up his feet one after another. This practise they for certaine moneths together, so that at length whenssoever he heareth the fiddle, he will fall a dancing. Asses they will teach to doe such tricks, as if possessed with reason: to whom Bankes his horse would have proved but a Zany.

The time of our departure proroged, we rode to Matarea, five miles North-east of the Citie. By the way we saw sand cast upon the earth, to moderate the fertility. Here they say, that our Saviour, and the blessed Virgin,
with Joseph, reposed themselves, as they fled from the fury of Herod, when oppressed with thirst, a Fountaine forthwith burst forth at their feet to refresh them. We saw a Well environed with a poore mud wall, the water drawne up by *Buffolos into a little Cisterne; from whence it ran into a laver of Marble within a small Chappell, by the Moores (in contempt of Christians) spitefully defiled. In the wall there is a little concave lined with sweet wood (diminished by affectors of relicks) and smoked with incense: in the sole, a stone of Porphyry, whereon (they say) she did set our Saviour. Of so many thousand Wells (a thing most miraculous) this onely affordeth gustable waters, and that so excellent, that the Bassa refuseth the river to drinke thereof, and drinkes of no other; and when they cease for any time to exhaust it, it sendeth forth of it selfe so plentifull a streame, as able to turne an over-fall Mill. Passing through the Chappell, it watereth a pleasant Orchard; in a corner whereof there standeth an over-growne fig-tree, which opened (as they report) to receive our Saviour and his mother, then hardly escaping the pursuers; closing againe till the pursue was past; then againe dividing, as now it remaineth. A large hole there is through one of the sides of the leaning bulke: this (they say) no bastard can thred, but shall sticke fast by the middle. The tree is all to be-hackt for the wood thereof, reputed of soveraigne vertue. But I abuse my time, and provoke my Reader. In an inclosure adjoyning, they shewed us a plant of Balme, the whole remainder of that store which this Orchard produced, destroyed by the Turkes, or envy of the Jewes, as by them reported, being transported out of Jury, in the dayes of Herod the Great, by the commandement of Antonius, at the suite of Cleopatra: but others say, brought hither out of Arabiae Felix, at the cost of a Saracen Sultan.

*Salanius

tom.10.cap.6.
dares to report
(as he saith, himselfe seeing it) that from
Sunday at
noone untill
Monday morn-
ing they will
not labour in
the drawing up
of water,
though urged
with stripes.

Balme.
§. III.
The Pyramids viewed, Sphynx and other antiquities. Journey from Cairo to Gaza.

Day or two after, wee crossed the Nilus. Three miles beyond on the left hand left we the place where upon Good-friday the armes and legs of a number of men appeare stretched foorth of the earth, to the astonishment of the multitude. This I have heard confirmed by Christians, Mahometans, and Jewes, as seene upon their severall faiths. An impostury perhaps contrived by the water-men, who fetching them from the Mummes, (whereof there are an unconsumeable number) and keeping the mystery in their families, doe sticke them over night in the sand, obtaining thereby the yeerely Ferrying over of many thousands of passengers. Three or foure miles further, on the right hand, and in sight, athwart the Plaine, there extendeth a caussey supported with Arches five Furlongs long, ten paces high, and five in breadth, of smooth and figured stone; built by the builder of the Pyramids, for a passage over the soft and unsupporting earth with weighty carriages. Now having ridden through a goodly Plaine, some twelve miles over (in that place the whole breadth of Ægypt) we came to the foot of the Libyan Desarts.

Full West of the Citie, close upon these Desarts, aloft on a Rockie Levell adjoyning to the Valley, stands those three Pyramids (the barbarous Monuments of prodigality and vaineglory) so universally celebrated. The name is derived from a flame of fire, in regard of their shape; broad below, and sharpe above, like a pointed Diamond. By such the ancient did expresse the originall of things, and that formelesse forme-taking substance. For as a Pyramis beginning at a point, and the principall height, by little and little dilateth into all parts: so Nature proceeding from one undeviديل Fountaine (even God the Soveraigne Essence) receiveth diversitie of formes, effused
SANDYS' RELATIONS OF AFRICA

A.D. 1610.

into several kinds and multitudes of figures; uniting all in the supreme head, from whence all excellencies issue.

Most manifest it is, that these, as the rest, were the Regall Sepulchers of the Egyptians. The greatest of the three, and chief of the Worlds seven wonders, being square at the bottome, is supposed to take up eight Acres of ground. Every square being three hundred single paces in length, the square at the top consisting of three stones onely, yet large enough for threescore to stand upon: ascended by two hundred and fiftie five steps, each step above three feet high, of a breadth proportionable. No stone so little throughout the whole, as to be drawne by our Carriages, yet were these hewn out of the Trojan mountaynes, farre off in Arabia, so called of the Captive Trojans, brought by Menelaus into Egypt, and there afterward planted. A wonder how conveyed hither: how so mounted, a greater. Twentie yeares it was a building, by three hundred threescore and sixe thousand men continually wrought upon: who onely in Radishes, Garlick, and Onions, are said to have consumed one thousand and eight hundred Talents. By these and the like Inventions exhausted they their Treasure, and employed the people, for feare lest such infinite wealth should corrupt their Successors, and dangerous idlenesse beget in the Subject a desire of innovation.

Yet this hath beene too great a morsell for Time to devour; having stood, as may be probably conjectured, about three thousand and two hundred yeares; and now rather old then ruinous: yet the North-side most wore, by reason of the humiditie of the Northerne wind, which here is the moistest. The top at length we ascended with many pauses and much difficultie, from whence with delighted eyes we beheld that soveraine of streames, and most excellent of Countries. Southward and neare hand the Mummes: a-farre off divers huge Pyramides; each of which, were this away, might supply the repute of a wonder. During a great part of the day it casteth no shadow on the Earth, but is at once illuminated on all

203
sides. Descending againe, on the East-side, below, from each corner equally distant, we approched the entrance, seeming heretofore to have beeene closed up, or so intended, both by the place it selfe, as appeareth by the following Picture, and conveyances within.

Into this our Janizaries discharged their Harquebuses, lest some should have skulkt within to have done us a mischiefe, and guarded the mouth whilst wee entred, for feare of the wilde Arabs. To take the better footing we put off our shooes, and most of our apparell: foretold of the heate within, not inferiour to a Stove. Our guide (a Moore) went foremost: every one of us with our lights in our hands. A most dreadfull passage, and no lesse cumbersome; not above a yard in breadth, and foure feet in height: each stone contayning that measure. So that always stooping, and sometimes creeping, by reason of the rubbidge, we descended (not by staires, but as downe the steemp of a hill) a hundred feet: where the place for a little circuit enlarged; and the fearefull descent continued, which, they say, none ever durst attempt any farther. Save that a Bassa of Cairo, curious to search into the secrets thereof, caused divers condemned persons to undertake the performance; well storing with lights and other provision: and that some of them ascended againe wel-nigh thirtie miles off in the Deserts. A Fable devised onely to beget wonder. But others have written, that at the bottome there is a spacious Pit eightie and sixe Cubits deepe, filled at the over-flow by concealed Conduits: in the midst a little Iland, and on that a Tombe contayning the bodie of Cheops, a King of Egypt, and the builder of this Pyramis: which with the truth hath a greater affinitie. For since I have beeene told by one out of his owne experience, that in the uttermost depth there is a large square place (though without water) into which he was led by another entry opening to the South, knowne but unto few (that now open being shut by some order) and came up at this place. A turning on the right hand leadeth into a little roome, which by reason of the noysome
savour, and uneasie passage wee refused to enter. Clambering over the mouth of the aforesaid Dungeon, we ascended as upon the bow of an Arch, the way no larger then the former, about a hundred and twentie feet. Here we passed through a long entry which led directly forward; so low, that it tooke even from us that uneasie benefit of stooping. Which brought us into a little roome with a compast roofe, more long then broad, of polished Marble, whose gravel-like smell, halfe full of rubbidge forced our quicke returne. Climing also over this entrance, we ascended as before, about an hundred and twentie feet higher. This entrie being of an exceeding height, yet no broader from side to side then a man may fathome, bench'd on each side, and closed above with admirable Architecture, the Marble so great, and so cunningly joyned, as had it beene hewen through the living Rocke. At the top we entred into a goodly Chamber, twentie foot wide, and fortie in length, the roofe of a marvellous height; and the stones so great, that eight floores it, eight roofes it, eight flagge the ends, and sixteene the sides, all of well wrought Theban Marble. Athwart the roome at the upper end there standeth a Tombe, uncovered, empty, and all of one stone; brest high, seven feet in length, not foure in breadth, and sounding like a Bell. In this, no doubt, lay the bodie of the Builder. They erecting such costly Monuments, not onely out of a vaie ostentation: but beeing of opinion, that after the dissolution of the flesh the soule should survive; and when thirtie sixe thousand yeares were expired, againe bee joyned unto the selfesame bodie, restored unto his former condition: gathered in their conceits from Astronomicall demonstrations. Against one end of the Tombe, and close to the wall, there openeth a Pit with a long and narrow mouth, which leadeth into an under Chamber. In the walles on each side of the upper roome, there are two holes, one opposite to another; their ends not discernable, nor bigge enough to be crept into: sootie within; and made, as they say, by a flame of fire which darteth through it. This is
all that this huge masse contayneth within his darkesome entrailes: at least to be discovered.

Herodotus reports that King Cheops became so poore by the building thereof, that hee was compelled to prostitute his Daughter, charging her to take whatsoever shee could get: who affecting her particular glorie, of her several Customers demanded several stones, with which she erected the second Pyramis; farre lesse then the former, smoothe without, and not to be entred. The third which standeth on the higher ground, is very small if compared with the other; yet saith both Herodotus and Strabo, greater in beautie, and of no lesse cost: beeing all built of Touch-stone; difficult to be wrought, and brought from the farthest Æthiopian mountaines: but surely not so; yet intended they to have covered it with Theban Marble; whereof a great quantitie lyeth by it. Made by Mycerinus the Sonne of Cheops; some say, by a Curtizan of Naucretis, called Dorica by Sappho the Poetresse, beloved of her Brother Caraxus, who fraught with Wines, oft sayled hither from Lesbos. Others name Rhodope, another of that Trade; at the first fellow slave with Æsop the writer of Fables: who obtayning her libertie dwelt in this Citie: where such in some sort were reputed noble. But that she should get by whoring such a masse of Treasure, is uncredible.

Some tell a Storie, how that one day washing her selfe, an Eagle snatcht away her shoe and bearing it to Memphis, let it fall from on high into the lap of the King. Who astonished with the accident, & admiring the forme, forth-with made a search for the owner throughout all his Kingdome. Found in Naucretis, and brought unto him, he made her his Queene, and after her death enclosed her in this Monument. She lived in the dayes of Amasis. Not farre off from these the Colossus doth stand, unto the mouth consisting of the naturall rocke, as if for such a purpose advanced by Nature, the rest of huge flat stones laid thereon, wrought altogether into the forme of an Æthiopian woman, and adored heretofore by the Countrey
people as a rurall Diety. Under this, they say, lieth buried the body of Amasis. Of shape, lesse monstrous then is Plinies report: who affirmeth, the head to be an hundred and two feet in compass, when the whole is but sixtie foot high, the face is something disfigured by Time, or indignation of the Moores, detesting Images. The fore-said Author (together with others) doe call it a Sphynx. The upper part of a Sphynx resembled a Maide, and the lower a Lion; whereby the Egyptians defigured the increase of the River, (and consequently of their riches) then rising when the Sunne is in Leo and Virgo. This but from the shoulders upward surmounteth the ground, though Pliny give it a belly, which I know not how to reconcile unto the truth, unlesse the sand doe cover the remainder. By a Sphynx the Egyptians in their Hieroglyphickes presented an Harlot, having an amiable and alluring face; but withall the tyrannie, and rapacitie of a Lion: exercised over the poore heart-broken, and voluntarily perishing Lover.

The Images of these they also erected before the entrances of their Temples; declaring that secrets of Philosophy, and sacred Mysterie, should be folded in Ænigmatical expressions, separated from the understanding of the prophane multitude.

Five miles South-east of these, and two West of the River, towards which inclineth this brow of the mountaine, stood the Regall Citie of Memphis: the strength and glory of old Egypt, built by Ogdoe, and called Memphis, by the name of his Daughter, compressed (as they faine) by Nilus, in the likenesse of a Bull. In this was the Temple of Apis (which is the same with Osiris) as Osiris with Nilus, Bacchus, Apollo, &c.

But why spend I time about that that is not? The very ruines now almost ruinated, yet some few impressions are left, and divers throwne downe, Statues of monstrous resemblances, a scarce sufficient testimonie to shew to the curious seeker, that there it had beene.

This hath made some erroneously affirme old Memphis

207
Purchas His Pilgrimes

to have beene the same with new Cairo: new in respect of the other. But those that have both seene and writ of the former, report it to have stood three Schoene above the South Angle of Delta, (each Schoene containing five miles at the least, and sometimes seven and a halfe, differing according to their severall customes) which South-angle is distant but barely foure miles from Cairo. Besides, these Pyramids appertaining unto Memphis, affirmed to have stood five miles North-west of that Citie, standing directly West, and full twelve from this. But the most pregnant prooфе hereof are the Mummes, (lying in a place where many generations have had their Sepultures) not farre above Memphis, neere the brow of the Libyan Desart, and streightning of the Mountaines, from Cairo wel-nigh twenty miles. Nor likely it is that they would so farre carry their dead, having as convenient a place adjoyning to the Citie.

These we had purposed to have seene, but the chargeable guard, and feare of the Arabs, there then solemnizing their festival, being besides to have laine out all night, made us content our selves with what we had heard; having before seene divers of the embalmed bodies, and some broken up, to be bought for Dollars a pece at the Citie. In that place are some indifferent great, and a number of little Pyramids, with Tombes of severall fashions: many ruined, as many violated by the Moores and Arabians, who make a profit of the dead, and infringe the priviledge of Sepulchres. These were the graves of the ancient Egyptians, from the first inhabiting of that Countrie; coveting to be there interred, as the place supposed to containe the body of Osiris. Under every one, or wheresoever lies stones not naturall to the place, by remooving the same, descents are discovered like the narrow mouths of Wells (having holes in each side of the walls to descend by, yet so troublesome, that many refuse to goe downe, that come thither of purpose) some wel-nigh ten fathoms deepe, leading into long vaults (belonging, as should seeme, to particular families) hewne out of the Rocke,
with Pillars of the same. Betweene every Arch the corses lie ranckt one by another, shrowded in a number of folds of linnen, swathled with bands of the same: the brests of divers being stained with Hieroglyphicall Characters. Within their bellies are painted papers, and their Gods inclosed in little Models of stone or mettall, some of the shape of men, in coat-armours, with the heads of Sheepe, Hawkes, Dogs, &c. others of Cats, Beetles, Monkies, and such like. Of these I brought away divers with mee, such in similitude.

A. This with the head of a Monkie or Baboon, should seeme by what is said before, to have beene worshipped by those of Thebais.

B. Anubis, whereof Virgil,

The Monster-Gods, Anubis barking buckle,
With Neptune, Venus, Pallas.

Omnigenumque deum monstra, & latrator Anubis.
Contra Neptunum & Venerem, contraque Minervam,
Tela tenent. Æn. l. 8.

Some say, he was the eldest sonne of Osiris, being figured with the head of a dogge, in that he gave a dogge for his Ensigne. Others, that under this shape they adored Mercurie, in regard of the sagacitie of that creature. The Dogge throughout Ægypt was universally worshipped, but especially by the Cynopolites.

C. These of Sait did principally worship the sheepe, it should seeme in this forme.

D. This I conjecture (how ever unlike) hath the head of a Hawke, being generally worshipped by the Ægyptians, under which forme they presented Osiris.

E. I know not what to make of it (for the originall is greatly defaced) unlesse it be a Lyon; under which shape they adored Isis.

F. Not so much as the Beetle, but received Divine
Honours: and why? see Plutar. in Isis and Osiris, neare the end.

G. The Cat all generally adored: they honouring such creatures, for that their vanquish and run-away Gods tooke on them such shapes to escape the furie of pursuing Typhon.

The Linnen pulled off (in colour, and like in substance to the inward filme betweene the Barke and the bole, long dried, and brittle) the body appeareth solid, uncorrupt, and perfect in all his dimensions: whereof the musculous parts are browne of colour, some blacke, hard as stone-pitch, and hath in Physicke an operation not unlike, though more Soveraigne. In the preparing of these, to keepe them from putrifaction, they drew out the braines at the nostrils with an instrument of iron, replenishing the same with preservative spices. Then cutting up the belly with an Αthiopian stone, and extracting the bowels, they clensed the inside with wine, and stuffing the same with a composition of Cassia, Myrrhe, and other odours, closed it againe. The like the poorer sort of people effected with Bitumen (as the inside of their skuls and bellies yet testifie) fetcht from the lake of Asphalites in Jury. So did they with the juyce of Cedars; which by the extreame bitterness, and siccative faculty, not onely forthwith subdued the cause of interior corruption, but hath to this day (a continuance of above three thousand yeeres) preserved them uncorrupted. Such is the differing nature of that tree, procuring life as it were to the dead, and death to the living. This done, they wrapt the body with linnen in multitudes of folds, besmeared with Gum, in manner of seare-cloth. Their ceremonies (which were many) performed, they layd the corps in a boate, to be wafted over Acherusia, a lake on the South of the Citie, by one onely whom they called Charon, which gave to Orpheus the invention of his infernall Ferri-man: About this lake stood the shady Temple of Hecate, with the Ports of Cocytus and Oblivion, separated by barres of
brasse, the originall of like fables. When landed on the other side, the body was brought before certaine Judges, to whom if convinced of an evil life, they deprived it of burial; if otherwise, they suffered it to be interred as aforesaid. So sumptuous were they in these houses of death, so careful to preserve their carkasses. Forsomuch as the soule, knowing it selfe by divine instinct immortall, doth desire that the body (her beloved companion) might injoy (as farre forth as may be) the like felicitie: giving, by erecting such loftie Pyramids, and those dues of funerall, all possible eternity. Neither was the losse of this lesse feared, then the obtaining coveted.

Returning by the way that we came, and having repast the Nilus, we inclined on the right hand to see the ruines of the old Citie adjoyning to the South of Cairo, called formerly Babylon, of certaine Babylonians then suffered to inhabite by the ancient Aegyptian Kings; who built a Castle in the selfe same place where this now standeth, described before, which was long after the Garrison Towne of one of the three Legions, set to defend this Countrey in the time of the Romanes, and anciently gave the name of Babylon unto this Citie below, now called Misrulhetich by the Arabians, said to have beene built by Omar the successor unto Mahomet; but surely, rather reedified by him then founded, having had in it such store of Christian Churches as testified by their ruines. We past by a mighty Cisterne closed within a Tower, and standing upon an in-lot of the River, built as they heare say, at the charge of the Jewes, to appease the anger of the King, incensed by them against the innocent Christians; who by the removing of a Montaine (the taske imposed upon their faith) converted him unto their Religion, and his displeasure upon their accusers. This serveth the Castle with water running along an aquaduct borne upon three hundred Arches. The ruines of the Citie are great, so were the buildings; amongst which, many of Christian Monasteries and Temples, one lately (the last that stood) throwne by this Bassa (as they say) for that it hindred his
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

prospect: If so, he surely would not have given leave unto the Patriarke, to rebuild it; for which he was spitefully spoken of by the Moores, as a suspected favourer of the Christian Religion, who subverted forthwith what he had begun. Whereupon the worthy Cerill made a Voyage unto Constantinople, to procure the Grand Signiors Commandement for the support of his purpose, when by the Greeks there, not altogether with his will, he was chosen their Patriarch, but within a short space displanted (as the manner is) by the bribery of another, he returned unto Cairo. Besides, here is a little Chappell dedicated to our Lady, underneath it a grott, in which it is said that she hid her self, when pursued by Herod. Much frequented it is by the Christians, as is the Tombe of Naissè (here being) by the Mahometans.

See Leo.

The few inhabitants that here be, are Greekes and Armenians: Here we saw certaine great Serraglions, exceeding high, and propt up by buttresses. These they call the Granaries of Joseph, wherein he hoarded corne in the yeer of plenty against the succeeding famine. In all there be seven, three standing, and imploied to the selfe same use, the other ruined. From thence up the River for twenty miles space, there is nothing but ruines: thus with the day we ended our Progresse.

Upon the fourth of March we departed from Cairo, in the habites of Pilgrims, foure of us English consorted with three Italians, of whom one was a Priest, and another a Physician. For our selves we hired three Camels with their keepers; two to carry us, and the third for our provision. The price we shall know at Gaza, upon the dividing of the great Carvan, answerable to the success of the journey. We also hired a Coptie for halfe a Dollor a day, to be our interpreter, and to attend on us. Our provision for so long a Voyage we bore along with us, viz. Biscot, Rice, Raisins, Figs, Dates, Almonds, Olives, Oyle, Sherbets, &c. buying Pewter, Brasse, and such like implements, as if to set up house-keeping. Our water we carried in Goat skins. Wee rid in shallow Cradles
(which we bought also) two on a Camell, harboured above, and covered with linen, to us exceeding uneasy; not so to the people of these Countrieys, who sit crosse-leg'd with a natural felicity. That night we pitched by Hangia, some foureteene miles from the Citie. In the evening came the Captaine, a Turke, well mounted, and attended on. Here we stayest the next day following, for the gathering together of the Carvan; paying four Madeins a Camell unto them of the Village. These (as those else-where) doe nightly guard us, making good whatsoever is stolne. Ever and anon one crying Washed, is answered, Elough, by another (joyntly signifying one onely God) which passing about the Carvan, doth assure them that all is in safety. Amongst us were divers Jewish women: in the extremity of their age undertaking so Wearisome a journey, onely to die at Jerusalem, bearing along with them the bones of their Parents, Husbands, Children, and Kinsfolke; as they doe from all other parts where they can conveniently. The Merchants brought with them many Negros; not the worst of their Merchandizes. These they buy of their Parents, some thirty dayes journey above, and on the West side of the River. As the wealth of others consists in multitudes of cattell, so theirs in the multitude of their children, whom they part from with as little passion; never after to be seen or heard of: regarding more the price then condition of their slavery. These are descended of Chus, the Sonne of cursed Cham; as are all of that complexion. Not so by reason of their Seed, nor heat of the Climate: Nor of the Soyle, as some have supposed; for neither haply, will other Races in that Soyle proove black, nor that Race in other Soyles grow to better complexion: but rather from the Curse of Noe upon Cham in the Posteritie of Chus.

About ten of clocke in the night the Carvan dislodged, and at seven the next morning pitched at Bilbesh, which is in the Land of Goshen. Paying two Madeines for a Camell, at midnight we departed from thence. Our Companions had their Cradles strucke downe through the
negligence of the Camellers, which accident cast us behind the Carvan. In danger to have beene surpriz'd by the Peasants, we were by a Spahie that followed, delivered from that mischiefe. About nine in the forenoone, we pitched by Catara, where we payed foure Madeines for a Camell.

Here about, but neerer the Nile, there is a certaine Tree, called Alchan, by the Arabs, the leaves thereof being dryed and reduced into powder, doe dye a reddish yellow. There is yearely spent of this through the Turkish Empire, to the value of fourescore thousand Sultannies. The women with it doe dye their haire and nayles, some of them their hands and feet; and not a few, the most of their bodies tempered onely with Gumme, and laid on in the Bannia, that it may penetrate the deeper. The Christians of Bosna, Valachia, and Russia, doe use it as well as the Mahometans. Trees also here be that doe bring forth Cottens. The next morning before day, we removed and came by nine of the clocke to Salhia, where we over-tooke the rest of the Carvan: all Christians of those Countries riding upon Mules, and Asses. Who had procured leave to set forward a day before; desirous to arrive by Palme Sunday at Jerusalem, (this Carvan staying ten dayes longer then accustomed, because of certaine principall Merchants) but they durst not by themselves venture over the mayne Deserts: which all this whole wee had trented along, and now were to passe through.

A little beneath is the Lake Sirbonis, called by the old Egyptians the place of Typhons expiration, now Bayrena, dividing Egypt from Syria. A place to such as knew it not, in those times full of unsuspected danger. Then two hundred furlongs long, being but narrow, and bordered on each side with hils of sand, which borne into the water by the winds so thickned the same, as not by the eye to bee distinguished from the part of the Continent: by meanes whereof whole Armies have beene devoured. For the sands neere hand seeming firme, a good way entred slid farther off, and left no way of returning,
but with a lingering crueltie swallowed the ingaged: whereupon it was called Baratham. Now but a little Lake and waxing lesse daily: the passage long since choaked up which it had into the Sea. Close to this standeth the Mountaine Cassius (no other then a huge mole of sand) famous for the Temple of Jupiter, and Sepulchre of Pompey, there obscurely buried by the pietie of a private Souldier; upon whom hee is made by Lucan, to bestow this Epitaph:

Here the Great Pompey lyes, so Fortune pleas’d
To instile this stone; whom Caesars selfe would have
Interr’d, before he should have mist a Grave.

Hic situs est magnus placet hoc Fortuna sepulchrum
Dicer Pompei: quo condi maluit illum
Quam terra caruisse Socer——

Who lost his head not farre from thence by the treacherie and commandement of the ungratefull Ptolomie. His Tombe was sumptuously re-edified by the Emperour Adrian. North hereof lyes Idumea, betweene Arabia, and the Sea extending to Judea.

The Subassee of Sahia invited himselfe to our Tent, who feeding on such provision as we had, would in conclusion have fed upon us; had not our commande-ment (which stood us in foure Shariffes) from the Bassa of Cairo, and the favour of the Captaine, by meanes of our Physician, protected us: otherwise, right or wrong had bin but a silly plea to barbarous covetousnesse armed with power. We seven were all the Frankes that were in the company, we heard how hee had served others, and rejoiced not a little in being thus fortified against him. The whole Carvan being now assembled, consists of a thousand Horses, Mules and Asses; and of five hundred Camels. These are the ships of Arabia, their Seas are the Deserts. A Creature created for burthen. Sixe hundred weight is his ordinary load; yet will he carrie a thousand. When in lading or unlading he lyes on his belly, and will rise (as it is said) when laden proportionably

215
to his strength, nor suffer more to be laid on him. Four dayes together hee will well travell without water, for a necessitie fourtenee: in his often belchings thrusting up a Bladder, wherewith hee moysteneth his mouth and throat, when in a Journey they cramme them with Barley dough. They are, as some say, the onely that ingender backward. Their paces slow, and intollerable hard, beeinge withall unsure of foot, where never so little slippery or uneven. They are not made to amend their paces when wearie, with blowes; but are encouraged by Songs, and the going before of their Keepers. A beast gentle and tractable, but in the time of his Venery: then, as if remembring his former hard usage, he will bite his Keeper, throw him downe and kicke him: fortie dayes continuing in that furie, and then returning to his former meeknesse. About their neckes they hang certaine Charmes included in Leather, and writ by their Dervises, to defend them from mischances, and the poyson of ill eyes. Here we paid five Madeines for a Camell.

Having with two dayes rest refreshed them, now to begin the worst of their Journey, on the tenth of March we entred the mayne Deserts, a part of Arabiapetrea: so called of Petrea, the principall Citie, now Rathalalah. On the North and West it borders on Syria and Egypt. Southward on Arabia Fœlix and the Red Sea; and on the East it hath Arabia the Desert: a barren and desolate Countrey, bearing neither Grasse nor Trees, save onely here and there a few Palmes which will not forsake those forsaken places. That little that growes on the Earth, is wild Hysope, whereupon they doe pasture their Camels, a Creature content with little, whose Milke and flesh is their principall sustenance. They have no water that is sweet, all being a meere Wildernesse of sand. The winds having rayzed high Mountaynes, which lye in Drifts, according to the quarters from whence they blow.

About mid-night (the Souldiers beeing in the head of the Carvan) these Arabs assayed our Rere. The clamour was great, and the Passengers, together with their Leaders,
fled from their Camels. I and my companion imagining the noise to bee onely an encouragement unto one another, were left alone; yet preserved from violence. They carryed away with them divers Mules and Asses laden with Drugges, and abandoned by their Owners, not daring to stay too long, nor cumber themselves with too much luggage, for feare of the Souldiers. These are descended of Ismael, called also Sarracens of Sarra, which signifieth a Desert, and saken, to inhabit. And not onely of the place, but of the manner of their lives, for Sarrack imports as much as a Thiefs, as now, being given from the beginning unto Theft and Rapine. They dwell in Tents, which they remove like walking Cities, for opportunitie of prey, and benefit of pasturage. They acknowledge no Soveraigne, not worth the conquering, nor can they bee conquered, retyring to places impassable for Armies, by reason of the rolling sands and penurie of all things. A Nation from the beginning unmixed with others, boasting of their Nobilitie, & at this day hating all Mechanicall Sciences. They hang about the skirts of the habitable Countries; and having robbed, retyre with a marvellous celeritie. Those that are not detected persons, frequent the neighbouring Villages for provision, and traffike without molestation, they not daring to intreat them evilly. They are of meane statures, raw-boned, tawnie, having feminine voyces, of a swift and noysesse pace, behind you ere aware of them. Their Religion Mahometanisme, glorying in that that the Impostor was their Countriman: their Language extending as farre as that Religion extendeth. They ride on swift Horses (not misse-shapen, though leane) and patient of labour. They feed them twice a day with the milke of Camels, nor are they esteemed of, if not of sufficient speed to over-take an Ostridge. Of those there are store in the Deserts. They keepe in flockes, and oft affrighted the stranger Passenger with their fearefull shrieches, appearing a-farre off like a troupe of Horsemen. Their bodies are too heavie to bee supported with their wings, which uselesse for flight, doe serve them onely to
Purchas His Pilgrimes

runne the more speedily. They are the simplest of Fowles, and Symbols of folly. What they find, they swallow, without delight, even stones and Iron. When they have laid their Egges, not lesse great then the bullet of a Culverin (whereof there are great numbers to be sold in Cairo) they leave them, and unmindfull where, sit on those they next meet with. The Arabs catch the young ones, running apace as soone as disclosed; and when fatted, doe eate them, so doe they some part of the old, and sell their skinnes with the feathers upon them. They ride also on Dromedaries, like in shape, but lesse then a Camell, of a jumping gate, and incredible speed. They will carry a man (yet unfit for burthen) a hundred miles a day; living without water, and with little food satisfied. If one of these Arabians undertake your conduct, he will performe it faithfully, neyther will any of the Nation molest you. They will leade you by unknowne nearer wayes, and farther in foure dayes, then you can travell by Carvan in fourteene. Their Weapons are Bowes, Darts, Slings, and long Javelings headed like Partisans. As the Turkes sit crosse-legged, so doe they on their heelles, differing little in habit from the Rustick Egyptians.

About breake of day we pitched by two Wels of brackish water, called the Wels of Duedar. Hither followed the Subasse of Salheia, with the Jewes which we left behind, who would not travell the day before, in that it was their Sabbath. Their Superstition had put them to much trouble and charge; as of late at Tunis it did to some paine. For a sort of them being to imbarke for Salonica, the wind comming faire on the Saturday, and the Master then hoesing sayles, loth to infringe their Law, and as loth to lose the benefit of that passage, to coozien their consciences, they hyred certayne Janizaries to force them aboord, who tooke their money, made a jest of beating them in earnest. At three of the clocke wee departed from thence, and an houre before mid-night pitched by the Castle of Catie, about which there is nothing vegetive, but a few solitary Palmes. The water
bad, insomuch that that which the Captaine drinkes is brought from Tina, a Sea-bordering Towne, and twelve miles distant. Threescore Souldiers lye here in Garrison. We paid a piece of Gold for every Camell, and halfe a Dollar a piece for Horses, Mules and Asses, to the Captaine, besides, five Madeines a Camell to the Arabs. It seemeth strange to me, how these Merchants can get by their Wares so far fetcht, and travelling through such a number of expences.

The thirteenth spent in paying of Caphar, on the fourteenth of March by five of the clocke we departed, and rested about noone by the Wells of Slaves. Hither followed the Governour of Catie, accompanied with twenty horse, and pitched his tent besides us. The reason why hee came with so slight a Conduct, through a passage so dangerous (for there, not long before, a Carvan of three hundred Camels had beene borne away by the Arabs) was for that he was in fee with the chiefe of them, who upon the payment of a certaine taxe, secured both goods and passengers. Of these there were divers in the company. Before midnight we dislodged, and by sixe the next morning, we pitched by another Well of brackish water, called the Wel of the mother of Assan. In the afternoone we departed. As we went, one would have thought the Sea to have beene hard by, and to have remooved upon his approaches, by reason of the glisterning Nitre. And no doubt, but much of these Desarts have in times past beene Sea, manifested by the saltnesse of the soile, and shels that lie on the sand in infinite numbers. The next morning by five of the clocke, we came to Arissa, a small Castle, environed with a few houses: the Garrison consisting of a hundred Souldiers. This place is something better then Desart, two miles removed from the Sea, and blest with good water. Here we paid two Madeins for a Camell, and halfe as much for our Asses; two of them for the most part rated unto one of the other. On the seventeenth of March, we dislodged betimes in the morning, resting about noone by the Wels of Feare; the earth here looking
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

greene, yet waste, and unhusbanded. In the evening we departed. Having passed in the night by the Castle Haniones, by the breake of day they followed us to gather their Caphar; being three Madeins upon every Camell. The Countrey from that place pleasant, and indifferent fruitfull. By seven of the clocke, we pitched close under the Citie of Gaza.

And here we will leave him till our Asian opportunity doth reinvite us: returning now to the more Southerly and Westerly parts of Africa, passing from Nilus to Niger. Onely in the way, we will with our Author touch at Malta an African Iland, and with his eyes observe the rarities there.

§. III.

Arrivall at Malta, and observations there.

Ow out of sight of Candie, the Winds both slacke and contrary, we were forced to beare Northward of our course, untill we came within view of Zant, where our Master purposed to put in (since we could not shorten our way) but anon we discovered five sailes making towards us; and imagining them to be men of warre, made all things readie for defence. But to our better comfort, they proved all English, and bound for England: with whom we consorted to furnish the ship with fresh water, and other provisions: they having supplied our necessities.

So on the second of June being Sunday, we entred the Haven that lies on the East side of the Citie of Valetta, which we saluted with eighteene peeces of Ordnance, but we were not suffered to come into the Citie (though every ship had a neat Patent to shew, that those places from whence they came were free from the infection) nor suffered to depart, when the wind blew faire; which was within a day or two after. For the Gallies of the Religion were then setting forth, to make some attempt upon Barbarie. The reason thereof, lest being taken by the Pyrats, or
touching upon occasion at Tripoli, Tunis, or Argire, their designes might be by compulsion, or voluntarily revealed: nor would they suffer any Frigat of their owne, for feare of surprisall, to goe out of the Haven, untill many dayes after that the Gallies were departed. But because the English were so strong (a great ship of Holland putting also in to seeke company) and that they intented to make no more Ports: On the sixt of June, they were licenced to set saile, the Masters having the night before, in their several long-boats, attended their returne of the great Master (who had beene abroad in his Gallie to view a Fort that then was in building) and welcomed him home with one and twenty peeces of Ordnance.

But no intrety could get me abroad, choosing rather to undergoe all hazards and hardnesse whatsoever, then so long a Voyage by sea, to my nature so irkesome. And so was I left alone on a naked promontory right against the Citie, remote from the concourse of people, without provision, and not knowing how to dispose of my selfe. At length a little boat made towards me, rowed by an officer appointed to attend on strangers that had not pratcick, lest others by comming into their company, should receive the infection; who carried me to the hollow hanging of a rocke, where I was for that night to take up my lodging; and the day following to be conveyed by him unto the Lazaretta, there to remaine for thirty or forty dayes before I could be admitted into the Citie. But behold, an accident, which I rather thought at the first to have been a vision, then (as I found it) reall. My guardian being departed to fetch me some victuals, laid along, and musing on my present condition, a Phalucco arriveth at the place. Out of which there stept two olde women; the one made mee doubt whether shee were so or no, shee drew her face into so many formes, and with such anticke gestures stared upon me. These two did spread a Turkie Carpet on the rocke, and on that a table-cloth, which they furnished with varietie of the choycest viands. Anon, another arrived, which set a Gallant
ashoare with his two Amarosaes, attired like Nymphs, with Lutes in their hands, full of disport and sorcery. For little would they suffer him to eate, but what he received with his mouth from their fingers. Sometimes the one would play on the Lute, whilst the other sang, and laid his head in her lap; their false eyes looking upon him, as their hearts were troubled with passions. The attending Hags had no small part in the Comedie, administering matter of myrth with their ridiculous moppings. Who indeed (as I after heard) were their mothers borne in Greece, and by them brought hither to trade amongst the unmarried fraternitie. At length, the French Captaine (for such he was, and of much regard) came and intreated me to take a part of their banquet; which my stomacke perswaded me to accept of. He willed them to make much of the Forestier: but they were not to be taught entertainment, and grew so familiar, as was to neither of our likings. But both he and they, in pittie of my hard lodging, did offer to bring me into the Citie by night (an offence, that if knowne, is punished by death) and backe againe in the morning. Whilst they were urging me thereunto, my guardian returned; with him a Maltese, whose father was an English man, he made acquainted therewith, did by all meanes dehort them. At length (the Captaine having promised to labour by admittance into the Citie) they departed. When a good way from shoare, the Curtizans strippt themselves, and leapt into the Sea, where they violated all the prescriptions of modestie. But the Captain the next morning was not unmindfull of his promise, soliciting the Great Master in my behalfe, as he sate in Counsell; who with the assent of the great Crosses, granted me Pratticke. So I came into the Citie, and was kindly entertained in the house of the foresaid Maltese, where for three weekes space, with much contentment I remained.

Malta doth lie in the Lybian Sea, right betweene Tripolis of Barbarie and the South-east angle of Sicilia: distant an hundred fourescore and ten miles from the one,
and threescore from the other; containing also threescore miles in circuit, called formerly Melita, of the abundance of honey. A Countrie altogether Champion, being no other than a rock covered over with earth, but two feet deepe where the deepest; having few trees, but such as beare fruit; whereof of all sorts plentifully furnished, so that their wood they have from Sicilia, yet there is a kind of great Thistle, which together with Cow-dung serves the Countrie people for fuell, who need not much in a Clime so exceeding hot; hotter by much then any other which is seated in the same parallel, yet sometimes tempered by the comfortable winds, to which it lies open. Rivers here are none, but sundry fountains. The soile produceth no graine but Barley, bread made of it, and Olives, is the Villagers ordinary diet: and with the straw they sustaine their Cattell, Commin-seed, Annis-seed, and honey, they have here in abundance, whereof they make Merchandize, and an indifferent quantity of Cotten-wooll; but that the best of all other. The inhabitants die more with age then diseases, and heretofore were reputed fortunate for their excellencie in Arts and curious Weavings. They were at first a Colonie of the Phœncicians, who exercising Merchandize as farre as the great Ocean, betooke themselves to this Iland; and by the commoditie of the Haven, attained to much riches and honour (who yet retaine some print of the Punicke Language, yet so that they now differ not much from the Moresco) and built in the middest thereof the Citie of Melita (now called old Malta) giving or taking a name from the Iland. Now whether it came into the hands of Spaine with the Kingdome of Sicilia, or won from the Moores by their swords, (probable both by their Language, and that it belongeth to Africa) I am ignorant: but by Charles the fifth it was given to the Knights of the Rhodes.

This order of Knight-hood received their denomination from John the charitable Patriarch of Alexandria, though vowed to Saint John Baptist as their Patron. Their first seat was the Hospitall of Saint John in Jerusalem (where-
Purchas His Pilgrimes

upon they were called Knight-hospitallers) built by one Gerrard, at such time as the Holy land became famous by the successfull expeditions of the Christians; who drew divers worthy persons into that societie, approved by Pope Galasius the second. They by the allowance of Honorius the second, wore garments of blakke, signed with a white crosse. Raymond, the first Master of the Order, did amplifie their Canons; instiling himselfe, The poore servant of Christ, and Guardian of the Hospital in Jerusalem. In every Countrey throughout Christendome they had Hospitals, and Revenues assigned them, with contributions procured by Pope Innocent the second. They were tied by their vows to entertaine all Pilgrims with singular humanitie; to safeguard their passages from theeves and incursions, and valiantly to sacrifice their lives in defence of that Countrey. But the Christians being driven out of Syria, the Knights had the Rhodes assigned them by the Grecce Emperour, (others say, by Clement the fifth) which they won from the Turke, and lost againe as aforesaid; retiring from thence unto Malta. There are of them here seven Alberges or Seminaries, one of France in generall, one of Averne, one of Province, one of Castile, one of Aragon, one of Italie, one of Almany: and an eight there was of England, untill by Henry the Eighth dissolved, with what Justice, I know not. Yet is there one that supplyeth the place in the Election of the Great Master. Of every one there is a Grand Prior, who lives in great reputation in his Countrey, and orders the affaires of their Order.

Saint Johns without Smith-field, being in times past the Mansion of the Grand Prior of England, an Irish-man living in Naples, and receiving a large Pension from the King of Spaine, now beareth that Title. Those that come for the Order are to bring a testimonie of their Gentry for sixe Descents, which is to be examined, and approved by the Knights of their Nation, he being first to remaine here a yeare for a probation. Nor are women exempted from that dignitie, admitted by a Statute made in the
Mastership of Hugo Revelus, perhaps, for that one Agnis, a noble Ladie was the Author, as they affirm, of their Order; but that there be any now of it, is more then I could be informed. The Ceremonies used in Knighting, are these. First, carrying in his hand a Taper of white Waxe, hee kneeleth before the Altar, clothed in a long loose Garment, and desireth the Order of the Ordinarie. Then, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, he receiveth a Sword, therewith to defend the Catholike Church, to repulse and vanquish the Enemie, to relieve the oppressed, if need should be, to expose himselfe unto death for the Faith, and all by the power of the Crosse, which by the Crosse-hilt is desfigured. Then is he girt with a Belt, and thrice strooke on the shoulders with his Sword, to put him in mind that for the honour of Christ he is chearefully to suffer whatsoever is grievous, who taking it of him, thrice flourisheth it aloft as a provokement to the Adversary, and so sheathes it againe, having wiped it first on his arme, to testifie that thence-forth hee will live undefiledly. Then hee that gives him Knight-hood laying his hand on his shoulder, doth exhort him to be vigilant in the Faith, and to aspire unto true honour by couragious and laudable actions, &c. Which done, two Knights doe put on his Spurres, guilt; to signifie that he should spurne Gold as durt, not to doe what were ignoble for reward. And so goes hee to Masse with the Taper in his hand, the workes of Piete, Hospitalitie, and redemption of Captives, being commended unto him, told also of what he was to performe in regard of his Order. Being asked if he bee a free man, if not joyned in Matrimonie, if unwowed to another Order, or not of any profession, and if he were resolved to live amongst them, to revenge their injuries, and quit the authoritie of Secular Magistracie. Having answered thereunto, upon the receit of the Sacrament, he vowes in this Order, I vow to the Almightye God, to the Virgin Mary his immaculate Mother, and to Saint John Baptist, perpetually, by the helpe of God to bee truly obedient to

---

It seems there might be a typographical error in the text regarding page numbers. The text is not clear due to the image resolution.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

all my Superiours, appointed by God and this Order, to live without any thing of my owne, and withall to live chastly.* Whereupon he is made a partaker of their Priviledges and Indulgences, granted unto them by the Sea of Rome. Besides, other Prayers, they are commanded to say a hundred and fiftie Pater noster daily, for such as have beene slaine in their Warres. They weare Ribands about their neckes with Brouches of the Crosse, and Clokes of blacke with large white Crosses set thereinto on the shoulder, of fine Linnen, but in time of Warre, they weare Crimson Mandilions, behind and before so crossed, over their Armour.

They come hither exceeding young, that they may the sooner attayne to a commendam at home, (whereof many be of great value) not got by favour but signioritie, and are to live here for the space of five yeares (but not necessarily together) and to goe on foure Expeditions. If one of them be convicted of a capittal crime, hee is first publiquely disgraced in the Church of Saint John where he received his Knight-hood, then strangled, and thowne after into the Sea in the night time. Every Nation doe feed by themselves in their severall Alberges, and sit at the Table like Fryers, but such as upon suite doe get leave to eat apart, have sixtie Crownes allowed them by the Religion yearely, as all have five and twentie a piece for apparell.

There are here resident about five hundred, not to depart without leave, and as many more dispersed through Christendome, who hither repaire upon every summons, or notice of invasion. The Religion is their generall Heire wheresoever they dye, onely each Knight may dispose of a fifth part of his substance. There be sixteene of them Counsellors of State, and of principall authoritie, called Great Crosses, who weare Tippets, and Coates also under their Cloakes, that be signed therewith. Of these are the Martiall, the Master of the Hospital, the Admirall, the Chancelor, &c. When one doth dye another is elected by the Great Master and his Knights, who give their
voyses (if I forget not) by Bullets, as doe the Venetians, whereby both envie and faction is avoysed. Now, if the Great Master fall sicke, they will suffer no Vessell to goe out of the Haven, untill hee bee either recovered, or dead, and another elected, lest the Pope should intrude into the Election, which they challenge to be theirs, and is in this manner performed.

The several Nations elect two Knights a piece of their owne, and two are elected for the English, from amongst themselves these sixtene choose eight, and those eight doe nominate a Knight, a Priest, and a Fryer-servant (who also weares Armes) and they three choose the Great Master, out of the sixteen Great Crosses. This man is a Pickard borne, about the age of sixtie, and hath governed eight yeare. His Name and Title, The Illustrious and most Reverent Prince my Lord Fryer Aloius of Wignian-court, Great Master of the Hospitall of Saint Johns of Jerusalem, Prince of Malta, and Goza. For albeit a Fryer, (as the rest of the Knights) yet is he an absolute Soveraigne, and is bravely attended on by a number of gallant yong Gentlemen. The Clergie doe weare the Cognizance of the Order, who are subject to like Lawes except in military matters.

There are sixtie Villages in the Iland, under the command of ten Captaines, and four Cities. Old Malta is seated (as hath beene said before) in the midst of the Iland, upon a hill, and formed like a Scutchion: held of no great importance, yet kept by a Garrison. In it there is a Grot, where they say Saint Paul lay when he suffered shipwracke; of great devotion amongst them. The refined stone thereof they cast into little Medals, with the Effigies of Saint Paul on the one side, and a Viper on the other, Agnus Dei, and the like: of which they vent store to the Forreiner. They say, that being drunke in wine it doth cure the venome of Serpents, and withall, though there be many Serpents in the Iland, that they have not the power of hurting although handled, and angred; bereft of their venome ever since the being here
of the Apostle. The other three Cities (if they may all be so termed) are about eight miles distant, and not much without a Musket shot each of other, neere the East-end, and on the North-side of the Island, where there is a double Haven divided by a tongue of rocke, which extendeth no further then the conveniently large entrance. The East Haven resembleth the horne of a Stag, the first branch (as the Palme) affording an excellent harbour for the greatest shippes, and the second for Gallies; the rest are shallow. Close to the uppermost toppe there is a Fountayne of fresh water, which plentifully furnisheth all Vessels that doe enter. On the tip of the foresaid tongue stood the strong Castle of Saint Hermes, the first that the Turke besieged, which after many furious assaults, twentieth thousand Canon shot (whose horrible roarings were heard to Messina) and the losse of ten thousand lives, they tooke in the yeare 1565. in the moneth of June, but to the greater glory of the vanquished, that losse rather inraging then dis-heartning the remaynder.

Now upon the point of the Promontory which lyes betweene these two branches of that Haven, where the Ships and Gallies have their stations, on a steepe rocke stands the Castle of Saint Angelo, whose strength appeared in frustrating those violent batteries (being next besieged by the Turke) whereof it yet beareth the skarres. At the foot of the Rocke are certaine Canons planted, that front the mouth of the Haven. This Castle is onely divided by a Trench cut through the Rocke, from the Burgo, a little Citie which possesseth the rest of that Promontory, being all a Rock, hewn hollow within, for their better defence; disjoyneyd by a great deep Ditch from the Land. South of this, and on the next Promontory, stands another Towne, which is called, La Isula, on the point thereof a platforme, and at the other end the strong Fort of Saint Michael, yet inferiour in strength to that of Saint Angelo. Here remember we the pietie of a Mahometan, descended, no doubt of Christian Parentage, and favouring our Religion, who in the time
of the strictest siege, and smallest comfort to the besieged, leapt into the Sea, and maugre all the shot that was made at him, swamme to this Castle: where first requiring and receiving Baptisme, hee made knowne unto them the secrets of the Enemie, advised how to frustrate their purposes, and bravely thrust himselfe forward in every extremitie. But the Knights of the Order assisting one another by their proper valour, so nobly behaved themselves, that the Turke began to despair of success, and upon the rumoured approach of the Christian succours (which in the best construction by the over-circumspect Vice-Roy of Sicilia had beene dangerously protracted) imbarqued themselves, and departed. But all, saving Burgo and Saint Angelo, reduced into powder, and the returne of the Turke distrusted, it was propounded amongst the Knights, to abandon the Iland, rather then vainly to repaire, and endeavour to defend those lamentable ruines, the Adversaries unequall power, and backward ayde of the Christian Princes considered. But it too much concerned the state of Christendome, (especially of the Countries confining) it being as it were both the Key and Bulwarke thereof, insomuch that the Pope, the Florentine, and the rest of the Princes of Italy, encouraged them to stay, assisting them with money, and all necessary provision; but especially the King of Spaine, who over and above did send them three thousand Pioners, levyed in the Kingdome of Naples and Sicilia, to repaire their old Fortresses, and begin a new Citie upon that tongue of Land which divideth the two Havens, now almost absolutely finished.

This is called the Citie of Valetta, in the honour of John de Valetta, who then was Great Master. Not great, but faire, exactly contrived, and strong above all others, mounted aloft, and no where assailable by Land, but at the South end. The walls of the rest doe joyne to the upright Rocke, as if of one piece, and beaten upon by the Sea. That towards the Land, is but a narrow Isthmos, where the Rocke doth naturally rise, the Ditch without,
hewen downe exceeding broad, and of an incredible profunditie, strongly flankt, and not wanting what fortification can doe. This way openeth the onely gate of the Citie, (the other two, whereof one leadeth to Saint Hermes, and the other to the Haven, being but small Posternes) and hard within are two great Bulwarks, planted on the top with Ordnance. At the other end (but without the wall) stands the Castle of Saint Hermes, now stronger then ever, whereof (as of that Saint Angelo) no French man can be Governour. Almost every where there are platformes on the walls, well stored with Ordnance. The walls on the inside not above sixe foot high, unimbattald, and shelving on the outside, the buildings throughout a good distance off both to leave roome for the Souldiers, and to secure them from batterie. Neere the South end, and on the West side, there is a great pit hewne into the rocke, out of which a Port cut under the wall into the West Haven, intended (for yet unfinishd) to have beene made an Arsenall for their Gallies, (that harbour being too shallow for ships) a worke of great difficulty. The market place is spacious, out of which the streets doe point on the round. The buildings for the most part uniforme, all of free stone, two stories high, and flat at the top; the upper rooms of most having out tarrasses. The Great Masters Palace is a Princely structure, having a Tower which overlooketh the whole Iland. The chamber where they sit in Counsell, is curiously painted with their fights by Sea and by Land, both foraine and defensive. The seven Alberges of the Knights, be of no meane building; amongst whom the Citie is quartered. Magnificent is the Church of S. Paul, and that of Saint Johns: the one the seat of a Bishop, and the other of a Prior. And Saint Johns Hospitall doth merite regard, not onely for the building, but for the entertainment there given. For all that fall sicke are admitted thereunto, the Knights themselves there lodge when hurt or diseased, where they have Physicke for the bodie, and for the soule also (such as they give.) The attendants many, the beds over-spread with faire Canopies;
every fortnight having change of Linnen. Served by the
Junior Knights in silver, and every Friday by the Great
Master, accompanied with the great Crosses. A service
obliged unto from their first institution; and thereupon
called Knight-hospitallers. The Jesuits have of late crept
into the Citie, who now have a Colledge a building.
Heere bee also three Nunneries; the one for Virgins,
another for penitent Whores, (of impenitent here are store)
and the third for their bastards.

The barrennesse of this Ile is supplied with the fertilitie
of Sicilia, from whence they have their provision. The
Citie is victualled for three yeeres, kept under the ground,
and supplied with new as they spend of the old. They
have some fresh water Fountaines, and the raine that
falleth, they reserve in Cisternes. Besides the Knights and
their dependants, the Citizens and Ilanders be within the
muster of their forces; in which there are not of living
soules above twentie thousand. They keepe a Court of
guard nightly, and almost every minute of the night, the
watch of one Fort gives two or three tolls with a bell,
which is answered by the other in order. The Religion
hath onely five Gallies, and stinted they are, as I have
heard, to that number, (if more, they belong unto private
men) and but one ship. The custome is, or hath beene,
having hung out a flagge, to lend money to all commers
that would dice it, if they win, to repay it with advantage;
if lose, to serve untill their entertainment amounted to
that summe. Now the expeditions that they make, are
little better then for bootie; sometimes landing in the
night time on the maine of Africa, and surprising some
village, or scouring along the coasts, take certaine small
Barks, which disburdened of their lading and people, they
suffer to hull with the weather. For they made good
profit of their slaves, either imploying them in their
drudgeries, (they having at this instant above fifteene
hundred of them) or by putting them to ransome. For
ever and anon you shall have a little boat with a flag of
treaty, come hither from Tripoli, Tunis, or Algeirs, to
agree for the redemption of captives, as doe the Malteses
to those places who are served with the same measure.
During my abode here, there arrived a Barke, brought in
by eight English men, who had for a long time served
the Turkish Pirats of Tunis, they bound for Algeirs, tooke
weapons in hand, and drove the distrustlesse Turkes (being
twice as many) into the sterne, kept there by two, whilst
the other dressed the sailes for Malta. Amongst them
there was one, who saying he would never be slave to a
Christian, stript himselfe secretly, propping up his gowne,
and laying his Turban upon it, as if still there, and dropt
it into the Sea. But the deceiver was deceived by the
high land which seemed neerer then it was, and so wearied
with swimming, sunke in their sights. The Inquisition
would have seized both on their persons and purchase,
because they had served the Infidell: but they were
protected by the Great Master (being desirous to serve
him) who will not suffer their cruell authoritie to enter
into the new City, so that they are faine to reside in
Burgo.

The Malteses are little lesse Tawnie then the Moores,
especially those of the Countrey, who goe halfe clad, are
indeed a miserable people; but the Citizens are altogether
Frenchified; the Great Master, and major part of the
Knights being French men. The women weare long
blakke stoles, wherewith they cover their faces (for it is a
great reproch to be scene otherwise) who converse not
with men, and are guarded according to the manner of
Italy. But the jealous are better secured, by the number
of allowed Curtizans (for the most part Grecians) who sit
playing in their doores on instruments; and with the arte
of their eyes inveagled these continent by vow, but contrary
in practise, as if chastitie were onely violated by marriage.
They here stirre early and late, in regard of the immoderate
heat, and sleepe at noone day. Their markets they keepe
on Sundayes.

Now were the Gallies returned with indifferent successe,
and yet my stay was proroged by the approaching festivall
of their Patron; for untill that was past, no boat would stirre out of the Harbour. The Palace, Temples, Alberges, and other principall houses, were stucke round on the outside with lampes, the evening before: and amongst other solemnities, they honoured the day with the discharge of all their Artillery. The Forts put forth their Banners, and every Alberge the Ensigne of his Nation, at night having Bone-fires before them; five great ones being made in the Court of the Palace; whereof, the first was kindled by the Great Master, the second by the Bishop, the third by the Prior, the fourth and fifth by the Marshall and Admirall. On the foure and twentieth of June, I departed from Malta in a Phalucco of Naples, rowed by five, and not twice so big as a Wherry, yet will for a space keepe way with a Gally. They use to set forth in such boats as these, two houres before Sun-set, and if they discover a suspected saile betwenee that and night (for the Turkes continually lie there in waite) doe returne againe: if not, they proceed; and by the next morning (as now did we) reach the Coast of Sicilia.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOKE.
Navigations, Voyages,
and Discoveries of the Sea-coasts and In-land
Regions of Africa, which is generally
called Æthiopia: by English-
men and others.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A true Relation of Master Richard Jobsons Voy-
age, employed by Sir William Saint John,
Knight, and others; for the Discoverie of
Gambia, in the Sion, a ship of two hundred
tuns, Admirall; and the Saint John sixtie, Vice-
Admirall. In which they passed nine hundred
and sixtie miles up the River into the Con-
tinent. Extracted out of his large Journall.

E set sayle from Gravesend, on Saturday
the fift of October, 1620. On the five
and twentieth, we departed from Dart-
mouth, we sailed from Dartmouth to the
Canaries.

The fourteenth of February, we came
to an anchor in Trvisco Road, where we
found three Frenchmen, and one Flemming. Fran-
cisco a Portugall here dwelling was busie to enquire if we went to Gambra, having a letter as he said from M. Cramp, who had lately departed thence for Sierra Liona, set forth by the Company. This Portugall fearing just revenge for the ship taken and men betrayed and murthered by them in Gambra, had procured a Letter in behalfe of some of his friends. In the River of Borsall we entred, where we tooke a small Boat belonging in part to Hector Numez, the principall in that Treachery and Murther aforesaid and detainyned some of his goods therein for satisfaction, taking thereof a publike Inventorie, that if any other could lay just clayme they might be restored. This was done by punishing Numez, and to terrifie others from like treacherous attempts, not without effect. The Portugals were glad they so escaped, knowing and cursing Numez his villanie. The Portugalls which trade here, and inhabit the River are banished men, Renegadoes, and baser people, and behave themselves accordingly.

We built a Shallop, and lanch’d it the two and twentieth. The next day we set sayle up the River, and the tyde spent, anchored against a little Iland on the South-side some four leagues up. From October till May, the winds are generally Easterly, and downe the River which much hindred our course up the same. We past up by tydes, intending to stay at a Towne called Taukorovalle, but over-shot it in the night, and the next morning were against another Towne four leagues higher, called Tindobaunge. Our ship with her Ordnance might here come both sides the River.

Here dwelt Emanuel Corseen a Portugall, which told us that Master Tomson was killed by one of his Company, and that the rest were in health. It was intended the Sion should stay here, and therefore the Kings Customers were paid, who dwelt some sixe miles from the River, but had his drunken Officers to receive them.

Leaving her with five and twenty men and boyes, on Wednesday, the nine and twentieth, the Saint John and two shallops, we set sayle up the River twelve men in the
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

bigger, with Henry Lowe, and thirteene in the lesser with
my selfe, which with the Boat towed her up in calmes.

On the first of December, we came to Pudding Iland,
sixteene leagues from the ship. The second, we anchored
against a little Creeke which leads into a Towne Mauggegar.
We went to this Towne, meeting by the way a Portugall,
called Bastian Roderigo, who gave mee an Ounces skinne.
On Munday the fourth, the King with his Alcade came
aboard, and drunke himselfe with his Consorts so drunke,
that the Customes were deferred till next day. Henry
Lowe agreed for a house, and left there Humfrey Davis,
John Blithe, and one Nicholas a prettie youth, which two
last dyed there. On the seventh, we passed thence by a
Towne on the North-side, called Wolley, Wolley, bigger
then any wee had yet seene, and in the after-noone came
to an anchor at Cassan (where the Katharine was betrayed)
where no Portugall would now be seene. This King is
under the great King of Bursall. The Alcade shewd us
friendship, and told us that the Portugals had hired men
of that Towne to kill us as we went up, in some narrower
Streights of the River, for feare whereof we could not get
any Blackman to goe with us to be our Pilot and Linguist.
This Towne is populous and after their manner warlike.
We here had intelligence, that Salt is a good Commoditie
above in the River, and that within eight dayes there
would come a Caravan from Tynda for Salt before this
place.

On the fourteenth, we came to a Towne on the South-
side, called Pompoton, above which dwells no Portugall in
this River. Next morning we came to the Port of
Jeraconde, two miles from which dwelt Farran a perpetuall
Drunkard, but which held his Countrey in greatest awe.
Hence Henry Lowe sent a slave with a Letter to Oranto
sixtene miles off, where the English dwelt. On the
seventeenth, Matthew Broad and Henry Bridges came to
us by Land, which were exceeding glad after so long space
to see their Countrimen, as we also to heare them report
their securitie amongst those wild people. Broad said,
much good might bee done up the River, but that it must be done without delay, the River falling daily. Coming within sixe miles of Oranto we landed and went thither, where Brewer which had beene at Tinda with Tomson, filled us with golden hopes. But the neglect of bringing Salt thorough ignorance or emulation was a hinderance. The King of Oranto abode on the other side of the River; his name Summa Tumba, a blind man and subject to the great King of Cantore. We went to him and had a speech made to him of thankfulness, for our Countreymens kind usage; His answer was repeated by the mouth of another, after the fashion of the Countrey: which Ceremonie done, he made hast to drowne his wits in the Aquavitæ and good liquor we brought him. His Custome paid, we departed.

The one and twentieth, I sent away my Boat, & the next day came abundance of people; some to sell; all to begge; the King sometimes by his Wife, sometimes by his Daughter, but every day his Sonnes were there, and likewise divers others of the better sort, but Count, from many great persons: which word they use for commendations. You must returne something againe, or it will be ill taken.

On Christmas day, Ferambra sent us as much Elephants flesh as one could well carrie, new killed. This Ferambra went foure miles off, and was a friend of our people, and when the Portugals had dealt with the King of Naoy, to kill them all, who sent his forces to performe it, he put himselfe and his people in Armes for their defence, and conveyed them over the River to his Brother, called Bo John, and saved their goods. On the one and thirtieth, came the Shallop backe.

We being ten white men, went the second of January from Oranto for Tinda: the first tyde we went to Batto, Bo Johns Towne, and there agreed with a young Marybucke to goe with us. Lowes emulation hindred us with delayes, both now and before. On the sixth, Sumaway, King of Bereck under the great King of Cantore, came
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

aboard with his Wife, and begged our courtesie. We tooke in Sangully, a blacke Boy, who had lived with Master Tomson, and spake prettie English. On the ninth, we anchored in a vast place both at noone and night, where was a world of Sea-horses, whose pathes where they went on shore to feed, were beaten with tracts as great as London high-way. Next morning we anchored at Massamacoadum, fifteene leagues from Pereck. On the eleventh, at Benanko. The twelfth, after rockie passages to Baraconda. The tyde went no further. Beyond were no Townes, neere the River, nor Boates nor people to be seen.

On the fourteenth, Bacay Tombo, the chiefe man of the Towne, came a board with his wife, and brought us a Beefe. We hired another Marybuck, because they are people which may travell freely: & now were ten white and foure blacke. Having now the streame against us, we durst not for feare of Rockes in the night, nor could for immoderate heat in the Suns height proceed, but were forced to chuse our houres in the morning till nine, and after three in the afternoone. We past by Wolley a small River, and found above shallow waters, wherein were many Sea Horses curvetting and snorting hard by us, one came swimming by us dead and stinking, yet the Negros were displeased they might not eate him.

On the seventeenth, on both sides the River we saw thousands of Baboones and Monkies. A Sea Horse gave the Boat a shrewd blow, but did no harme. We had still our Canoe before us to sound the depth.

On the eighteenth, we were forced to enter the River naked, very fearfull of the Bumbos, (so they call the Crocodiles) and carry the Boat against the current, and over or thorow the sand, heaving and shoving till we come in deepe water.

The nineteenth, we met with a violent current, that all the strength of sixe Oares could prevale but a mile in an houre. The twentieth, on the Star-board side, we had Cantore River, which hath a faire entrance, where Ferran
Cabo is the great King. On the one and twentieth, we sent a shoare to the Mountaine tops, whence might be perceived onely Desarts, replenished with terrible wild Beasts, whose roaring we heard every night. The Blackes are so afraid of the Bumbos, that they dare not put their hands into the water, divers of them being by them devoured. Yet did they avoid from us, whether it were our noise or multitude which caused it. Some we saw thirty foot long, yet would not come neere us. On the two and twentieth, walking on the banke, I espied sixteene great Elephants together hard by me. A Blacke with me fell a trembling. The sedge in the place was almost as high againe as our heads; so that we could not be seenne till we were within Pistoll shot of them. We saw divers little ones by their sides. We made an offer to shoot, but the Peece would not off, which they perceiving began to run, in a miles space not so much as turning nor looking behind them; making speed to the Mountaines, like a Deare in the Forrest. The Moores wondred at our adventure. On the three & twentieth, we were faine to enter the water, & by strength of hand, to carry the boat a mile & a halfe into deeper water. On the foure and twentieth, we towed her, sometimes adding haling by the Boats side, as sholds and trees permitted: and met with one vehement current, overthwart broken rockes, so that we were forced to hold her by force, till one taking the Anchor on his neck, waded above that quicke fall, and letting it fall, we haled by our hasor, and escaped that gut.

The five and twenty, troubled with sholds, we heard as we passed, a gush of water, hidden by the greene trees, with which water we stored our selves; that of the River being so ranke with a muskie sent of the Crocodiles, as we supposed that it was distastefull; whereas this was pleasant. One of our Moores was taken, and like to be lost in a Whirlepoole; notwithstanding, he could swimme well, had not one of our men laid hold on him as he rose the third time, almost spent, from under water. On the
A.D. 1621.

PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

sixe and twentie, we were comforted with the sight of the hill of Tinda, being high rockie land. We sent three Moores thither with a present to the King, and to Buckor Sano, a Merchant of Tinda, intreating him to come downe to us with provision, for we had no flesh. Deare and Fowle were plentiful full on both sides the River, had we beene provided of a good Pecce. And the River fish did so taste of Muske, that (like the water) we could not endure the shoare. I went ashoare to view the River, & might see sometimes twentie Crocodiles one by another: and in the night, specially towards breake of day, they would call one to another, much resembling the sound of a deepe Well, and might be easily heard a League. We past the sholds, and against Tinda River, recovered steepe water, and saw many Sea Horses, which love deepe waters.

On the thirtieth, we killed an Anthelope bigger then any Windsore Stagge, the blood of him drew a world of Eagles, and other Fowle; amongst which came one Stalker, a Fowle higher then a man, which we likewise killed. Presently after, came our men backe with Buckor Sanos brother, and a servant of the Kings, with Hens. Our Deare was killed in good season for their entertainment: the report passing among them current, that with our thunder (so they called our Guns) we could kill whatsoever we would. They much fearing the same, as having never seene or heard it, whereof we made good use.

On Thursday, the first of February, came Buckor Sano with a troupe of forty people, amongst which his wife and daughter. Having tasted of our strong Waters, hee lay drunke aboard that night (he was never so after) and was sicke the next day. He gave us a Beafe, and many of the people brought Goats, Cocks, and Hens, which we bought easily. On Saturday, we began to trade our Salt, which is the chiefe thing they desired; other things they asked for, which we had not provided: slaves (he told us) were the things they held dearest; for any thing else we should have, if we would maintaine our comming thither, he would provide it. We had some Elephants teeth, Negros
RICHARD JOBSON

Clothes, Cotten Yearne, and some gold of them. We refused to buy Hides, because we would not lade our Boat downe the River, the water falling every day, which wee kept note of by the shoare. The people came daily more and more to us, and upon the shoare they built houses, we also had a house open to trade under, so as it seemed like a pretty Towne. Our Blackes went over the River, and three dayes after brought other people, which built a Siege Towne on the other side the River. And within three dayes there were five hundred, which were a more Savage people; having breeches of beasts skins, neither had they ever seene any white people before. The women would run and hide themselves when we came neere them at their first comming; but after grew bold to buy and sell with us. These people likewise were all for Salt, and had Teeth and Hides store. Our Salt was almost gone before they came; for we had but forty bushels at first.

Bajay Dinko the chiefe was aboard, very desirous we should come againe. On that side wee saw likewise there was Gold, and those people had familiarity with each other, whereby it seemed they had trade and commerce, by some higher part of the River.

On the seventh, the King of Jelicot on Tinda side, under the great King of Wolley, came downe with his Juddies or Fidlers, which plaid before him and his wives, such being the fashion of the great ones. These Juddies are as the Irish Rimers: all the time he eats, they play and sing songs in his prayse, and his ancestors: When they die, they are put in an hollow tree upright, and not buried, we gave him a Present, and he a Beefe to us.

On the eighth, Buckor Sano would needs be stiled the white mans Alcaid; I tooke it kindly, and put about his necke a string of Christall, and a double string of Currall. Broad gave him a silver chaine, and with drinking a cup of Rosa-solis, and shooting off five Muskets, a solemne cry, Alcaide, Alcaide, was proclaimed: he adding his fidlers musicke, the people also ready with their bowes and arrowes, his wife with mattes on shoare to attend the
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

solemnity. So soone as he came on shoare, he frankly gave his nuts to the people, rejoicing in this new honor. These nuts are of great account through all the River, and are a great favour from the King: five hundred of them will buy a wife of a great house. Their taste is very bitter, but causeth the water presently after to taste very pleasant. This done, he went to the Kings house, who sate without doores, their fashion being assone as it is darke, to make a fire of Reed without doores, and the best sort to have mattes, on which to sit downe, and use their Ceremonies. He placed me by the King, and went himselfe sixe paces off, right before him, and made a speech, which one repeats after him as he speakes, to intreat his kind usage to the white men. The King answered with a like speech, giving us liberty to shoot any thing on the land, and none should offend us. Buckor Sano kneeled downe, and gave him thankes, and sent unto him in our behalfe the Currall and Christall. Whereupon the King made a long speech, concluding, that he would give him that land whereon we were, for us, for ever. Upon which words, Buckor Sano pulled off his shirt in token of thankefullnesse, and kneeled downe naked, untill divers Marybucks with their hands raked up a heape off the ground, upon which he lay flat with his belly, and covered him with the earth lightly from head to heele. Then with his hands he threw the earth round about amongst us all: after which, the Marybucks gathered a round heape againe together, and compassing it with a round ring of the same earth, wrote with his finger as much as the round would containe: which done, Buckor Sano tooke of that earth into his mouth, and put it forth againe, and then taking both his hands full of the earth, and our two Marybucks following him upon their hands and knees, they came to me where I sate, and threw it into my lap. This done, he rose up, and two women were ready with clothes to wipe him, and a third woman with a cloth to fan him, and stepping a little off, he had his best clothes brought him, which he put on, and his sheafe of arrowes about his necke,
a bow and an arrow in his hand. He came in againe, and twenty more, with bow and arrowes, after he had gone twice or thrice about, presenting himselfe by drawing his arrow up to the head, as if he were to shoot, he delivered them, and sate downe by me. The rest with their bowes and arrowes came one after another, and kneeling at his foot with their faces from him presented their bowes, as hee did. Then began others to dance after their fashion, at the end whereof they began to make severall speeches, (for every one of the better sort will have his speech) wherewith we were weary, and left them for that night. Our manner was to set our watch with a Psalme, which they hearing, would be still, and after a shot would leave us quiet till morning.

I shewed this Bucker Sano a small Globe, and our Compsasse, whereupon he told us that he had seene with his eyes a Countrey Southward, whose houses were all covered with gold, the people wearing iron in rings through their lips and eares, and other places, to which place hee told us it was foure moones travell. Hee told us likewise of a people which hee called Arabecke, who came unto this Countrey, and would be at a Towne, called Mombarr, but sixe dayes journey from Tinda, the second moone after, which was in March. And there was a Towne called Jaye, from whence much gold came, but three dayes journey from Mombarr, whither these Arabeckes went not. More I might have knowne, had not the emulations of my companie hindred, who would not suffer the blacke boy to let me know what he speake.

Some people which came to us, were of Combaconda, a Towne foure dayes journey thence, which we thinke is Tombuto. A Marybucke was here of Master Tomsons acquaintance, borne in Jaye, which would not company with the people of Tinda, but came to us, and told us that many people were comming, but were sent backe by some that returned, and reported our Salt was gone. He offered, if we were past these people, he would undertake to bring us to Mombarr and Gago. We made haste to
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

be gone: for by our marke the water was sunke above sixe inches, promising to returne in May, when the water increased. We called this place Saints Johns Mart.

On Saturday the tenth of February, we came away, the wind and stremes served, but wee durst not sayle for the sholds, nor row by night. On Wednesday at night, having but three miles to Baraconde, by the Moores intreatie wee went thither over Land, and passed easily in sixe dayes downe, what had cost us twelve dayes labour and trouble. We had a great chase at an Elephant, wounded and made him flie, but lost him in the high sedge, and after found him in the River, where being shot in the eare he turned head on us, and made us row off, and leave him thrice wounded, our Peece failing in the discharge.

Munday the nineteenth, we came to Butto, Bo Johns Towne, wee had our first Marybucke and the blacke Boy which spake English, whose age of sixeene yeares was now ripe for their Circumcision. Hither we came in season for that Solemnitie, hearing before we came, shoutes, Drummes and Countrey Musicke. The Boy knew the meaning, and told us it was for cutting of prickes, a world of people being gathered for that purpose, like an English Faire. Under everie great tree, and among all their houses at night were fires without doores, and in especiall places dancing, the Musicall Instruments made with Keyes like unto Virginals, whereupon one playes with two stickes which have round Balls of leather at the end, about their wrists Iron Bracelets. They are called Ballardes, and contayne some seventeene Keyes. The women for the most part dance with strange bending of their bodies, and cringing of their knees, their legges crooked, the standers by keeping a time in clapping their hands together to grace the dance. If the men dance, it is one alone with such Swords as they weare, naked in his hand, with which he acteth.

About two furlongs from their houses under a great tree were many fires, and much drumming with great
noyse: here they said were those which were cut, but would not suffer mee to goe see. Some distance beyond we might heare a great roaring noyse, which they fearfully said was the voyce of Hore, that is, after their imposture a Spirit, which approacheth at great Feasts, for whom they provide store of Rice, Corne, Beefe, and other flesh readie drest, which is instantly devoured. And if he be not satisfied, he carries some of their Sonnes (the uncircumcised Females he regards not) and keepes nine dayes or more in his belly, then to bee redeemed with a Beefe, or other belly-timber: and so many dayes after must they be mute, and cannot be enforced to speake. This seems an illusion of their Priests to exact Circumcision, and the hoarseness of some shewed they had lost their throats in that roaring. This roaring, shouting and dancing continued all night. We saw our blacke Boy circumcised, not by a Marybucke, but an ordinary fellow hackling off with a Knife at three cuts his prepuce, holding his member in his hand, the Boy neyther holden nor bound the while. He was carryed to the rest, nor would they suffer our Surgeon to heale him. The people in twentie miles space came in to this Feast with their provision.

I made haste backe to Setico, to meeete the Tinda Merchants, and on the sixe and twentieth, being within two miles of the place, I received a great and dangerous blow by a Sea-horse which indangered our sinking, but we made shift to stop it with some losse. We came to Setico foure miles from the water side, the greatest Towne we saw in the Countrey, higher then which the Portugall Trade not, and from hence carry much Gold; the most of the Inhabitants Marybuckes, and the Towne governed by one of them, called Fodea Brani. They are stored with Asses and Slaves, their Merchandize Salt. The chiefe Marybucke dying, there came multitudes of people to his Funerall. Of the Grave-Earth digged for him every principall Marybucke made a Ball mingled with water out of one pot, which they esteemed as a Relike. They lay all sweet smels they can get into the ground with him,
and tooke it kindly that I bestowed some. Much Gold is buried with them, or before by themselves in a private place, for their use in another World. Much singing, or howling, and crying is used many dayes about the Grave. This recourse was also to establish his eldest Sonne in his dignitie, to which many Presents are sent. I saw among other beasts one Ramme of a hayrie Wooll like Goats. Sonnes succeed their Fathers, but the Kings Brethren take place before the Sonnes. The sickness of our men in the Saint John, hastened my departure.

Sunday the eleventh of March, I returned, and on Wednesday came to the Saint John. The next day, I set forward to the Sion, and on Saturday came to Pompetan, where the Portugall made us good cheere. Hee told us of the Devils giving notice of our being in the River, and coming up, which the circumstances made probable. On Munday, we came to Cassan, a hill where the Sion did ride: the Master and many others dead, and not above four able men in the Company.

Here we lay from the nineteenth of March, to the eighteenth of Aprill, wee weighed and came the next morning to anchor against Wolley, Wolley, under the King of Cassan. While we were there, came a new King from the King of Bursall to take possession of the Countrey, the old King being ejected as the Sonne of a Captive woman, whereas this was right Heire by both Parents, and now come of age, who now transported himselfe and his over the River, to give place to this new King, which promised us all kindnesse.

The twentieth, we came to Mangegar, within a mile of which, every Munday is a great concourse and market, but miserable Merchandize. The last of Aprill, the Saint John came to us, and the fourth of May we sayled downe the River together. From May to October, it blowes up the River except in the Tornado, which comes for the most part South-east. On the eighteenth, we prepared our Shallop. On the nineteenth, we set up Tents on the shoare. The King of the Countrey called Cumbo, came
to us, and was very kind and familiar, promising all favour, labours of calcining and other businesse, watching and Musketos, which here exceedingly abounded, did much molest us. On the ninth, wee turned out of the River. Next morning before day, we had a violent storme, or Tornado, with Thunder, Lightning, and exceeding store of raine. This weather is frequent from May to September. Wee put in at Travisco for Workmen, our Carpenters being dead. Thence we hasted home.

Chap. II.

A description and historickall declaration of the golden Kingdome of Guinea, otherwise called the golden Coast of Myna, lying in a part of Africa, shewing their belief, opinions, traffiquing, bartering, and manner of speech; together with the situation of the Countrie, Townes, Cottages, and Houses of the same; with their Persons and Proportions, Havens and Rivers, as they are now found out and discovered: all perfectly viewed and curiously discovered, and written by one that hath oftentimes beene there. Translated out of Dutch, conferred also with the Latine Edition,* and contracted.

§. I.

What course the ships hold which seeke to goe to the Gold Coast of Guinea. Of Cape Verde, and the course from thence.

Such ships as passe by the Ilands of Canadai, must thence (if they will have traffique at Cape Verde) hold their course South and by East, and South South-east, till they be under fiftenee degrees, and then seeing no Land, they must hold their course East, till they find Land, and not South because of stormes, which always come from

*Translated out of Dutch by G. Artus Dantis, and the sixth part of De Bry, his Ind. Orient. The Voyage from the Tes-sel, November the first, 1600. till January the third, when they arrived at Meurre, I omit.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

the East, and having done at Cape Verde, they must hold
their course somewhat South and by West, untill they be
a good way from the Land, or at least without it, for that
commonly they can hardly get from the Land, by reason
of the stormes, and the wind that comes out of the Sea,
which always driveth them to the Land, whereby com-
monly men are neerer to the Land, then oftentimes they
thinke they are. And those that meane also to traffique
on the Coast of Manigette, when they are above the Bassis
of Rio grande, then they must seeke to get to the Land,
that they may enter into Sierra Leona, and other Rivers,
there to make their profit, and all along the Coast in
other Rivers and Townes, untill they come to Cape de las
Palmas, and then they must take their course along by the
Cape de tres punctas. But they that desire not to goe
neerer to Cape Verde, or the Graine * Coast, but only
seeke to goe right forth, to the Gold Coast of Myna, hold
their course by the Ilands of Canaria, and sayle Southward,
untill they have past by the Ilands of Cape Verde, leaving
them commonly on Bagh-boord, or as the wind serveth
them, being under ten, nine or eight degrees, then they
begin to make towards the Land, and to hold their course
South and by East, and by the same course to seeke to
get above all Bassis and shallows, without altering their
course; for they that fall upon Saint Annes shallows,
lying under sixe degrees, have much labour and pain
before they can get off from them again; and on the
otherside they lose a great deale of time, oftentimes
thinking that they are off from the shallows, when their
ship is still upon them, which is because it is no continuall
shallow, but full of deepe pits: for in one place you shall
have three fathome deepe, and then againe ten fathome,
and then againe, the streame drives you still to Land, so
that many men by meanes of their negligence know not
what to do, and are put to much trouble before they can
bring their Voyage to an end. Now, sayling further, and
comming under seven and sixe degrees, there commonly
you find calmes, specially, when it is not a time of Trava-
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

does, which is in Aprill, May, and June, whereof men are in great feare. It fell out so with us, that beeing under those highthes, we were twentie dayes driving in a calme, without winning any great hight, and that which we wonne with the Current, the next day we lost it againe with a contrary wind; so that you must beware of the Land in any hand, specially, those that goe to Brasilia. for they must take heed, not to goe too neere the Land, lest the calme taketh them: I once found a ship thereabouts, which thought to sayle to the Bay de Todos los Sanctos, and thinking that the streame drave him upon the Coast of West India, fell there upon the Graine Coast, so that hee was forced to goe backe againe, and beeing not able to fall into his right course, hee was constrayned to leave it, and in stead of sayling to Brasilia, he was forced to goe to Saint Thomas, so that under those highthes, you can doe nothing with the wind, but onely by the current, which alwaies runnes East with the bough.

They that sayle to East India, also shunne this calme as much as possible they may, to get above the sand, or rise of Brasilia, for otherwise they must whether they will or not, goe to Cape Toaxes Consalves, and then sayle along under the Equinoctiall Line, at least three or foure hundred miles, before they can get againe into their right course, as it happened not long since to some of our ships, which was a great hinderance unto their Voyage, further having past this calme, and towards the Land about Cape de las Palmas, or to some other places, which you know, then you must hold your course along by the Land, but no neerer to the Land then eight and twentie fathomes deepe, till you come to Cape de tres punctas, where the Golden Coast begins, and where the Hollanderes traffique with the Negroes.

First, passing the River of Senega, you begin to draw neere to Cape Verde, which is a piece of Land easily to be knowne, for the first point sheweth it selfe with two hillockes or hovels, and lyeth farre into the Sea, and on
both the North and South-side thereof loseth the Land, but Southward from the point, about halfe a mile from the Land, there is an Iland seene, whereon many Fowles breed, and great numbers of Egges are found therein, behind this Iland there lyeth a great Rocke, a little separated from the Land. This Iland is very unfit to rayse shallopes on, you may sayle betwene the Land and this Iland, with a ship of three hundred and twentie tuns, but not without great feare, for that there are many Rockes lying under the water, but for the best securitie of ship and goods, it is better to sayle on the West side of the Iland to the other Iland, where shallops may be set together, which you may see being right against the first Iland, lying about three miles Southeast from the other: these Ilands are not inhabited, and there is nothing to be had in them but great store of ballast and wood to burne, but for that there is a convenient Valley to make shallops in, therefore those places are much used, and are the cause that many ships sayle to them, but on the firme Land there are great store of Negroes inhabiting, which traffique with all Nations.

The Countrey people goe naked, only that they hang a piece of Linnen cloth before their privie members, but their Governours (as Captaines and Gentlemen) are better appareled then the common sort of people, and are well knowne by their Garments to be such. They go in a long Cotton Garment close about them like a womens smocke, full of blue stripes, like feather bed tikes, on their armes they weare many foure-cornerd leather bagges, all close joyned together, and the like upon their legges, but what is within them, I know not, because they will not let us see. About their neckes they weare Beads made of Seahorse Teeth, and some Corals, or Beades which wee bring them, on their heads they weare Caps of the same stuffe that their clothes are, they are people that are very industrious and carefull to get their livings, their chiefest Trade is Husbandry, to sowe Rice and Corne: their great riches is in Cowes, which there are very scant and deare,
but further into the Countrey there are great store, for
that men lade whole ships full of Salt hides at Porta dallia,
which they take in exchange or barter for Iron, which
place lyeth but seven or eight miles from Cape Verde.
They make very faire Iron worke, and in that Countrey,
there is great store of Iron spent, specially faire long barres,
whereof they are as curious as any man in the World can
be, those they use to make Instruments of, wherewith to
fish, and to labour upon the Land, as also to make weapons,
as Bowes, Arrowes, Aponers, and *Assagayen. They have
no knowledge of God; those that traffique and are con-
versant among strange Countrey people, are civiller then
the common sort of people, they are very greedie eaters,
and no lesse drinkers, and very lecherous, and theevish,
and much addicted to uncleanenesse: one man hath as
many wives as hee is able to keepe and maintaine.

The women also are much addicted to leacherie,
specially, with strange Countrey people, of whom they are
not jealous, as of their owne Countrey people and Neigh-
bours; their Religion is after the manner of Mahomet's
law, for circumcision and such like toyes. They are also
great Lyers, and not to be credited, the principall
Commodities that men traffique for there, are Hides,
Amber-greece, Gumme of Arabia, Salt, and other wares of
small importance, as Rice, Graine, Teeth, and some Civet.
The Portugals also dwell there, with other Nations, where-
with they may freely traffique, because they are not subjects
to the King of Spaine; and besides, that they are not
Masters of the Countrey, and have no command but over
their slaves. The Negroes are under the command of
their owne Governours, which are called Algaier in their
Language, which is a Captain of a Village, for every
Village hath his severall Algaier, and when any ship come
to anchor there, then the Captaine comes presently aboard
with a Canoe, to aske Anchoridge money, which is
commonly three barres of Iron, but of such as know not
their custome, they take as much as they can; their bodies
are very blacke, and of a good proportion. When they

A.D. 1600.

*Kind of Darts made Javelins-
fashion at both ends.

Their women.

Commodities.

[II. vii. 928.]
speake, they put out their neckes, like Turkie Cockes, and speake very fast. They have a speech by themselves.

Leaving Cape Verde, to saile to the Golden Coast of Myna, the course is best (if the wind will serve) along by the land, to the place where you will Trafique, and deal with the Negros: from Cape Verde to Rio de Gambra, it is five and twenty miles, from Rio Gambra to the Baixos of Rio Grande thirty miles, from thence to Sierra Liona, threescore miles; there is a good place to lie in the Winter time, for in the entrie of the River, you have five fathome deepe at the least, and so for the space of fourtenee miles going South-east towards the Roade, you have sixteenee, fourtenee, twelve, ten, and eight fathome water: from the River of Sierra Liona, to Rio de Galinas, (that is, the River of Hens, because there are many Hens, and very good cheape, at a Mesken a piece) fourty miles from Rio de Galinas to Cape de Monte eightenee miles, the land of Cape de Monte reacheth South-east and by South, it is a low land, but the Cape is high land, like a hill, or like a horse necke, with a falling in: from Cape de Monte, to Cape dos Baixos, fiftie miles; from Cape de Bassis to Cape de las Palmas, fiftie miles. These are the three principallest Capes of all the gold Coast; this Cape lieth under foure Degrees, and is the furthest land of all the Coast, which reacheth towards the Equinoctiall line, all the land for the most part lieth South-east, and Northwest, low ground, sometimes rising, but no high hils to be seene inward to the land; from Cape das Palmas, to Cape de Apollonia, and so to Cape de tres Punctas sixtie miles, from Cape de Monte, to Cape de Miserade, sixtenee miles (this Cape is a high land) from Cape de Miserade to Rio de Ceste, foure and twentie miles, all along hither to you have good Anchor ground at twelve fathome, the West point is rising land, like to a hill that riseth and sheweth it selfe within the Countrey, when you are North from it you are then right against Rio de Cestes, before in the mouth of the River, there lieth a small Iland, and the Village where you Trafique lieth a mile upwards within
the River. From Rio de Cestes to Cape das Baixos five miles, this Cape sheweth like a saile, and it is a white Rocke which lieth out into the Sea, being two miles from the Cape you saw, foure and thirty, and five and thirty fathome water, good Anchor ground, you may hold your course along by the land at two and thirty, three & thirty, and foure & thirty fathome deepe; but go not neere if you desire not to go to the gold Coast, because of stormes, with a wind out of the Sea, as also because of Rockes, and foule ground, that are, and is found to be there, which will rather hurt, then doe you good. From Cape de Bassis to Sanguin three miles, there is much Graine to be bought, and good Traffique to be made. From Sanguin to Bofoe a mile and a halfe, there also is Traffique; from Bofoe to Sertres two miles, there also you may Traffique, and it is a good place: from Sertres to Botowa two miles, it is also a good place to Traffique in: from Bottowa to Synno, five miles. There also is Traffique; from Synno to Sonweroboe three miles, from Sonweroboe to Baddoe two miles, from Baddoe to Crou two miles; from Crou to Wappa foure miles; from Wappa to Granchetre two miles: (This the French men call Paris) from Granchetre to Goyaua, foure miles, thither there commeth great store of Graine to sell, and it is a good place to Traffique in with the Negros, from Goyaua to Cape de las Palmas three miles, all this from Cape Verde to Cape de las Palmas is called the Graine or golden Coast (otherwise Mellegette) wherein the Kingdome of Mellie is contained, which by us that are the Netherlanders is called the Graine Coast: but by others it is called the Coast of Mellegette: This Kingdome of Mellie hath an other Kingdome under it, called Bitonni, which lieth not farre from Rio Cestes.

The Kingdome of Mellie is rich of Corne, Graine, Rice, Cotten, and Flesh, and some Elephants, where by they sell many of their teeth unto strangers. The inhabitants are mischievous and cruell, (yet better in one place then in another) always seeking to spoile and intrap strangers, that come thither, and cruelly to murther them; but some
Countri-men are better welcome unto them then others, and those are Frenchmen, because of their long Traffique into those Countreys. The Portugalls come very little thither, our Countrey men are better entertained in one place then in another, & that by reason they have sometimes swaggred there abouts, and for that cause the Negros seeke to be revenged. The greatest Traffique here is Graine, Teeth, and some Rice; other Wares that are there to be had cannot be bartered for in any great quantity, as gold and Teeth, for there is little to be had, but other necessaries for sustenance of man, are there reasonably to be had, and wine of Palme, which they draw out of the trees, is there very delicate, exceeding sweet, and as excellent as any can be found in those Coasts. The Inhabitants are subjects to their Captain, whom they call Taba, and are very submissive and ready to obey his commandement. The Kings or Captaines of their Villages, are very grave, and rule with great severitie, holding their subjects in great subjection. Their Language different in the one place from the other: but most of them speake a little French, by reason, that they are used to deale much with the French men, and so get some part of their speech, as they on the gold Coast also doe, who likewise speake a little Portugall, by reason also that the Portugalls in times past used to Traffique much there. They are very expert in husbandry, as to some Graine, wherewith they have a great Traffique, they are also very cunning, and fine workmen to make many fine things; specially, very faire Canoes or small Scutes, wherewith they also rowe into Sea, which they cut out of a whole tree (like to a Venetian Gondel) which are very swift to goe; the men have as many wives as they can maintaine, but they keepe them very short, and looke neere unto them. They are likewise very Jealous of their wives: for if they perceive that any of their wives have plaid false with them, they will seeke great revenge against the partie that hath done them the wrong, and will make warre upon him, and for that cause, raise all their Countrey, so that the women are not here so
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

common, as on the golden Coast of Mina, and else where. Passing further from Cape de las Palmas, you find many Rivers, where you may barter for great store of Teeth, to Cape de Tres Punctas, and for that cause it is called the tooth Coast.

Passing Cape de Apolonia, (which lieth betweene Cape de las Palmas, and Cape de Tres Punctas) five miles further: there lieth a small Castle, but not strong, which is held by the Portugalls, the Village is called Achombeue, and the Castle Ariem, there many Negros dwell, but come seldom aboard our ships that lie there at Anchor, which the Portugalls forbid them to doe. Thus you have read the Description of the Graine or gold Coast, as also the Tooth Coast, and now you shall read of the Coast of Mina. *And first of the Iron people in this golden Coast.

*See Cap. 8.

§. II.

How they marrie each with other, and what goods their Fathers give with their Children; their House-keeping together; the womans lying in; education of their Children: Their proportions, industrie and conditions.

When their children begin to attaine to yeeres of discretion, and are able to be married to a wife, Then the father seeketh out a wife for his Son, which he thinks wil like his Son well, and yet he never saw, nor knew her before, & without wooing each other. Who being thus brought together, the Father giveth nothing at all with his son towards houshold: but if he hath gotten any thing himselfe, by fishing or carrying Merchants aboard the ship, that is his owne to begin houshold withall. But the Brides friends, give the value of fourteene Gulderns in gold with their daughter, for their marriage good; which is to be understood, that if they be any thing worth, then the Father giveth his daughter a Peso and a halfe of gold, and the mother halfe

255
a Peso of gold: which after our reckoning altogether, is halfe an ounce of gold Troy weight, which they give them to buy wine de Palme, to keepe their Bridall withall: for she hath nothing else, but that which her Father and Mother giveth her, for she getteth nothing in her youth, as her husband did. And if it be a Kings sonne or daughter, they also give no more with them to their marriage; for it is a common custome with them to give no more with their daughters in marriage, then they give them as a liberalitie, but when they goe to keepe house, they give them a slave to serve them. Besides this, the Bride in the presence of her friends which come to the Banquet, maketh a promise, and sweareth, to be true to her husband, and not to use the bodily company of any other man; but the man taketh no such oath, but is free thereof.

Now, if she chanceth to commit whoredome with an other man, either willingly or against her will, and that her husband heareth thereof, then he must put her away for it; and the man that hath committed the act, shall forfeit to the King four and twenty Pesos (which after our account is nine ounces) of gold. But if it be a Dutch man, he payeth no fine, because he is a stranger, and knew not whether the woman was married or not, which excuseth him: yet the fault is laid upon the woman that hath done such an offence, and she must pay to her husband four Pesos, or halfe an ounce of gold, because she committed adultery with another man, if she hath gotten any thing; but if she hath nothing, and cannot pay the fine to her husband, it excuseth her not: for if he hath no great fantastie to his wife, or that they have little affection one unto the other, if he will, he may put her away from him, and as then the band of Matrimonie is broken betweene them, and he may take an other wife when he will.

But if he cannot learne that his wife hath committed such a fact, by information of other men, but presumeth it of himselfe, or suspecteth that his wife hath laine with
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

any other man, he chargeth her with it, and making her eate certaine Salt, useth other Ceremonies of their Idolatrous Fetissos, wherewith the woman knowing her selfe to be cleere, and not to have committed adultery with an other man, willingly taketh her oath. But knowing her selfe to bee faulty, she dare not take her oath fearing, that if she should forswear her selfe, her Fetisso would make her die, whereby oftentimes the wife discovers her owne offence, and procureth the means to moove her husband to be divorced from her, which chiefly hapneth, by meanes of the Jelousie which the man hath of his first wife, for it causeth a great hatred and contention betweene them, because it is a great scandall unto him, and oftentimes there groweth so great strife about it, that he seeketh to murther the man that doth the fault, and although he hath paid the fine imposed upon him, the married man hath the Priviledge to drive him out of the Towne.

Further, when they keepe house together, if the man beginneth to thrive, he hath meanes to buy an other wife, he may not buy her without the consent of his first wife, unlesse he were at controversie with her, and put her away, for some thing that he could charge her withall; but with her good will he may buy another. He giveth his first wife sixe Englishen of gold, or two, three, foure or five, as much as he can get, or hath need of, keeping his other wife for his slave, or to serve him, or for his Etigufou, or in our Language, his Whore or Concubine, to whom he beareth not so great affection, nor is not so jealous of her, as of, and to his wife, and those serve for every man, for he may complaine of no man for her, nor cause him to pay any fine for her. His first wife waxing old, and her mind being not so much addicted unto lust, if he perceiveth it, then he cleaveth to his yonger wife, to have his pleasure with her, and ever after esteeming most of her, maketh his old wife doe the houshold worke, giving her meat and drinke as long as she liveth, and putteth her not away, but she is forced to serve the yong
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

wife, and shall never trouble her selfe with any thing, but onely to eate and drinke well, to have a care to please her husband, and to doe whatsoever he commandeth.

Although a man hath as many wives as he is able to keepe, yet all are not of one, but of several ages, the one yonger then the other, that they may be the better served by their wives. For when the eldest can doe no more for age, (that he may not want worke) and that the yongest wives might doe him more pleasure, they make most of the yongest; and every wife dwellith in a house by her selfe, although he had ten wives, as many of them have. The wife keepes her husbands money, and when he needeth any, he fetcheth some of her. They eate not one with the other, but either of them alone by themselves; the husband eateith with one of his companions that he dealeth with, or with whom he goeth to Sea: his wives also eate with their friends or neighbours, every one bringing their meat with them, and so make good cheare together, and at evening, the women goe home to their houses againe, and are together but in the day time. The man and wife lie each of them in a severall roome, at night, spreading a mat upon the ground, and lay a wooden stoole under their heads, in stead of a pillow, and then making a little fire of wood, when it burneth they lie downe, with the soles of their feet before it, that the heat thereof might draw out the cold, which they by day have drawne up into them from the earth by going bare-footed, esteeming it to be very good for them, which we must also acknowledge. Now, when he hath a desire to use any of his wives, either he calleth or fetcheth her, and that night he lieth with her, & the next day, she goeth to her house againe, where she dwelleth, not once making any of the rest acquainted, what she did that night, or that her husband lay with her; for then they would be too jealous.

Being with child, when their time of deliverance, and bringing forth of their child into the world commeth, when she is in labour, both men, women, maids, yong men & children, run unto her, and she in most shamelesse
manner, is delivered before them all. I would say much
more hereof, but in respect of the credit of women, I will
leave it. When the child is borne, she goes to the water
to wash & make cleane her selfe, not once dreaming of a
moneths lying in, nor of making Caudles of Ipocras, and
other wines, as women here with us use to doe: they use
no Nurses to helpe them when they lie in child-bed, neither
seek to lie dainty and soft; but they presently take a
spoonefull of Oyle, and a handful of Manigette or Graine,
whereof they make a drinke, and drinke it up.

The next day after, they goe abroad in the streets,
to doe their business, as other women doe. They give
their child such a name, as they thinke good to themselves,
and blesse the same with their Fetissos, and other witch-
crafts, and when time serveth, circumcise both boyes and
girles: at which time they make a great feast, whereof
they make great account. But where the women are most
shamelesse at the time of the birth of their children, the
men in three moneths after, lie not with that wife, nor
once have the use of her body, which nevertheless, I
thinke they doe not for any shame or regard that they
have, to deale with that woman, but onely because they
have other wives enough. They take the yong child as
soone as it is borne, and wrapping a cleane cloth about the
middle thereof, lay it downe on a mat upon the ground,
and not in a cradle, and there let it turne and sprawle
about, and doe what it will, and when it is two or three
moneths old, the mother ties the child with a peece of cloth
at her backe, and so lets it hang there, as the high Dutches
wifes use to follow their husbands in the warres. When
the child crieth to sucke, the mother casteth one of her dugs
backward over her shoulder, and so the child suckes it as
it hangs. The women goe up and downe from place to
place, and still carry their children in that sort, as lightly,
as if they had nothing at their backes, the childs head lies
just upon her shoulder, and so she goes shaking of the
child most pitifully to behold, whereby we wondered that
they brake not the childs joynts, by bearing them in that
sort, being so young, and yet you find very few or no lame persons in those Countreys. They teach their children to goe very young, for they make no reckoning thereof, and suffer them to creepe and runne abroad when they are very little, and teach them to speake very soone, whereby you find many children there among them that can both goe and speake ere they bee a yeare old, and some of them speake so plainly, that you may understand what they say in their Language, for they speake and goe farre sooner then our children doe, which we wondred at, besides this, they are strong, fat and well disposed, whereof we will speake hereafter in another place.

The children being a moneth or two old, then they hang a Net about the bodie thereof, like a little shirt, which is made of the barke of a tree, which they hang full of their Fetissos, as golden Crosses, strings with Corall about their hands, feet, and neckes, and their haire is filled full of shels, whereof they make great account, for they say, that as long as the young childe hath that Net about him, the Devill cannot take nor beare the child away, and leaving it off, the Devill would carry it away, for they say, the childe being so little, it would not bee strong enough to resist the Devill, but having that Net upon the bodie, it is armed, and then the Devill hath no power over it; the Corals which they hang about the child, which they call a Fetisso, they esteeme much, for that hanging such a Fetisso about the childes nekke, they say, it is good against vomiting; the second Fetisso, which they hang about his nekke, they say, it is good against falling the third, they say, is good against bleeding; the fourth is very good to procure sleepe, which they hang about the nekke thereof, in the nighttime, that it may sleepe well; the fift, is good against wild beasts, and the unwholsomenesse of the Aire, with divers other such like Fetissos, each having a name a-part, to shew what vertue it hath, and what they are good for, and they credibly beleeve them to be good against vomiting, falling, bleeding, (which they presently helpe) and for sleeping; they feed their young children with all kind of
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

A.D. 1600.

grosse meates, almost from the first, for when they leave suckling (they suffer them not to suck long) then they beginne to learne the childe to eate of their grosse meates, and to drinke water; when they be used thereunto, then they take little heed to them, but beate the children lying downe in their house, like Dogges, rooting in the ground like Hogges, whereby it falleth out that the young children soone learne to goe.

Every woman bringeth up her owne children, and each child knoweth the Mother, and remayneth with her, untill the Father either buyeth it of her, or that it goeth away from the Mother, it oftentimes falleth out, that the Husband taketh the child from the Mother, & selleth it to other men for a slave. When they begin to goe, they presently learne to swimme, and to runne into the water, and when they are first borne they are not blakke, but reddish, as the Brasilians are; and then by little and little begin to be blakke; and at last, to bee as blakke as Pitch, and growing bigger, run up and downe like Savage men, Boyes and Girles together, fighting one with another, taking each others meate from them, and from their child-hood upwards, begin to be envious one against the other, and so grow bigger and exercise all kind of villanie and knaverie, their Parents not once teaching them any civilitie, nor shewing them what they should doe, suffering both Boyes and Girles to goe starke naked as they were borne, with their privie members all open, without any shame or civilitie.

They use to beate and chasten their children most cruelly, striking them with great staves, in such sort that we wondred that they did not breake their bones, which they doe not, but for some great cause (whereby their children respect them much) and for that they beate them cruelly, so that they doe not easily forget it. Other good Discipline they teach them not, but they grow up like wild trees: having spent their time thus uncivilly, and beginning to be eight, ten, or twelve yeares old, then their Parents begin to instruct and teach them to do some thing,
and to labour with their hands, the Fathers teach their
Sonnes to spinne Thred made of barkes of Trees, and to
knit Nets, which having learned they goe to Sea with their
Fathers to fish, and when they know how to rowe, and
to guide a Boat, then two or three Boyes will goe out
together in a Canoe or Almadia to fish, and that which
they take they carrie to their Parents for food, but when
they are eighteen or twenty yeares old, then their Sonnes
beginne to deale for themselves, and leave their Fathers,
and go and dwell two or three of them together in a
house, buying or hyring a Canoe, (which is one of their
Boats) and therewith goe to Sea together, and what fish
they get they sell for Gold, first keeping as much as
serveth for food for themselves, with that they sell, they
buy a fathome of Linnen cloth, which they hang about
their bodies, and betweene their legges, wherewith they
cover their privie members, for then they begin to be
shame-faced; whence they proceed further and beginne
to deale and traffique with Merchandize, and to carry it
aboord the ship in their Canoes, and serve Merchants to
carry them to and from their ships, and so learne to deale
with Gold, and to get some thing. After that, beginning
to be amorous, and to looke after young Wenches, then
they are esteemed to bee men, which when their Fathers
perceive, they looke them out Wives, and then they marrie,
which they doe very young, so that in those Countries,
Children get Children. Touching the Girles, they also
begin to worke, and that some-what sooner then the Boyes,
they learne to make Baskets, Mats and straw Hats of
greene Rushes, which they fold with their hands, they also
learne to make Caps, Purses, and apparell made of barkes
of Trees, dyed with all kinds of colours, most cunningly
done, as if they were fastened together with cords, much
to bee wondred at, they also learne to grind their Corne
or Millia, and thereof make Bread, which they goe and
sell for their Mothers, and bring them the money to buy
other meate withall, and whatsoever they get, they give
it to their Mothers, who for that (when they marrie) give

262
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

them some gift, as I have said before. In this sort the Girles begin to labour, and to learne to doe houshold worke, wherein according to their manner of house keeping, they are very curious, and exceed the men in cunning workmanship.

The men in those Countries are of a very good proportion, with faire members, strong legs, and well-shaped bodies, which is easily to be seen, for that they goe almost naked of their bodies, they have round faces, and no great lips, nor wide mouthes, as the Barbarian Moores have, but their Noses are flat, which they make flat when they are young, for they esteeme a flat Nose to be a great ornament unto them, and to say truth, it doth not amisse in them, for that according to the proportion of bodie, it beautifieth their faces: their eares are small, their eyes white, their eye browes very great, white teeth in their mouthes, (for they keepe their teeth very cleane, scouring them with small stickes, and thereby make them very smooth, and shining like Ivorie) they have little beard, and are at least thirtie yeares of age, before they have any. They have broad sholders, thicke armes, great hands, and long fingers, and let their nailes grow very long, which they keepe very cleane with scraping, for some of them let them grow as long as the joynt of a mans finger, which they esteeme for a great ornament, for that cause thinking themselves to be Gentlemen. The Merchants also that dwell within the Land, use those long nailes for a great shew, for they keepe them as white as Ivorie, by scraping them, and againe they have good use for them, for that sometimes when they have not a Spoone by them, and that they untie their Purses to weigh Gold, and wanting a Spoone to take it out, for haste they use their long nailes, and therewith put the Gold into the Scales, and I have seene some of them at one time, take at least halfe an ounce of small Gold like sand out of their Purses. They have small bellies, long legs, broad feet, and long toes, little haire upon their bodies, curled haire upon their heads, but not so much curled as the Tawnie Moores, for theirs is almost

263
like bristels, and not like Wooll. In the palmes of their hands, under their feet, and under their lips, they are very white, their skins are as soft as Velvet, and smooth, which they raze not, they likewise have a great privie member, whereof they make great account, therein they much surpass our Countrimen.

As they grow in yeares, they become blacker and blacker, at thirteyeares of age beeing in their best time, but when they are seventie or eightie yeares old, then their blacknesse begins to decay, and their bodies become yellowish, and their skins begin to be rugged, and to wrinkle like Spanish Leather; they exceed all other Moores in Africa, for proportion and stature of bodie.

The men are industrious and subtil persons as can be, good Workmen or Labourers, strong of bodie, strait, and very upright, ingenious to learne any thing, and readie to conceive it: for any thing whatsoever they see done before them, they will soone imitate and counterfeit; they are of a very sharpe sight, and see further then our Netherlanders, for if there be any ships at the Sea, they will see them sooner then we, they are subtil Merchants to traffique with all, and everie day more and more learne of the Netherlanders, so that in time they will surpass them, for they have good skill and knowledge in the Merchantizes which we sell them, they are hard of complexion, and have very hot stomacks, for they are able to digest raw and most strange meates (whereat we wondred) for if they had an Ostridge maw, they could not better digest such raw meate as they many times eate, as I will further declare, when I speake more of their manner of feeding. They are very envious and spitefull one against the other, and will beare malice against a man ten yeares together, and when they have the meanes to be revenged, then they will make their malice knowne, and untill then keepe it secret.

They are Idolatrous, and very superstitious in their Religion. They have a strong complexion or savour of their bodies, much like Oyle of Palme, wherewith they often anoint themselves. They are very curious to keepe
their bodies clean, and often wash and scour them. They are much troubled with Lice and Fleas. They are not ashamed to shew their naked bodies, but they are very carefull not to let a Fart, if any bodie be by them; they wonder at our Netherlanders, that use it so commonly, for they cannot abide that a man should Fart before them, esteeming it to be a great shame and contempt done unto them; when they ease themselves, they commonly goe in the morning to the Townes end (where there is a place purposely made for them) that they may not bee scene, as also because men passing by should not bee molested with the smell thereof, they also esteeme it a bad thing that men should ease themselves upon the ground, and therefore they make houses which are borne up above the ground, wherein they ease themselves, and every time they doe it, they wipe; or else they goe to the water side, to ease themselves in the sand, and when these Privie-houses are full, they set fire in them, and let them burne to ashes; they pisse by Jobs as Hogs doe, and not all at one time; they are very covetous, and much addicted thereunto, and they can begge so well, and are so expert therein, that they surpass all the beggers in our Countrey, who although they had set ten or twelve yeeres ordinarily at the Church doores, in Holland or Zeland; or gone from doore to doore to begge an almes: yet they cannot have their lessons so perfectly as these. And although they are very hard and nigardly, and will give but little, yet when they have gotten any thing by their begging, then they will be somewhat liberall thereof, when it costs them nothing.

They are very lecherous, and much addicted to uncleanness; especially with yong women, whereby they are much subject to the Poxe, and other uncleane diseases, that are gotten thereby; which they make small account of, and are nothing ashamed of them. They are no lesse given to drinking; for they are great drunkards, and dainty mouthed, and can eate and drinke of the best. In their feeding, they are very greedy. They cannot endure that any raine should fall upon their bodies, and therefore they

265
shun it. They are very great liers, and not to be credited. They are likewise much inclined to theft, for they will steale like dogs, for their Kings and Captaines practise it, and they are so well used thereunto, that they cannot leave stealing. They are very expert and cunning to fish, and to till the land, and in their apparell, and going very proud, they are very stout, proud and curious in all their actions. They are not to be trusted nor credited, for they are no good pay-masters, you were as good give it, as trust them with any thing. They are of a very good memorie, and will remember a thing long. They are by nature warme and hott, and therefore cannot endure cold, they are not frugall, for whatsoever they get, they spend it presently: for it grieves them to keepe it, so that therein they are like to little children, that can keepe nothing. They are excellent Swimmers and Divers in the water, and are so expert therein, that they much surpasse our Countrey men.

§. III.

Of their Apparell, Customs within dooresses, Manner of diet, Merchandising, the use of Dache; Wares carried thither.

Although their apparell and manner of dressing is not variable, yet they take a great pride therein; as first, in cutting their haire, every one of a several fashion, and as finely as he can devise it: some with a halfe moone, some crosse wise, others with three or foure hornes upon their heads, and every one a severall way, so that among fiftie men, you shall scarce find two or three that are cut alike. On their armes they hang Iron rings, three or foure upon one arme cut, some round, others flat, which are rased, and markt as we make fairings for children. About their neckes they weare a string of Beades, of divers colours, which our Nederlanders bring them; but the Gentlemen weare Rings of gold about
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

their necks, on their feet, they weare many strange wreathes, which they call Fetissos, (which name they derive from their Idolatry) for when they eate or drinke, then they power meat and drinke upon them: and first give them to eate and drinke. At their knees also they weare a string of Venice beades, with some gold among them, of divers fashions, much after the manner that our yong maids weare their Corall bracelets about their armes. They weare caps made of Barkes of trees, with a long string hanging at them, which they bind about their heads, after the Turkish manner, in stead of a hat-band, painted and dyed of divers colours. They also make caps of Reeds, they likewise have hats of Straw, as we have, and some of greene Rushes, they also make caps of Dogs and Goats skins; which they spread upon a blocke of wood, all finely made, they weare at least two fathome of Linnen about the middle of their bodies, and betweene their legs, and round about them like a girdle, and let it hang downe beneath their knees, like the Portugals Breeches; and when they goe out of doores, they take a fathome of Linnen cloth, Sey, or Stuffe, and weare it about their neckes, and crosse under their armes like a Cloake, and in their hands they weare an Assagaie or two, and when they goe in this manner in the streets, they have a Boy or a Slave following them, which carrieth a stoole after them, and where they stay, there their slaves sets downe their stooles for them to sit and prate; they are very proud in their going, for they goe very slowly, and use a long pace as they goe along through the streets, they looke forward, and never cast up their eyes, untill some body that is better then themselves, speaketh unto them, and with them they will stand and talke, and make them an answere; but if they be such as are of meaneer qualitie then themselves, to them they will make no answere: but with an angry countenance, and dispitefully, saying, hold your peace, speake not to me, esteeming themselves embased, by speaking to a meaneer person then themselves in the streets; for there are very great men among them, very
Purchas His Pilgrimes

[Il. vii. 934.]

proud in speech, and doe much honour and reverence to strangers, to the end you should doe the like to them.

When they goe to Sea, then they put off their clothes, and taking a little pece of Linnen or cloth, about a handfull broad, tie that about their bodies, and betwene their legs, before their privy members, and when they goe on land againe, then they put it off, and wash themselves from head to feet, and anoint their bodies with Oyle of Palme, or fat of beasts, to make them shine; and betwenee their toes put Soape, to keepe them cleane: they also use to anoint their bodies to keepe them from the biting of Flies. In the morning, when they goe out and meet with any of their friends or acquaintance, they salute each other very solemnly, bidding them good morrow, embracing each other in their armes, & putting forth the two fore-fingers of their right hands, one to the other, they hold each other fast by them, and kinckling them twice or thrice together, at every time bowing their heads, they say, Auzy, Auzy, which in their Language is good morrow.

The Portugals in Mina marry Mullato women, halfe white, halfe blacke, because white women cannot live there. These weare their hairie short, as the men, weare many Corals, and are bravely apparelled. But of the Native women of these parts. First, I will tell you of their Natures, Complexions, and Conditions: from their youths upwards, they are given to Lust and uncleannesse, for a great while they goe with their privie members uncovered, as I said before; and as they have no shame at all, so when they begin to weare some thing upon their bodies, they begin to expresse shamefac'tnesse, but then begin to be lecherous, which they naturally learne from their youth upwards: and before the Netherlanders and Portugals dwelt among them, and Traffique in that Countrey, the women were not so proud nor curious, as they are now; but that they have learned much of us, by seeing that we rather desire a handsome, then an evill favoured wench;

Heathens be made worse by Christians which, alas, is now common in all remote parts. And this is one chiefse cause of the death of so many there.

268
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

and for that cause, they give themselves thereunto, that they might be beloved of us; for they esteeme it to be good fortune for them to have carnall copulation with a Netherlander, and among themselves, brag and boast thereof. In former time, they use to goe starke naked untill they were very great, as yet they doe among those that dwell within the land, as the Negros themselves have told us; but on the Sea side they are growne more shamefact, by meanes of such as comes out of Europe to Traffique with them. They are also theevish, but thereof they have not so much need as the men. They are very proud in their gate and apparell, they curle and fold the haire of their heads, making a hill in the middle of their heads like a Hat, such as the Dutch Gentlewomen use to weare, and round about the same, they make round strikes as bigge as a Dolor, which they dresse and trim so long, till it be as they would have it; and then they anoint it with Palme Oyle, which makes it very much frizled. They have long Combes with two teeth onely, each tooth being a finger long, which they thrust into their haire, and combe it therewith; for they are troubled with Lice: they use their combes also for a kind of salutation or reverence, which they doe unto men; for when they bid one good morrow, and kincke fingers together, they put their combes out of their haire, and put them in againe, which they use for a kind of reverence, in stead of bowing their heads. Upon their foreheads they cut three or foure slashes in the flesh, about the length of the joint of a mans finger, and also on their cheekes not farre from their eares, which they suffer to swell, and rise up, about the breadth of a knife, which they cover over with painting, and under their eye browes, they also make white strikes, and on their faces they set white spots, which a farre off shew like Pearles. They also race their armes and their breasts with divers kinds of cuts, every morning putting divers colours upon them, whereby they shew like blacke silke doublets cut and pinckt, or like a wamans Sattin stomacher, they weare eare rings of Copper or Tin,
and Copper bracelets about their armes, and some of Ivorie, and upon their legs also they weare many red and yellow Copper Rings. But a yong maid that is unmarried, weareth many Iron Rings about her armes, sometimes thirty or forty upon one arm: a Whore (by them called Etigafou) oftentimes weare Copper Rings upon her legs, with Bels hanging at them, which she goes ringing through the streets. They are well proportioned and membred, much surpassing our women, in strength and agility of body, both when they are delivered of their children, and otherwise, as I have said before. They are very wise and diligent in house keeping, good House-wives and Cookes, but not very skilfull to make cleane & scour their Copper Kettles & Dishes, to make them shine. They keepe no more Houshold-stuffe then they have need of, you find the women more at home in their houses, then the men commonly are; for they use not to goe abroad to prate with their neighbours, they are not over fruitfull: for commonly it is two or three yeers before they are with child, which I thinke proceeds from their hot natures, and the aire of the Countrey, and secondly, because their husbands have so many wives, two, three, foure, five, and sixe, and some more, each one as he hath power and abilitie to keepe them; and with them, he lieth according to their manner, every one her turne, and useth not one onely, but hath so much to doe with them all, that it is long before some of them are gotten with child. Their men are diligenter therein then we are, & the first thing they will tell you, is of their wifes and children, for he that among them hath many wives and children, hee is a rich man. The women teach their daughters from their youths upwards, to bake bread, and to grind Millia, with other Housewivery; whereby it commeth to passe, that they have good skill in house-keeping, because they are brought up therein from their youths. They are alwaies rubbing their teeth with a certaine kind of wood, where with they make them so smooth that they shine, as is before said, as white as
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

Ivory: and in truth those white teeth make a faire shew in their blacke faces. They weare a fadome and some a fadome and a halfe of linnen cloth about their bodies, which hangeth from beneath their breists or their navels down to their knees, then they take a piece of red, blue, or yellow cloth, whereof they make a Girdle, and put it about them, and on it they hang their Knives, Purses with monie, and some Keies, and although they have but few Chests or Cubboords, yet they hang Keies at their Girdles, because it makes a faire shew. They also hang divers Wispes of straw about their Girdles, which they tie full of Beanes, and other Venice Beades, esteeming them to be their Fetissos, or Saints, some of them take a piece of cloth, others a Mat made of barkes of Trees, others a piece of a Carpet, and weare it about their bodies, and so every one weares something, and this they doe within the house, but when they goe to Market to buy something, then they put off those things, and goe and wash themselves in a Kettle of water from the head to the feet, and then they take another piece of Linnen to put about their bodies, and another Girdle, and another fathome or two of Linnen Cloth, and hang it about their bodie, from their brests downe to their feet like a Gowne, and upon it weares another thing of Sey or of striped linnen, and that she carries upon her shoulders, and under her arme like a Cloake, and carries a woodden Platter in her hand which she beares up a high, and so goes to Market, and when she comes home againe from the Market or other places where she hath bee, she puts off those cloathes, and put on worse, for they are more sparing then the men, and therefore they carrie the Purse, and when their Husbands will have any monie, they must come to them for it.

The women have the government of their Houses, and the men take care as much as lyes in them, to earne something, but the women provide the meate to serve for their daily food, although they eate a part, they buy no more meate every day, then serveth them for that day, or they can eate at a meale. In the evening they goe to their
houses that stand without the Towne, and are full of Millia (which is their kind of Corne) where they take a certaine quantitie, as much as they need for their House, and with a staffe stampe it, as wee use to stampe Spice in a Grocers shop, and that is their manner of threshing, then they fanne it in a wooden dish, till it be cleane, but such as have slaves make them doe it. This Millia is a faire white Seed, when it is broken, as hereafter I will shew, over night they steepe this Millia with a little Mais in faire water, and in the morning after they have washt, and made themselves readie, they take the Millia and lay it upon a stone, as Painters doe when they grind their colours, then they take another stone about a foot long, and with their hands grind the Millia as small as they can, till in a manner it be dough, and then it sheweth like baked Buckway Cakes, they temper their dough with fresh water and Salt, and then make Rowles thereof as bigge as two fists, and that they lay upon a warme harth, whereon it baketh a little, and this is the bread which they use. The Negroes of the Castle Damina, bake faire bread of Mais, which is almost like our wheaten bread, and that they cut in Rowles: they can also bake it so hard, that it will keepe two or three monethes sweet and hard, for they furnish their ships and Jacts with such bread, when they send them to the Ilands of Saint Thomas, or to Angola, others that have not the meanes to have such bread, they goe to Market to buy it, and call it Kangues, when the Fisher-men come out of the Sea with their fish, then the women carrie it to the Market, where everie one comes to buy that and flesh, fruite, and other things. They use altogether raw and strange kind of meates, as handfuls of Graine or Manigette, (and will drinke up whole Romers full of Aquavite at a draught) Dogs, Cats, and filthy stinking Elephants, and Buffolds flesh, wherein there is a thousand Maggets, and many times stinkes like carrion, in such sort that you cannot indure the smel thereof; there are likewise little Birds as bigge as a Bul-finch, of a grey colour, with red bills, which very cunningly make
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

their Nests upon the smallest ends of the branches of trees, thereby to preserve themselves from Snakes or other venomous beasts. Those they eate alive, feathers and all.

I have beene told by some of the Moores, that the Countrie people dwelling within the Land, eate dried Snakes, and the Boores or Slaves, as also the common people which dwell upon the Sea-side, although they have better provision of meate then those that dwell further into the Land, yet they are of so hot a nature, that they eat raw Dogs guts, and never seethe nor roast them, which we our selves saw: And there was one of their Boyes left afoورد a Netherlanders ship for a pawne for debt, which Boy was so greedie to eate raw meate, that although he had sufficient meate with them in the ship, yet hee would eate the Hens meate out of their Troughes. This Boy made a sticke, and at the end thereof hee drave a naile with the point upwards, and went and lay by the Hens Cage, and when any of them put out their heads to eate meate, he strooke them in the heads, and killed them, and then hee went and shewed the Sailers, that some of the Hens were dead, which he did to the end he might eate their raw guts, and would not stay so long untill the guts were made cleane, but tooke them and eate them raw as they came out of the Hens bellies. They eate also great store of old stinking fish, which is dried in the Sunne, but to say, that they eate such kind of raw meates for necessity and no other, were untruth; for they also are very daintie, and can eate good meate when they have it.

There are women that dwell in the Castle among the Portugals that can dresse meate well, they eate also many Hens, Goats, Oxen, and Hartes, but such meate is not eaten by the common people, but those that eate them are Gentlemen, or such as are rich, and are able to buy them; they also eate Jugnamis, Bannanas, and Patates. They have three kind of trees, as the Palme-trees, whereof some are Females which yeeld no wine, but beare Grapes as bigge as Plummes, of an Orange colour, at the one end being

[II. vii. 936.]
some-what blackish: those Grapes they peele to the stones, and thereof they make Oile, which they call Palme Oile, which is verie delicate and good, which they use to dresse their meate withall, and make good sawce thereof for their fish, the thickest of this Oile they use to anoint their bodies withall, to make them cleane, and the women use it to frizzell their haire, the veines are as great as Acornes, and as hard as a stone, at the end thereof having three round holes, they beate them in pieces, and within them find certaine Nuts, like little earthen pellets, much like hazell-nuts, but when you eate them, they taste of the wood, and are verie drie.

They likewise have many Beanes and Pease, whereof some are like Turkie Beanes of a purple colour, those Beanes are good and fat, which they dresse with Oile of Palme, and it is a very excellent meate and nourisheth well, but the other kind of Beanes and Pease, they use not to eate, for they have no great quantitie of them, growing thereabouts. The Jugnamis also they use in many places in stead of bread. Their drinke commonly is nothing but water, but yet in some places they brew a little Mais in water, which beeing sodden together, is almost like a kind of beere, which they also use much to drinke and call it Poitou, others buy a pot of Palme-wine, and because that will not continue long, therefore foure or five of them goe together, and buy a pot or two: a pot of theirs is ten pots of ours, and that they pay for together, which they powre into a great Cabas, which growes upon Trees, whereof some are halfe as big as a Kilderkin, and will hold at least twelve Kans, and then sit downe round about it to drinke, whereof everie man sendeth his lovingest and truest wife a little pot full home to drinke, and the first draught that they drinke, they take it out of the Cabas with a smaller Cabas, and when the first man drinks, the rest stand up, and taking his Cap or Hat off, lay their hands upon his head, and with a loud voice cries, Tavtosi, Tavtosi; at the first draught, they drinke not the Cabas full out, but leave a little in it, which they throw upon the ground,
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

saying I. OU, as giving their Fetissos that to drinke, and
if they have other Fetissos on their armes or feete, they
spit drinke out of their mouthes upon them, as if they
gave them drinke also; for they are of opinion, that if
they doe it not, or forget to doe it, they should not drinke
their wine quietly together, but that their Fetissos would
let them. Naturally they are great Drinkers, and use no
lesse unseemelinesse in their feeding, but eate as unmannerly and greedily, as if they were a companie of Hogs:
for sitting down upon the ground to eate, they stay not
till they have eaten one morsell up, but still cramme in,
and they put not their meate into their mouthes, but pull
their meate in pieces, and take it up with their three
middlemost fingers, and gaping, cast it so right into their
mouthes, that they never faile nor cast it beside their
mouthes, whereat we wondred much. They are alwayes
hungrie, and would willingly eate all day long, which
shewes that they have very hot mawes, and although the
Countrey is very hot, whereby the heate of the Aire com-
monly should fill mens stomakes, yet they are hungrie,
and wee Netherlanders are not weake stomaked there,
but alwaies have good appetites, whereby I am of opinion,
that heate in those Countries makes men hungrie: but
because I am no Doctor of Physicke, I will not intreate
thereof. And because they make great account of that
drinking together, they are verie earnest and industrious
to get something, and to make provision of Gold, which
having gotten, they cannot be frugall or sparing, but
presently goe and drinke it with their companions, now
one, and then another, everie one his turne, and if one
gets more then his fellowes, then hee must be liberaller
then his fellowes, that is, when they begin to deal with
the Merchants, and to goe aboord the ships, and he that
is poore or hath not much, can hardly beare companie to
drinke, because they are not sparing, when they have
gotten any thing.

As I have understood by the Inhabitants of those
Countries, before the Portugals came thither to deal with
them, they had very little or no kind of Merchandize to traﬃque withall, or to live by, but live upon that which they got from others by force, which was not much, specially to get any thing to apparell themselves; for before that time they went all naked, as I said before, much lesse had they any cattle or victuals for their mainte-
nance, but only such as the Portugals brought thither, and by that meanes the Countrie was ﬁlled and replenished with divers kinds of beasts and Corne, whereby at this day, there is almost all kind of things that are necessarie and needfull for mans sustenance, and otherwise to bee had in those Countries. And within a while after, the Portugals began to traﬃque and deal with the Savage Inhabitants, they likewise began to know their Merchandize.

First trading. At the ﬁrst, in former time they came and brought their Gold unto the Portugals, and bought of them such things as they wanted, as Linnen Cloth, &c. but the people dwelling further within Land, durst not venture to come to the Portugals to deal with them, as wondering at them, it being a fearefull thing unto them to see white men apparelled, and they themselves blacke and unapparelled, (as the like happened unto our men; for at the ﬁrst they were afraid to see Blacke Moores) and therefore they brought their monie to those that dwelt on the Sea side, where the Portugals traﬃque, and told them what wares they would have, and they went to the Castle, and bought such things as they desired, as Iron, Tinne, Copper Basons, Knives, Cloth, Linnen, Kettles, Corals, and such like wares, and the Merchants that sent them to the Portugals, paid them for their paines, upon every Peso of Gold by them disbursed, so that if they bestowed many Pesoes, they received a good deale of monie for their Factoridge, and by that meanes they got their livings.

But after that, when we began to traﬃque thither, (the ﬁrst that went from hence thither out of Holland, to deal with the Negroes, beeing called Barent Erickson of Medenblicke) and found what proﬁt the Portugals did
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

there, we increased our Trade thither, and sent more ships with the said Baront, as a fit man for it, because he knew the Coast, as having beene there with the Portugals. But having no place upon the Land (as the Portugals had) to carrie our wares ashore, and to lay it in Ware-houses to traffique with them as time served, and durst not, or else might not goe on Land, we were constrained to stay with our shippes at anchor before their Townes, attending for the Merchants, that came aboard our ships with their Canoes, at which time the Negroes seeing that wee had Merchandize aboard, imboldened themselves to traffique with us, and brought their Gold aboard our ships, and for that at this present they deale but little with the Portugals, but only with our Countrimen, therefore I will shew in what manner they deale with us.

In the morning betimes, they come aboard our ships with their Canoes, or Scutes to traffique with us: and the cause why their Merchants came so early aboard, is, for that in the morning the wind, which they call Bofone, blowes off from the Land, and then it is calme smooth water, for about noone the wind which they call Agom Brettou, begins to blow out of the Sea, and then they row to Land againe: for the people that dwell within the Land, can hardly brooke the Seas, for when they are aboard the ship, they can scarce goe or stand, but lie downe and spue like Dogges, and are verie Sea-sicke; but their Rowers and Pilots that bring them aboard, are hardie enough, and never are sicke, by reason of their daily using to the Seas. But some of their Merchants when they come aboard our ships, are so sicke, that they cast out all they have within their bodies; and by reason of their beeing so sicke in faire weather, they are so afraid of the wind (when the waves goe any thing high) that they make as much haste home as they can, and some of them dare not venture upon the Seas to goe aboard the ships, but deliver their monie to the Pilots or Factors, telling them what Merchandize they desire to buy, and those Tolken come with the Gold aboard the ships, having a Purse which
PURCAS HIS PILGRIMES

hangeth about their middles, wherein they put their Gold, and every severall mans Gold is in a piece of Cloth or Paper by it selfe, and they can tell which is everie mans, and what wares hee desireth to have for it, and sometimes they have twelve or ten mens Gold to bestow, which is called an English of Gold, and of some two, three, or foure, and when any of their monies is not weight, then they put it into their Purse, and carrie it to the man againe, for if they should put any thing to it, to make it full weight, the Merchant would not give it them againe, for they weigh their Gold first upon the Land, and know how much it is before they send it aboord the ship, for they credit not one the other, and when they have bestowed their monie, then we must give them some-what to boot, which they call Dache.

When we began to traffque here in the Countrie with two or three ships, as one of Middleburgh, one of Amsterdam, and one of Schiedam, and that all our ships met and lay at anchor together to sell our wares, the one ship seeing that the other traffqued more, and vented more wares then his fellowes, to find the meanes to get the Merchants aboord their ships, they willed the Pilots (with whom they must hold friendship, for they carrie the Merchants aboord) to bring them aboord their ships, and they would give them something for their labours, and the Pilots accordingly to get something, brought them aboord that ship, which had made them that offer, for they are verie covetous, which the other ships perceiving, willed the Pilots to bring the Merchants aboord their shippes, and they would likewise give them something: and they made them answere, that if they would give them as much as the other did, they would come aboord their ships, which they promised to doe, and gave them more Dache then the other, and by that meanes drive the Merchants, Pilots, and Tolken aboord their ships, which the other ships seeing, and thinking that their Merchants wares cost them no more then the others, gave them more Dache then the others, and by that meanes striving one with the other,
they diminished one and the others gaine, and in fine, their gifts grew to such a rate, that at this day, their Dache amounteth unto sixe or seven per cento.

And now it is come to passe, that whereas the Countrie people and Merchants were wont to pay the litridge and brokeridge to the Pilots and Tolken, to carry them aboard the ships, they sought to the Merchants and Countrie Moores to get them into their Canoes, for greedinesse of Dache, which they got of the Factors for their labours, to bring the Merchants aboard, and thereby in stead of paying them for going aboard, they give the Merchants much Dache, in regard of the great profit they get thereby.

Many Merchants comming to the Sea side to buy wares, some of them a hundred or two hundred miles from within the land, bring great store of gold, & have divers slaves with them, which they lade with the wares which they buy in the ships, wherof some have twenty, others thirtie, and some more, as they have meanes, and according to the trade that they use: which Merchants or Moorish countrye people, know the houses or lodgings, where they use to lie, and waigh their money to their Tolke or Hoste, and tell them what goods or wares they will have; who, comming aboard, commonly bring one of the Merchants with them, for they trust not one the other, and leave the rest with their slaves upon the land, which tell them what wares they desire to have; and if it be a Merchant that can speake no Portugall speech, they will presently tell you, and will the Factor not to speake Morish speech unto them, because their Merchant is one that dwels farre within the land; thereby giving you to understand, that they meane to deceive him, and to beguile him of much money. The poore Merchant being sicke, and lying in the ship spuing like a dogge, in the meane time the Brokers make the match for them, telling the Factors how much ware they desire to have for so much gold; for that the wares are commonly sold all at one price: The Tolken makes not many words with the Factors, but

Aske my fel-low if I be a Thiefs.
set certaine wares before the Merchant, as little as they can to content him for his money, and the price being made with him, he weighs their gold, and takes the wares, and goes on land againe; and the Merchant being gone home, then the Pilots and Tolken come aboard the ships againe, to fetch that which they have coozoned the Merchant off: so that oftentimes the Merchants are deceived of a third part of their goods by such practises: others, while he lookes about, or turns to spue, steale a piece of the Merchants gold, and put it into their Mouthes, Eares, or Nostrels, making the Merchant beleive that his money is too light: the Merchant for his part, seeing that by meanes of their theevery his money will not reach out; because it is too light, that it may weigh more then it is, blowes in the Ballance, which the Factors oftentimes perceiving not, and thinking that they have their full weight, are by that meanes deceived, and come short of their reckoning; so that they have a thousand devices to steale, and to beguile the Merchants. At first they were woont to be very simple in their dealing, and trusted the Netherlanders very much, whereat we wondred: for they were of opinion, that white men were Gods, and would not deceive them; and then tooke the wares upon their words, without reckoning it after them, whereby they were deceived: for, that if they bought ten fathome of Linnen cloth, they found but eight, and by that meanes, lost two fathome, and other things after the rate, which the Factors did so grossely, that the Merchants in the end perceived it, and began to looke better to themselves, and grew so subtil in their reckoning, that if they bought one hundred fathome of Linnen, they could reckon it to a fathome, and tell whether they had their measure or not; so that now if you doe them any wrong, by measuring or reckoning, they will not come aboard your ship any more; and which is more, for any bad looke, or hastie word that you shall give them, they will never be friends with you againe.

Troubles and warres in the Netherlands, constrained us
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

to seek Traffique here also, and to undertake this voyage, by that means to put the Portugalls from it, which in the end we did, for that since the Netherlands came hither to Traffick with the Negroes, Moores, the Portugalls have best trading, and are wholly decayed. First, we bring them great store of slight Linnen cloth, whereof there is very much spent in those Countries, for they apparell themselves therewith, and it is the chiefest thing they use for that purpose: besides this, we carry them great store of Basons, as little Basons, Barbers Basons, Basons to drinke in, Platters of Copper, flat Basons, great broad Copper pans, at the least two fathome about, and small Posnets without edges: The small Basons they use to put Oile in, wherewith they anoint themselves, and the greater sort of them they set in the graves of the dead, & use them to carry divers things in. The Barbers Basons they use to wash themselves in, & when they cut their haire, platters they use to lay over others to cover them withall, to keepe dust and filth from falling into their things. The great broad Pans, are by them used to kill a Goat or a Hogge in, and to make it cleane therein, in stead of a Tub. The Possenets they use to dresse their meat in, which serveth them to very good purpose, they will not have them with steales, as we use them here with us, and many other such like Basons of Copper, which our ships bring thither in great quantities, and therewith fill the Countrie so full; and by means thereof, they are sold as good cheape there unto the Negroes, as they are bought in Amsterdam; and although there are so many of those Basons brought thither, and no ware that weareth so much, as Linnen, yet you see but few old Copper things there, and therefore you must thinke, that there is great store of people inhabiting further within the land, which use so great quantitie of such things.

We carrie thither great store of Kettles, which they use to fetch water in, out of their pits and Valleyes, and some red Copper pots Tinned within, wherein they use to put water, in stead of a barrell of beare to drinke; earthen
pots they use also to drinke out of. Iron is used by them to make their weapons, as Assagaie, cutting Knives, Poniards, &c. The Assagaies & Poniards they use for the warres. The cutting Knives, to Till and cut up the ground, in stead of Spades, and some to cut wood withall, and to use about their Building, for they have no other Tooles: They also buy great store of Red, Blew, Yellow, and Greene Rupinsh cloth, which they use for Girdles about their middles, to hang their Knives, Purses, Poniards, and such like things at. They use white Spanish Serges to weare upon their bodies, in stead of Clokes, Rings of Copper and Brasse, which they weare about their armes and feet for a great pride. They also use Tin things, as Rings for their armes, but not many. They use many Knives which wee make with us in Holland, and call them Docke Messen. They also use great store of Venice Beads, of all kinds of colours, but they desire some colours more then others, which they break in foure or five pceces, and then grind them upon a stone, as our children grind Cherrie stones; and then put them upon strings, made of Barke of trees, ten or twelve together, and there-with Traffique much: Those ground Corals they weare about their neckes, hands and feet. They also use round Beads, and specially great round Counters, which they hang and plait among their haire, and let them hang over their eares. Pins they use to make Fish-hookes, Horse tailes they use when they daunce, & also when they sit still, to keep the flies from their bodies; Looking-glasses, and small Copper milke Kans, with many such like things. But the chiefest wares that are uttered there, and most used among them, is, Linnen, Cloth, Brasse, and Copper things, Basons, Kettles, Knives, and Corals.

At first we used many times to deceive them, not onely in measuring of Linnen, but in delivering them broken and patcht Basons, and peeced Kettles for their money; rotten Cloth, through the which they might have sifted Beanes; Knives that were so rustie, that they could hardly without breaking pull them out of their sheathes, with
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

such like wares. But now by use and experience, they have attained to such skill in our wares, that they are almost able to surpass us therein. For, first, when they buy any Linnen cloth, they looke if it be not to slight and thin, and whether it be white and broad; for they are very curious to buy white and broad Linnen, and respect not the strength so much as the breadth of the Linnen: for they use to hang it about their bodies, specially the women, which desire to have it hang downe from underneath their breasts to their knees. Secondly, they take Woollen cloth, and hold it up against the light, to see if it be thin. They draw the Knives out of the sheathes, to see if they be not rustie. They looke upon the Basons one by one, to see if they have no holes in them: or whether they be broken, and the least hole that they spie in them, they lay them away, and desire to have others for them; and also if they be but a little foule or greasie, they will none of them. And for quantitie and qualitie make triall of all other wares, as curiously as in Europe is done.

§. III.

What Custome the Merchants pay to their Kings. Their Measures, Weights, Scales, Markets: Also their Sabbath, Fetissos and superstitions.

The Kings have their Customes dwelling upon the Sea Coast, where the ships lie to Traffique with the Countrey people, and they are placed there, to see that the Kings lose not their Rents and Imposts, and that it may be the better paid them, and no deceit used, they appoint one of their Sons or some one of their nearest friends to be present with them. Those Customers receive the Custome of the fish, which is taken in his precinct, or before his Haven, and to that end he hath a measure to measure it withall, and if the measure be not full (of any fish whatsoever) then it payeth no Custome, but if their fish bee more then filleth that measure, then he taketh the
fifth fish thereof, or as much as he thinketh good to take for his Custome, and that is presently sent to the King of that quarter by his slaves, which every morning come thither to fetch the fish.

Such Merchants as come thither a great way out of the Countrey, pay to the King of the Haven where they goe to Traffique, the weight of sixe pence in gold, for their passage through his Countrey, and whether they intend to buy much or little, the passage money is all one, and when they have Traffique with the Factors in the ships, and come to land, the Customer taketh a part of their goods from them, which is commonly a fourth part of that which they have bought, and carrieth it away with him, then the Merchant takes the rest and carrieth it to his lodging, which done, he goeth backe againe to the Customer (whom they call la guarda, which in Portugal is the watch) and agree with him, and pay him as little as they can, and so have their goods againe, and if they have bestowed lesse then two ounces of gold upon wares, then there is no set Custome to bee paid for it, but they give as much as they can agree upon for it, with the Customer, and that is the Customers owne profit, in stead of his wages, but whatsoever they buy above the value of two ounces of Gold, then they must pay an English of Gold for custome thereof, those two ounces of Gold they call Benda.

Also if they have stolne any thing from any of their Countrie people, they also pay monie for it, as the case requireth. And also when they have laien with another man’s Wife, then the King hath a forfeit paid unto him for it. And when the Countrie people come to Market with their weapons, they must leave their Weapons in some place, or else they must pay a forfeit, which is sixe penie weight in Gold, if they come with any Armes or Weapons to their Sea-townes. And they also that counterfeit false Gold, with divers other forfeitures, which are all paid to the King, whereof the Customer everie three moneths maketh his account, and payeth it unto the King.
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

They make Weights of Copper of divers sorts, and have little Copper Scales which are round, and hollow like an Orange peelee. Benda is their greatest weight, which with us is two ounces; Benda-affa, is halfe a Benda, which is an ounce. Assuwa, is two Pesos and an halfe. Eggeba, is two Pesos, or halfe an ounce. Seron, is a Peso and an halfe. Ensanno is a Peso or a Loot. Quinta, is three quarters of a Peso, each Peso is a Loot. Media taba, is a quarter of a Peso, or a small parcell. Agiraque, is halfe a Peso, or halfe a Loot, each Peso is a Loot; so that their weights are all one with ours for the names, but differ in the pound a Peso and an halfe, which is a Loot and an halfe, so that their weights are so much lighter then ours.

They measure their Cloth by two fadome together, which they cut one from the other, and call it Jectam, and sell their Linnen in that sort among themselves, and those two fadome after our measure is a storke and three quarters, and they are verie subtil in measuring of their Linnen, and can reckon that so many of their storkes make so many of their fadomes. They cut their Woollen-cloth in pieces not above a handfull broad, which they use in stead of Girdles about their middles, and sell the Cloth in this sort among themselves in this manner, and use no other kind of measure thereunto. They are not verie subtil nor expert in telling, specially to reckon, for when they have past the number of ten, they rehearse so many words one after the other for one number, that they are so cumbred, that they cannot tell how to get out of it, and so sit buzzing so long, till at last they have forgotten their number, and are forced to begin to tell againe, but since they began to deale with the Netherlanders, and were to reckon above the number of ten, for they use no more among them, they tell till they come to ten, and then take one of their fingers into their hands, and then tell to ten againe, and then take another finger into their hand, and so proceed till they have both their hands full, which in all maketh an hundred, then they marke that up,
Purchas His Pilgrimes

and then begin againe to tell to ten, and use the same order as before.

Eeverie Towne hath Market daies specially appointed, upon the which you find more to bee bought then upon other daies, and everie Towne hath his Market upon such a day, as the others have it not, and so everie one differeth upon their daies, and when their Market daies come, they have two daies Market one after the other, wherein the principall Boores or Countrie people come from divers places to traffique with the ships. They have their Sunday also, but on that day they doe nothing.

In the morning betimes, assoone as it is day, the Countrie people come with their Sugar Canes to the Market, carrying two or three bundles together upon their heads, which are bound up like faggots, and being in the Market they unbind them, and so lay them downe upon the ground, which done, the Inhabitants of that place come to buy them, some two, others three, and some more as they have need of them, whereby they have some sold their Sugar Canes, for they use many of them to eate, and assoone as they have sold their Sugar Canes, then the women come to the Market with their wares, who bring Oranges, Limons, Bannanas, Backovens, Potatoes, Indianias, Millia, Mais, Rice, Manigette, Hens, Egges, Bread, and such like necessaries, which those that dwell on the Sea-side have need of, and are sold both unto the Inhabitants, and to the Netherlanders in the ships, which come thither to buy it. The Inhabitants of the Sea-side, come also to the Market with their wares, which they buy of the Netherlanders, as Linnen Cloth, Knives, ground Corals, Looking-glasses, Pinnes, arme Rings, and Fish, which their Husbands have gotten in the Sea, whereof the women buy much, and carrie them to other Townes within the Land, to get some profit by them, so that the fish which is taken in the Sea, is carried at least an hundred or two hundred miles up into the Land, for a great Present, although many times it stinkes like carrion, and hath a thousand Maggots creeping in it. Those women are
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

verie nimble about their businesse, and so earnest therein, that they goe at least five or sixe miles every day to the places where they have to doe, and are laden like Asses: for at their backes they carrie their children, and on their heads they have a heavi burthen of fruit, or Millia, and so goe laden to the Market, and there she buyeth fish, to carrie home with her, so that oftentimes they come as heavily laden from the Market, as they went thither. These pay no custome to the King, but if they find any Fetissos in the way as they goe (which are their Idolatrous gods) they give them some of their fruit or Millia to eate, which is as much as if they gave them the tenth part thereof.

Those women goe seven or eight together, and as they passe along the way they are verie merrie and pleasant, for commonly they sing and make a noise; about noone the Countrie people begin to come to the Market with their Palme-wine, which they carrie in pots, some bringing one some two pots, as they are able, they come armed to the Market, having a hewing Knife at their Girdles, and two or three Assagayes in their hands, but when they enter into the Market, then they set their armes in a certain place appointed thereunto, and when they have sold and goe home againe, every man takes his weapons and goes his way, not once changing one with the other, but everie man takes his owne, and when the Netherlanders and the Negroes have done traffiquing: when the Countrie people come to the Market with their wine, looke what the Pilots or Rowers (that carried the Merchants aboord the ships) have gotten, or that was given them for Dache, by the Factors, therewith they buy Palme-wine, and drinke it up together, they pay for their Wine either with Gold, or Linnen; but for the most part, they pay for it with Gold, which they weigh verie narrowly, one unto the other, and when there are many Merchants, and that the Wine is much desired, then it is oftentimes deere then Spanish Wine is with us.

Besides this, the Market folke know everie one their
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

place, and where to sit to sell their wares, as those with
fruit stand in one place, they with Sugar Canes in another
place, they with Wood, Water, and Bread by themselves;
and those that sell Wine in a place by themselves, but the
Palme-wine which is brought thither by Sea, from other
places, that is never brought to the Market, for many times
when it comes in the Canoes in the evening, when the
people have need thereof, assone as it is brought on Land,
the Negroes stand readie upon the shoare watching for it,
and going to the Merchants, everie one takes a Pot, and
carries it away, so that they have presently sold it, & the
Merchant needs not feare that his Wine will soure for
want of utterance, for they are so greediie of it, specially
for to drinke, that oftentimes they fight and fall together
by the eares for it.

They use no monie nor any kind of Mint, wherewith
they pay each other, but when they buy any thing they
pay for it with Gold, and that by weight, and it is a verie
small parcell that hath not some kind of weight to weigh
it withall, and they pay each other with foure square pieces
of Gold, weighing a graine or halfe a graine. The cause
why they pay in this sort, and have this custome, is by
meanes of the Portugals, of the Castle of Myna, which
shewed them this way, for before the Portugals came
thither, the Negroes knew no such thing, but when they
bought any thing, they exchanged ware for ware, but the
Portugals coming thither had no monie to pay them, when
they bought fruits or other victuals to eate, and therefore
they desired to pay with Kacrawen, in stead of monie, &
so it is the custome about the Castle of Myna, that they
have great store of Kacrawen, which they use for payment
more then in other places. In places where the Portugals
are not known, the Negros use not that kind of Mint,
but sel their Gold as it commeth out of the Earth, for
they know not how to melt or use their Gold as the
Negros do, that deale with the Portugals, and in stead
of monie paid one the other in small stones: they use
also small pieces of Iron of a finger length, with a halfe

288
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

Moone thereon, which they use in stead of monie, and have no other kind of monie in the Golden Coast of Guinea, then such as I said before, wherewith they pay each other.

Although they are altogether wild, rough, and uncivill, having neither Scripture nor Bookes, nor any notable Lawes that might be set downe, or declared to shew the manner of their policie and living, yet when they have past the six daies of the weeke in labour and paines taking, to get their livings, the seventh day they leave working, and reckon that to bee their day of ease, and abstinence from worke, or their Sunday, which they call Dio Fetissos, which in our speech should signifie Sunday, but they observe it not upon our Sunday, nor upon the Jewes Sabbath Day, but hold it upon Tuesday, the second working day in the weeke; what law or opinion they have to moove them thereunto, I know not, but they hold Tuesday for their Sunday, and that day the Fishermen goe not to the Sea for fish: The women and Countrie people that day bring no Wine to the Market, but all the Wine which that day they draw out of the trees, they deliver it unto the King, which in the evening hee giveth unto his Gentlemen, and they drinke it among them. That day they doe no kind of worke, nor traffique with other but such as dwell on the Sea-side, refraine not for all that to goe aboard the shippes, and to buy wares of the Netherlanders. In their Markets they have a square place foure foot every way, supported with foure Pillars, and about two cubits high from the ground, flat on the top and covered close with Reedes, and hanged round about Wispes or Fetissos of Straw, whereon they lay Millia with Palme-oile or water, and give their god that to eate and drinke to sustaine him withall, that he should not die for hunger or thirst, thinking that he eatheth and drinketh it and lives by it, but the Birds of the Aire eate the graine, and drinkes the water, and when it is eaten they anoint the Altar with Oile, and set more meate and drinke upon it, thinking thereby to doe their god great sacrifice and service.
They have also a Priest, who in their speech they call a Fetissero, hee upon their Sabbath day sits upon a stoole, in the middle of the Market before the Altar or place whereupon they sacrifice unto their Fetisso, then all the men, women and children come and sit round about him, and there he speaketh unto them, & they sit stil to heare him: but what it is, or what it meaneth that cannot I learne, nor perceive, neither can you get it from them, for I have oftentimes asked them about it, but they will not tell, but are ashamed to declare it. But I have seene this Fetissero, have a pot with a certaine drink, (wherein there was a Snake) standing by him, and a Wispe, and some women with their little children went to him, which children hee stroaked with colour, or with some of that drinke, and so they went away, which I ghesse to be a kind of Salve against their Fetisso, for they esteeme their Fetissos to be both good and evill. And when their Fetissero hath made an Oration unto them, then he stands up and smareth the Altar with his Wispe, and drinke out of his pot, and then the people using certaine words and making a great noise among them, clapping their hands together, cry I. ou, I. ou, and therewith their preaching is done, and so everie one goes home to his house.

They hang many straw Wispes upon their heads, and thinke thereby to bee free and safe as long as they weare them, and that their Fetissos can doe them no harme. In the morning betimes when they have washt their bodies cleane, they stroake their faces with white stripes, made of earth like chalke, which they do in honour of their Fetisso, and use it in stead of praiers in a morning; when they eat any thing they present their Fetisso (the straw Wispes which they weare about their legges) the first bit, and also the first draught that they drinke, giving him to drinke, which if they doe not, they thinke they shall have no good lucke that day, for they perswade themselves that their Fetisso would not otherwise suffer them to be quiet. When the Fishermen take but small store of fish, then they thinke that their Fetisso is angrie, and therefore will give
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

them no fish, then they make a great crie among them, and goe to their Fetissero, and give him Gold to conjure their Fetisso, to send them store of fish. This Conjuror presently goes, and makes all his Wives (two, three or foure, or as many as he hath) put on their best apparell and ornaments, and with them goes howling and crying round about the Towne, striking themselves upon their brestes, and clapping their hands flat together, and so making a great stirre and noise, goe to the Sea-side, and taking boughs from the trees, hang them about their neckes: those trees they esteeme to be their Fetissos Dusianam, who they thinke send them fish. Then, the Conjuror or he that should bewitch the Fetissos, comes with a Drumme, and plaies or sounds before the trees, which they esteeme to be good for that purpose, which done hee goes to his Wives upon the strand, and when they have spoken one unto the other a good while, he casteth Millia into the Sea for his meate, with other colours, thinking that thereby their god is appeased, and will let them take fish enough.

When the King receiveth not custome enough, to maintaine himselfe withall, then he goeth to a tree which he esteemeth to be his Fetisso, and sacrificeth unto it, carrying it meat and drink; then the Conjurers come and conjures the tree, to tell them whether there will any Merchants come or not, which to doe they make a heape of ashes, in forme like a Sugar-loafe, and cutting a bough from the tree sticke that in it, then they take a Bason of water and drinke out of it, and therewith sprinkle the bough of the tree, which done they speake each to other, and then againe they sprinkle more upon it, after that they take some of the ashes, and be-dawbe their faces therewith, and in that manner use many foolish and vaine Ceremonies, and not long after they shall heare a voice which is the Devill, that saith something unto them, and therewith they goe home againe, and bring word what their Fetisso hath said. They hang many of those things about their children for diseases, as is said before, as also of their drinke of jealousie.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

When any man dieth, they also make a Fetisso, and desire it to bring the bodie into the other world, and not to trouble it in the way as it goeth, then the next our nearest kinsman killeth a Hen, and dresseth it ready to be sodden, which done, they goe and sit in a corner of their house: and with him take all his Fetissos, and place them in order, as their greatest god in the middle, and the rest of meaneer sort by it, then he takes certaine beades, some made of shels, some of Beanes and great Pease, and others of feathers, mixed with Buttons made of barkes of trees, and hangs them upon the Fetisso. After that they take the bloud of the dead Hen, and therewith spinkle their Fetisso (for a dead man must offer bloud unto his god) then hee fetcheth certaine Herbs out of the fields, and hangs them about his necke like a chaine. In the meane time, while the man is in this sort made readie, the Hen is sodden, and being sodden then he brings it, and putting it in a Platter, sets it in the middle of the Fetisso, which done, hee beginneth to conjure, using many words, and casteth water or wine of Palme upon his Fetisso, then he takes two or three of the greene leaves, which he hath about his necke, and rolleth them betweene his hands, making a little bowle or bale thereof, which he takes in the two fore-fingers of both his hands, and thrusts it betweene his legges, twice or thrice one after the other, saying, to his Fetisso, Aucie, which is as much as if he should say, All haile. After this he wringeth the sap out of that ball, and lets it drop upon his Fetisso; which done he laies the ball upon the ground, and takes two or three leaves more of the Herbs he hath about his necke, and rolles them in his hands, and having made them in a Ball, thrusts them betweene his legges, speaking certaine words as aforesaid, and then lets the sap drop upon his Fetisso, and this he doth untill such time as he hath rolled and wrung all the greene Herbs in that sort, which he had about his neck; then he takes all the balls or leaves together in his hand, and thereof maketh a ball as bigge as a mans fist, wherewith he wipeth his face, and that also is a Fetisso,
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

which being done the dead bodie shall rest in peace, and therewith he packeth up all his trinkets, and laieth them aside untill another time, that some other bodie setteth him a worke. This kind of Superstition they esteeme for a great holinesse for their bodies, for when they goe to warre they hang such beades about their neckes, armes and legges, thinking that their Fetisso will defend them thereby, and preserve them from killing, and thinke that they need not feare any thing. They esteeme the Pitoir also for a god, for when they goe from one Towne to another, and heare it call, they are exceeding joyfull and glad, for they say that it is a Fetisso, which speaketh unto them, saying, that all those that then travell in the way, shall have no hurt, nor need feare any danger, for he will defend them from all men that seeke to molest them, and wheresoever they heare it crie, there they set Millia for him to eate, and pots full of water to drinke, and dare not passe that place without giving it something, whereby in some corners of streets, and in the Woods you shall see a number of pots, and other meates as Millia, Mais, &c. which they set there to honour the Fetisso the Petoir, whereby it appeareth that they make great account of Birds, and also of some fishes, as of the Tonny, which they by no meanes will take, but esteeme it to be their Fetisso or Sea-god. They take many Sword-fishes, and cutting of the Swords they drie them, which they also esteeme for a great Fetisso. Others put their trust in some trees, and when they desire to know any thing they goe to those trees, where the Devill oftentimes appears in forme of a blacke Dogge, or of such like things, and many times invisibly, and maketh answere unto such things as they aske him. So that if you aske them any thing touching their believe, and they give you no answere, which maketh any shew of truth, then they say that their Fetisso said so, and willed them to doe it, for they esteeme him for their god, and use many foolish toyes and vaine shewes when they pray to him, and serve him, thinking that it doth them good, and that they merit much thereby, yet it helpeth them not. But
they rather find themselves deceived, and as they deale with the Devill, and put their trust in him, so he rewardeth them, and yet they desire not to heare of him, but feare him much.

There are some hils in those Countries, whereon ofttimes it thundereth and lighteneth, and thereby manie times some Fishermen, or other Moores, are cast away or receive some great hurt, which causeth them to thinke that their god is angry, and would have some meate and drinke, or wanteth some other thing, and by that meanes they hold manie hils to be their gods, and set meate and drinke upon them to pacifie them withall, and they dare not passe along by them, without going up and giving them something, fearing that if they did it not, they would doe them some hurt, and make each other beleevve such things, and whatsoever they beleevve, and once conceiveth in their heads, it will never be extirped, but have as firme an opinion of their Fetissos as possible may be. But when the Netherlanders saw them use such vaine toyes, which were so foolish, and laught and jested at them, they were ashamed, and durst make no more Fetissos in our presence, but were ashamed of their owne apishnesse.

We asked them of their Belief, and what opinion they had of divers things; as first, when they died what became of their bodies and soules. They made us answere, that the bodie is dead, but they knew not what any resurrection at the latter day meant, as wee doe: but when they die they know that they goe into another World, but they know not whither, and that therein they differ from brute beasts, but they cannot tell you to what place they goe, whither under the Earth or up into Heaven, but when they die, they use to give the dead bodie something to carrie with him, whereby it is to be marked that they beleevve that there is another life after this, and that there they have need of such things as they have here on Earth, for when they lose any thing, or when any of their friends die, then they thinke that those that are dead came and fetcht it away,
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

and that they had need of it, but they know not what the Soule nor the Resurrection is.

Secondly, asking them of their god, they made answere, that hee is blakke like themselves, and that he was not good, but did them much hurt. Whereunto we said, that our God is white as we are, that he is good, that he doth us much good, that he descended downe upon Earth to save us, and how he was put to death by the Jewes for our sakes, that when wee die wee goe to dwell with him in Heaven, and that there we neither need meat nor drink, whereat they wondred, and willingly heard us speake of those things, and said that we were Gods children, and that he told us all things, but yet they murmured, saying, why doth not your God tell and give us all things (as well as he doth to you) and why doth he not also give us Linnen, Cloth, Iron, Basons, and other kinds of wares; whereunto we made answere, that our God sent us all those things, and yet that he forgot not them, (although they knew him not) and sent them Gold, Palme-wine, Millia, Mais, Hennes, Oxen, Goats, Bannanas, Juiamas, and other fruits, to sustaine them withall, but that they denied, or else they could not conceive that such things came from God; but to the contrarie said that God gave them no Gold, but that the Earth gave it them, wherein they digge to find it: that hee gave them no Millia nor Corne, but that they sowed it, and reapt it themselves, and that the Earth gave it them; that the trees which they had planted gave them their fruits, and were first brought thither by the Portugals; that yong beasts came of the old, that the Sea gave them fish, which they tooke themselves, with many other such like things, which they would not acknowledge came from God, but from the Earth and the Sea, each according to their natures, but they acknowledge that Raine came from our Saviour Christ, and that by means of our God they had much Gold, for that by means of the Raine they found their Gold, and their Fruits and Plants grew, and waxed ripe by means of the moysture, and for that we brought them everie thing

[II. vii. 944.]

Miserable and ridiculous blindness.
readie made to their hands, therefore they thinke that wee find all such things, and need but goe into the fields to fetch them, as they doe their Fruits.

And when it happened that some of our Hollanderes being in their Houses, when it beganne to Raine, Blow, Thunder and Lighten (whereof they are in great feare) went forth through the streets, not once shunning the Thunder and Lightning, neither did it once hurt them, they wondred thereat, for they were afraid that if they should come out of their Houses at that time, that it would not be good for them, for that many times, (when it Thundreth and Lightneth there) it hapneth that some of them that are travelling abroad, are carried away by the Devill, and throwne dead upon the ground, whereby they are as much afraid thereof, as any man possible can be. And for that they know that our God dwels above in Heaven, when it Thunders and Lightens they point upwards, and call him Juan Goemain. And once wee had a Negro aboord our ship, whom we kept prisoner because he brought false Gold, and gave it out for good, which Negro everie morning tooke a Tub with water in it, and washt his face therein, which done, he tooke his hands full of water, and cast it over his head, speaking divers words unto himselfe, and after that spit in the water, and used many other Apish toyes, which wee seeing, asked him why hee did it, and hee made answere, that hee prayed his Fetisso that it might raine, that so his friends might find much Gold to release him, that hee might goe home againe.

They circumcise their young children, therein following the Mahometicall Law, with divers other opinions which they hold thereof, as thinking it evill to spit upon the Earth, besides many other Superstitions which they use, but affirme, that they altogether use those toyes, and only trust in their Fetissoes, were an untruth, for many of them that can speake Portugall (as having dealt with them and also daily traffique with us) beginne to leave those foolish toyes, and to have some understanding of Gods Word,
which they doe by reason that wee mocke and jest at their foolish Ceremonies, and for that they say that wee are Gods Children, therefore they beleevve much of that which we say unto them, and begin to know God, but it is without any ground, for they grounded in their owne Superstitions, because they are not otherwise instructed.

But the Negros which dwell among the Portugals, know much of God, and can speake of his Commandements, as I have found some among them, that could tell of the birth of Christ, of the Lords Supper, of his bitter Passion, and death of his Resurrection, and divers other such like points, concerning our Christian faith; specially, one whom I knew well, and that was my good friend: for he could write and read Portugall, and was indiffernt well learned in the Scriptures. And which is more, when he spake unto him, and argued upon some points against the Romish faith, or against the Religion which the Portugals had taught him (for he had dwelt with a Monk in the Castle of Mina) he would dispute the contrary with us, and shew that it was otherwise set downe in such a Gospel, and in such an Epistle of the Apostles, & that it must so be understood: whereby we may perceive, that those among them that have any understanding of the Christian faith, are sharpe witted, and will soone comprehend any thing: but it seemeth, that it hath not pleased God to call them to the understanding of the Christian faith, and therefore we are much bound to prayse and thanke God, that it hath pleased him to vouchsafe us the knowledge of his holy Word, and to understand and know what belongeth unto our salvation.
§. V.

Of their Houses, Townes, Countrey wayses, Warres, Armes, State of their Kings, Judgements, Lawes, Justice, Thefts, Promises, Oathes, and other Rites.

Their houses. Heir Houses are not very curiously made, but altogether slight, much like to a number of Hog-sties, and I am of opinion, that in many Countreys, there are better Hog-sties then their Houses are; I cannot liken them better to any other thing, then to Souldiers Cabins in Sconces and Bulwarkes: for a man might say, that they have taken a paterne by them. To build them first, they take foure Posts or Trees, which they thrust deepe into the ground, which stand foure square; that done, they lay other Beames or Trees upon them, and bind them fast together; then they take a number of thin small stickes, and inclose their Houses round about, and those they bind very close together, so that you can hardly thrust your hand in betwene them: then they make Morter of a certaine kind of yellow earth, which they find in the fields, and that they beat very small and thin, so long till it be like unto Pot-earth; which they take in their hands, and dawbe it upon the smal stickes round about their Houses, from the foot to the top, where they desire to have it close, and with their hands thrust it in betwene the chinckes of the stickes, that it may hold fast, as if it were betweene Lathes, and when they have made their Houses close in this manner, which is almost halfe a foot thick in the walles; then they let it stand and drie, so hard that it is like unto stone, and being well dried, then they make an other kind of Morter of Red earth, which is as thin as water, and take a wispe of straw in their hands, and therewith wash all their house round about within; which serveth them in stead of Painting, whereof they make great account, and take a great pride to paint their houses in such sort, some with white, some
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

with red, and others with blacke, as best liketh them; for the first thing they shew you when you come into the Countrey is their houses. To cover them, they take two foure square Coverings of Palme tree leaves: they tie fast together, and so close, that they are able to hold out the Raine, which they lay upon their houses for the Roofe thereof, and bind them fast together, and when it is faire cleare Sunne-shine weather, then they open the Roofe of their house, like two wings, under-propping it with stickes, and so let the Sunne-shine into their houses, and when it raineth, they let them fall downe againe close together. Before their house they make a fouresquare hole, like a doore, and make a doore of Reeds, which they open and shut, and bind it too with Witthes. The flooresses are flat and very even, covered with Red earth, as if they were paved, and in the middle thereof commonly they make a round hole to set their pot with Palme wine in, when they drinke together: in this sort they make two or three houses close together, which are placed foure square; and in the middle of them, there is a place wherein the women dresse their meat, in which houses they dwell together, as the women in the one, the man in the other, for they are asunder one from the other, and make as many as they have need of, and those houses they inclose round about with a pale of Reeds, or straw of Mais, a mans height, or as high as the walles of their houses, which are also but a mans height: so that if it were not for the covering of the house, which standeth paint-house wise, a man could not goe upright in their houses. Their houses stand altogether in a heape; but because they separate them one from the other by those pales of Straw, by that meanes they shew like streets, and are somewhat separated one from the other. Their streets are so little and narrow, that but one man alone can goe in them, and when it raineth it is very slipperie to goe in their Townes, because the earth is so fattie, but when the Sunne shines, it drieth up againe, and becomes as hard as a stone.

When you will goe into one of their houses, you must
goe so long through the streets, till you find a doore open, wherein being entred, you must passe through all the Roomes, till you find the place where you would be. Their houses are not very full of House-hold stuffe, but commonly they have woorden Chests, which they buy of the Netherlanders, wherein they locke up their things, so that you see but little of their House-hold stuffe abroad.

The Kings or Governors houses are commonly in the Market places, which are paled alone by themselves, and separated from all the rest, having no other neighbours dwelling by him, but onely his wives and children (for he is commonly better furnished thereof, then the meaner sort of men.) His house is greater and higher then the rest, and hath many roomes which passe one into the other, covered over with Reeds, each chamber by it selfe, wherein his men dwell, and his watch stayeth all the day long. In the middle of his house he hath a foure square place all open, but covered over for the Sunne, where in the day time he sitteth, with his Gentlemen that come to speake with him, and to passe the time away; at the Kings doore there are alwaies two pots set deepe into the ground, which are full of fresh water, and every day are fild with new water, which I thinke are set there for their Fetissos to drinke.

Their Townes that stand upon the Sea-side are not very faire, but rather filthie places, and stinke like carrions, by reason of the filth which they carry and lay without, not farre from them; and many times, when the wind blowes from the Land, you may smell the stinke of them, above a mile and an halfe into the Sea. The Townes that lie inward to the Land, are richer of Goods and Gold, then the Sea-townes, and fuller of Houses and Men; besides that, they have more Merchants dwelling in them: for, those on the Sea-side are not so rich, nor of so great power, as being for the most part Interpreters, Rowers, Pilots, Servants, Fisher-men, and Slaves to the Inhabitants of the Townes. The King keeps his Court in the nearest Towne, that standeth within the Land whereof he is King,
and placeth a Captaine in the Sea-townes which are under his command. The Land-townes are very great, but they have no Gates, Walls, nor Forts, nor any strength to resist the force of Enemies. I have heard some of the Negroes that dwell within the Land say, that there are many great Townes within the Land, much and farre exceeding the Haven or Sea-townes.

They use to reckon the Gold Coast to begin from Cape De tres punctas, to Rio de Volta. This Cape De tres punctas lieth under foure degrees and an halfe; and because it hath three Points or Heads, which reach into the Sea, therefore it is called the Cape De tres punctas; but, for that the Portugals have a Castle there, called Aziem, the Negroes are not suffered to deal with the Hollanders.

Eastward five miles lower there lieth a place, called Anta, and there the ships commonly cast foorth their Anchors; for there the Negroes buy much Iron, and are very expert to make Iron-worke. Those People traffique much with Palme-wine, whereof they have great store, as of Hens, Goats; and divers Fruits, Jugnamas, and Annan- asos; and when the time commeth that they draw their Wine out of the Trees, then the Canoes come thither with their Negroes and Merchants, at the least, ten or twentie miles from within the Land to buy Wine, so that it is carried almost all the Coast along, and great traffique made therewith. This Wine they esteeme very good for their men to drinke, because it is not so sweet as the Wine which is farther within the Countrie, which is not mixed with Water, as this Wine is. The other Wine they esteeme to be good to be drunke by their women because it is not mixed, but is exceeding sweet, and soone makes the women merrie. A mile lower lieth Rio de St. Georgio, and a place, called Jabbe, and Cama, where the Portugals also have a House: and because this Quarter is very fruitfull, there dwells three or foure Portugals there, which receive the Custome of the Fish, which is taken by the Negroes in the River, and buy great store of other victuals, which they send continually to the Castles of Aziem and
Mina, to victuall them withall. Before this River there is a great Sand, which stretcheth farre into the Sea, whereby you cannot enter into it with any ships, but onely with great Canoes. And a mile lower there lieth a Village, by the Negroes, called Agitaky: by the Portugals, Aldea de Torto; and by the Netherlands, Comando: but yet it is not Comando, although we call it so; for Comando lieth upon the Hill, where the Kings dwell. They of Edom, Wassa, Comando, and other Townes, come to this Haven to buy their Wares: there we sell many Venetian Madrigetten, and Corals (for the common people traffique much therewith by grinding and selling them one unto the other) small Copper Basons, and blue Cloth: broad Linnen is well sold there. In this place men sell not any Wares in great quantities, but all in small parcels; & for that there are so many small parcels sold there, therefore it is the worst place of all that Coast for giving of Dachios: and for that their Gold, for the most part, is molten, and cut in smal pieces, therefore there is much deceit therein, for they mixe much yellow Copper among it, and many times bring Copper in stead of Gold; and for those two Points it is the worst place to deale in throughout all the Coast. They have the greatest number of Canoes in all the Countrie besides; for many times they goe to Sea early in the morning, with seventie or eightie Canoes, and enter as farre into the Sea, as you can well discerne them, and about noone-time they come home againe with their Fish, for there they are very expert in fishing. It is likewise no lesse provided of Fruits, for there is no place in all the Land, where a man may have greater store, nor better cheape Fruit, then there, especially a kind of Fruit, called, Bannana; and for that cause it is by us called, the Fruit Market. When you saile somewhat lower, and are North North-east from the high Hill of Comando, there is a place called, Terra pekina. Neere to that is the Castle of Mina, with a Portugall Garrison to prohibite Trade.

Sailing a long mile lower, you come to a place called, Cape Crosso; this Cape or Point is a great place of
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

A.D. 1600.

traffique, where the French men in time past used much to lie with their ships, and to traffique in the Countrie, and in the yeare 1590. or 1591. there was a ship of Deepe set upon, by them of the Castle of Mina, whereof most of the men were slaine, and the rest made Slaves; and when we began first to traffique there, in the yeare 1592. there were some of our Hollanders slaine in a Boat at the same place; but now the ships begin to traffique there againe, because of the great quantitie of Gold which is brought thither from Foetu, Abrenbon, and Mandinga, and other Townes, which lie above two hundred miles within the Countrie. Sailing a mile lower, you come to the chiefe place of Traffique in all the Countrie, called Mourre. A mile lower there lieth a place called, Infantin, and two miles farther there lieth a towne called Cormantin, under the King of Foetu. There the Hollanders fetch their hoops, to bind their water vessels withall; for there are the best. Sayling foure miles lower, you come to the high hill of Mango, whereon the Negros offer sacrifice to the Devill, but there is no Traffique. A mile lower there is a Village called, Biamba, where they keepe good store of Cowes, for it is good Pasture ground. The Inhabitants use great Traffique along the Coast, by selling their Cattle; and because that there, there are many proper women; divers of the Negroes come from other places of the Countrey thither to buy women, and to fetch slaves to serve their turns withall; The Countrey people thereabouts are good husbandmen, and sow much Millie, presse good store of Palme wine, and bring great number of yong Cattle up. Three miles lower, there lieth a place called Berqu, the Village lieth upon a hill, there the French men used much to Anchor with their ships. Those people speake another Language, and to that place all the people forwards speake one Language. The people are very Ingenious to make all kind of things, specially of gold, [II. vii. 947.] for they can make faire Chaines of gold, with other faire things, as Rings, &c. There they brew a kind of drinke called Pitouw, which is much like small Beere. They
PURCHASES HIS PILGRIMES

have great store of Hens, and better cheape then in other places: there also they take the greene Birds, called Parrots. The Inhabitants in their time used to buy great store of Iron, for they have many Smithes, whereby they make faire Armes, but now there comes no more ships thither, they goe with their Canoes to Ackra, which lieth foure miles lower; which is a low land upon the Strand, having a halfe tree made in forme of a Gibet, which they esteeme to be their Fetisso. The Portugalls were wont to have a Castle there; but for some mischiefe that they had done to the Inhabitants, the Negroes tooke their Castle by force, slew all the Portugalls, and brake downe the Castle. There againe they use another Language, they are a craftie and subtle people, and the subtill est of all that Coast, both for Traffique and otherwise. They have very few Canoes to fish or goe to Sea withall; but those they have are very great, for I have seene one that was cut out of a tree, which was five and thirty foot long, and five foot broad, and three foot high, which was as bigge as a Shallop; so that it would have held thirty men at the least. They come not often to buy wares, but observe certaine dayes in the weeke to that purpose, and then they come with great store of money, bringing the gold as it is found in the hilles. Two miles below that, there lieth a place, called Neugo. A mile lower, lieth Temin; And a mile lower then that, another place, called Chinka, where the Hollanders begin to place boats to traffique with the Negroes, which from the yeere one thousand sixe hundred, was first begun to be known unto us.

They make warre for a small matter, for the Kings are so envious and angry one against the other, and so proud, that they cannot endure their equalls; whereupon they challenge one the other to the Battell, and to fight together in the field. The King gives warning to the Townes under his command, to will the Captaines with their men to come to him, to fight against the enemies: their enemies likewise doe the like, and so make preparation to fight one against the other. The Kings of those Townes have
certaine men, that are their Souldiers or slaves (which are as much as Souldiers) who every day watch in the Kings house, and are as it were his guard. They are very proud of their offices, and in the streets they goe stately, looking upon themselves, some times striking with their armes over their heads, and sometimes leaping backewards and forwards, and round about; looking fiercely, as if they would devoure all the world. They goe to the warres with the King, and if not then, they stay continually with him, to guard his person: and when the time commeth that they must fight, every one prepareth himselfe there unto, in the best manner that hee can. First, they paint their faces with colours, some Red, others White, and others Yellow; and also their brests and the whole bodies with Crosses, Strikes, and Snakes, and many such like things; They also take their Beads with them, wherewith they make their Fetissoes, and hang them about them, and thinke when they have them about them, that their Fetissoes will defend them, and that they shall not be slaine. They make and wreath a Ring of boughes of trees, as thicke as a mans arme, which they put about their neckes, to beare off the blowes of their Knives, in stead of Gorgets; on their heads they weare Caps made of Libards or Crocodiles skins: on their bodies they weare a Cloth Girdle which they thrust betwene their legges with a pece of Cloth of a handfull broad, to cover their privities withall; for then they weare as few clothes on their backes as they can, that they may not be cumbred therewith when they fight, in their Girdles they sticke a hewing Knife or a Poniard; in their left hands bearing their shields, which are almost as long and as broad as themselves, in their right hands they hold their Assagaies, wherewith they fling each at other, some of them have two, some three, foure, or more as they are able, and such as are not able, to have shields and Assagaies, they carrie Bowes and sheaves of Arrowes, made of skins, full of smal Arrowes with Iron heads at the ends, wherewith they wil shoot most cruelly.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

The Boyes or Servants carrie the Drums into the warres, whereon they play, others have horns of Elephants Teeth, wherewith they blow. When all is prepared, and everie Morinni or Gentleman with his men are readie, they all meet at the Kings Court, and so goe with their Wives, Children, and all their Houshold together to the Warres, where the battaile should bee fought, and if it be a Warre which concerneth them much, and wherewith they are much moved, and provoked to overcome their Enemies, then they burne their owne Houses, and all their Townes, that their Enemies may have no such advantage against them, as also because their minds should not be moved to looke and harken home-ward, but rather to give them the better courages to set upon their Enemies. But if it be a Warre of no great importance, and that will be soone ended, then they burne not their Houses nor take not their wives and children with them, but they leave their Townes, and send their wives and children to the next place, with whom they have no enmitie, which take all their houhold-stuffe with them, leaving their Houses emptie, without any kind of thing in them, as if they had wholly abandoned their Townes, and when their Warre is ended, then their wives and children returne againe to their owne Townes withall their stuffe.

The Souldiers on both sides meeting together in the fields, doe the best they can to destroy their enemies, both by casting at each other with their Assagaies, and by blowes. They can cast so exceeding straite, right and sure with their Assagaies that they will not faile to hit a Stiver or piece of monie as bigge as a Groat, the rest shoot with poisoned Arrowes. The Drummes and Hornes are heard to make a great noise when they fight together, and in this Warre whosoever is taken Prisoner they make him a slave all his life long, and such as are slaine, their bodies are drest and eaten as good meate. Their Warres are not so cruell as they seeme, nor according to the noise and preparation by them made, and their Warre continueth not long, but is soone over-past and ended. They also
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

A.D.
1600.

burne each others Houses and Townes, and drive the Inhabitants out of them.

It hapneth oftentimes, that although they have no great controversie with each other, they make peace together, promising not to warre one against the other, and to assure and confirme their promises, they beleev[e] no words, but they send each other a man for a suretie, whom they keepe by them, and this man whom they deliver in this sort for a suretie, is one of the chiefe of their Towne, who being brought to the place where he must remaine by the Kings slaves, he himselfe being bravely drest, and sitteth upon a slaves sholder, and in that sort is carried to the King, and to him they shew much honour, and yet they watch him narrowly.

They also buy many Peeces, and begin to learne to shoot in them, and have the understanding to know that a long Peece carrieth further then a short, which both the Portugals and wee also teach them. They are very expert in making of Armes, for they make Poniards of an ell long without hilts and foure fingers broad, with two edges, the handle being of wood, with a pummell at the end, they cover the handle over with a plate of Gold, or with the skinne of a certaine kind of fish which they take, which with them is esteemed as much as Gold is with us, they make sheathes of Dogs or Goates skinnes, and above at the end of the sheathe, in stead of a chape they put a great red shell, as broad as a mans hand, which is in great estimation with them, others that have not the abilitie to buy such shels, make or buy hewing Knives in fashion like a Gammon of Bacon, broad at the end and narrow before, which cut but on the one side, and in stead of a red shell, they trimme them with an Apes or a Tygres head, and those they sticke in their Girdles, on the one side, and weare them as they goe along in the streets, and carrie their Assagaies in their hands, and if they have a servant or a slave, they make him beare their Assagay and Shield before them, and they follow them with a staffe in their hands. The Merchants travell in the Countrie with
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

their Armes, and their servants or slaves likewise carry Armes with them, who commonly have Bowes and Arrowes, because they are Weapons which are least cumbersome to bee carried, for they can carrie them about their neckes.

Their Assagaies are made of divers fashions and of many sorts, but for the most part of Iron, at least two foot at both ends, and that part which they hold in their hands is of wood, both the ends are as heavie of Iron one as the other, because they should weigh an even weight, and for that one should not be heavier then the other, for if it should they could not strike nor cast right with them. They are very curious of their Armes, for they will alwaies have sixe or seven of those Assagaies in their Houses, which stand in the ground one by the other, with their Shields hanging by them; those Shields they make of woodden hoopes, which they fold one within the other, and so make them foure square, but some-what bowing like a Buckler, and they are commonly six foot long, and foure foot broad, in the middle they make a crosse of wood, and bind it upon the rest of the hoopes, to hold them the faster together, thereof also they make their handles whereon they beare their Shields: some of them of the better sort cover their Shields over with an Oxehide, and put a plate of Iron upon it two foot long, and a foot broad. They make great account of their Shields, thinking that under them they have a great safeguard for their bodies. They make their Bowes of very hard wood, the stringes are made of the barkes of trees, their Arrowes are of thinne and tuffe wood, the Feathers are made of the haire of a Dogges skinne, wherewith they cover almost halfe their Arrowes, and on the ends they put small Iron heads, which heads when they goe to warre one against the other, they anoint with poison, which is the juye of certaine greene Herbs, but they must not carrie such poisoned Arrowes but in time of warre, and that upon paine of a great forfeit, or some other punishment to be inflicted upon them that beare such Arrowes about them, their
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

sheafes they make of Goats skinnes, which they hang about their neckes, and put their Arrowes into it. Their Drums are made of hollow trees, which are covered over with Buckes skinnes, with woooden pinnes, and strike upon them with woooden stickes made like Spooones or Ladels. Those Drums commonly lie before the Kings Captaines and Guards Houses, and are sometimes twentye foot long, whereon they play when the King makes a Feast. They also make smaller Drums of hollow trees, which they hang about their neckes, and goe about the Towne, playing on them, those Drums are round above, and under very narrow like a funnell, no man may use them; but Gentlemen. They make Hornes of Elephants Teeth, and race them finely with manie stickes in them, and in the middle of the Horne they make a small hole which is foure square, and blow at that, but no man may use them but only the King or the Captaine.

They choose their Kings by the most voices and consents of the common people, for their Kingdomes are not successive to any of their children or Kinsmen, but when their King is dead, they choose another to governe them, and to possesse the Kingdome, and hee dwelleth in the deceased Kings Court, and possessest all that he findeth therein, at his first entrie into the Kingdome, he must buy good store of Cowes, and Palme-wine, and bestow a Blanket upon his subjects, for they make great account of a King that is liberall, and feasteth them, but if their King be covetous, and seeketh to heape up good store of Gold, they hate him, seeking all the meanes they can to find some cause to drive him out of his Kingdome, and to choose a better according to their minds. As it hapned in my time to the King of Sabæ (who had bee King of Infantin) and was made King of Sabæ, whom they drave out of his Kingdome, and taking all his goods from him, made him goe to Infantin againe, from whence he came, and chose another in his place that pleased them better. And for that cause, the King that will bee well beloved of his subjects, everie three monethes when his Guard or

Choice of the
King.

[II.vii.949.]

309
Customers come to pay him that which they have received at the Sea-side, and of the Countrie people for custome, he must make a Banquet, and spend more then he receiveth at that time, and then he biddeth his Morrinnis (which is as much as to say a Gentleman or one of his Counsell) and buyeth many Cowes or Oxen, and also all the Palmewine in the Countrie, that he can get which is given by him to the common people, who at that time are very merrie and joyfull, singing and playing upon their Drums. The heads of the Cowes are made cleane and fairely painted and hanged full of Fetissoes, which done they are hang’d very orderly in the Kings chamber one under the other, in stead of Pictures, and for a great honour unto the King, whereby such strangers as come to the Kings Court, may perceive that he is a good King, and for that cause is much esteemed and beloved of his people. Besides this they hold another Feast day everie yeare, as being the day of their Coronation or their Fetissee day, then the King inviteth his Neighbour Kings and Captaines, with all his Gentlemen to a Banquet, and makes a great Feast, and that day he prayeth to his Fetisso, and he himselfe sacrificeth unto him, which he doth but once a yeare. This Fetisso is the highest tree in the Towne, which is the Kings Fetisso, upon this Festivall day they use manie Apish Toyes, as Fencing, Drumming, singing and leaping, the women also are verie merrie and dance, and everie King holdeth his Feast day apart, and they doe it one soone after the other, which they doe in their Summer time.

On their Sunday at night the King makes a Feast, and buyes up all the Palmewine which is drawne out of the Trees that day, and biddeth his wives and children to Supper, and his chiefest Gentlemen, at which time they are verie merrie, for hee eates but one day in a weeke with his wives and children, and that is upon their Sunday. These women are verie serviceable to the King their Husband, and everie one of them feasteth him to winne his love, so that he wanteth no service at their hands:
everie one of his wives hath his goods and riches apart by her selfe, and keepeth and feedeth her owne children, and shee that is in favour with the King, wanteth nothing.

When the Kings wives go abroad, they leane upon the shoulders of other women that serve them, and are their slaves, and their children are also carried upon the shoulders of other of the Kings slaves, hee himselfe commeth little abroad, but stayeth always in his House, sometime he sitteth at his doore but not often, his House is watcht both day and night by his slaves, which watch armed in his Court, and in his Chamber, and when he goeth out they attend on him and goe round about him. In the morning betimes and late in the evening, his slaves blow those Hornes of Elephants Teeth, which make a prettie sound, for they have the slight to draw their breath in and out as they list, and can answere one the other when they blow, when the King comes out of his Chamber, his wives stand ready to attend on him, to wash his bodie all over, and then to anoint it with Palme-oile, after that he eateth some-what, and so sets himselfe downe upon a stoole, and in his hand hee holdeth a Horse or an Elephants tayle to keepe the Flies from his naked bodie, he is bravely drest after this manner; his Beard is knotted with golden Corals and other costly things, on his armes and legges hee hath Rings of Gold and other faire Beades of Corall, and the like also about his necke, and so hee sitteth all the day talking with one or other, for he wanteth no company to passe the time away, they have one attending on them, whom they call Viador (which word they have learned of the Portugals) hee is the Kings Treasurer, and keepeth his Gold and other Riches, receiveth and payeth all, and doth all other businesses for the King. This man is next unto the King, and he commonly hath more golden Rings about his necke, armes and feet, then the King himselfe.

When the Kings children are of some yeares, if they will have any thing they must looke to get it, for the King may give them nothing to live idly upon, for the common people would murmurre at it, if the King should give
somewhat unto them, he might doe wrong to his Gentle-
men, but hee giveth them their Patrimoniall goods when
they marrie as their custome is; and besides that he giveth
them every one a slave to serve their turnes with all, and
they have nothing else of their Fathers, whereby it falleth
out, that when they waxe old, and seeke not to doe any
thing, they are no more respected then another man is.
The King keepes them with him to serve him, and when
he maketh peace with any other Towne or King, then he
imploareth his children, and sends his sonnes for hostages,
that they may begin to be honored, and thereby attaine to
great estate: the revenues of the Fruits, Fish, Wine, and
Palme-oile, which the King hath, are sufficient to main-
taine the King, and his Wives, and Children. His Millie,
whereof he maketh Bread, is sowed and reaped for him,
at other mens charges; whereby he hath a good life (but
yet miserable in respect of ours.) When the King dies
he is honourably buried after their manner, and then
presently they choose another, one that is not of the last
Kings kindred; but they choose a strange man, whom
they thinke good; and by no meanes they will choose
any that in any point held with, or favoured the last King.
Having made him King, they bring him to the Palace,
and he taketh the government upon him, and hath all the
treasure and goods of the dead King, which he got during
the time of his Raigne; and that he holdeth, so that the
dead Kings Children enjoy not a penie: but that which
he had when he was chosen King, that they take and part
among them, as their custome is.

They use no Counsellors nor Attorneyes, but every
man must tell his owne tale to the Judge, who sends for
the accused partie; after whose answere, the Plaintiffe
speaketh againe: and in this sort they are each of them
heard to speake foure or five times, and when the one
speaketh the other must hold his peace till he hath done,
for they must not interrupt one the other when they
speake, upon paine of corporall punishment, so that
although they bee wild men, and without any civilitie or
good behaviour; yet therein they use a very good and laudible custome. When the Judge hath heard them say what they can, according to his owne mind, hee giveth Judgement, which they must stand unto without appeale. If it bee any thing concerning the King, whereby he is to have any forfeiture or otherwise, the Judge receiveth it, and demandeth it of him that is to pay it, in the Kings name, which he must pay presently without delay, and if he be not able to doe it, he must presently depart from thence to another Towne, or some other Kings Jurisdic- tion, and there stay till he hath contented his King, & payed his Fine. If it be a controversie which is to be determined among them, and they cannot agree thereon, then they will secke to kill each other, or challenge their adverse parties to fight with them, appointing a day and place when they will meet with their Armes to end or determine their controversie. In the meane time they make their cause knowne to some of their friends, and desire their helpe, (for each of them may have three or foure men to helpe them) and commonly they are of their neerest friends and kindred; and when their appointed day is come, each of them goeth with his companions to the same place, and when they meet together with their Shields and Assagaies to defend themselves withall, they place themselves orderly in the field one right over against the other, the Plaintiffe and the Defendant standing in the middle, and so begin to cast and shoot at each other with their Assagaies, and shoot in that sort so long untill that some of them on both sides are hurt, and fall to the ground. Then they cease their Fight, and so their quarrell endeth. But his side on whom the dead man is found to be slaine, or that hath lost the victorie, come to the other partie and desire to have the man out of their companie, that was the cause of that Combat, in stead of the dead man that is slaine. And if he runneth away, and getteth to another Towne, they will follow him, and will never leave before they have gotten him into their hands, and none of their Kings may give such a man freedome, nor
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

keepe him secretly in his Towne, but if he can find him in his Towne, he must deliver him to those that seeke after him, and if he doth it not, then they make complaint to their King, and so, many times one King makes warre upon another for that cause; when they have found him, he is delivered to the wife of the dead man, and shee keepeth him for her Slave, or else shee sells him to another: but if hee hath any meanes to pacifie the woman, or the friends of that man, and to redeeme himselfe out of bondage, he may doe it, and goe freely abroad. They are very great controversies that are ended in this manner, for they are no common men that end their quarrels in such sort.

The Plaintiffe certifies the Captaine, who causeth a Drum to be sounded by one of his Slaves, and he goeth round about the Towne with the Drum about his necke, and with him there goeth two boyes more, each with a Cow-bell in their hands, without Clappers, and they strike upon them with stickes made of wood, and when they have gone in this sort round about the Towne (which is a signe unto the people that Justice is to be executed) then the Captaine with his Gentlemen comes and sit round together in the Market-place, each man with his Armes, wherewith all the people assemble together, knowing not what the matter is, and goe to the Market-place, where their common assemblies are made, the women standing in one place, the men in another, to heare what the Captaine will say; and he that is accused is presently taken, and kept prisoner in the Captaines house, and if it be a weightie matter, he is bound; if otherwise, he is onely kept by the Executioner, and he must not depart from thence before his cause be tried, in the meane time, the Captaine with his Gentlemen sit still in the Market-place, to heare the complaints made against the Prisoner, and send him word by his Slaves what accusations are laid against him, whereunto he must presently, without delay, make answere; otherwise, if he cannot excuse himselfe, he must pay the penaltie which he hath incurred; and if he cannot pay it, he must in the Kings behalfe be sold as a
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

Slave, towards the payment of his Fine, and ever after, while he liveth, he must be a Slave: but if he hath done any offence that deserveth death, he may redeem his life with money, if he can agree with the King, and content him; which money is divided among the Morinni, which have the one halfe, and the King the other halfe, without giving any to the friends of the dead man. And if it be one that hath incurred the danger of paying a Fine for lying with another mans wife, being accused to have won her thereunto by false promises or by force, and hath not kept his promise with her; then the King first taketh all his goods from him, as forfeit unto him; and the woman must pay two or three ounces of gold for a Fine unto her husband, or as he favoureth her, and she can agree with him; otherwise he may put her away, and take another wife, and the womans friends goe and burne, or pull downe the mans house that hath done the fact, and doe him all the mischief they can, to make him to leave the Towne, that they may heare no more of him. In my time, while I lay there, it hapned that a man came from one Towne to another, to gather up his debts, which man a yeere before had layne with another mans wife, and the same woman was then by chance come to the same Market, and seeing him, went straight and complained to the Æne, (which is the Captaine) who presently caused him to be taken; and their Counsell being assembled, there before them the woman complained that he had forced her, and had not paid her according to his promise: he made answere, that he did it with her good-will, and although neither of them both were of that Towne, yet their cause was heard, and as good Justice used towards them, as if they had beene Inhabitants of that place, and after long disputa­tion by them made, the Fetissero (which is the Priest that conjureth their Fetissos or gods) came thither with a certaine Drinke in a pot, and set it downe before the Captaine, the woman tooke the pot and drunke thereof, to justifie that he had not contented her for the losse of her honour; and if hee would have drunke thereof
before the woman drunke, to justifie that he had paid her, and owed her nothing, then he had beene quit from paying any thing; but knowing himselfe to be guiltie, he durst not drinke, but was found guiltie, and was judged to pay a Fine of three Bendaes, which is sixe ounces of gold.

This Drinke among them is as much as an Oath, and is called Enchionkenou; which they make of the same greene herbs whereof they make their Fetissos; and as they say, it hath such a force, that if a man drinketh it falsely, their Fetisso causeth him presently to die; but if they drinke it innocently, then their Fetisso suffereth them to live. By reason of the great hatred and envie which they beare one unto the other, they accuse each other, although it bee for a thing that hath beene done ten yeeres before, so that there is no quarrell but it is called in question. And if a man hath married or bought the sister of that man that is to pay a Fine unto the King, and is not able to doe it, then his sisters husband must joyne with him to doe it, and helpe him to pay his Fine, so they dwell both under one Jurisdiction, and for that they must agree together; for before all things the King must be paid his Fines, by one meanes or other, or else they must goo out of his Countrey, and dwell in another place; and so if he be not able to pay his Fine, then he taketh all his Wives and Children, and goeth to another Towne, and which is more, all the friends they have dwelling in that Towne must also goo with him, and dwell all in that place, untill they have agreed with, and paid the King his Fine: and when they come againe, then they goo to all their acquaintance and aske them forgivenesse, and seeke and make peace and friendship with them, as they had before; the man going to his friends, and the woman to hers. The cause why their friends also depart and leave the Towne, is, because they should not bee molested nor troubled by the King for the same. The Fine which they pay for Theft, is sixe ounces of gold, or three Bendaes of their weight; for in that Countrie they are not put to death for it. But if they
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

steale any thing from the Nederlanders, they pay no Fine, but onely when they steale one from another. If any man hath falsified Gold, and carried it to the Nederlanders, and that they complaine thereof unto the King; he must pay a Fine for it, as the case requireth. If much Gold bee falsified, many times they are sold for Slaves. And all these Fines are the Kings, to maintaine his expences. If it be a case wherein any man hath deserved death, and that he cannot pay the King but with his life, then he is judged to die, and without any more delay, the Executioner, or hee that is appointed to doe it, taketh him, and bindeth his hands behind him, and then covering his eies, leadeth him into a Field, or a Wood, or where he thinketh best, (having no place purposely appointed to doe it in) and being there, maketh him kneele downe, and stoope with his head, and taking an Assagaie, steppeth backe, and strikes him into the bodie, wherewith he falleth downe, then he takes his cutting Knife, and cuts off his head, and then hee is dead; for they beleevе not that a man is dead before his head is cut off, and therefore when they put any man to death, they cut off his head; which done, hee cuts his bodie in four quarters, and casts them into the field, to bee devoured by Beasts and Birds. But their friends come and fetch the head, and keepe it for a great Present, seething it in a Kettle, and then eate the broth thereof; which done, they take the bare Scull, and hang it by their Fetisso. The women at that time make a great noise with crying and howling, and take the quarters, and carrie them into the fields: when the execution is done, there are no Officers by, but onely the Executioner and the Partie that is to be executed; but when it is done, then they come about him, and lament the dead man, as aforesaid.

For stealing, I am of opinion, that of all the Nations in the World, they have not their Masters. They esteeme it a shame to steale one from another, but when they have stolne any thing from the Nederlanders, they esteeme it to be a credit unto them and bragge thereof, for they esteeme us to be craftie and subtille men, and when they have stolne
any thing from us, they thinke themselves to be the
subtiller and craftier, and seeke to bee honoured for doing
so brave an action.

Lead, that is nayled without upon the ships, to keepe
them from being eaten by Wormes, rustic Nayles, Grease,
Weights (which they hide in their Haire, Mouthes, or
Eares) any other small matters are exercise of their Theft;
yea, although they be never so great Merchants, and
bestow two or three pound of Gold with you for
Merchandize, and have no need to steale, but if any thing
bee taken from them, they make so many words and such
a noyse, as if it were a matter worthy of death.

They say that they may steale, and we not: I askt them
the cause why; they made answere, that we are rich and
had great store of wares, and brought ships full unto them,
and tooke great paines and labour to sell it, and were so
long before we sold it, that they thought it fit to helpe us
therein, that we might the sooner be rid thereof, that we
might fetch others, and that wee were clothed, and they
went naked, and had nothing upon their bodies, and that
therefore it was freer for them then for us to steale. When
they have taken any thing and that you misse it, you must
presently search them all, for they steale very cunningly,
and give it one unto the other, and when they come
together they part it among them; when you have found
it, and know who stole it, then you must beat him well,
be he never so great a Merchant, and the rest of the
Negroes will laugh at him and mocke him, because hee
did his businesse no better: but when they perceive that
their Theft is discovered, then they leapec over-boord and
get away, fearing to be beaten, and if you let them goe
and beate them not at that time when you take them, then
they feare a greater matter and expect more blows, and
that you will intrap them, and therefore they will commonly
ever after shunne that ship and goe aboord another: but
if you beate them for their labours when they doe it, they
will not hate you for it, nor shunne the Ship, but will
come the next day againe to deale and traffique with you.
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

In their Promises or Oathes which they make unto us, they are unconstant and full of untruth, but such promises as they make among themselves, they keepe and observe them well, and will not breake them: when they make any Oathes or Promises, specially, when they will shew it to our Netherlanders. First, they wipe their faces upon the sole of your foot, and then doe the like upon their shoulders and brests, and upon all their bodies, speaking thrice each to other, saying, Iau, Iau, Iau, everie time clapping hands together, and stamping with their feet upon the ground, which done, they kisse their Fetisso, which they have upon their legges and armes: some for the more assurance of their Promises and Oathes, will drinke certaine drinke, as I have said before: but he that should repose much trust therein, should soonest find himself deceived, because they are not to be credited further then you see them.

§. VI.

Of their Summer and Winter; And of their manner of Tilling and Sowing the Land; Their Corne, Rents, Raines; Beasts and Hunting: Fowles, Trees, and Fruits.

Although it is always warme in those Countries, yet they have a difference in the time of the yeare, and so they account some monethes for their Summer, and some for their Winter. The difference which they have therein is the weather; for both in Summer and Winter the trees are greene, and some of them have leaves twice a yeare. In Summer their fields are bare, and in Winter they are full of Corne, and are very greene, so that they have their Harvest in Winter. The Dayes and Nights are of one length, or else there is little difference: for the Sunne riseth and goeth downe there, commonly at sixe of the clocke, but it is risen at least halfe an houre above the Horizon, before it sheweth it selfe, so that you shall seldome see it cleerely rise and
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

goeth downe. The Fruits are there as plentifull and abundant in Winter, as in Summer when the weather is warmest, and that the Sunne is above their heads. They esteeme that time to be their Winter, which beginnes in the moneths of April, May, and June; because as then it raineth and is very foule weather there with Thunder and Lightning, (which the Portugals call, Travados, and they Agombretou) which foule weather and raine followeth the Sunne, and riseth up with his hight, at that time they are most cumbred with raine: but in their Summer they are not so much troubled with it, but then the Earth dryeth and is hard and unfruitfull, and therefore they shunne that time to sow their Millie and Mais in, but when that time is gone, to beginne their Husbandrie, they goe into the Woods or Fields, and there seeke out a good place, which they thinke fit for their purpose to sow their Corne in, to serve to maintaine their Wives and Children.

No man hath any Land to himselfe which he can or may keepe to his owne use, for the King hath all the Woods, Fields, and Land in his hands; so that they may neither sow nor plant therein but by his consent and licence, which, when they have obtained, and have a place permitted them to sow their Corne in, then they goe with their slaves and burne the Woods, trees, roots and shrubs with all the rubbish downe to the ground: then they goe with their long chopping-knives which they call, Coddon, and scrape and raze up the ground with Colen (and all that serveth them to fatten their ground) about a foot deepe, and let it lye eight or ten dayes, and when all of them have tilled their ground, every man makes readie his seed to sow it withall, upon their Sunday, and then they go to their Kings or Governors House, of that quarter: for, first, they helpe to till his ground, and to sow his Corne, and go all together to his field, and take all the rubbish out of the Earth and cast it into the middle of the field, and then once againe rake the Earth and sow their Corne in the field. They begin upon a Sunday, and first serve their Governour or King, and when they have done his worke, the Captaine
sendeth into the field a great number of Pots with Palmewine, and a sod Goat, with good store of other meat, according to the number of Workmen, and there they sit downe together and make good cheare, and at that time they burne the roots, and sit and sing and make a great noise about them, all in the honour of their Fetisso, to the end that he should let their Corne grow well and prosperous up. When their Captaines or Kings Land is tilled and sowed, the next day they goe to another mans ground, and doe with it as they did with the Kings ground, and there also make good cheere as they did before, and are merrie together, and so forth-with the rest whom they helpe. The Corne soone groweth up, and lyeth not long in the ground: when it is as high as a mans head, and beginnes to sprout, then they make a wooodden House in the middle of the field, covered over with Reeds, and therein put their Children to watch the Corne, and to drive away the Birds, wherewith they are much cumbred. They weed not their Corne, but let it grow up weeds and all.

The Millie hath long eares, and is a seed of colour like Hempe-seed, and long like Canarie-seed, it hath no shels, but groweth in a little huske, and is very white within. This kind of graine they always had, and serve their turnes therewith before the Portugals came thither. It groweth and is ripe in three months, and when it is cut down, it lyeth a month after in the fields to dry, and then the eares are cut off and bound in sheafes, and so carried home to their Houses. They use the straw to cover their Houses withall. This Millie is a verie excellent graine, hath a good taste and is wholesome to eate, it is sweet in your mouth, but gnasheth in your teeth, which commeth of the stone wherewith they grind it. When they have used the Land, and their Harvest done, then they sell part of their Corne to other men, which are not able to sow it, and by that meanes get a good quantitie of Gold; they give some to their King for the rent of his Land, and carrie it home to his House, every one as much as he

A.D. 1600.
thinketh good. For there is no certaine summe appointed for them to pay, but every one giveth according to his abilitie, and the quantitie of ground that he hath used, and bringeth it unto the King, so that hee hath at least five or sise Bendas of Gold of them at one time, which they carrie altogether to their King, who welcommeth them, and thanketh them for their Dache or Gift, and for their labours giveth them their bellies full of meate and drinke, and that they pay to the King for the farme of his Land, and no more.

Their Mais. The Corne by the Indians called Mais, by the Portugals or Spaniards, Indian-wheat, and by the Italians, Turkish-corne, is a Graine almost knowne throughout all the World, and was brought out of West India into Saint Thomas Iland, and they of Saint Thomas (after they had built their Castle) brought it thither for to serve their necessitie withall, and sowed it there, for before the Portugals came into those Countries, the Indians knew it not, but they sowed it first in that Countrey, and dispersed it abroad among the wild Indians, so that now the Countrey is full thereof, and at this present there is great abundance in Guinea. They use to mixe it with their Millie, and sometimes take halfe Millie and halfe Mais. The Negroes that dwell among the Portugals, grind it alone without any Millie, and make excellent bread thereof, wherewith they sustaine themselves, and sell it to the Portugals: they know how to bake it in such sort that it will endure good three or foure monethes. The children also eate it in stead of bread, which they set awhile upon the fire, and then crush the Corne out of the huskes, such as eate much thereof and are not used unto it, use to bee Scurvie and Itchie, or else to bee troubled with great bloud Veines, for it increaseth bloud: it is no lesse nourishing then Corne in the Netherlands, and in a manner tasteth like our Corne.

The people of the West Indies can make Wine of Mais, which they call, Chicka, wherewith they will make themselves drunke, as if it were of Wine made of Grapes, and for that they know, that Corne sodden or steept in water
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

maketh a kind of drinke, wherewith a man may make himselfe drunke; therefore they lay this kind of Graine to soake in the water till it is soft, and then they brew thereof, as some of the Negroes in Guinea, which deale with the Portugals, also doe, and call it Poitou.

This Mais will grow in a moyst fatty and hot ground, and beares twice a yeere: it is not sowed like other Corne, but it is thrust into the ground, as we use to doe Beanes in our Countrey: it lieth not long in the ground, but soone springeth up, and groweth higher then a mans length above the ground, like to great Reeds that grow in the water, or in drowned land, wherewith husbandmen use to cover their shades: every Reed hath his eares whereon the Corne groweth, and notwithstanding, that they are heavy eares, as big as yong Cucumbers, and sharpe above like the top of a Steeple, yet every Reed hath seven or eight eares upon it. I have told five hundred and fiftie Graines upon one Reed, which came of one Graine alone. They are of divers colours, as White, Blacke, Yellow, Purple, &c. and sometimes you shall have three or foure colours thereof in one eare. There are two sorts thereof, great and small, the great Graine is stronger then the small. They use the Reed to cover their houses.

They shun the Raine, and esteeme it to be very ill and unwholesome to fall upon their naked bodies, which they doe not without great reason, for wee find our selves to bee much troubled therewith, when we travell, specially when it raineth much, and maketh great Travados, as it doth once a yeere in those Countries, which is in Aprill, May, and June; at which time there are such Tempests of Thunder, Lightning, wind, and Raine, that it is incredible, specially the Raine under the Equinoctiall Line, is so unwholesome and rotten, that if a man hath beene in the Raine, and is thorow wet, and so lieth downe to sleepe in his Cabin, in his wet clothes, without putting them off, he is in danger to get some sicknesse; for it breedeth Fevers: and againe, if you drie not your wet clothes presently in the Sun, but forgetting them, chance to let them lie, they
will rot with the force of the water, in such sort, that you may plucke them in pieces with your fingers. And they find no lesse unwholesomenesse therein; for when it begins to Raine, they get them out of the way, and if any drops of water fall upon their naked bodies, they shiver and shake, as if they had a Fever, and cast their armes over their shoulders to keepe the Raine from them: which they doe, not because the water is cold, for often times it is as warme as if it were sodden: but because of the unwholesomenesse for their bodies, which they find thereby. And when they have troden in the day time in the water with their feet, at night they make a fire, and lie with their soles of their feet against it, which they doe, to draw the moisasture of the water, which is gotten into their bodies, out againe at their feet: then they anoint their bodies with Palme Oyle, which they use also for a beautifying to make their bodies shine, and that they doe to shunne the Raine water within those Countreys (as many men write) is very unwholesome, and thereof many and dangerous diseases are ingendred.

They have Elephants, Leopards, Tigers, Cats of the Mountaine, Monkies, Foxes, Harts and Hinds; it is said, that in this Countrie there are white Elephants: but I could never understand it from the Negros themselves.

There are the greatest and most venimous Snakes that ever was seene, there was one in my time taken there (as the Negroes told me) which was thirty foot long, and as much as sixe men could carrie; There is also a beast like a Crocodile, but it never goeth into the water, as the Crocodile doth; which is called Languad.

There are Spiders as big as the palme of a mans hand, and great store of them. Camelions and Agtissen a great number, but they esteeme not them to be venimous, for they drie many of them & eat them. There are many Dogs & Cats, such as we have, but their Dogs have sharper snowts then ours, and their chaps full of wooll, they cannot barke nor make a noise, they are very faire beasts for colour, as blacke, red, white, and yellow Spaniels,
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

They are also a little smaller footed than ours, so that they are not much unlike the Dogs in our Countreiry, but they are unlike to ours in one thing, for when you strike them, they run away, and make no noise, nor once offer to bite you; but when you run away from them, and are afraid of them, they will leape at you, and bite you by the legges: those Dogs they use for their necessitie, and eate them, and in many places of the Countrey they are brought and driven to the Market like sheepe or hogges, being tied one to the other with strings, they are called Ekia, or Cabra de matto, which is a wild sheepe, it is the first gift which a man of that Countrie giveth when he buyeth his Gentilitie, they make much of our Dogs in these Countries, for when they barke, they thinke they speake; and for that cause esteeme greatly of them.

Cats also are there much esteemed, because they take Mice, wherewith the Inhabitants of the Towne are much troubled, they are called Ambaio, they have very faire skins, and are very good Mousers, they use also to eate them, they were first carried hither out of Europe.

If they know where any Elephants are, they use all the meanes they can to take them, for they eate them also, although they should stinke like a Carrion, and that a thousand Maggots crept out of them. Where they know that they use often times to come, they make great pits, which they cover over with straw and foule leaves of trees, which the Elephant knowing nothing of, goeth that way as he was wont to doe, and falles into the pit, and cannot get out againe.

[II.vii.955.]

The Negroes hearing that hee is fallen into the pit, run thither with their weapons and smite him into the body with Assagaies, and so kill him; which done, they leape into the pit, and cut him in quarters, and every one may go and fetch his part thereof when he will, of the hide they make stooles to sit on: the taile is given to the King to beat the Flies from his naked body, and are much esteemed off there; with no lesse subtilltie they take the Leopards, for they doe them more hurt then other beasts: and
because it is a cruell beast to spoyle and destroy men, keeping in the way where men should passe along. In every foure cornered way, or at the end of the street, they make houses with woodden pales, which are like to Rat traps, wherein they put Hens, Sheepe, and other things which he desireth to eate, where the Leopard comming to eate his prey, is taken with the fall of the trap, and kild with an Assagaie; they esteeme much of the skin, whereof they use to cut Girdles, and to make Caps. There are no Horses in that Countrey, and when there were some brought unto them for a great Present, they kild them, and eate them: because their flesh seemed sweet unto them.

Oxen.

The Oxen and Cowes that are found in that Countrey are not very great; but of bignesse like great Calves: their hornes stand backward on their heads, they are not milkt, for they give none; they can hardly bring up their yong Calves, by reason of the small moysture that the Cowes give their Calves, by meanes of the drie Countrey wherein they are, and by reason of the heat of the land.

Hennes.

The Hens and Goats, (which with them are sheepe) that they have there, were brought them thither by the Portugalls of S. Thomas, the Hens prosper and encrease well there, and are so fat with the Millie that groweth there, as if they were Capons; but they are commonly smaller then ours, the Egges which they lay are no greater then Pidgeons Egges. The Doves which they have there, were also brought them thither by the Portugalls, and are called Abrauama, which is as much to say, as Birds brought thither unto them by white men. They are very like to our Pidgeons, but their heads are lesse, like Sea-mewes, there is no great store of them in the Countrey.

Doves.

The Hogs also were brought them by the Portugals, and are called Ebbio; they are very little, but very sweet and pleasant to eate, but not so good as the Hogs in Mosambique, where the Hogs flesh is as daintie as Hens flesh: and because it is a very unwholesome place, they give their sicke men Hogs flesh to eate, in stead of Hens flesh: they have also not long since gotten some Geese.
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

A.D. 1600.

Monkies.

out of a ship of Holland, which they call Apatta, which are there much esteemed off, because they are but few.

The Countrey is full of Monkies, of divers formes, for some of them have white beards, and blacke Mustachoes, with speckled skins, their bellies white, and upon their backes they have a broad Tawnie stroke, with blacke Pawes and a black Tayle, and by us are called Beard-men. There are some called white Noses, because no part of them is white but onely their Nose, there is a third sort, called Boerthkens, those shun men very much, and stinke filthyly, by nature they are very crafty: the fourth, are very like to the Jacken, which are found in the Graine Coast; there are also many Monkies of divers other fashions, they take the Apes and Monkies with springes which hang upon the trees, where into the Apes and Monkies leape, and are taken by the Negros. Muske Cats are there in great abundance, the Portugals call them Cato degalia, which is Agalia Cats; the Negroes call them Kankan, those kind of Cats are also found in East India, and in Java, but they are not so good as those in Guinea; or of the golden Coast, they are there called Castory, those Cats are much esteemed of by the Portugals, whereby they reap great profit, specially by their Agaly or Muske, which they take from them, and make them cleane, and then it is put into glasses, and carried into Lisbon, it is a kind of beast much given to bite, and to eate flesh; because they give them flesh (as Hens, Pidgeons, Goats, and other costly meats) to eate. They ease themselves in a place apart, and leave it, and never lie in it; it is almost like a Foxe, but their tayles are like other Cats, their skins are speckled like a Leopards skin: the Negroes take many of them in the woods when they are yong, and so bring them up: but because they have no skill there how to use them, they sell them to strangers. The Male Cats are the best, and yeeld the most Agalia, by reason that the Females pisse in the cod wherein the Muske groweth, and pisse it out with their water; when you perceive that they teare their bagge, you must take their Agalia from them, for they doe it to be

Musk-cats.
rid of it: the wilder and worse they are to rule, so much
the costlier and better their Agalia is.

There are Hares also in this Countrey, specially in a
place called Akra, in forme like ours, and because that
Countrey is low Sandy Ground, therefore they are found
more there then in any other part of that Coast: when the
Negroes will take them, they goe a great number of them
together, to the place where the Hares are, every one
taking with him two or three cudgels of wood, as long
as a mans arme, and there they compass the field round
about, and standing about their holes, make such a noyse
and crying, and clapping their stickes one upon the other,
that the Hares are so feared therewith, that they leape out
of their holes, and are by them kild with those Cudgels,
which they cast at them, and by that meanes get many of
them. Harts and Hinds are sometimes found there also,
but in some places more then others, they are of the same
fashion that ours are in the Low-countreyes, but they have
another kind of hornes then ours, they have no expresse
kind of Instruments to take them withall: but when they
see them goe to the water to drinke, they strike them into
the bodie with an Assagaie and kill them. Hunting to
take wild beasts is lawfull for any man to use in those
Countreys, if they can take them, without punishment for
doing it: There are many other kinds of beasts of such
several sorts, that a man cannot tell what to make them;
but for that the Nederlanders that use to Guinea dare not
go farre into the Countrey to take wild beasts, least they
should be taken and intrapped by the Portugals or their
adherents, and made slaves all their lives long: therefore
there are many wild beasts that are not knowne by us,
and which the Inhabitants themselves know not, nor can
not tell by what names to call them.

The Birds that are found there, are of divers sorts, and
are little birds like unto ours; first, there are blew Parrots,
whereof there are great store, which being yong, are taken
out of their nests, and made tame, having not flowne
abroad, they are better to teach, and to learne to speake;
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

but they will not prate so much as the greene Brasilian Parrots doe. They have also an other kind of greene Birds, as big as Sparrowes, like the Catalinkins of West India, but they cannot speake. Those Birds are called Asuront, and by our Netherlanders, called Parokites. They are taken with Nets, as you use to take Sparrowes. They keepe much in low Land, where much Corne or Millie growtheth; for they eate much thereof. Those Birds are very kind one to the other; for when you put a male and a female in a Cage, they will alwaies sit together without making any noyse. The female is of such a nature, that when she is coupled with the male, she respecteth him much, and letteth him sit on the right hand, setting her selfe on the left hand; and when he goes to eate, shee followeth him; and so they live together quietly, being almost of the nature of the Turtle-doves. They are of a very faire greene colour, with a spot of orange-tawnie upon their Noses.

There are another kind of Parokiten, which are much like them, being of the same nature and condition, but are of colour as red as bloud, with a spot of blacke upon their Noses, and a black Taile, being somewhat greater then the Parokites. There are other Birds not much unlike to Gold-finches, all their bodies being yellow, those Birds make not their Nests in the field, for feare of Snakes, and other venimous beasts; but make their nests very craftily upon the branches of high trees, and there lay their egges to keepe themselves from venimous beasts. They have other small Birds, not much unlike to hedge Sparrowes; but they keepe in the Fields among Corne, those Birds they thrust into their mouthes alive, and eate them Feathers Bones and all: they have store of Muschen, with many other kind of small Birds.

They have a kind of Birds like Eagles, which have heads like Turkle-cocks, those Birds are hurtfull, and very fierce, and doe much harme to the Negroes, whereby they are much troubled, and therefore they carry them meat up to the hilles, and call them Pastro de Diago: which is the
A.D.
1600.

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Birds of their god, and therefore they doe them no hurt, knowing well that they would revenge themselves well enough: they lie alwayes in myre and durt, and stinke as ill as a privie, and you may smell them afarre off. They have some water Snites, but not many. And Turtle-Doves, which have a blacke stroke about their neckes like a crowne. There are many Phesants, not much unlike ours for fashion, but have not such feathers, for they are speckled blacke and white, and without long tayles as ours have; they are not of so good a taste as other common Hens are. Peake-cockes also I have seene there, not much unlike our Peake-cockes; but there is some difference in the Feathers, for some of them are of other colours. Pittoirs I have seene there, as I said before, which they esteeme for a great Fetisso, and a South-sayer. Cranes also there are many, and Kites also of the same fashion that our Holland Kites are. There is a kind of Birds also there, which are like Storkes, but they have not so long red Bils, and make not such a noise. Speckled Crowes, and gray Sea-mewes are there in great abundance, with divers other kinds of Birds, not much unlike ours, but if you marke them well, there is difference betwenee them, as some in their feathers, others in their Bils, the third in their feet, and the fourth in their heads, so that there is some difference, although they resemble much; and because Birds are little taken and shot in those Countreyes, for that they have no kind of Instruments to doe it withall, there are great store in the Countrey, and by that meanes, both the beasts and the Birds waxe very bold. There are many Owles and Bats which fie by night, and store of great greene Frogs, and gray Grashoppers, and many great land Crabs, which keepe in the earth, and are of a purple colour, which they esteeme for a great present. When I went by night to walke in the fields, I saw things in the grasse that shine like firie Coales, which I tooke up and tied them in my handkercher, which made it show with the light of the beast as if it had burnt: and when I went into the Towne to the Negroes, and shewed it them, they
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

wondered thereat, and the next day when I lookt on them, they were small blacke Flies, like Spanish Flies, but were as blacke as Pitch: Flies, Mothes, and Bees are there also to be seen. The Bees make their Hives upon trees. There are great store of blacke Ants, which make holes in the earth, like field Mice, those Ants doe much hurt to the Bees, and eate up their Hony and Waxe.

Bannana, in Brasilia, Pacona; and the tree Panguuer, in Malabar, Patan, &c. is the fruite whereof John Huyghen writeth, and calleth it Indian Figs, this tree hath no branches, the fruit groweth out of the tree, and hath leaves at least a fathome long, and three spannes broad. Those leaves among the Turkes are used for Paper, and in other places the Houses are covered therewith, there is no wood upon the tree, the out-side (wherewith the tree is covered when it beginneth to waxe old) is like the middle part of a Sive, but opening it within, there is nothing but the leaves, which are rolled up round and close together, it is as high as a man, on the top the leaves begin to spring out, and rise up an end, and as the young leaves come forth the old wither away, and begin to drie untill the tree comes to his growth, and the fruit to perfection: the leaves in the middle have a very thicke veine, which divideth it in two, and in the middle of the leaves, out of the heart of the tree, there groweth a flowre as bigge as an Estridge Egge, of a russet colour, which in time waxeth long like the stalke of a Colewoort, whereon the Figgges grow close one by the other, when they are still in their huskes, they are not much unlike great Beanes, & so grow more and more untill they be a span long, and foure thumbes broad like a Cucumber, they are cut off before they are ripe, and are in that sort hanged up in bunches, which oftentimes are as much as a man can carrie. It also yeeldeth good Trennuelis like Milke (when the tree is cut downe) which commeth out of the bodie thereof, having hanged three or foure dayes, they are through ripe, the tree beares but one bunch at a time, whereon there is at least one hundred Figgges and more, and when they cut off the bunch of

331
Purchas His Pilgrimes

Figgges, the tree also is cut downe to the ground, the root staying still in the Earth, which presently springeth up againe, and within a moneth hath his full growth, and all the yeare long no time excepted. The tree beareth fruit, the fruit is very delicate to eate, you must pull off the huske wherein the fruit lyeth, very delightfull to behold, the colour thereof is whitish and some-what yellow, when you bite it, it is soft, as if it were Meale and Butter mixed together, it is mellow in byting, it cooleth the maw, much thereof eaten maketh a man very loose and raw in the throate, it maketh women lecherous if they eate much thereof. Some are of opinion, because it is so delicate a fruit, that it was the same tree that stood in Paradise, whereof God forbad Adam and Eve to eate. It smells like Roses, and hath a very good smell, but the taste is better. The Portugals will not cut it through with a Knife, but breake it, by reason of a speciall observation which they have in the cutting thereof, which is, that then it sheweth like a crosse in the middle of the fruit, and therefore they thinke it not good to cut it.

The Bachouens (by us so called) are very like the Bannanas, for the condition and forme is all one, only that the fruit is smaller, shorter, white of colour within and sweeter of taste, and is esteemed to be wholsomer to be eaten then the Bannanas, but there is no such great quantitie of them, and for that they were first brought out of the Kingdome of Congo, into other Countries, they have gotten the name thereof.

The Annanas is also a delicate and pleasant fruit for smell, and of the best taste that any fruit can be, it hath also divers severall names, there are two sorts, the Male and the Female, the Canarians call it, Ananasa; the Brasilians, Nana; those of Hispaniola, Jaiama, and the Spaniards in Brasilia, Pinas, because one of them found that and the Pinas first in Brasilia, it is as great as a Mellon, faire of colour, some-what yellow, greene and carnation, when it begins to bee ripe, the greenenesse thereof turneth into an Orange colour, it is of a pleasant taste, and hath a
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

fine smell like an Apricocke, so that it is to be smelt farre off, when you see the fruit afarre off, being greene, it shewes like Artichokes, and is eaten with Wine, it is light of digesture, but eating much thereof it inflameth a mans bodie. In Brasilia there is three sorts thereof, each having a severall name: first, Jaiama; the second, Boniama; the third, Jaiagma: but in Guinea there is but one sort. The time when they are in their flowre is in Lent, for then they are best, it growes halfe a fathome above the ground, the leaves thereof are not much unlike Semper Vivum, when they are eaten, they are cut in round slices, and sopt in Spanish wine; you cannot eate enough thereof, it is verie hot of nature, and will grow in moist ground, the sops that you take out of the Wine tastes like sweet Muske, and if you doe not presently wipe the Knife wherewith you cut the fruit, but forgetting it let it lye halfe an houre, it will bee eaten in, as if there had beene strong water laid upon it, being eaten in abundance and without knowledge, it causeth great sicknesse.

There are great store of Iniamus growing in Guinea, in great fields, which are sowed and planted like Turnips, the root is the Iniamus, and groweth in the Earth like Earth-nuts, those Iniamus are as great as a yellow root, but thicker and fuller of knots, they are of a Mouse-colour, and within as white as a Turnip, but not so sweet, being put in a Kettle and sodden with flesh, and then peeled and eaten with Oyle and Pepper, they are a very delicate meate, in many places it is used for bread, and is the greatest meate that the Negroes eate.

The Battatas are somewhat redder of colour, and in forme almost like Iniamus, and taste like Earth-nuts, those two kinds of fruit are very abundant in Guinea, they are commonly rosted, or else eaten with a hodge-pot in stead of Parsenips or Turnips.

The Palme-wine tree is almost like the Cocos tree, or a Lantor, with divers others, and are of three or foure sorts, most of them have all one kind of leafe, but in manner of wood they are unlike, for this tree is shorter of wood then
the rest, the Wine is drawne out of those trees by boring them, from whence there issueth a sap like Milke, which is very coole and fresh to drinke, at the first when it is drawne, it is pleasant and sweet, having stood a while, it is as sowre as Vineger, so that you may use it in a Sallet, but being drunke sweet and fresh, it causeth a man to void urine well, whereby in those Countries, there are very few found, that have the disease of the Stone; drinking much thereof a mans head will soone be light, the lightnesse which a man hath in his head thereby, causeth it not to ake. When it commeth first out of the tree it is sweeter of taste, then when it hath stood awhile, but yet it is esteemed to bee better when it hath stood awhile, and is some-what setled, then presently to bee drunke, for it standeth seething and bubbling, as if it hung over the fire and sod, so that if it were put into a Glasse and stopt up, without letting any ayre come into it, the force thereof would breake the Glasse in pieces, but being a meale tyde olde, it is nothing worth, because it is so sowre, and then it is of another colour verie waterish, therefore it is much mixed with water, and seldom comes pure to the Market, as it is taken out of the tree, which is done partly to increase their Wine, as also that then it is the sweeter to drinke, and hath the taste of Syder, and the colour of Must, when the tree is old, and will yeeld no more Wine at the top, it is cut downe at the foot, and a fire made at the root thereof, where they set a pot, whereinto the Wine (by meanes of the heate) runneth, the tree being changed, and yeelding no more profit, there groweth another tree out of the roote thereof, but it is halfe a yeare old before it giveth any Wine. In the morning betimes an houre before day, the Wine is drawne out and brought to the Market at noone-time.

The Palmitas tree is not much to be seen in Guinea, but for that a Negro in that Countrey shewed me some of the fruit thereof, I thought good to say something of it in this place, it is a tree without branches, on the top of the tree the fruit groweth, and it is almost like the Anananas
when it is ripe. It is outwardly of a faire gold colour, and within it hath graines like Pomegranates, they are of a very sweet taste, the other is hard and unfit to eate.

§. VII.

Of their Gentlemen, and how they are made; Their Dancings, Sports, Diseases, Cures, Visitations, Mournings, Funerals: and of their Gold.

Here are many Gentlemen in that Countrey, but of small meanes, for assoone as they have bought their Gentilitie, they are then poorer, and in miserable estate then they were before, and for that they thinke to be men of great account when they are Gentlemen, they seeke much after it, and begin to gather some wealth from their youths upwards to obayne the place of a Gentleman. First, they give three gifts to be made a Gentleman, the first gift is a Dogge, which they call Cabro de Matto, which is as much as to say a Field-sheepe. The second Gift, is a Sheepe or a Goat. The third Gift, is a Cow, with many other things, and then he is made a Gentleman. These Gifts are given among those that are Gentlemen, and are given the one now, the other at another time, as the man that is made a Gentleman can best doe it, and hath the meanes to performe it, and then hee makes the Captaine acquainted with it, which done, he buyeth a Cow, which is carriied and tyed in the Market place, and then it is made knowne to the people, that such a man shall bee made a Gentleman at such a time, in the meane time all those that are Gentlemen make themselves as fine as they can to goe with him, and to fight and shew many Apish Toyes. The man that is to bee made a Gentleman, makes all things readie, as meate and drinke to entertyne his Guests, and to bid them welcome in good sort, he buyeth Hens and many pots of Palme-wine, and sendeth every Gentleman a Hen and a pot of Palme-wine home to his House, to make merrie withall.

When the Feast day comes, the Inhabitants assemble
together upon the Market place, the men (as he masters) goe and sit on the one side, having many Instruments, as Drums, Hornes, Bels, and other things with them. The Captaine armeth himselfe, and with him hath many young Batchelors with Shields and Assagaies, their faces being coloured and their bodies painted with red and yellow Earth, which makes them looke like a company of yong Devils. The man that is made a Gentleman is accompanied with a number of other Gentlemen, having a Boy behind him which carryeth his stoole to sit upon when hee goes to speake with any man, and his fellow Gentlemen come to salute him, and wish him good fortune in his new estate, at which time they take a great deale of straw in the one hand, and lay it under his feet, which he treadeth upon (the like also they use when their owne friends come to visit them, and bring them any Presents, which they use for a great honour.) The wives of the Gentlemen goe to her, to doe all the honour they can to the wife of the Gentleman that maketh the Feast, and dresse her finely, folding her haire with many golden Fetissos, and Crosses, putting about her necke a Ring of gold, and in the one hand shee carrieth a Horse-taile, and on her right arm shee hath a Ring of gold, at each end thereof having a round thing like the Lid of a Pot, all made of gold; and being readie, they are placed in order, as their manner is, one after the other; then the Cow is led forth, and then all the Gentlemen in the Towne come and follow them, as it were on Procession, dancing and leaping round about the Towne, and when they come againe into the Marketplace, the Cow is bound to a stake, and there they make a great noise with Drummes and Pipes, and the young Bachelors with fencing and leaping, with their Shields and Assagaies, now in one place, then in another, making, as they thinke, great joy about the Gentleman; every man seeking to excell each other, and to get most praise and commendation.

The women also make no lesse adoe with singing and dancing, sometimes carrying both the Gentleman and his
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

wife, upon a stoole, round about the Towne, casting white Meale in their faces, and in that sort make great pastime three dayes together, and every night they are led home to their houses, and watcht by the other Gentlemen. The next day he is fetcht by a great number of people, and great honour done unto him as before; at which time he hangs a white Flag out of his house, which doth significie joy, or open house. The third day, the Cow is killed by the Executioner, and quartered, and every man hath a piece of the flesh thereof, that they also may be participants of the Feast: but the man and the woman that maketh the Feast, may not eate of the Cow; for they make them beleevie, that if they eate any thereof, they shall die within a yeere after. The Feast day being ended, the head of the Cow is carried home to his house, which he hangeth up, and painteth it with divers colours, hanging many straw Fetissoes upon it, which is a signe of his Gentilitie, and a warrant to prove him to be made a Gentleman.

Then he hath great priviledge, for he may buy Slaves, and doe other things which before he might not have done. When he is made a Gentleman he is very proud thereof; for, the first thing that they will tell unto a Stranger is, that they are Gentlemen, and that they have many Slaves, esteeming themselves to be great Masters; but it falleth out oftengtimes, that after their feasting is done, and he made a Gentleman, that then hee is poorer then he was before, because he disbursed all his money to get it, and then he must doe out to fish againe and doe other things, if he will get his living. This kind of Gentilitie costs him about eight Bendas, which is a pound of gold; but deducting that which is given for Presents of other men which bring them to him, each man according to his meanes and abilitie, it standeth him not in above halfe a pound of gold. Those Gentlemen have a Fellowship among them, and every yeere make a Feast, and then bid their Friends to be merrie with them, and make good cheere; at which time they hang their Cowes or Sheepe...
PURCHASES HIS PILGRIMES

heads, with Millie strawes, and paint them with white colour, signifying thereby the remembrance of their Feast. Besides this, the Gentlemen have an other Feast amongst them, upon the sixth day of July, at which time they paint their bodies with white and red stripes, and hang a Garland made of greene boughs and straw about their necks, which they weare all that day, that you may know the Gentlemen from the rest, and then also they hang their Cowes and Goats heads full of Fetissoes, as before; in the evening they meet together at a Banket, in the house of the Captaine, where they are very merrie together, eating and drinking their heads and bellies full, till they are drunke.

They make themselves very fine, especially the women, when they goe to dance, wherein they take a great pride. They hang many Copper, Tin, and Ivorie Rings about their armes, and on their legs they put Rings with many Bells, that they may sound when they dance. Their heads are frizled, and dressed with a tuft of haire. They wash their bodies faire with water, and then anoint them with Palme-oile, to make them shine. Their teeth also they rub with a hard sticke: then they put a piece of white linnen about their bodies, which hangs from underneath their breasts, downe below their knees; and commonly about evening they assemble together, and goe to the Market-place to dance there. Others have instruments whereon they play, as some Copper Basons, whereon they strike with woodden Stickes. Others have woodden Drums, cut out of an hollow Tree, covered over with a Goats Skin, and play upon them. Others have round Blockes, cut very handsomly and evenly, whereon also they strike with woodden Stickes. Others have Cowbells. Some have small Luits, made out of a piece of wood like a Harpe with sixe strings of Reeds, whereon they play with both their hands, every one having their severall Instruments, and each keeping good correspondance with their fellowes Instruments. Others sing, and begin to dance two and two together, leaping and stamping.
with one of their feet upon the ground, knocking with
their fingers, and bowing downe their heads, and speaking
each to other; in their hands carrying Horse-tailes, which
they cast sometimes on the one shoulder, then upon the
other, using certaine order in their sports, one following
the other, and each doing as the other doth. Other
women take straw, which they let fall to the ground, and
then dancing upon it, cast it up againe into the aire with
their feet, and catch it as it falleth with their hands, so
that they play many apish and childrens sports, thinking
that they doe excellent well; but they desire not to be
scene by strangers, because they laugh and jest at them,
and then they are ashamed.

This continuing an houre or an houre and an halfe,
every one goes home againe, as having ended their sports.
There are houses also among them, wherein young men
and maids use to dance and play. The young Bachelors
use to drinke themselves drunke, and by night runne
through the streets with their Armes and Assagaies, making
a great noise with crying and showting, as if a companie
of young Devils ran about the streets; and meeting with
other companies, with whom having some words, they
fight together; wherein they are so earnest one against
the other, that they are almost readie to kill each other,
and many times cannot leave off. They will not lightly
beginne to quarrell, for they are not so hastie, but will
indure much, specially of strangers, before they will
quarrell; but if they once beginne, they are not easily
pacified, but are very earnest and hastie to set upon their
adverse Parties, and to be revenged, though it should cost
them their lives, and they have very quicke hands to thrust
and to strike.

Their bodies are subject to many sicknesses and diseases,
which they esteeme but little, and make no account of
wounds or hurts. The sicknesses wherewith they are
most troubled, are Poxe, Clap-dollars, Botches, Wormes,
paine in the head, and burning Fevers. These diseases
they get from foule and filthie women, whereunto they
are much addicted, and although they have many diseases by such meanes, which are not without much danger, yet they esteeme not much of them, but passe them away as if they ayled nothing, and are not faint-hearted, but of a hard complexion, suffering their wounds to swell and putrifie, without any meanes of remedie applied thereunto; for they neither have nor use any Physicke among them, to ease them in their sicknesse, nor Surgeons or Physicians to heale their wounds, but suffer their wounds and diseases to have their course, unless any of our Surgeons give them any Physicke or Surgerie. For the Pox and Clap-dollers they use much Salsaparilla, which the Hollander ships bring them; which Salve they seethe with salt water, and drinke the water for drinke against the Pox, and such like diseases, and also against the Wormes that are in their legs, (as I will declare more at large) wherewith also we are much troubled, whereunto they use no remedie at all, but suffer their legs to continue so, untill they heale and waxe better of themselves. For the paine of the head they use certaine Pap, which they make of greene leaves, and therewith anoint the place where their paine is; and if they have any swelling about their bodies, which breake not out, then they take a knife and cut two or three long slashes therein, and so give the wound a meanes to worke, and to heale up, and grow together agayne; which is the cause that they have so much knobd flesh, and so many slashes in their bodies: but is well to be discerned, whether they be cut and made in their flesh to beautifie and set out themselves, or wounds and sores that are healed up againe. They also use no letting of bloud, but onely make a hole in their bodies with a knife to let their bloud come out: when they have any other naturall sicknesses, they will not helpe nor comfort one the other; but if any of them be sicke, they will shun him as it were the plague, and spurne the sicke man like a Dog, and not once helpe him with a drop of Oyle or Water, although they have never so much need; no, not the Father to the Sonne, but
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

let them lie like Beasts, and die with hunger and sicknesse; so that they are not skilfull to helpe sicke persons.

They make difference betwene the word Morian and Negro, for they will not be called Morians, but Negroes or Prettoes, (which is as much to say) as Blacke men; for they say that Morian is as much to say, as Slave or Captive, and also a man that knowes nothing, or that is halfe a Foole; and therefore they will not be called Morians, but Negroes or Prettoes; for if you call them Morians, they will hardly speake unto you, nor make you any answere. They make one the other Slaves, but in other sort then in Congo or Angola, for there you can lade no ships full of Slaves; but to the contrarie, they desire much to have them, and buy them: yet there are both Slaves and Captives; and for that in those Countries they take no great paines, nor need any great number of Slaves, therefore there is no great quantitie of them to be had, to sell them as they doe in other Countries, but onely among them of the Land, that have need of them. Againe, no man may buy or sell them, but such as are of great account and Gentleman. They are marked with an Iron in their bodies, that if they chance to runne away, they may be knowne againe by their markes.

Such as are blind, or have any other imperfections in their bodies, as being lame or Criples, and by reason thereof cannot get their livings, the King placeth them with Smiths, to blowe their Bellows; others with those that presse Palme-oyle, or grind Colours, wherunto such deformed persons are fit; or to such Occupations and labours wherewith they can helpe themselves, and get their victuals; so that there you see none such as begge their victuals, but they are put in some place or other to earne their meate; so that the Inhabitants give no meate one to the other. The Kings of the Townes have many Slaves, which they buy and sell, and get much by them; and to be briefe, in those Countries there are no men to be hired to worke or goe of any errand for money, but such as [II. vii. 961.]

341
are Slaves and Captives, which are to spend their days in slaverie.

Hatred and envy is much used in those Countries, and to whomsoever they once bear hatred and envie, they will hate them cruelly, and doe them all the hurt and villany that they can; on the other side, they bear a villany long in their minds, and will keepe malice in their hearts seven or eight yeeres, and when time serveth them, then show it openly; no lesse hatred and envy is borne by one Towne unto an other, speaking all the villany they can, and extolling themselves as much as they may, to have the honour of Traffique, and to the end that the ship should come and Anchor before their Townes, and by that meanes to bring the Countrie Merchants to Traffique there, wherein they are very diligent: and although one Towne lyeth but three or foure miles one from the other; yet they are as envious one against the other as possible they can be, and report as hardly of their neighbours as they can imagine; that so they may get the Netherlanders to Traffique with them: and to that end, they strive to shew more friendship to the Netherlanders, one then the other, to draw us to affect them, and bring the trade of Merchandize unto them.

The men commonly live there till they be old, as it seemeth by their faces and outward apperance, and as we conceive; but they cannot reckon their owne ages, nor tell how many yeeres they have lived. When they begin to be old, then they are not well proportioned nor seemely; but looke evil favouredly, with gray beards, yellow wrinkled skins, like Spanish Leather, which procedeth of the anointing of their bodies with Palme-Oyle. They are likewise leane of Legs and Armes, and wholly mishapen, specially olde women, with their long breasts, which then shew and hang upon their bodies like old Hogs bladders, they would not willingly be old; because as then they are not esteemed of, but much despised, and not respected, and as from their youths upwards, to the best time of their lives, they still waxe of a fairer blacke colour,
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

so when they are past that time, they begin to decay, and to lose their perfect blacknesse.

In their winter time, they are very sickly, & then commonly there is a great mortalitie among them, by meanes of the unwholesomenesse of the aire, which they then endure: and when they die, their friends come to the dead mans house, and wepe and sorrow grievously for him, speaking unto him, & asking him why he died, with many such like foolish Ceremonies. They take the dead body and lay it on a mat upon the ground, & wind it in a woollen, purposely made in that Countrey, of colour red, blew, blacke and white. Under his head they lay a woodden stoole, and cover or dresse his head with a Goats skin, and strew all the body over with ashes, and dust of Barkes of trees; they close not his eyes together, they lay his armes downe by his sides, and so let him lie halfe a day in the aire. If it be a man, his best beloved wife goes and sits downe by the body, and if it be a woman, the man goes and sits downe by her, crying and weeping, having in their hands a wispe of straw, or of Barkes of trees, wherewith crying and howling over the dead body, he or she wipeth his face, sometimes saying unto it, Auzy, and making a great noyse; in the meane time, the friends or neighbours come to visite the dead, and to mone him for his misfortune, others (as the neerest friends) being women, goe round about the house, singing and beating upon Basons, sometimes comming to the dead body, and goe round about him singing and leaping, and kincking of hands, making a great noyse, and then againe goe round about the house singing and playing upon Basons, which they doe twice or thrice one after the other.

In the meane time, preparation is made for the buriall, and to make good cheere together, after it is ended; to the which end, they dresse certaine Hens, and a Sheepe, and other meats which they are accustomed to eate, and while the dead bodie is above the ground, the eldest Morinni of that quarter, goes about from house to house with a Bason, whereon every one must put the value of
twelve pence in gold, with the which money they buy a Cow, which Cow is given to a Fetissero that useth to conjure their gods, to will him to conjure the Fetisso, to suffer the dead body to remaine and rest in peace, and to bring him into the other world, and not to molest him in the way, with this Cowes blood hee conjureth his Fetisso; (for a dead man must smeare his Fetisso with blood) then they bind the dead body upon a planke, and carry him to the grave singing and leaping: the bodie is carried by men, and the women follow after one by one, about their heads having a Crowne or Garland of straw, and a staffe in their hands: the man, if it be a woman, goes next to the dead body crying to the grave, else there goes no man after it, unlesse the dead body chanceth to be borne to another place to be buried; as sometimes it hapneth that they carry the dead body twenty miles off, from the place where he died, to be buried there: and then many men go armed with the body, to convey it to the buriall: the body is carried to the earth, & the grave-maker maketh a grave about foure foot deepe, and therein he is laid; over the grave there are many sticke of wood laid, close one by the other: the women creepe to and fro over the grave, making a great noyse, with howling and crying, and over that, they lay the earth, and place it, and bind it about the same, as if it were a Chest: all his goods, as Apparell, Weapons, Pots, Basons, Tooles, Spades, and such Hous-hold-stuffe, wherewith he earned his living, are carried to the grave, and buried with him, which are set round about the grave, to serve his turne withall in the other world, as they did when he lived upon the earth; other of the dead mans friends, bring some thing also to set in the grave for a memory, which is put into the grave with the rest of his goods. If he were one that delighted much in drinking, & loved Palme well when he lived: they will set a pot of Palme-wine by him in his grave, because hee should not die for thirst, and what in his life he used, that is given him, and buried in his grave with him. If it be a woman that died in travell of her child, the child is laid in the
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

mothers right arm, and buried with her; above upon the grave, there is a straw house made like a Sepulchre, wherein all the household-stuffe and other things are set. The grave-makers fee, is to have halfe the goods that are set into the grave, but the friends of the dead content him, and he is paid for it; because they should let the goods stand still untoucht: for it is a great credit to the friends of the dead to leave good store of goods upon the grave with the dead body; which they let stand there so long, till it be cleane consumed, and none of them will ever offer to take any of it away by any meanes whatsoever. The body being buried, they goe altogether to the Sea-side, or to some other River, where the women goe in, & stand up to their middles in waters, and taking up water in their hands, cast it in their owne faces, and upon their bodies, and wash their breasts, and all their bodies. Other women in the meane time play upon Basons, and such like instruments, one of those women take the man or woman, whose husband or wife is dead, and leading them into the water, laid them therein flat upon their backes, and take them up againe; which they doe divers times, speaking one unto the other, and making great complaints. When he or she is well and cleane washt from the head to the foot, she leadeth them out of the water againe, and puts their clothes upon their bodies again, & then they go together to the dead mans house to make good cheere, and to drink themselves drunk. If it be a man that died that had children, the women must not retaine or keepe any of his goods for the behoofe of the children: but must give all the mans goods (both that which he had to his marriage, and which he got by his labour while he lived) unto his Brethren, if he hath any living, and must not keepe any thing from them. If he hath no brethren, then the father if he be living, taketh all his sonnes goods, and injoyeth it. If it be a woman that dieth, then the husband must deliver her marriage goods to her brethren, as aforesaid, without keeping any thing thereof for his children, so that no children in those
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Countreyes inhende their Fathers good, neither are they their Fathers heires: No more may the wife inhende any of her husbands goods, but it is all divided among his brethren; but while their wives live, they give her what they thinke good of that which they gaine, so yong maids and men must endeavour themselves to get some thing in their youthes, that they may have some thing when they marry and keepe houses.

For the Kings death, more sorrow is made by some of the Gentlemen, who in the Kings life served him: when he is dead, give him a slave to serve him, & other men one of their wives to wait on him, and to dresse his meat: others bring one of their sonnes to goe with the King into the other world; so that there are a number of people that are appointed to goe with the King to the other world: which are killed, and their heads cut off, but they know nothing thereof, for such men and women as give them to the King when he is dead tell not them that they shall be put to death, to goe into the other world with the King; but when the time comes, that the buriall is to be solemnised, they send them on some message, or to fetch water, and so following them, strike them through the body with an Assagaie, and kill them in the way: which done, they carry the dead body to the Kings house, whereby they shew what faithfull servants they were unto their King while he lived: others also doe the like, and those dead bodies are smeared with blood, and buried with the King in his grave, that they may travell together. If any of his wives loved him intirely, they suffer themselves to be kild with the rest, and are buried with him, that they may raigne together in the other world. The heads of the dead men and women, are set round about the Sepulchre and grave of the King, for a great braverie and honour unto him. Upon the grave they set all kinds of meat and drinke, that they may eate some thing, and verily beleve that they eate and drinke it, and that they live thereby, and for that cause the pots of Palme-wine, and of water, are continually fild up: all his stuffe, as
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

Armes and Clothes are buried with him, and all his Gentlemen that served him, have every one of them their Pictures made of Clay, after the life, and fairely painted, which are set and placed orderly round about his grave, one by the other; so that their Kings Sepulchers are like houses, and as well stuff as if they still lived: which Sepulchres are so much esteemed off, that they are watcht both by night and by day, by armed men: to the end, that if he desireth to have any thing, they should straight bring it him.

Gold at this day is as much esteemed off by them, as it is with us, (of whom they say, Gold is our God) and more too, for they are greedier and earnester to have it then we are, because they marke and see that the Hollanders take so much pains for it, and give more Merchandise for it in Exchange, then ever the Portugals did.

For I am of an opinion, that there are few Negroes that dwell on the Sea side, that know where the Mines are, or that ever saw them, also there was never any Portugal or Netherlander at them, or neere them, but the Mines are well kept, and lookt unto by the owners thereof; so I have heard by some Negroes, that each King hath his Mines, and causeth the gold to be digged by his men, and selleth it to other Merchants, and so it passeth from one to another.

In what manner the gold is found in Guinea, I know not, but as some Negroes have told me, they finde gold in deepe pits, which they digge up, and that with the water it is driven downe like Sand, at which waters and running springs, many people sit with spoones in their hands, and take up the gold, sand and all, and put it into a Bason.

Some pieces are covered over with Chalke, and Earth, wherein they are found, the small gold, which is found in the Sand, they purge and make cleane in cleare running water, but yet they let some Sand and Gravell remaine among it, it is found in no great quantities, (as they themselves say) but with great paine and labour, for it costs many men their lives, which are smothered in the Mines;
and a man that can find two or three Englishen of gold in a day, hath done well, and hath earned a good dayes hire. The halfe which is found is the labourers, and the other halfe is for the King, or for him that owmeth the Mine; This I have beene told by some of the Negroes. Gold by them is called Chika, and some great Merchants that dwell about the Maine, bring the gold aboord the ships to buy wares, as it comes out of the Mine, and that is esteemed to be the best gold, wherein there is lest deceit, but the receiver must looke well to it, to blow the sand cleane out of it, and to beat the yeallow earth with the stones out of it, with a hammer, and so he cannot lose by it: nevertheless, the gold that is brought rough out of the Mine, is esteemed to be better and richer, and more worth in every Marke then the other.

It falleth out oftentimes, that some gold is more worth then others, which hапрneth by meanes of the receivers negligence, and many times as the Mines of gold fall out; for some of them are finer gold then others: and also the deeper that the Mines are digged, the gold falls out to be worse, and is more mixed with silver, even in the earth it selfe, then the gold that lieth higher in the earth.

False gold. Besides this, meane Merchants bring much molten gold as Crakawen, arme Rings, Jewels, and other things, wherein there is most falshood used: for such Negroes as have but small meanes to Traffique with us, are more used and addicted to the falsifying of gold, then others are, wherein they use great subtillie, but we our selves are oftentimes the cause thereof; for we bring and sell them the matter, and the Instruments which they use therein; and so deceive our selves, and make a rod for our owne breeches: but they were wont to falsifie it more then now. For the Portugals hanged up some for it. They have good knowledge in Gold, and can soone perceive whether it be good or falsified; but of other Jewels, as Pearles, Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, and such like precious stones, they have no knowledge, but they know fine red Corals wel, which are much esteemed off by them.
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

Silver also is well, and too much knowne among them; because they use it to falsifie Gold withall, and to make it of lesse value then it is. They learned of the Portugals to melt gold. They also have found the meanes to put an edge of gold round about silver, and Red Copper mixed together, letting the false mettle remaine in the middle of the pence, and so when hee that receiveth it, is in haste, and toucheth it but on the edge thereof, (where it is not falsified) with his Touch-stone, it passeth for good: but such must bee cut in sunder with a hammer, and then the falsifying is perceived, and when they could find no meanes to falsifie the small fine Chika Foetu Gold, so that the receivers had no suspition thereof, and tooke the lesse heed there unto, wee our selves brought them tooles to doe it withall: for wee brought them Files, and Sawes to sell, so that they filed the yellow Copper, and mingled it among the smal gold, that it could hardly be perceived: because it was so smal, which was the subtillest falsifying of gold by them used, but when we blew the sand & dust out of it, then the Copper shewed it selfe, whereby it appeareth that the Negroes have many wayes and devises to falsifie gold, but such as looke narrowly unto them, will not be deceived: but to trie their falsifyings, the best way is to touch their gold, and to be warie of deceit, and of receiving bad gold. An other way is to looke speedily unto the Negroes themselves; To see if they have bad gold or not, for when they bring bad gold, they will be in great feare, with your handling thereof, and when you offer to trie their gold, they will refuse it, and alter their colours, and shake and quiver withall.

The wormes in the legges and bodies, trouble not every one that goeth to those Countreyes, but some are troubled with them, and some not, and they are found in some men sooner then in others, some have a worme before the Voyage is done, and while they are still upon the Coast, some get them while they are upon the way, others have them after their Voyage is full ended, some foure moneths
after, some nine moneths after, and some a yeere after they have made a Voyage thither: others have made two or three Voyages thither, and never were troubled with those wormes.

The Negroes themselves are much troubled with them, specially those that dwel about the castle of Mina, and it is a thing to be wondered at, for the Negroes that dwel but 25. miles lower East-ward, are not troubled with wormes as their neighbors are. And another * (whereof John Huyghen speaketh in his Itinerario) are troubled therewith, for the Ilands of East India, West India, China, Brasilia, and other strange Countries are not troubled therwith, nor know not thereof, and which is more; They of the Iland of Saint Thomas, which men esteeme to be the unwholesomest place in the world, and wherein so many men are sicke, and lose their lives, know not what those wormes meane, but wondred much thereat, when it was shewed them of such as had beene with the Hollanders in Guinea. The Negroes themselves knew not whereof they are ingendred, but the greatest presumption is, that they proceed and breed of the water which men buy of the Negroes, which they take out of Wels or Pits, and it is very likely (as we find by the experience) that they breed of the water; for in Ormus, or in those parts, the fresh water is fetcht up in pots by divers, eighteene fathome deepe under the salt water, which those people drinke, because they are there also troubled with wormes, and as some men write: the Indians themselves say, that they come of the water. Such as have them are in great paine, for some of them can neither goe nor stand; some neither sit nor lie, others lie wholly in dispaire, as if they were sencelesse, and somtimes are faine to be bound; some have them with a fever, or shaking, as if they had a fever; some get them on a sudden, others have them before they know it, and have little paine therewith; so that the wormes shew themselves divers wayes: they appeare with a little Blain, others with a spot like a Flea-biting, others with a litle swelling; so that you may often see the
A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

worme betweene the skin and the flesh, others shew themselves with bloody veins, &c. It must shew it selfe before men use any remedie for it: nevertheless, it sheweth it selfe many times too much, and too soon, for it were better that it came not so soon, nor appeared at all, but suffered men to be at ease, it will seeke to helpe itselfe, and thrust out his nose, which a man must then take hold on, least he creepe in againe: he sheweth himselfe in divers places, as in a mans legges, in the sole of the foot, in the armes, knees, buttocks, and commonly in places of a mans bodie, where there is much flesh; and some men have them in their privie members, and which is more, in their cuds, with great griefe and paine: for those that have them there, indure extreme paine. But it is true, that one man hath lesse paine with them then another, and shall also be sooner healed of them then another: which commeth by the handling or dealing with them, for it is very good, when a man findeth himselfe to be troubled with them, to be quiet, specially being in his legs, and not go much, and to keepe the place warme where they begin to appeare; for thereby they shall indure lesse paine, for they come better out of a mans flesh with warmth, then with cold and disease. For some men have little respected themselves when they have had the wormes, so that they appeared with a great swelling, whereby they indured much paine, and were in hazard to loose their legges or their armes. When it comes forth so farre, that a man may lay hold on it, then they must draw him out till hee stayeth, and then hee must let it rest till hee beginneth to come forward againe; and as much thereof as is come out of the bodie, must be woond upon a sticke, or bound close to the hoole, with a thrid that hee creepeth not in againe. When hee commeth out every time, he bringeth good store of matter with him, and a man must every day looke unto it, and draw him so long, till he be out, but you must not draw him too hard, least he should breake, so that by reason of the poyson that is in him, the wound will fester: It hapneth oftentimes, that after
there is one worme drawne out of a mans body, that there commeth another in the same place, & hath his issue out at the same hole. Some men are sooner rid of them then another, for some are eased in three weeks and lesse time, and some are three months in healing of them, some men have more wormes then others, for some have but one worme, and others ten or twelve, as I my self knew one that had ten wormes, hanging out at his body all at one time; and I have known men that had wormes that began to open themselves, and crept in againe, and consumed away, so that they had no more trouble therewith but the next Voyage after. They are of divers lengths, and greatnesse, some are of a fathome long, some shorter, as it falls out; in thicknesse they differ much, some are as thicke as great Lute-strings, and like common peare wormes, others like small Lute-strings, and some as small as silke or fine thred, some say that they are not living, and that they are but bad sinowes and no wormes. I have not long since seene a man that had certaine wormes which shewed themselves, and the Surgeon drew a worme out with one pull, and the worme being drawne out, and held up on high, wrung and writhed it selfe, as if it had beene an Eele, and was about five quarters long, and as thicke as a Lute-string, if it were but a sinow, it would have no life in it, and therefore they are naturall wormes. The Negroes use no kind of Surgerie for them, but suffer them to have their course, and wash the sore with Salt-water, which they say is very good for it.

Note that our returne backe from Moure, we use to put off from that place, from whence you must set sayle with a wind from the land, and hold your course as neere by as you can, losing no wind, and yet you shall hardly get above S. Thomas, or Rio de Gabom, because of the streame which driveth you East & by North, & East North-east towards the land. To the Bouthes of Fernando Poo, which you must beware off, for he that falleth into that Bouth, will hardly get out, because of the streame, and is in danger to be
cast away in that place, or else he must have some stormes or winds out of the North, and so come out Southward, otherwise it is hardly to be done; for there are some, who having had the wind a little contrary, were sixe or seven weekes before they could get to Cape Lope Gonselves. Heere you must note, that the neerer you come to the Equinoctiall line, the wind bloweth the more Southerly, so that as you passe under the line, the wind bloweth South, and South and by East, and somewhat higher, you must also note, when you see great flying Fishes, that you are not farre from Saint Thomas, or about Ile De Principe.

§. VIII.

The passage from the golden Coast to the Kingdome of Benni, or Rio de Benni, and Rio Floreado: The Citie, Court, Gentry, Apparell: also other places adjoyning, described.

Or that the gold Coast reacheth no further then from Cape De tres Punctas, to Rio de Volta, therfore those that will goe from the golden Coast, to the Kingdome of Benni, hold their course along by the land, and along by the Rivers of Rio de Volta, Rio de Ardra, and Rio de Lago. These Rivers were never entred into, because there is nothing to be had in them, but a little quantitie of Elephants Teeth; so that the labour to fetch it, is not worth the paines, by meanes of the dangers that a man incurreth by entring into the Rivers, by reason of Sands. Before at the mouth of the River of Focrado, there lieth an Iland, and the River is so indifferent great, that a man may well know it. The land reacheth most (being about forty miles) to Rio de Ardra. This River is much used to be entred into by the Portugals, and is well knowne, not because of any great commoditie that is therein to be had; but because of the great number of slaves which are bought there, to carry to other places, as to Saint Thomas, and to Brasilia, to labour there, and to
refine Sugar: for they are very strong men, and can labour stoutly, and commonly are better slaves then those of Gabom, but those that are sold in Angola are much better. In this River there is no specall thing found, which is of any value, but some Blew, Greene, and Blacke stones, wherewith they grind colours, and for their fairenesse are desired of other Negroes, specially in the golden Coast of Guinea, where they are much esteemed of by them. There both the men and women are starke naked, untill they be sold for slaves, so that they are not ashamed to shew themselves one to the other, as they themselves affirme, and by reason prove, saying, that a man more coveteth and desireth a thing that he seeth not, or may not have, then that he seeth or may borrow or have, and for that cause they hide not their privie members. There the Portugals Traffique much with Barkes to buy slaves, and the Inhabitants are better friends with them, then with any other Nation; because they come much there, and for that no other Nations come to buy slaves there, but the Portugals onely. And there are some Portugals dwelling there, which buy much wares and Merchandizes, such as there to bee had. From Rio de Ardra, to Rio de Lago, is ten miles, and in that River there is nothing else to buy, and therefore it is not much used, so that Rio de Ardra, is more used then Rio de Volta, and Rio de Lago; from Rio de Lago to Rio de Benni, is about twenty miles, so that Benni is esteemed to be part of the golden Coast, that is about one hundred miles from Mourre, so that in two dayes with helpe of the streame, a man may get thither, where as men are wont to be sixe weekes: before they could turne backe againe from whence they came.

The Towne seemeth to be very great, when you enter into it, you goe into a great broad street, not paved, which seemeth to be seven or eight times broader then the Warmoes street in Amsterdam; which goeth right out, and never crooketh, and where I was lodged with Mattheus Cornelison, it was at least a quarter of an houres going from the gate, and yet I could not see to the end of the
A DESCRIPTION OF BENIN

street, but I saw a great high tree, as far as I could discerne, and I was told the street was as much longer. There I spake with a Netherlander, who told me that he had beene as far as that tree, but saw no end of the street; but perceived that the houses thereabouts bee much lesse, and some houses that were falling downe: so that it was to be thought, that the end thereof was there abouts, that tree was a good halfe mile from the house where I was lodged, so that it is thought that that street is a mile long besides the Suburbs. At the gate where I entred on horse-backe, I saw a very high Bulwarke, very thicke of earth, with a very deepe broad ditch, but it was drie, and full of high trees; I spake with one that had gone along by the ditch, a good way, but saw no other then that I saw, and knew not well whither it went round about the Towne or not, that Gate is a reasonable good Gate, made of wood after their manner, which is to be shut, and there always there is watch holden. Without this Gate, there is a great Suburbe: when you are in the great Street aforesaid, you see many great Streets on the sides thereof, which also goe right forth, but you cannot see to the end of them, by reason of their great length, a man might write more of the situation of this Towne, if he might see it, as you may the Townes in Holland, which is not permitted there, by one that alwaies goes with you, some men say, that he goeth with you, because you should have no harme done unto you, but yet you must goe no farther then he will let you.

The Houses in this Towne stand in good order, one close and even with the other, as the Houses in Holland stand, such Houses as Men of qualitie (which are Gentlemen) or others dwell in, have two or three steps to goe up, and before, there is, as it were, a Gallerie, where a man may sit drie; which Gallerie every morning is made cleane by their Slaves, and in it there is a Mat spred for men to sit on, their Roomes within are foure-square, over them having a Rooffe that is not close in the middle, at the which place, the raine, wind, and light commeth in, and
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

therein they lie and eate their meate; but they have other places besides, as Kitchins and other roomes. The common Houses are not such, for they have but one Wall before, wherein there is a wodden Doore, they know not how to make Windowes, but such light and aire as they have, comes in at the roofe of the House.

The Court. The Kings Court is very great, within it having many great foure-square Plaines, which round about them have Galleries, wherein there is alwaies watch kept; I was so farre within that Court, that I passed over foure such great Plaines, and wheresoever I looked, still I saw Gates upon Gates, to goe into other places, and in that sort I went as farre as ever any Netherlander was, which was to the Stable where his best Horses stood, alwaies passing a great long way: it seemeth that the King hath many Souldiers, he also hath many Gentlemen, who when they come to the Court ride upon Horses, and sit upon their Horses as the women in our Countrie doe, on each side having one man, on whom they hold fast; and the greater their estate is, the more men they have going after them. Some of their men have great Shields, wherewith they keepe the Gentleman from the Sunne; they goe next to him, except those on whom hee leaneth, the rest come after him, playing some on Drums, others upon Hornes and Fluits, some have a hollow Iron whereon they strike. The Horse also is led by a man, and so they ride playing to the Court. Such as are very great Gentlemen have another kind of Musicke, when they ride to the Court, which is like the small Nets wherewith men in our Countries goe to the Fish-market, which Net is filled full of a certaine kind of thing, which they strike upon with their hands, and make it rattle, in like sort as if their Nets were filled full of great Nuts, and so a man should strike upon it: those great Gentlemen have many Servants, that goe after them striking upon such Nets. The King hath very many Slaves, both men and women, whereof there are many women Slaves see, carrying of Water, Iniamus, and Palme-wine, which they say is for the Kings wives. There are also many men.
A DESCRIPTION OF BENIN

A.D.
c. 1602.

Slaves scene in the Towne, that carrie Water, Iniamus, and Palme-wine, which they say is for the King; and many carrie Grasse, which is for their Horses; and all this is carried to the Court. The King oftentimes sendeth out Presents of Spices, which are carried orderly through the streets, and as the other things aforesaid are carried, so they that carrie them goe one after the other, and by them, there goeth one or two with white Rods, so that every man must step aside and give them place, although hee were a Gentleman.

The King hath many Wives, and every yeere goes twice out of his Court, and visiteth the Towne, at which time he sheweth all his Power and Magnificence, and all the Braverie he can, then he is convoyed and accompanied by all his Wives, which are above sixe hundred in number, but they are not all his wedded Wives. The Gentleman also have many Wives, as some have eightie, some ninetie and more, and there is not the meanest Man among them but hath ten or twelve Wives at the least, whereby in that place you find more Women then Men.

They also have severall places in the Towne, where they keepe their Markets; in one place they have their great Market day, called Dia de Ferro; and in another place, they hold their little Market, called Ferro: to those places they bring all things to sell, as quicke Dogs, whereof they eate many, roasted Apes, and Monkies, Rats, Parots, Hens, Iniamus, Manigette in bonches, dried Agedissen, Palmoyle, great Beanes, divers sorts of Kankrens, with many other kinds of Fruits, and Beasts, all to eate. They also bring much Wood to burne, Cups to eate and drinke in, and other sorts of wooden Dishes and Cups for the same purpose, great store of Cotton, whereof they make Clothes to weare upon their bodies. Their Apparell is of the same fashion as theirs of the Golden Coast is, but it is fairer and finelier made; but to shew you the manner thereof it would be over-long. They also bring great store of Iron-worke to sell there, and Instruments to fish withall, others to plow and to till the land withall; and many Weapons,
as Assagaies, and Knives also for the Warre. This Market
and Traffique is there very orderly holden, and every one
that commeth with such Wares or Merchandises to the
Market knowes his place where to stand, to sell his Wares
in the same, they also sell their Wives as they doe in the
Golden Coast.

The Gentlemen goe with great Majestie to the Court,
having divers kinds of MUSICKE with them, and are waited
on by divers other Negroes, one having a Drum whereon
he playes, others with other Instruments; upon the Horse
there is a little woorden Stoole set, and on the Horse necke
they hang a Cow-bell, which rings when the Horse goes;
there goes two Negroes by him, on either side one, on
whom he leaneth. Those Negroes that attend on him,
come every morning to the Gentlemans doore, and stay
there till he comes out, to wait on him. Their Horses
are very little, not much greater then Calves in our
Countrie, which is the cause that our Horses are so much
esteemed of in that Coast. The King hath many Souliers
which are subject unto him, and they have a Generall to
command over them, as if he were their Captaine: This
Captaine hath some Souliers under him, and goes alwaies
in the middle of them, and they goe round about him,
singing and leaping, and making great noise, and joy.
Those Captaines are very proud of their Office, and are
very stately, and goe exceeding proudly in the streets.
Their Swords are broad, which hang about their necke in
a leather Girdle which reacheth under their armes: they
also use Shields and Assagaies, as they in the Golden Coast
doe.

They cut their Haire diversly, each after the best manner
that they can. Their apparell also is the like, and use
strange customes, not one like unto another, all finely
made of Cotton, over the which they commonly weare
Holland Cloth. The young Maides and Boyes goe starke
naked, untill they marrie, or that the King giveth them
licence to put on some Apparell; then they make great
joy, because of the friendship the King therein sheweth
A DESCRIPTION OF BENIN

unto them, and then they make their bodies very cleane, and strike it over with white Earth, and are very stately, sitting in great glorie and magnificence. Their friends come unto them, to congratulate them, as if shee were a Bride. They are circumcised, both Boyes and Girles. They cut three great streakes in their bodies on either side, each streake being three fingers broad, which they doe from their shoulders downe to their wastes, which they thinke to be a great good deed tending to their salvation. They are very conscionable, and will doe no wrong one to the other, neither will take any thing from strangers, for if they doe, they should afterward be put to death, for they lightly judge a man to die for doing any wrong to a stranger, wherein they use strange Justice: they bind the Offenders armes behind at his backe, and blind his eyes, then one of the Judges comes and lifts him up with his armes, in such manner, that his head lieth almost upon the ground, then comes the Executioner and cuts off his head; which done, his bodie is quartered, and the quarters cast into the fields to bee devoured by certaine Birds, which Birds they feare much, and no man dares doe them any hurt, nor chase them, for there are men purposely appointed to give them meat and drinke, which they carry with great magnificence, but no man may see it carried, nor bee present, but those that are appointed to doe it; for every man runnes out of the way when they see those men come to carrie the Birds meate, and they have a place where the Birds come purposely for it. They respect strangers very much, for when any man meeteth them, they will shun the way for him and step aside, and dare not bee so bold to goe by, unlesse they be expressly bidden by the partie, and prayed to goe forward, and although they were never so sore laden, yet they durst not doe it; for if they did, they should be punished for it: They are also very covetous of honour, and willingly desire to be praised and rewarded for any friendship they doe.

Upon the Iland of Corisco, or about Rio de Angra, in Rio de Angra.
the mouth whereof the Iland of Corisco lieth. The Iland of Corisco is a bad place to dwell in, for no man dwelleth in it, for there is nothing to be had in it but fresh Water and Wood, so that the ships that come from the Golden Coast, and fall upon it, provided themselves there, of Water and Wood. Within the River there lieth three other small Ilands, which also are worth nothing, because they yeeld no profit, and there is nothing abounding in them but Wood. Those Ilands at this day are called (for before they had no names) the Ile De Moucheron, because one Balthasar de Moucheron had by his Factors found them, wherein he caused a Fort to be made, in the yeere 1600. thinking to dwell there, and to bring great Traffique from other places thither. But they of Rio de Gabom, understanding that there were Strangers inhabiting in them, sought all the meanes they could to murther them, and to take both the Fort and their Goods from them, which they did, before they had dwelt foure moneths there, (under a Captaine called Edward Hesius) and tooke the Sconce from them by force, murthering all the men that were in it, and called it the Iland of Corisco, which name it had of the Portugals, because upon that Iland there are many Tempests of thunder and lightning, and great store of Raine, and therefore it is not good to inhabite in, and there will nothing grow therein but Cucumbers. It is well provided of fresh Water, excellent faire red Beanes, and Brasill wood, so exceeding faire and glistening, when it is shaven, as any Glasse can be, which is so hard, that without great paine and labour it cannot be cut downe. The Iland is almost a great mile in compasse, but it is a bad anchoring place, when the Travadoes come.

From Rio de Angra, to Rio de Gabom, is fiftene miles. The Inhabitants of Rio de Gabom, are not friends with them of Rio de Angra, for they oftentimes make warre one against the other, and then againe make peace, so that the friendship betweene them is very small, they have a King among them, but they are not so mightie as those of Rio de Gabom, but better people to deale withall then.
A DESCRIPTION OF BENIN

those of Gabom, for since the time that they of Gabom, tooke the Skonce and the goods of Moucheron, and kild the men, they of Rio de Angra would have nothing to doe with them, but were grieved that it was done, but because they feared them of Rio de Gabom, and of Pongo; they durst not withstand them: with those Negroes there is much Traffique to be had, and there are many Teeth to buy, but not so many as in Rio de Gabom, but when you Traffique there you must not stay long with your shallop or boate there, for if you deale not with them for their Teeth in two or three dayes, you shall not deale with them at all, for by reason that few Pinnasses or shallops come thither to Traffique, therefore the Negroes bring all their Teeth thither at the first, to barter for other Wares. Their speech is not like theirs of Gabom, but for opinion and religion they are almost one, and agree therein.

The River of Gabom, lyeth about fiftenee miles Southward from Rio de Angra, and eight miles North-ward from Cape De Lopo Gonsalves, and is right under the Equinoctiall Line, about fiftenee miles from Saint Thomas, and is a great Land well and easily to bee knowne. At the mouth of the River there lyeth a Sand three or foure fathome deepe, whereon it beateth mightily, with the streame which runneth out of the River into the Sea. This River in the mouth thereof is at least foure miles broad, but when you are about the Iland called Pongo, it is not above two miles broad, on both sides the River there standeth many trees. The Iland lyeth neere to the North, then the South, and a little further there is an Iland wherein there is good provision to be had, as of Bannanas, Iniamus, and Oranges; about two miles within the River you have eight fathome deepe, good anchor ground. This Coast reacheth North and South, the depth a good way from the Land about a mile or a mile and an halfe is twelve and thirteene fathome, and halfe a mile from the Land, it is foure, five, sise, and seven fathome, you may goe neere about it, because all along that Coast it is good anchor ground, by night you have the wind off from the Land,
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

and by day from the Sea. This River hath three mightie Kings in it, which raighe therein, as one King on the North point, called Caiombo, and one upon the South point, called Gabom, and one in the Iland, called Pongo, which hath a monstrous high hill; hee of Pongo is strongest of men, and oftentimes makes warre upon him of Gabom, he of Caiombo, is a great friend to him of Pongo, and the Inhabitants of the South point of the River, are great friends with those of Cape De Lopo Gonsalve.

The twelfth of December, we got to Cape Lopo Gonsalve, where we found three ships lying at anchor, two of Zeland, and one of Schiedam. Touching their Religion, they neither know God nor his Commandments, some of them pray to the Sunne, others to the Moone, others to certaine trees, or to the Earth, because they receive food from thence, so that they esteeme it a great fault to spit upon the Earth, they goe little abroad in the streets, but when they goe abroad, they carrie a great broad Knife in their hands: both the men and the women have their bodies pinkt in divers sorts, strange to behold, wherein they put certaine Grease, mixt with colour, they will not drinke before they first put some of it out of the Pot or Kan, and when they eate they use not to drinke, but when they have dined, then they drinke a great draught of water, or of Palme-wine, or else of Malaffo, which is mixed or made of Honey water. In the morning as soone as it is day, they goe to salute their Commander, or Chaueponso, and to bid him good morrow, and when they come to him they fall downe upon their knees, and clapping both their hands together, say, Fino, Fino, Fino, whereby they wish peace, quietnesse, and all good unto him.

They are much addicted to Theeverie, and to steale some-thing, specially from Strangers, whereof they make no conscience, but thinke they doe well, but they will not steale one from another. The women also are much addicted to Leacherie and Uncleannesse; specially, with
A DESCRIPTION OF BENIN

strange Nations, whereby they thinke they get great credit, and which is more, the men offer their wives unto strangers that come thither, and the King himselfe presenteth and honoureth Strangers with some of his Wives, whereof he hath a great number. They have a filthy custome among them, which is, that the King when any of his Daughters waxe great, hee taketh and keepeth them for his Wives, and the use of their bodies. The like is done by the Queenes his Wives, when their Sonnes beginne to be great, for they lie with them, as well as the King doth with his Daughters. Their apparell is fairer then theirs on the Golden Coast, for they trimme their bodies more; about their middles to hide their Privities. They weare a Mat made of barkes of trees, which is coloured red, with a kind of red wood wherewith they dye it, upon those Mats, they hang some Apes and Monkeyes skinnes, or of other wild beasts, with a Bell in the middle, such as Cowes and Sheepe have about their neckes. They paint their bodies red, with a colour made of red wood, which is verie good, but much lighter then Brasil-wood, oftentimes they make one of their eyes white, the other red or yellow, with a streake or two in their faces, some weare round Beades about their neckes made of barkes, some small, some great, not much unlike the Boxes, which men in Hamborough hang up to put money in for the poore, but they will not suffer you to looke what is in them. The men and women also for the most part goe bare-headed, with their haire shoared and pleated diversely, some of them weare Caps made of the barkes of Cocos or Indian Nut-trees, others weare bunches of feathers made fast to their haire with little Irons, some of them have holes in their upper lips, and through their Noses, wherein they put pieces of Elxen bones, as thicke as a Doller with a stalke, which shutteth the hole, which being thrust in comes out at the Nose, and over their mouthes, which serveth their turnses well and to good purpose, when they are sicke and fall into a swound, and that men cannot open their hands by force, then they take that bone and crush the sap of some greene herbe through
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

it, wherewith they come to themselves again, so that they serve them for two purposes. Some weare Rings in their lips and in the middle part of their Noses, some thrust small Hornes or Teeth through them, and weare them so, which they thinke to bee a great ornament unto them, others boare a hole in their neather lips, and play with their Tongues in the hole; many of their men and women weare Rings in their eares, whereof some weigh at least a pound weight, some have stickes thrust through them, of five or sixe fingers long, most of them, specially the men weare a Girdle about their middles made of Buffols skin, with the haire still on it, which meeteth not together before by almost a hand breadth, with a piece thereof sticking out at each end, which is tyed together with a small cord of Threed, upon their bellies they carrie a broad Iron Knife, the sheath thereof also being of Iron: some of those Girdles are a hand broad, and some two or three handfuls broad. Besides those, they use another sort of Knives, with two or three points, which are very fearefull to behold, wherewith they cast at a man, and wheresoever they hit they take hold.

Armes. They are better armed for weapons then they of Myna, or the Golden Coast, their Armes are Pikes, or Assagaies, Bowes, and Arrowes, long Targets made of barkes of Trees. Their Drummes are narrow below and broad above, their Pikes are very cunningly made, for they are very curious Workmen in Iron; the women carrie their Husbands Armes for him, and when they will use them, their Wives give them: they are cruell and fierce against their Enemies, and fight one against the other by Land and by Water in Canoes, and when they take any of their Enemies (they were wont in times past to eate them, but now they doe it not) they put them to great torture.

The women also set themselves out verie faire (as they thinke) and weare many red Copper and Tinne Rings upon their armes and legges, some one, others two; which many times weigh three or foure pound weight, which are so fast and close about their armes, that men can hardly
A DESCRIPTION OF BENIN

imagine how they get them on; those Rings also are wonne by some men, but more by women. The women weare Aprons made of Rushes, which I have seene them make. Touching their clothes and setting forth of their bodies, it is beastly and unseemely. They have no lesse unseemelinesse in their eating and house-keeping, for they live like beasts, and sleepe upon Mats laid upon the ground, which they make very cunningly. The chiefe meate they eate is Íniamus, Batates, and Bannanas. The Bannanas they use in stead of bread, when it is well dryed, they also eate fish and flesh, with Roots and Sugar-canes: they lay all their meate in one dish, and sit round about it, and eate like a company of beasts. Their King called, Mani, eateth his meate out of a Tinne Platter, but the rest in woollen Platters, sitting upon a Mat spread upon the ground.

The greatest labour the women doe, is to fetch water, to gather fruit, and to dresse their meate: their Houses are finely made of Reeds, and covered over with Bannanas leaves, and better and cleaner then the Houses in the Golden Coast. The King hath a faire House greater then any in all the Towne, he is called Golipatta, hee is bravely set out with many Beads made of beans and shels, which are dyed red, and hanged about his necke, and upon his armes and legs, they strike their faces with a kind of white colour, they are very much subject to their Kings, and doe him great honour when they are in his presence: before his House there lyeth an Iron Piece, with certaine Bases which he bought in former time of the Frenchmen. They are verie subtil to learne how to use all kind of Armes; specially, our small Gunnes. Their Winter is from April to August, at which time it is exceeding hot, and few cleere daies, and then it raineth mightily with great drops, which fall so hot upon the stones that they presently dry up, by which means also the waters are thicke and slimie, in the Rivers and also upon the shoare. There is good fishing, Oysters grow on the branches of the Trees, which hang downe into the.

Oysters on Trees.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

water. They draw their speech long, so that it is better to learne then theirs in the Golden Coast. The Cape is low Land, and is well to be knowne, for there is no Land thereabouts, that reacheth so farre Westerly into the Sea as that doth, it lyeth about a degree Southward from the Equinoctiall Line. When you are at the Cape, there is a River which lyeth South-east from it, about three miles, whereinto the shallows commonly saile, to barter for some Teeth, which are there to bee had in the Village, which lyeth about foure miles upwards within the River: In this River there are many Sea-horses, and Crocodiles, so that it is thought that the River of Nilus jyneth thereunto, and hath an issue there into the Sea: In this Countrey there are many cruell and strange beasts, as Elephants, Buffols, Dragons, Snakes, Apes, Monkeyes, which are very fearefull to behold, and very hurtfull.

Those people are better to be dealt withall, then they of Gabom, and we find not, that they beare any spight or malice to the Netherlanders, (as they of Gabom have done) in Anno 1601. to a ship called the Palme-tree, and to another, called the Moorein of Delft, as also to a Spanish Barke, who in short time, one after the other they fell upon, and taking them, kild all the men and eate them, with divers other such trickes more by them done: but for that it is good for the ships in that place to lie and refresh themselves, to fetch water, and to Calke them: therefore all the ships lie most at this place, to make themselves ready, and fit to returne backe againe. About this Cape there lie many Sands, whereon a ship might soone smite, but behind the bankes there is no feare, the Lead will give a man meanes to find his way well enough.
Chap. III.

The strange adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Essex, sent by the Portugals prisoner to Angola, who lived there, and in the adjoyning Regions, neere eighteene yeeres.

§. I.

Andrew Battell, his Voyage to the River of Plate, who being taken on the Coast of Brasill, was sent to Angola.

In the yeere 1589, Abraham Cocke of Lime-house, began his Voyage toward the River of Plate, with two Pinnasses of fiftie Tuns a peece: The one was called the May-morning; the other, the Dolphine. We sailed from the River of Thames, the twentieth of Aprill; and the sixe and twentieth of the same moneth, we put into Plimmoth, where we tooke in some provision for the Voyage. The seventh of May we put to Sea, and with foule weather were beaten backe againe into Plimmoth, where we remained certaine dayes, and then proceeded on our Voyage: and running along the Coast of Spaine, and Barbarie, we put into the Roade of Sancta Cruz, and there set our Light-horse-man together, which we carried in two pieces; Abraham Cocke made great account hereof, thinking that this Boat should have made his Voyage. This done, we put to Sea, and running along the Coast of Guinea, wee were becalmed; because wee wer so neere the Coast.

Here our men fell sicke of the Scurvie, in such sort, that there were very few sound. And being within three or foure Degrees of the Equinoctiall line, we fell with the Cape De las Palmas, where we had some refreshing, where-with our men recovered. The people of the Cape de las
Purchas His Pilgrimes

Palmas made much of us, saying, that they would trade with us: but it was but to betray us. For they are very treacherous, and were like to have taken our boat, and hurt some of our men. From this Cape we lay South-west off, but the Current and the Calmes deceived us; so that we were driven downe to the Ile of Saint Thome, thinking that we had beene farther off to the Sea then we were. And being in distresse for wood and water, we went in on the South end betwenee San Tome, and the Ilands Das Rolas: where we rode very smooth, and with our Light-horse-man went on shoare, thinking to have watered: but wee found none in the Iland. Heere we had great store of Plantans and Oranges. We found a Village of Negroes, which are sent from San Tome, for the Portugals of San Tome do use, when their slaves be sicke or weake, to send them thither to get their strength againe. For the Ilands are very fruitful; and though there be no fresh water, yet they maintaine themselves with the wine of the Palme trees. Having refreshed our selves with the fruit of this Iland, we burned the Village. And running on the East side of San Tome, we came before the Towne; but we durst not come neere: for the Castle shot at us, which hath very good Ordnance in it.

Then we lay East and by South toward the Maine, and in foure and twentye houres, we had sight of the Cape De lopo Gonsalves: and being within three Leagues of the said Cape, we cast about and stood againe toward the Iland of San Tome, and turned up on the West side of the Iland: and comming to a little River, which runneth out of the Mountains, we went on shore with our Light-horse-man, with sixe or seven Buts to fill with water. But the Governour had imbosked one hundred men of the Iland; and when we were on shore, they came upon us, and killed one of our men, and hurt another: wherefore we retired to our Boat, and gate aboard.

Then Abraham Cocke determined to fetch the Coast of Brasil, and lay West South-west into the Sea: and being some fiftie Leagues off, we fell into a Scull of
Dolphins, which did greatly relieve us: for they did follow our ship all the way, till we fell with the land: which was some thirtie dayes. And running along the Coast of Brasil, till we came to Ilha Grande, which standeth in five Degrees Southward of the line: we put in betwixt the Iland and the Maine, and haled our ships on shoare, and washed them, and refreshed our selves, and tooke in fresh water. In this Iland are no Inhabitants, but it is very fruitfull. And being heere some twelve dayes, there came in a little Pinnasse, which was bound to the River of Plate, which came in to water, and to get some refreshment: and presently we went aboord, and tooke the Portugall Merchant out of the Pinnasse, which told Abraham Cocke, that within two moneths there should two Pinnasses come from the River of Plate, from the Towne of Buenos Aieres.

From this Towne there come every yeere foure or five Caravels to Bahia in Brasil, and to Angola in Africa: which bring great store of Treasure, which is transported over land out of Peru, into the River of Plate. Then Abraham Cocke desirous to make his Voyage, tooke some of the Dolphins men into his ship, and sent the Dolphin home againe, which had not as yet made any Voyage. This Portugall Merchant carried us to a place in this Iland, where there was a banished man, which had planted great store of Plantans; and told us, that we might with this fruit goe to the River of Plate: for our bread and victuals were almost all spent.

With this hard allowance we departed from this Iland, and were sixe and thirty dayes before we came to the Ile of Labos Marinos, which is in the mouth of the River of Plate. This Iland is halfe a mile long, and hath no fresh water; but doth abound with Seales and Sea-morsses: in such sort, that our Light-horse-man could not get on shoare for them, without we did beat them with our Oares: and the Iland is covered with them. Upon these Seales, we lived some thirty dayes, lying up and downe in the River, and were in great distresse of victuals. Then we
A.D.
1589-1607.

PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

determined to run up to Buenos Aires, and with our
Light-horse-man to take one of the Pinnasses that rid at
the Towne. And being so high up the River as the
Towne, wee had a mightie storme at South-west, which
drave us backe againe, and we were faine to ride under
Isla Verde, that is, the Greene Island, which is in the mouth
of the River on the North side.

Here we were all discomforted for lacke of victuals, and
gave over the Voyage, & came to the Northward again,
to the Ile of Sant Sebastian, lying just under the Tropicke
of Capricorne. There we went on shoare to catch fish,
& some went up into the woods to gather fruit: for we
weare all in a manner famished. There was at that time
a Canoe fraught with Indians, that came from the Towne
of Spiritu Sancto. These Indians landed on the West
side of the Iland, and came through the woods, and tooke
five of us, and carried us to the River of Janeiro. After
this mischance, our Captaine Abraham Cocke went to Sea,
and was never heard of more.

When wee that were taken had remained foure moneths
in the River of Janeiro, I and one Torner were sent to
Angola in Africa to the Citie of Saint Paul, which standeth
in nine Degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctiall
line. Heere I was presently taken out of the ship, and
put into prison, and sent up the River Quansa to a Towne
of Garrison, which is one hundred and thirtie miles up
the River. And being there two moneths, the Pilot of
the Governors Pinnasse died: then I was commanded to
carrie her downe to the Citie, where I presently fell sicke,
and lay eight moneths in a poore estate: for they hated
me because I was an English-man. But being recovered
of my sickenesse, Don John Hurtado de Mendoza, who
then was Governor, commanded me to goe to the River of
Congo, called Zaire, in a Pinnasse, to trade for Elephants
teeth, Wheate, and Oyle of the Palm-tree. The River
Zaire is fiftie Leagues from the Citie to the Northward,
and is the greatest River in all that Coast. In the mouth
of this River is an Iland, called the Ile De Calabes, which
ANDREW BATTELL

had at that time a Towne in it. Heere we laded our Pinnasse with Elephants teeth, Wheate, and Oyle of the Palme, and so returned to the Citie againe.

§. II.

His trading on the Coast, offer to escape, imprisonment, exile; escape, and new imprisonment: his sending to Elambo, and Bahia Das Vaccas; Many strange occurrents.

Hen I was sent to Longo, which is fiftene Leagues to the North-ward of the River Zaire: and carried all Commodities fit for that Countrey; as long Glasse-beads, and round Blew beads, and Seed beads, and Looking-glasses, Blew and Red course cloth, and Irish Rugs, which were very rich Commodities. Heere wee sold our cloth at a great rate, for we had for one yard of cloth, three Elephants teeth, that weighed one hundred and twenty pound: and we bought great store of Palme-cloth, and Elephants tayles. So in little time, we laded our Pinnasse. For this Voyage I was very welcome to the Governour; who promised me my liberty, if I would serve him. So I went in his Pinnasse two yeeres and a halfe upon the Coast.

Then there came a ship of Holland to the Citie, the Merchant of which ship promised to Carrie me away. And when they were readie to depart, I went secretly aboord; but I was bewrayed by Portugals, which sailed in the ship, and was fetched on shoare by the Sergeants of the Citie, and put in prison, and lay with great bolts of Iron two moneths, thinking that the Governour would have put me to death: but at last, I was banished for ever, to the Fort of Massangano, to serve in the Conquest of those Parts. Here I lived a most miserable life for the space of sixe yeeres, without any hope to see the Sea againe.

In this Fort there were Egyptians and Moriscoes, that were banished as my selfe. To one of these Egyptians I brake my mind, and told him, that it were better for us
to venture our lives for our libertie, then to live in that miserable place. The Egyptian was as willing as my selfe, and told me, he would procure ten of his consorts to goe with us. So we got three Egyptians, and seven Portugals. That night, we got the best Canoe that we could find, and went downe the River Coanza: and being as farre downe as Mani Cabech, which is a little Lord in the Province of Elamba, we went on shoare with our twelve Muskets, Powder, and Shot. Heere we sunke our Canoe, because they should not know where we went on shoare. We made a little fire in the Wood, and scorched Ginie Wheat, which we brought from Massangano to relieve us, for we had none other food.

Assoone as it was night, wee tooke our journey all that night, and the next day without any water at all. The second night, we were not able to goe, and were faine to digge and scrape up rootes of Trees, and sucke them to maintaine life. The third day, wee met with an old Negro, which was travailing to Mani Cabech, we bound his hands behind him, and made him leade us the way to the Lake of Casansa. And travailing all the day in this extreme hot Countrie, we came to the Bansa, or Towne of Mani Casansa, which lieth within the Land twelve leagues from the Citie of San Paulo. Here we were forced to aske water: but they would give us none. Then we determined to make them flee their houses with our shot: but seeing that we were desperately bent, they called their Lord Mani Casansa, who gave us water and faire speeches, desiring us to stay all night, onely to betray us: but we departed presently, and rested that night in the Lake of Casansa.

The fourth day at night, we came to the River which is toward the North, and passed it with great danger. For there are such abundance of Crocodiles in this River, that no man dare come neere the River side, where it is deepe. The fift day at night, wee came to the River Danede, and travailed so farre to the Eastward, that we were right against the Serras, or Mountaines of Manibangono, which is a Lord that warreth against the King of Congo, whither
wee intended to goe. Here we passed the River, and
rested halfe the night. And being two leagues from the
River, we met with Negroes, which asked us, whither we
travailed. Wee told them, that we were going to Congo.
These Negroes said, that we were in the wrong way, and
that they were Masicongos, and would carry us to Bambe,
where the Duke of Bambe lay.

So wee went some three miles East up into the Land,
till wee perceived that we were the wrong way: for we
travailed by the Sunne, and would goe no further that
way: and turned backe againe to the Westward, they
stood before us with their Bowes, Arrowes and Darts,
readie to shoot at us. But we determining to goe through
them, discharged sixe Muskets together, and killed foure;
which did amaze them, and made them to retire. But
they followed us foure or five miles, and hurt two of our
companie with their Arrowes. The next day, we came
into the borders of Bamba, and travailed all that day. At
night, we heard the surge of the Sea. The seventh day
in the morning, we saw the Captain of the Citie come
after us with Horsmen, and great store of Negroes.
Hereupon our companie being dismayed, seven of our
faint-hearted Portugals hid themselves in the Thickes.
I and the foure Egyptians thought to have escaped: but
they followed us so fast, that we were faine to goe into a
little Wood. Assoone as the Captaine had overtaken us,
he discharged a volley of shot into the Wood, which made
us lose one another.

Thus being all alone, I bethought my selfe, that if the
Negroes did take me in the Woods, they would kill me:
wherefore, thinking to make a better end among the
Portugals and Mullatos, I came presently out of the Wood
with my Musket readie charged, making none account of
my life. But the Captaine, thinking that we had beene
all twelve together, called to me, and said, Fellow Souldier,
I have the Governours pardon, if you will yeeld your
selves, you shall have no hurt. I having my Musket
readie, answered the Captaine, that I was an Englishman,
and had served sixe yeeres at Massangono, in great miserie; and came in companie with eleven Portugals and Egyptians, and here am left all alone; and rather then I will be hanged, I will die amongst you. Then the Captaine came neere unto me, and said; Deliver thy Musket to one of the Souldiers, and I protest, as I am a Gentleman, and a Souldier, to save thy life, for thy resolute mind. Whereupon I yeelded up my Musket and my selfe.

Then the Captaine commanded all the Souldiers and Negroes to search the Woods, and to bring them out alive or dead; which was presently done. Then they carried us to the Citie of San Paulo: where I, and the three Egyptians lay in Prison three moneths, with Collars of Iron, and great Bolts upon our legs, and hardly escaped.

At that time the Governour sent four hundred men, that were banished out of Portugall, up into the Countrey of Elambe. Then I was with Proclamation through the Citie banished for ever to the warres, and marched with them to Sowonso, which is a Lord, that obeyed the Duke of Bambe: from thence to Samanibansa, and then to Namba Calamba, which is a great Lord, who did resist us: but we burned his Towne, and then he obeyed us, and brought three thousand warlike Negroes to us. From thence to Sollancango a little Lord, that fought very desperately with us, but was forced to obey: and then to Combrectianga, where we remayned two yeares. From this place wee gave many assaults, and brought many Lords to subjection. Wee were fifteene thousand strong, and marched to the Outeiro, or Mountaine of Ingome. But first we burned all Ingasia, which was his Countrey, and then we came to the chiefe Towne of Ingome, which is halfe a dayes journey to goe up.

This Lord came upon us with more then twentie thousand Bowes, and spoyled many of our men. But with our shot we made a great spoyle among them, whereupon he retyrde up into the Mountaine, and sent one of his Captaines to our Generall; signifying, that the next day
hee would obey him. The next day he entred our Campe in great pompe with Drums, Petes, and Pongoes, or Waytes, and was royally received: and he gave great Presents, and greatly inriched the Generall, and them which marched up. Upon the toppe of the Mountaine is a great Plaine, where he hath his chiefe Towne; verie fresh, full of Palme-trees, Sugar-canes, Potatos, and other roots, and great store of Oranges and Limons. Here is a Tree that is called Engeriy, that beareth a fruit as big as a Pome-water, and hath a stone in it, present remedie for the Wind Cholicke, which was strange to the Portugals. Here is a River of fresh water, that springeth out of the Mountaine, and runneth all along the Towne. Wee were here five dayes, and then we marched up into the Coun-try, and burned and spoyled for the space of sixe weekes; and then returned to Engombe againe with great store of slaves, sheepe and Goates, and great store of Margarite stones, which are currant money in that Land. Here we pitched our Campe a league from this pleasant Mountaine, which remayned twelve monethes: but I was shot in my right legge, and many Portugals and Mullatos, were carriedy to the Citie to be cured.

Then the Governour sent a Frigat to the South-ward with sixtie Souldiers, my selfe beeing one of the company, and all kind of Commodities. We turned up to the South-ward till wee came into twelve degrees. Here we found a faire sandie Bay. The people of this place brought us Cowes and Sheepe, Wheate and Beanes; but we stayed not there, but came to Bahia das Vaccas, that is, the Bay of Cowes, which the Portugals call, Bahia de Torre, because it hath a roke like a Towre. Here wee roade on the North-side of the Roche in a sandie Bay; and bought great store of Cowes, and Sheepe bigger then our English Sheepe, and very fine Copper. Also we bought a kind of sweet wood, called Cacongo, which the Portugals esteeme much, and great store of Wheate and Beanes. And having laded our Barke wee sent her home: but fiftie of us stayed on shoare, and made a little Fort
with rafters of wood, because the people of this place are treacherous, and not to be trusted. So in seventeen
dayes wee had five hundred head of Cattell: and within
ten dayes the Governour sent three shippes and so wee
departed to the Citie.

In this Bay may any ship ride without danger, for it
is a smooth Coast. Here may any shippel that commeth
out of the East Indies refresh themselves. For the
Portugals Carracks now of late come along that Coast, to
the Citie to water and refresh themselves. These people
are called, Endallabondos, and have no government
among themselves: and therefore they are verie trecherous,
and those that trade with these people must stand upon
their owne guard. They are very simple and of no
courage, for thirtie or fortie men may goe boldly up into
the Countrey, and fetch downe whole Heards of Cattell.
We bought the Cattell for blue glasse-beads of an inch
long, which are called, Mopindes; and payd fifteene beads
for one Cow.

This Province is called, Dombe, and it hath a ridge of
high Serras, or Mountaines, that stretch from the Serras,
or Mountaines of Cambambe, wherein are Mines; and
lye along that Coast South and by West. Here is great
store of fine Copper, if they would worke in their Mines:
but they take no more, then they weare for a braverie.
The men of this place weare skinnes about their middles,
and beads about their neckes. They carrie Darts of Iron,
and Bow and Arrowes in their hands. They are beastly
in their living, for they have men in womens apparell,
whom they keepe among their wives.

Their women weare a Ring of Copper about their
neckes, which weigheth fifteene pound at the least, about
their armes little Rings of Copper, that reach to their
elbowes, about their middles a cloth of the Insandie Tree,
which is neither spinne nor woven, on their legs Rings
of Copper, that reach to the calves of their legs.
§. III.

Discoverie of the Gagas; Their Warres, Man-eating; Over-running Countries: His Trade with them, betraying, escape to them, and living with them, with many strange Adventures. And also the Rites and manner of life observed by the Jagges or Gagas, which no Christian could ever know well but this Author.

In our second Voyage turning up along the Coast, we came to the Morro, or Cliffe of Benguele, which standeth in twelve degrees of Southerly latitude. Here we saw a mighty Cape of men on the Southside of the river Cova. And being desirous to know what they were, we went on shore with our Boat; & presently there came a troop of five hundred men to the water side. We asked them, Who they were? then they told us, that they were the Gagas, or Gindes; that came from *Serra de Lion, and passed through the Citie of Congo; and so travelled to the East-ward of the great Citie of Angola, which is called Dongo. The great Gaga, which was their Generall, came downe to the waters side to see us. For hee had never seene white men before. He asked, wherefore we came? we told him, that wee came to trade upon the Coast: then he bade us welcome, and called us on shoare with our Commodities: we laded our ship with slaves in seven days, and bought them so good cheape, that many did not cost one Riall a piece, which were worth in the Citie twelve Millie-eyes.

Being readie to depart the great Giaga stayed us, and desired our Boat to passe his men over the River Cova: for he determined to over-runne the Realme of Benguele, which was on the North-side of the River Cova. So we went with him to his Campe, which was very orderly intrenched with piles of wood. We had Houses provided

---

*Lopes was deceived in their original.
The Gagas, a most warlike people.
He in discourse with me, called them Jagges, & their Chiefe the Great Jagge. I think he writ them Gagas for Giagas by false spelling.
for us that night, and many burthens of Palme-wine, Cowes, Goats, and Flowre.

In the morning before day the Generall did strike his Gongo, which is an Instrument of War that soundeth like a Bell; and presently made an Oration with a loud voice, that all the Campe might heare, that he would destroy the Benguelas, with such couragious and vehement speeches, as were not to be looked for among the Heathen people: and presently they were all in armes, and marched to the Rivers side, where he had provided Gingados. And beeing readie with our Boat and Gingados, the Generall was faine to beate them backe, because of the credit who should be first. We carried over eightie men at once; and with our Muskets we beat the enemie off, and landed, but many of them were slaine. By twelve of the clocke all the Gagas were over.

Then the Generall commanded all his Drums, Tavales, Petes, Pongos, and all his Instruments of warlike Musicke to strike up, and gave the on-set, which was a bloudie day to the Benguelas. These Benguelas presently broke and turned their backes, and a very great number of them were slaine, and were taken Captives, man, woman and child. The Prince Hombiangymbe was slaine, which was Ruler of this Countrey, and more then one hundred of his chiefe Lords, and their heads presented, and throwne at the feet of the great Gaga. The men, women, and children, that were brought in captive alive, and the dead Corpses that were brought to bee eaten, were strange to behold. For these Gagas are the greatest Canibals and Man-eaters that bee in the World, for they fed chiefly upon mans flesh, having all the Cattell of that Countrey.

They setled themselves in this Countrey, and tooke the spoile of it. Wee had great Trade with these Gagas five monethes, and gained greatly by them. These Gagas were not contented to stay in this place of Benguela, although they lacked almost nothing. For they had great store of Cattell and Wheate, and many other
ANDREW BATTELL

Commodities, but they lacked Wine: for in these parts there are no Palme-trees.

After the five monethes were expired, they marched toward the Province of Bambala, to a great Lord, that is called Calicansamba, whose Countrey is five dayes journey into the Land. In these five monethes space we made three Voyages to the Citie of San Paul, and comming the fourth time we found them not.

Being loth to returne without Trade, wee determined to goe up into the Land after them; So we went fifty on shore, and left our ship riding in the Bay of Benguela to stay for us: and marching two dayes up into the Countrie, we came to a great Lord, which is called Mofarigosat: and comming to his first Towne, we found it burned to the ground, for the Gagas had passed and taken the spoyle. To this Lord we sent a Negro, which we had bought of the Gagas, and lived with us, and bid him say, that he was one of the great Gagas men, and that hee was left to carrie us to the Campe. This Lord bade us welcome for feare of the great Gaga: but hee delayed the time, and would not let us passe, till the Gaga was gone out of his Countrey. This Lord Mofarigosat, seeing that the Gagas were cleere of him, began to palter with us, and would not let us goe out of his Land, till we had gone to the warres with him; for hee thought himselfe a mightie man having us with him. For in this place they never saw white man before, nor Gunnes. So we were forced to goe with him, and destroyed all his Enemies, and returned to his Towne againe. Then we desired him, that he would let us depart: But he denied us, without we would promise him to come againe, and leave a white man with him in pawne.

These Portugals and Mulatos being desirous to get away from this place, determined to draw lots who should stay: but many of them would not agree to it. At last they consented together that it were fitter to leave me, because I was an Englishman, then any of themselves. Here I was faine to stay perforce. So they left me a
Musket, Powder, and shot; promising this Lord Mofari-gosat, that within two monethes they would come againe, and bring an hundred men to helpe him in his Warres, and to trade with him: but all was to shift themselves away, for they feared that he would have taken us all Captives. Here I remayned with this Lord till the two monethes were expired, and was hardly used, because the Portugals came not according to promise.

The chiefe men of this Towne would have put me to death, and stripped me naked, and were reade to cut off mine head. But the Lord of the Towne commanded them to stay longer, thinking that the Portugals would come. And after that I was let loose againe, I went from one Towne to another, shifting for my selfe, within the liberties of this Lord. And beeing in feare of my life among them, I ranne away, purposing to goe to the Campe of the Gagas.

And having travelled all that night, the next day I came to a great Towne, which was called, Cashil, which stood in a mightie over-growne thicket. Here I was carried into the Towne to the Lord Cashil; and all the Towne great and small came to wonder at mee, for in this place there was never any white man seene. Here were some of the great Gagas men, which I was glad to see, and went with these Gagas to Calicansamba, where the Campe was.

This Towne of the Lord Cashil is very great, and is so over-growne with Olicondie Trees, Cedars, and Palmes, that the streets are darkened with them. In the middle of the Towne there is an Image, which is as bigge as a man, and standeth twelve foot high: and at the foot of the Image there is a Circle of Elephants Teeth, pitched into the ground. Upon these Teeth stand great store of dead mens skuls, which are killed in the warres, and offered to this Image. They use to powre Palme-wine at his feet, and kill Goats, and powre their bloud at his feet. This Image is called Quesango, and the people have a great beliefe in him, and sweare by him; and doe beleeve
when they are sick, that Quesango is offended with them. In many places of this Towne were little Images, and over them great store of Elephants Teeth piled.

The streets of this Towne were paled with Palme-canes very orderly. Their Houses were round like an Hive, and within hanged with fine Mats very curiously wrought. On the South-east end of the Towne was a Mokiso, which had more then three Tunnes of Elephants Teeth piled over him.

From this Towne of Cashil, I travelled up into the Countrie with the Gagas two dayes, and came to Calicansamba, where the great Gaga had his Campe, and was welcome to him. Among the Caniball people, I determinded to live, hoping in God, that they would travell so farre to the West-ward, till we should see the Sea againe; and so I might escape by some ship. These Gagas remayned four monethes in this place, with great abundance and plentie of Cattle, Corne, Wine, and Oyle, and great triumphing, drinking, dancing, and banquetting with mans flesh, which was an heauie spectacle to behold.

At the end of four monethes they marched toward the Serras, or Mountaines of Cashindacabar, which are mightie high, and have great Copper-mynes, and they tooke the spoyl all the way as they went. From thence they went to the River Longa, and passed it, and setled themselves in the Towne of Calango, and remayned there five or sixe monethes. Then wee arose, and entred into the Province of Tondo, and came to the River Gonsa, and marched on the South-side of the River to a Lord that was called Makellacolonge, neere to the great Citie of Dongo. Here we passed over mightie high Mountaines, and found it very cold.

Having spent sixeene moneths among these Canibals, they marched to the Westward againe, and came along the River Gonsa, or Gunza, to a Lord that is called Shillambanssa, Unkle to the King of Angola. We burned his chiefe Towne, which was after their fashion very sumptuously builded. This place is very pleasant and
fruitfull. Heere we found great store of wild Peacockes, flying up and downe the Trees, in as great abundance as other Birds. The old Lord Shillambansa was buried in the middle of the Towne, and had an hundred tame Peacockes kept upon his Grave: which Peacockes he gave to his Mokeso, and they were called Angello Mokeso, that is, The Devils or Idols Birds, and were accounted as holy things. He had great store of Copper, Cloth, and many other things laid upon his Grave; which is the order of that Countrrey.

From this place we marched to the Westward, along the River Coanza, and came right against the Serras, or Mountaines of Cambanbe, or Serras de Prata. Here is the great fall of water, that falleth right downe, and maketh a mightie noyse, that is heard thirtie miles. Wee entred into the Province of Casama, and came to one of the greatest Lords, which was called Langere. He obeyed the Great Gaga, and carried us to a Lord, called Casooh, which was a great Warrier; for he had some seven yeeres before, overthrownne the Portugals Campe, and killed eight hundred Portugals, and fortie thousand Negroes, that were on the Portugals side. This Lord did stoutly withstand the Gagas, and had the first day a mightie battaile: but had not the victorie that day. So wee made a Sconse of Trees after their fashion, and remayned four moneths in the Warres with them. I was so highly esteemed with the Great Gaga, because I killed many Negroes with my Musket, that I had any thing that I desired of him. He would also, when they went out to the Warres, give charge to his men over me. By this meanes I have beene often carried away in their armes, and saved my life. Here we were within three dayes Journey of Massangano, before mentioned, where the Portugals have a Fort: and I sought meanes, and got to the Portugals againe with Merchant Negroes, that came to the Campe to buy Slaves.

There were in the Campe of the Gagas, twelve Captains. The first, called Imbe Calandola, their Generall a man of great courage. He warreth all by enchantment,
ANDREW BATTELL

and taketh the Devils counsell in all his exploits. He is alwaies making of sacrifices to the Devill, and doth know many times what shall happen unto him. Hee beleeveth that hee shall never die but in the Warres. There is no Image among them, but he useth certaine ceremonies. He hath straight Lawes to his Souldiers: for, those that are faint-hearted, and turne their backes to the Enemie, are presently condemned and killed for cowards, and their bodies eaten. He useth every night to make a warlike Oration upon an high Scaffold, which doth encourage his people.

It is the order of these people, wheresoever they pitch their Campe, although they stay but one night in a place, to build their Fort, with such wood or trees as the place yeldeth: so that the one part of them cutteth downe trees and boughs, and the other part carrieth them, and buildeth a round Circle with twelve Gates. So that every Captaine keepeth his Gate. In the middle of the Fort is the Generals house, intrenched round about, and hee hath many Porters that keepe the Doore. They build their houses very close together, and have their Bowes, Arrowes, and Darts, standing without their Doores: And when they give alarme, they are sodainly all out of the Fort. Every companie at their Doores keepe very good watch in the night, playing upon their Drums and Tavales.

These Gagas told us of a River that is to the Southward of the Bay of Vaccas, that hath great store of Gold: and that they gathered up great store of graines of Gold upon the Sand, which the fresh water driveth downe in the time of raine. We found some of this Gold in the handles of their Hatchets, which they use to engrave with Copper, and they called it Copper also, and doe not esteeme it.

These Gagas delight in no Countrie, but where there is great store of Palmares, or Groves of Palmes. For they delight greatly in the Wine, and in the Fruit of the Palme, which serveth to eate and to make Oyle: and they draw their Wine contrarie to the Imbondos. These
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Palme-trees are sixe or seven fathoms high, and have no leaves but in the top: and they have a device to goe up to the top of the Tree, and lay no hands on it, and they draw the Wine in the top of the tree in a Bottle.

But these Gagas cut the Palme-trees downe by the roote, which lie ten dayes before they will give Wine. And then they make a square hole in the top and heart of the Tree, and take out of the hole every morning a quart, and at night a quart. So that every Tree giveth two quarts of Wine a day for the space of sixe and twentie dayes, and then it drieth up.

When they settle themselves in any Countrie, they cut downe as many Palmes as will serve them Wine for a moneth: and then as many more. So that in a little time they spoile the Countrie. They stay no longer in a place, then it will afford them maintenance. And then in Harvest time they arise, and settle themselves in the fruitfullest place that they can find; and doe reape their Enemies Corne, and take their Cattell. For they will not sowe, nor plant, nor bring up any Cattell, more then they take by Warres. When they come into any Countrie that is strong, which they cannot the first day conquer, then their Generall buildeth his Fort, and remayneth sometimes a moneth or two quiet. For he saith, it is as great warres to the Inhabitants to see him setled in their Countrey, as though he fought with them every day. So that many times the Inhabitants come and assault him at his Fort: and these Gagas defend themselves and flesh them on for the space of two or three dayes. And when their Generall mindeth to give the on-set, he will in the night put out some one thousand men: which do emboske themselves about a mile from their Fort. Then in the morning the great Gaga goeth with all his strength out of the Fort, as though he would take their Towne. The Inhabitants comming neere the Fort to defend their Countrey, being betweene them, the Gagas give the watch-word with their Drummes, and then the embosked
men arise, so that very few escape. And that day their Generall over-runneth the Countr ey.

The great Gaga Calando hath his haire very long, embroydred with many knots full of Bamba shells, which are very rich among them, and about his necke a Collar of Masoes, which are also shells, that are found upon that Coast, and are sold among them for the worth of twentie shillings a shell: and about his middle he weareth Landes, which are Beades made of the Ostridges Eggs. He weareth a Palme cloth about his middle, as fine as Silke. His body is carved and cut with sundry workes, and every day anointed with the fat of men. Hee weareth a peece of Copper crosse his nose, two inches long, and in his eares also. His body is alwaies painted red and white. He hath twenty or thirty wives, which followed him when he goeth abroad; and one of them carrieth his Bow and Arrowes, and foure of them carry his Cuppes of drinke after him. And when hee drinketh, they all kneele downe, and clap their hands and sing.

Their women weare their haire with high trompes, full of Bamba shells, and are anointed with Civet. They pull out foure of their teeth; two above and two below for a bravery: And those that have not their teeth out, are loathsome to them, and shall neither eate nor drinke with them. They weare great store of Beades about their neckes, armes and legs; about their middles, Silke cloathes.

The women are very fruitfull, but they enjoy none of their children: For as soone as the woman is delivered of her Childe, it is presently buried quicke; So that there is not one Childe brought up in all this Generation. But when they take any Towne, they keepe the Boyes and Girles of thirteene or fourteene yeares of age, as their owne children. But the men and women they kill and eate. These little Boyes they traine up in the warres, and hang a collar about their neckes for a disgrace, which is never taken off till he proveth himselfe a man, and bring his enemies head to the Generall: And then it is
A.D. 1589-1607.

PURCHASES HIS PILGRIMES

taken off, and he is a Free-man, and is called Gonso, or Souldier. This maketh them all desperate, and forward to be free, and counted men: and so they doe increase. In all this Campe there were but twelve naturall Gagas that were their Captaines, and foureteene or fiftenee women. For it is more then fiftie yeares since they come from Serra de Lion, which was their native Countrey. But their Campe is sixteene thousand strong, and sometimes more.

When the great Gaga Calandola, undertaketh any great enterprize against the Inhabitants of any Countrey, he maketh a sacrifice to the Divell, in the morning before the Sunne riseth. He sitteth upon a stoole, having on each side of him a man Witch: then he hath fortie or fiftie women which stand round about him, holding in each hand a Zeveras, or wilde horses tayle, where with they doe flourish and sing. Behind them are great store of Petes, Ponges, and Drummes, which alwaies play. In the midst of them is a great fire; upon the fire an earthen pot with white powders, where-with the men Witches doe paint him on the forehead, temples, thwart the breast and belly, with long ceremonies and enchanting tearmes. Thus he continueth till sunne is downe. Then the Witches bring his Casengala, which is a weapon like an hatchet, and put it into his hand, and bid him bee strong against his enemies: for his Mokiso is with him. And presently there is a Man-childe brought, which forth-with he killeth. Then are foure men brought before him; two whereof, as it happeneth, he presently striketh and killeth; the other two he commandeth to be killed without the Fort.

Here I was by the men Witches commanded to goe away, because I was a Christian. For then the Divell doth appeare to them, as they say. And presently he commandeth five Cowes to be killed in the Fort, and five without the Fort: And likewise as many Goates, and as many Dogges; and the bloud of them is sprinkled in the fire, and their bodies are eaten with great feasting and
triumph. And this is used many times by all the other Captaines of their Armie.

When they bury the dead, they make a vault in the ground, and a seate for him to sit. The dead hath his haire newly imbroydred, his body washed, and anointed with sweete powders. He hath all his best robes put on, and is brought betweene two men to his grave, and set in his seate, as though he were alive. He hath two of his wives set with him, with their armes broken, and then they cover the vault on the top. The Inhabitants when they dye, are buried after the same fashion, and have the most part of their goods buried with them. And every moneth there is a meeting of the kindred of the dead man, which mourne and sing dolefull songs at his grave, for the space of three daies; and kill many Goates, and powre their bloud upon his grave, and Palme-Wine also; and use this ceremony as long as any of their kindred be alive. But those that have no kindred think themselves unhappy men, because they have none to mourne for them when they dye. These people are very kind one to another in their health; but in their sicknesse they doe abhorre one another, and will shun their company.

§. IIII.

His returne to the Portugals: invasions of divers Countries, abuse, flight from them, and living in the Woods divers moneths: His strange Boate, and comming to Loango.

Being departed from the Gagas, I came to Masangano, where the Portugals have a Towne of Garrison. There was at that time a new Governor, which was called, Sienor Juan Continho: who brought authority to conquer the Mines or Mountaines of Cambamba: and to performe that service, the King of Spaine had given him seaven yeares custome, of all the Slaves and Goods that were carried thence to the West-Indies, Brasil, or whither soever: with condition, that he
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

should build three Castles; one in Demba, which are the salt Mines; the other, in Cambamba, which are the Silver Mines; and the other in Bahia das Vaccas, or The Bay of Cowes. This Gentleman was so bountiful at his coming, that his fame was spread through all Congo, and many Mulatos and Negroes came voluntarily to serve him. And being some sixe moneths in the Citie, he marched to the Outaba of Tombe: and there shipped his Souldiers in Pinnasses, and went up the River Consa, or Coanza, and landed at the Outaba of Songo, sixtie miles from the Sea. This Lord Songo is next to Demba, where the Salt Mines be. In this place there is such store of Salt, that most part of the Countrey are perfect cleere Salt, without any earth or filth in it: and it is some three foot under the earth as it were Ice: and they cut it out in stones of a yard long, and it is carried up into the Countrey, and is the best commoditie that a man can carry to buy any thing whatsoever.

Here the Governour stayed ten daies, and sent a Pinnasse to Masangano, for all the best Souldiers that were there. So the Captain of the Castle sent me down among an hundred Souldiers, and I was very well used by the Governor; and he made me a Sergeant of a Portugall Company, and then he marched to Machimba; from thence to Cavo, and then to Malombe, a great Lord. Here we were foure daies, and many Lords came and obeyed us. From thence we marched to a mightie Lord, called Angoykayongo, who stood in the defence of his Countrey, with more then sixtie thousand men. So we met with him, and had the victory, and made a great slaughter among them. We tooke captives all his Women and Children, and setted our selves in his Towne, because it was a very pleasant place, and full of Cattle and victuals. And being eight daies in this Towne, the Governour sickned and dyed, and left a Captaine in his roome to performe the service.

After we had beene two moneths in the Countrey of Angoykayongo, we marched toward Cambambe, which
was but three daies journey, and came right against the Serras da Prata, and passed the River Coanza, and presently over-ranne the Countrey, and built a Fort hard by the Rivers side. Here I served two yeares. They opened the Silver Mines: but the Portugals did not like of them as yet; because they yeelded small store of Silver. This new up-start Governour, was very cruell to his Souldiers, so that all his voluntary men left him; and by this meanes he could goe no farther. At this time, there came newes by the Jesuites, that the Queene of England was dead, and that King James had made peace with Spaine. Then I made a petition to the Governour, who granted me licence to goe into my Countrey: And so I departed with the Governour and his Traine to the Citie of Saint Paul.

But he left five hundred Souldiers in the Fort of Cambambe, which they hold still. Then I went with a Portugall Marchant to the Province of Bamba: and from thence to the Onteiro, or Citie standing upon a Mountaine of Congo: from thence to Gongon and Batta: and there wee sold our commodities, and returned in sixe moneths to the Citie againe. Then I purposd to have shipped my selfe for Spaine, and thence homewards. But the Governour denied his word, and commanded me to provide my selfe within two daies, to goe up to the Conquest againe. This Governour had served his three yeares, and the Citizens looked every day for another out of Portugall. So I determined to absent my selfe for ten or twentie daies, till the other Governour came, and then to come to the Citie againe. For every Governour that commeth, maketh Proclamation for all men that be absent, to come with free pardon.

The same day at night, I departed from the Citie, with two Negro Boyes that I had, which carried my Musket, and sixe pounds of Powder, and an hundred Bullets, and that little provision of victuals which I could make. In the morning I was some twentie miles from the Citie, up along the River Bengo, and there I stayed certaine dayes;
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

and then passed Bengo, and came to the River Dande, which is to the North-ward; purposing to know what newes was in the Citie, for I was neere the high-way of Congo: And one of my Negroes inquired of those that passed, and brought me word; That it was certaine, that the new Governour came not that yeare. Now I was put to my shifts, whether I would goe to the Citie againe and be hanged, or to stay and live in the Woods: for I had runne away twice before. So I was forced to live in the Wood a moneth, betwixt the Rivers of Dande and Bengo. Then I went to Bengo again, to Mani Kaswea, & passed over the River, and went to the lake of Casansa. Here is the greatest store of wild beasts, that is in any place of Angola. About this lake I staid six monethes, & lived only upon dried flesh, as Buffes, Deere, Mokokes, Impolancas, and Ro-bucks, and other sorts which I killed with my Musket, and dried the flesh, as the Savages doe, upon an Hurdle three foot from the ground, making underneath it a great fire, and laying upon the flesh greene boughes, which keepe the smoke and heate of the fire downe, and dry it. I made my fire with two little stickes, as the Savages use to doe. I had sometimes Guiney Wheate, which my Negro Boy would get of the Inhabitants for pieces of dried flesh. This Lake of Casanje doth abound with fish of sundry sorts. I have taken up a fish, that hath skipped out of the water on shoare, foure foot long, which the Heathen call Sombo. Thus after I had lived sixe monethes with dried flesh and fish, and seeing no end of my miserie, I wrought meanes to get away.

In this Lake are many little Ilands, that are full of trees, called Memba; which are as light as Corke, and as soft. Of these trees I built a Jergado, with a Knife of the Savages that I had, in the fashion of a Boat, nayled with woodden pegs, and rayled round about, because the Sea should not wash me out, and with a Blanket that I had, I made a sayle, and prepared three Oares to row withall. This Lake of Casanza is eight miles over, and issueth into the River Bengo. So I
entred into my Gingado, and my two Negro Boyes, and rowed into the River Bengo, and so came downe with the current twelve leagues to the barre. Here I was in great danger, because the Sea was great; and being over the barre, I rowed into the Sea, and then sayled afore the wind along the Coast, which I knew very well, minding to goe to the Kingdome of Longo, which is toward the North: and being that night at Sea, the next day I saw a Pinnasse come before the wind, which came from the Citie, and was bound to San Thome, and shee came neere to mee. The Master was my great friend, for we had beene Mates together, and for pitie sake he tooke me in, and set me on shoare in the Port of Longo; where I remayned three yeares, and was well beloved of the King, because I killed him Deere and Fowles with my Musket.

§. V.

Of the Province of Engoy, and other Regions of Loango, with the Customes there observed by the King and people.

From the Point of the Palmar, which is the Northside of the River Zaire, is the Port of Cabadna, where many ships use to water and refresh themselves; and it is five leagues Northwards. This place is called Engoy, and is the first Province of Longo, and is full of Woods and Thickets. And seven leagues Northwards of that place is the River Ca Congo; a very pleasant place and fruitfull. Here is great store of Elephants Teeth: and a Boat of ten tunnes may goe up the River.

The Mombales have great Trade with them, and passe the River Zaire in the night, because then it is calme; and carrie great store of Elephants Teeth to the Towne of Mani Sonna, and sell them in the Port of Pinda to the Portugals, or any other stranger, that first commeth.

And foure leagues from Ca Congo, is the River of Caye,
or Longo Leuyes. This Towne of Caye is one of the four Seates or Lordships of Longo: and then the Angra, or Gulfe das Almadias. In this Gulfe or Bay are great store of Canoes and Fishermen, because the Sea is smoother there, then upon the Coast. And two leagues Northward is the Port of Longo. And it is a sandie Bay, and a ship may ride within a Musket shot of the shoare in foure or five fathomes.

The Towne of Mani Longo is three miles from the waters side, and standeth on a great Plaine. This Towne is full of Palme and Plantan Trees, and very fresh: and their Houses are builded under the Trees. Their streets are wide and long, and always cleane swept. The King hath his Houses on the West-side, and before his doore hee hath a Plaine, where hee sitteth, when hee hath any feasting or matters of warres to treate of. From this Plaine there goeth a great wide street some Musket shot from the place; and there is a great Market every day, and it doth begin at twelve of the clocke.

Here is great store of Palme-clothes of sundry sorts, which is their Merchandizes: and great store of Victuals, Flesh, Hens, Fish, Wine, Oyle and Corne. Here is also very fine Logwood, which they use to dye withall: it is the root of the Logwood, which is the best, and Molangos of Copper. Here is likewise great store of Elephants Teeth, but they sell none in the Market place. The King hath ten great Houses, and is never certaine to be found, but in the afternoone, when he commeth to sit. And then he keeppeth alwayes one House. The House is very long, and at twelve of the clocke it is full of Noblemen. They sit upon Carpets upon the ground. The House is alwayes full of people till mid-night. The last King Gembe, never used to speake in the day; but alwayes in the night. But this King speaketh in the day: howbeit hee spendeth most of the day with his Wives. And when the King commeth in, he goeth to the upper end of the House, where hee hath his seate, as it were a Throne. And when the King is set, they clap their hands
and salute him, saying in their Language; Byani Pemba, Ampola, Moneya, Quesinge.

On the South-side of the Kings Houses he hath a circuit or Village, where his Wives dwell: and in this circuit no man may come in paine of death. He hath in this place one hundred & fifty Wives and more. And if any man be taken within his Circuit, if he be with a woman, or doe but speake to her, they be both brought into the Market place, and their heads bee cut off, and their bodies quartered, and lye one day in the streets. The last King Gymbe, had foure hundred children by his women.

When the King drinketh he hath a cup of wine brought, and he that bringeth it hath a Bell in his hand, and assoone as he hath delivered the cup to the King, hee turneth his face from the King, and ringeth the Bell: and then all that be there fall downe upon their faces, and rise not till the King have drunke. And this is very dangerous for any stranger, that knoweth not the fashions: for if any seeth the King drink, he is presently killed, whatsoever he be. There was a Boy of twelve yeares, which was the Kings Sonne; This Boy chanced to come unadvisedly when his Father was in drinking: presently the King commanded he should be well appareled, & victuals prepared. So the youth did eat & drink: afterward the King commanded that he should be cut in quarters, and carried about the Citie; with Proclamation that he saw the King drinke. Likewise for his Dyet, when it is dinner time, there is an House of purpose, where hee alwayes eateth; and there his Dyet is set upon a Bensa, like a Table: then hee goeth in and hath the doore shut. So when he hath eaten, then he knocketh and commeth out. So that none see the King eat nor drinke. For it is their Beliefe, that if hee bee seene eating or drinking, hee shall presently dye. And this is an order with all the Kings that now are, or shall succeed, unless they abolish this cruell custome.

This King is so honoured, as though hee were a God among them: and is called Sambe and Pongo, that is,
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

God. And they believe that he can give them rain, when he listeth. So once a yeare when it is time to raine; which is in December, the people come to begge raine, and bring their gifts to the King: for none come emptie. Then he appointeth the day, and all the Lords farre and neere come to that Feast with all their troupes, as they goe in the warres. And when all the troupes of men be before the King, the greatest Lord commeth forth with his Bow and Arrowes, and sheweth his skill with his weapons, and then he hath a merrie conceit or jest, that he speaketh before the King, and kneeleth at his feet, and then the King thanketh him for his love: and in like manner they doe all. The King sitteth abroad in a great place, and hath a Carpet spread upon the ground, which is some fiftene fathomes about of fine Ensacks, which are wrought like Velvet, and upon the Carpet his seat, which is a fathome from the ground. Then he commandeth his Dembes to strike up, which are Drums, so great that they cannot carry them, and others that are very great. He hath also eight Pongos, which are his Wayters, made of the greatest Elephants Teeth, and are hollowed and scraped light: which play also. And with the Drums and Waytes they make an hellish noyse. After they have sported and shewed the King pleasure, he ariseth and standeth upon his Throne, and taketh a Bow and Arrowes in his hand and shooteth to the Skie, and that day there is great rejoicing, because sometimes they have raine. I was once there when the King gave raine, and it chanced that day to raine mightily, which made the people to have a great belief in their folly.

Here are sometimes borne in this Countrey white children, which is very rare among them, for their Parents are Negroes. And when any of them are borne, they bee presented unto the King, and are called Dondos. These are as white as any white man. These are the Kings Witches, and are brought up in Witchcraft, and always wayte on the King. There is no man that dare meddle with these Dondos. If they goe to the Market, they may

394
take what they list, for all men stand in awe of them. The King of Longo hath four of them.

This King is also a Witch and believeth in two Idols, which are in Longo. The one is called, Mokisso à Longo, the other is called, Checocke. This last is a little blacke Image, and standeth in a little house, at a Village that is called, Kinga, which standeth in the landing place of Longo. This house of Checocke standeth in the highway, and they that go by clap their hands, which is the courtesie of the Country. Those that be Crafts-men, as Fishermen, Hunters & Witches do, offer to this Idol, that they may have good lucke. This Checocke doth sometimes in the night come and haunt some of his best Beloved: sometimes a man, sometimes a Boy, or a Woman. And then they be franticke for the space of three hours. And whatsoever the franticke Person speaketh, that is the will of Checocke. And they make a great Feast and dancing at his house.

There is another Mokisso, which is also in Kinga, and it is called, Gomberi. It is the name of a woman, and is in an house, where an old Witch dwelleth, and she is called, Ganga Gomberi, which is, the Priest of Gomberi. Here once a yeare is a Feast made, and Ganga Gomberi speaketh under the ground. And this is a common thing every yeare. I have asked the Negroes what it was, and they told me, that it is a strong Mokisso, that is come to abide with Checocke.

The children in this Countrey are borne white, and change their colour in two dayes to a perfect blacke. As for example, the Portugals which dwell in the Kingdom of Congo, have sometimes children by the Negro Women, and many times the Fathers are deceived, thinking when the child is borne that it is theirs, and within two dayes it proveth the sonne or daughter of a Negro; which the Portugals doe greatly grieve at: for they rejoyce when they have a Mulato child, though it be a bastard.

The Towne of Longo standeth in the midst of the foure Lordships; and is governed by foure Princes, which
are the Kings sisters sonnes. For the Kings sonnes never come to be Kings. The first is, Mani Cabango. The second, Mani Salag. The third Mani Bock. The fourth, Mani Cay. This Mani Cay is next to be King, and hath his Traine and Court as a Prince. And when the King dieth, he commeth presently into the seat of the King. Then Mani Bock commeth to Cay: Mani Salag commeth to Bock, and Mani Cabango commeth to Salag. And then they provide another to goe to Cabango. So there be foure Princes that wait to be Kings, when their turnes come. The Mother of these Princes is called, Mani Lombo: and shee is the highest and chiefe woman in all the Land. Shee maketh choice of her husband, and when shee is wearie of him, she putteth him away, and taketh another. Her children are greatly honoured; and whosoever passeth by them, kneele downe and clap their hands, which is the curtesie of the Countrie. These Lordships are champaine grounds, and full of Corne, and Fruit. The men in this Kingdome make great store of Palme-cloth of sundrie sorts, very fine and curious. They are never idle: for, they make fine Caps of needle-worke, as they goe in the streets.

There is a place two leagues from the Towne of Longo, called Longeri, where all their Kings be buried: and it is compassed round about with Elephants teeth pitched in the ground, as it were a Pale, and it is ten roods in compasse.

These people will suffer no white man to be buried in their Land. And if any Stranger or Portugall come thither to trade, and chance to die, he is carried in a Boat two miles from the shoare, and cast into the Sea. There was once a Portugall Gentleman, that came to trade with them, and had his house on shoare. This Gentleman died, and was buried some foure moneths. That yeere it did not raine so soone as it was wont, which beginneth about December: so that they lacked raine some two moneths. Then their Mokiso told them, that the Christian which was buried, must be taken out of the earth, and cast into the
ANDREW BATTELL

Sea. And so he was taken up, and cast into the Sea; and within three dayes it rained: which made them have a great believe in the Devill.

§. VI.

Of the Provinces of Bongo, Calongo, Mayombe, Manikesocke, Motimbas: of the Ape-monster Pongo, their hunting, Idolatries; and divers other observations.

To the Eastward of Longeri is the Province of Bongo, and it bordereth upon Mocoke, the Great Angeca is King. In this place is great store of Iron, and Palme-cloth, and Elephants teeth, and great store of Corne. To the North-east, is the Province of Cango, and it is fourteen dayes journey from the Towne of Longo. This place is full of Mountaines and rockie ground, and full of Woods, and hath great store of Copper. The Elephants in this place doe excell. Here are so many, that the people of Longo fetch great store of Elephants teeth, and bring them to the Port of Longo.

To the Northwards of Longo three leagues is, the River Quelle: and on the North side is, the Province of Calongo. This Countrey is alwaies tilled, and full of Corne: and is all plaine and champaigne ground, and hath great store of Honie. Here are two little Villages, that shew at Sea like two homocks: which are the markes to know the Port of Longo. And fifteene miles Northward is the River Nombo: but it hath no depth for any Barke to goe in. This Province, toward the East, bordereth upon Bongo; and toward the North, upon Mayombe, which is nineteene leagues from Longo, along the Coast.

This Province of Mayombe is all Woods and Groves; so overgrowne, that a man may travaile twentie dayes in the shadow without any Sunne or heat. Here is no kind of Corne nor Graine: so that the people liveth onely upon Plantanes, and Roots of sundrie sorts very good, and
Nuts, nor any kind of tame Cattell, nor Hens. But they have great store of Elephants flesh, which they greatly esteeme; and many kind of wild Beasts; and great store of Fish. Here is a great Sandy Bay, two leagues to the Southward of Cape Negro, which is the Port of Mayombe. Sometimes the Portugals lade Logwood in this Bay. Here is a great River, called Banna: in the Winter it hath no barre, because the generall winds cause a great Sea. But when the Sunne hath his South declination, then a Boat may goe in: for then it is smooth because of the raine. This River is very great and hath many Ilands, and people dwelling in them. The Woods are so covered with Baboones, Monkies, Apes, and Parrots, that it will feare any man to travaile in them alone. Here are also two kinds of Monsters, which are common in these Woods, and very dangerous.

The greatest of these two Monsters is called, Pongo, in their Language: and the lesser is called, Engeco. This Pongo is in all proportion like a man, but that he is more like a Giant in stature, then a man: for he is very tall, and hath a mans face, hollow eyed, with long haire upon his browes. His face and eares are without haire, and his hands also. His bodie is full of haire, but not very thicke, and it is of a dunnish colour. He differeth not from a man, but in his legs, for they have no calfe. Hee goeth alwaies upon his legs, and carrieth his hands clasped on the nape of his necke, when he goeth upon the ground. They sleepe in the trees, and build shelters for the raine. They feed upon Fruit that they find in the Woods, and upon Nuts, for they eate no kind of flesh. They cannot speake, and have no understanding more then a beast. The People of the Countrie, when they travaile in the Woods, make fires where they sleepe in the night; and in the morning, when they are gone, the Pongoes will come and sit about the fire, till it goeth out: for they have no understanding to lay the wood together. They goe many together, and kill many Negroes that travaile in the Woods. Many times they fall upon the Elephants, which
come to feed where they be, and so beate them with their clubbed fists, and pieces of wood, that they will runne roaring away from them. Those Pongoes are never taken alive, because they are so strong, that ten men cannot hold one of them: but yet they take many of their young ones with poisoned Arrowes. The young Pongo hangeth on his mothers bellie, with his hands fast clasped about her: so that, when the Countrie people kill any of the femals, they take the young one, which hangeth fast upon his mother. When they die among themselves, they cover the dead with great heapes of boughs and wood, which is commonly found in the Forrests.

The Morombes use to hunt with their Countrie Dogs, and kill many kinds of little beasts, and great store of Pheasants. But their Dogs be dumbe and cannot barke at all. They hang wodden clappers about their neckes, and follow them by the ratling of the clappers. The Huntsmen have Petes, which they whistle their Dogs withall. These Dogs in all this Countrie are very little, with prickt eares, and are for the most part red and dunne. The Portugall mastie Dog, or any other great Dog are greatly esteemed, because they doe barke. I have seene a Dog sold up in the Countrie for thirtie pounds.

In the Towne of Mani Mayombe is a Fetisso, called Maramba: and it standeth in an high basket made like an Hive, and over it a great house. This is their house of Religion: for they beleive onely in him, and keepe his lawes, and carrie his Reliques alwaies with them. They are for the most part Witches, and use their witchcraft for hunting and killing of Elephants, and fishing, and helping of sicke and lame men: and to fore-cast journeyes, whether they shall speed well or evill. By this Maramba are all thefts and murthers tried: for in this Countrie they use sometimes to bewitch one another to death. And when any dieth, their neighbours are brought before Maramba: and if it be a great man that dieth, the whole Towne commeth to sweare. The order is, when they come before Maramba, to kneele and claspe Maramba in their armes,
and to say; Emeno, eyge bembet Mamba: that is, I come to be tried, O Mamba. And if any of them be guiltie, they fall downe starke dead for ever. And if any of them that sweare hath killed any man or child before, although it be twentie yeeres past, hee presently dieth. And so it is for any other matter. From this place as farre as it is to Cape De lopo Gonsalves, they are all of this superstition. I was twelve moneths in this place, and saw many die after this sort.

These people be circumcised, as they be through all Angola, except the Kingdom of Congo, for they are Christians. And those that will be sworne, to Mamba, come to the chiefe Gangas, which are their Priests, or Men-witches; as Boyes of twelve yeeres of age, and men and women. Then the Gangas put them into a darke house, and there they remaine certaine dayes with very hard diet: after this they are let abroad, and commanded not to speake for certaine dayes, what injurie soever they be offered: so that they suffer great penurie before they bee sworne. Lastly, they are brought before Mamba, and have two markes cut upon both their shoulders before, like an halfe Moone; and are sworne by the bloud that falleth from them, that they shall be true to him. They are forbidden some one kind of flesh, and some one kind of fish, with many other toyes. And if they eate any of this forbidden meate, they presently sicken and never prosper. They all carrie a relique of Mamba in a little boxe, and hang it about their necks, under their left armes. The Lord of this Province of Mayombe, hath the Ensigne or shape of Mamba carried before him, whithersoever he goeth; and when he sitteth downe, it is set before him; and when he drinketh his Palme-wine, the first cup is powred at the foote of the Mokiso, or Idoll; and when he eateth any thing whatsoever, the first piece he throweth toward his left hand, with enchanting words.

From Cape Negro Northward is a great Lord, called Mani Seat; which hath the greatest store of Elephants teeth of any Lord in the Kingdome of Longo: for, his
people practise nothing else but to kill Elephants. And two of those Negroes will easily kill an Elephant with their darts. And here is great store of Logwood.

There is another Lord to the Eastward, which is called Mani Kesock, and he is eight dayes journey from Mayombe. Heere I was with my two Negro Boyes, to buy Elephants haires and tayles; and in a moneth I bought twentie thousand, which I sold to the Portugals for thirtie Slaves, and all my charges borne. From this place I sent one of my Negro Boyes to Mani Seat with a Looking-glasse: he did esteeme it much, and sent me foure Elephants teeth, (very great) by his owne men; and desired me to cause the Portugals, or any other shippe, to come to the Northward of the Cape Negro, and hee would make fires where his landing place is: For there was never yet any Portugall, or other stranger in that place.

To the North-east of Mani Kesock, are a kind of little people, called Matimbas; which are no bigger then Boyes of twelve yeares old, but are very thicke, and live onely upon flesh, which they kill in the Woods with their Bowes and Darts. They pay tribute to Mani Kesock, and bring all their Elephants teeth and tayles to him. They will not enter into any of the Maromboks houses, nor will suffer any to come where they dwell. And if by chance any Maramba, or people of Longo passe where they dwell, they will forsake that place, and go to another. The Women carry Bow and Arrowes as well as the Men. And one of these will walke in the Woods alone, and kill the Pongos with their poysened Arrowes. I have asked the Maromboks, whether the Elephant shedeth his teeth or no? And they say no. But sometimes they finde their teeth in the Woods, but they find their bones also.

When any man is suspected for any offence, he is carried before the King, or before Mani Bomma, which is as it were a Judge under the King. And if it be upon matter that hee denyeth, and cannot be proved but by their oath; then the suspected person is thus sworne. They have a
kind of roote which they call Imbondo. This roote is very strong, and is scraped into water. The vertue of this roote is, that if they put too much of it into the water, the person that drinketh it cannot voyd urine: and so it striketh up into the braine, as though hee were drunke, and he falleth downe as though he were dead. And those that fall are counted as guiltie, and are punished.

In this Countrey none of any account dyeth, but they kill another for him: for they beleewe they dye not of their owne naturall death, but that some other hath bewitched them to death: And all those are brought in by the friends of the dead which they suspect; so that many times there come five hundred men and women to take the drinke, made of the foresaid root, Imbonda. They are brought all to the High-streete or Market-place, and there the master of the Imbonda sitteth with his water, and giveth every one a cup of water by one measure: and they are commanded to walke in a certaine place till they make water, and then they be free: But he that cannot urine, presently falleth downe, and all the people great and small fall upon him with their knives, and beate and cut him into pieces. But I thinke the Witch that giveth the water is partiall, and giveth to him whom he will have to dye the strongest water, but no man *can perceive it that standeth by. And this is done in the Towne of Longo, almost every week in the yeare.

*And therefore that conjecture seems unprobable. For how could an ordinary tryall of life where are so many so perilous; and therefore curious (more then) spectatores, not perceiue this in so long and frequent experience, which costs so many their dearest friends their dearest life? I thinke rather that this was the transcribers conjecture. I remember no such scruple in his Narrations to me, who knowes not the Devils ambition of Deity, and cruel Misanthropie or man-hating? This is his Apish imitation of Divinity, and those Rites prescribed for triall in case of Jealouzie, Num. 5. In Guinea like triall is made by Salt, and also by the Fetisereeos pot. In Benomotapa, by a water also: in the Moramba triall before, and Motamba triall by hot Iron in Angola; the Plough-shares in old times with vs: and the tryall of Witches still in the East parts by water, &c. were not unlike in deceiveable superstition.
§. VII.

Of the Zebra and Hippopotamus: The Portugals Warres in those parts: The Fishing, Graine, and other things remarkable.

IN this Kingdome there is no kind of tame Cattle but Goats; for none other Cattle will live here. Oxen and Kine have beene brought hither, but they presently dye: The Hennes in this place doe so abound, that a man may buy thirtie for the worth of sixe pence in Beads. Heere is store of Pheasants, and great plenty of Partridges, and wilde Fowle. Here is a kind of Fowle that lives in the Land bigger then a Swan, and they are like an Heron, with long legges, and long neckes, and it is white and blanke, and hath in her breast a bare place without Feathers, where she striketh with her Bill. This is the right Pelican, and not those Sea Birds which the Portugals call Pelicans, which are white, and as bigge as Geese, and those abound in this Country also.

Here is also the Zevera or Zebra, which is like an horse; but that his mane, his taile, his strakes of divers colours downe his sides and legges, doe make a difference. These Zeveras are all wilde, and live in great herds, and will suffer a man to come within shot of them, and let them shoote three or foure times at them before they will runne away.

Moreover, there are great store of Sea or River Horses, which feed alway on the Land, and live onely by Grasse, and they be very dangerous in the water. They are the biggest creature in this Countrey, except the Elephant: They have great vertue in the claws of their left forefoote, and have foure clawes on every foot, like the clawes of an Oxe. The Portugals make Rings of them, and they are a present remedy for the Fluxe.

The Portugals make warre against the Negroes in this manner. They have out of Congo a Noble-man, which is knowne to be a good Christian, and of good behaviour.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

He bringeth out of Congo some one hundred Negroes that are his followers. This Macicongo is made Tandala, or Generall over the blacke Campe; and hath authoritie to kill, to put downe Lords, and make Lords, and hath all the cheefe doings with the Negroes. And when any Lord commeth to obey; first he commeth to the Tandala andbringeth his present; as Slaves, Kine, and Goats: Then the Tandala carrieth him before the Portugall Governour, and bringeth two Slaves for the Governours Page before he goeth in. Then he must have a great gift for the Governour; which is sometimes, thirtie or fortie Slaves, besides Cattle. And when he commeth before the Governour, he kneeleth downe and clappeth his hands, and falleth downe with his face upon the ground, and then he riseth and saith; I have bee ne an enemy, and now I protest to be true, and never more to lift my hand against you. Then the Governour calleth a Souldier which hath deserved a reward, and giveth the Lord to him. This Souldier seeth that he have no wrong: and the Lord acknowledgeth him to be his Master; and he doth main-taine the Souldier, and maketh him rich. Also, in the warres he commandeth his Masters house to be built before his owne: and whatsoever he hath taken that day in the warres, he parteth with his Master. So that there is no Portugall Souldier of any account, but he hath his Negro Soua, or Lord.

They use upon this Coast to Fish with harping Irons, and waite upon a great Fish that commeth once a day to feed along the shoare, which is like a Grampus. Hee runneth very neere the shoare, and driveth great skuls of Fish before him: and the Negroes runne along the shoare, as fast as they are able to follow him, and strike their Harping Irons round about him, and kill great store of Fish, and leave them upon the Sand till the Fish hath done feeding; and then they come and gather their Fish up. This Fish will many times runne himselfe on ground, but they will presently shove him off againe, which is as much as foure or five men can doe. They call
him Emboa, which is in their speech, A Dogge; and will by no meanes hurt or kill any of them. Also, they use in the Bayes and Rivers, where should water is, to Fish with Mats, which are made of long Rushes, and they make them of an hundred fathoms long. The Mats swim upon the Water, and have long Rushes hanging upon one edge of the Mat, and so they draw the Mat in compass, as we doe our Nets. The Fishes fearing the Rushes that hang downe, spring out of the water, and fall upon the Mat that lyeth flat on the water, and so are taken.

They have foure sorts of Corne in Longo: The first, is called Masanga, and it groweth upon a straw as bigge as a Reede, and hath an eare a foote long, and is like Hemp-seed. The second, is called Masembala. This is of great increase: for of one kernell there springs foure or five Canes, which are tenne foote high, and they beare halfe a pinte of Corne a peece. This graine is as big as Tares, and very good. Thirdly, they have another that groweth low like Grasse, and is very like Mustard-seed: and this is the best. They have also the great Guiney Wheate, which they call Mas-impota. This is the least esteemed.

They have very good Peason, somewhat bigger then ours: but they grow not as ours do. For the poodes grow on the rootes underneath the ground; and by their leaves they know when they be ripe. They have another kind of Peason, which they call Wandos. This is a little tree; and the first yeare that it is planted, it beareth no fruit: but after it beareth fruit three yeares, and then it is cut downe.

Their Plantan trees beare fruit but once, and then are cut downe: and out of the root thereof spring three or foure young ones.

They have great store of Hony, which hangeth in the Elicondy Trees. They gather it with an hollow piece of Wood or Chest, which they hang in the top of the Tree, and once a yeare it is full, by smoake, rewarding the laborious Creatures with robbery, exile, death.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

This Alicundee or Elicondy Tree is very tall, and exceeding great; some as big as twelve men can fathome, spreading like an Oake; some of them are hollow, and from the liberall skies receive such plentie of water, that they are Hospitall entertaineres of thousands in that thirstie Region. Once have I knowne three or foure thousand remaine at one of those Trees, and thence receiving all their watery provision for foure and twentie houres, and yet not emptie. The Negroes climbed up with pegges of hard Woode (which that softer easily receiveth, the smoothnesse not admitting other climbing) and I thinke that some one Tree holds fortie tunne of water. This Tree affoords no lesse bountiful hospitality to the backe then belly, yeelding (as her belly to their bellies, so) her backe to their backes: excepting that this is better from the younger Trees, whose tenderer backes being more seasonable for Discipline, are soundly beaten (for mans fault, whence came the first nakednesse) whereby one fathome cut from the Tree, is extended into twentie, and is presently fit for wearing, though not so fine as the Juzanda tree yeelds. This tree yeelds excellent cloath from the inner barke thereof by like beating. Of their Palme Trees, which they keepe with watering and cutting every yeare; they make Velvets, Satins, Taffataes, Damaskses, Sarcenets, and such like; out of the leaves cleansed and purged, drawing long threads, and even for that purpose. They draw Wine (as is said) from the Palme Tree; there is another kind of Palme Tree, which beareth a fruite good for the stomache, and for the Liver most admirable.

One Crocodile was so huge and greedy, that he devoured an Alibambe, that is, a chained company of eight or nine Slaves: but the indigestible Iron paid him his wages, and murthered the murtherer, found after in his belly. I have seene them watch their prey, haling in gennet, Man or other Creature into the water. But one Souldier thus wrapt in shallower water, drew his knife, tooke his Taker in the belly and slue him.
Chap. IIII.

A report of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Affrica: Gathered by Philippo Pigafetta,* out of the Discourses of Master Edward Lopes a Portugall, translated out of Italian into English, by Master Abraham Hartwell, and here abreviated.

§. I.

The journey by Sea from Lisbone to the Kingdome of Congo: Of the Ayre, Winds, Raines, Temperature thereof.

In the yeare 1588. when Don Sebastian King of Portugall, embarked himselfe for the Conquest of the Kingdome of Morocco: Edward Lopes borne at Beneventum (a place foure and twentie miles distant from Lisbone, neere upon the South shore of the River Tagus) sayled likewise in the moneth of Aprill towards the haven of Loanda, situate in the Kingdome of Congo, in a ship called S. Anthony, belonging to an Uncle of his, and charged with divers merchandises for that Kingdome: And it was accompanied with a Patache (which is a small vessell) whereunto the ship did continually yeeld good guard, and ministred great releefe, conducting and guiding the same with lights in the night time, to the end it should not lose the way, which the shippe it selfe did keepe. He arrived at the Island of Madera, belonging to the King of Portugall, distant from Lisbone about sixe hundred miles, where he remained fiftenee daies, to furnish himselfe with fresh Victuall and Wine; which in great abundance growth in that Island, yea and in mine opinion the best in the world, whereof they carry abroad great store into divers Countries, and especially into England. He pro-
vided there also sundry other Confections and Conserves of Sugar, which in that Island are made and wrought both in great quantity, and also singular excellency. From this Island they departed, leaving all the Canaries belonging to Castile, and tooke haven at one of the Islands of Cape Verde, called S. Anthony, without having any sight thereof before they were come upon it: and from thence to another called S. Jacopo, which commandeth all the rest, and hath a Bishop & a Chaplainne in it, that rule and governe them: and here they provided themselves againe of victuals. These Islands of Cape Verde were established by Ptolomee in the Tables of his Geography, to be the beginning of the West, together with the Cape or Promontorie which he termeth Cornu ultimum, or the Islands Macarie or Blessed, which we commonly call Fortunate. In these Islands of Cape Verde: the Portugals do often arrive, and in those Countries do Traffike with sundry marchandises, as little balles of divers coloured Glass, and other such things, wherein those people doe greatly delight, and Holland cloath, and Caps and Knives, and coloured Clothes: In exchange whereof they bring backe againe, Slaves, Waxe, Hony, with other kind of food, and Cotten-cloth of sundry colours.

Now the shippe called S. Anthony, holding on his course, met with the generall windes,* and then turned their Prow and their Sayles, by North, and by North-west on the right hand towards the Kingdome of Congo. And sayling on-wards closely with the halfe shippe, they came in twelve daies and twelve nights, to the Island of S. Elena, not looking for the same, nor thinking of it. This Island was so called, because of the Feast day of S. Helena, which falleth upon the third day of May, it was by the Portugals first descried. And as it is very small, so is it (as it were) singular by it selfe: for being situate in the height of sixtenee degrees towards the Antarctike, it containeth in compasse nine miles about, and is farre distant from the firme Land.

From the Island of S. Helena, they made sayle with the
same weather, and so within the space of seventeene daies came to the haven of Loanda, which is in the Province of Congo, the winds being somewhat more calme then they were afore. This is a very sure and great haven, so called of an Island of the same name, whereof we shall speake hereafter.

There are two courses of sayling from the Island of Cape Verde to Loanda; the one of them now declared, which being never used afterwards, was at the first attempted and performed by the same shippe wherein Signor Odoardo went, being then guided by Francisco Martinez the Kings Pilot, a man very greatly experienced in those Seas, and the first that ever conducted vessell by that way: the other is atchieved by passing along the Coast of the firme Land. From the Island of San Jacomo, they came to Cape Das Palmas, and from thence direct themselves to the Island of San Thomas, which lyeth under the Equinoctiaall; so called, because it was discovered upon that day, wherein the Feast of that Apostle is used to be celebrated. It is distant from the firme Land, one hundred and eightie miles, right against the River, called Gaban, which is so termed because it is in shape very like to that kind of Vesture, that it is called a Gaban, or a Cloke.

The Haven thereof is fore-closed with an Iland that raiseth it selfe in the Channell of the River, whereunto the Portugals doe sayle with small Barkes from Saint Thomas Iland, carrying thither such things as usually they carrie to the Coast of Guinea, and from thence carrying backe with them Ivorie, Waxe and Honey, Oyle of Palme, and Blacke-moore slaves. Neere to the Iland of Saint Thomas, towards the North lyeth another Iland, called the Ile of the Prince, distant from the firme Land one hundred and five miles, being of the same condition and Trafficke, that the Ile of Saint Thomas is, although in circuit some-what lesse. This Iland of Saint Thomas is in fashion almost round, and in breadth contayneth sixtie miles, and in compasse one hundred and eightie. Very
rich it is and of great trafficke, discovered at the first and conquered by the Portugals, at such time as they began the conquest of the Indies. It hath divers Havens, but the principall and chiefest of all, whereinto the Vessels arriving there, doe with-draw themselves, is in the place, where the Citie standeth.

The Iland breedeth an infinite deale of Sugar, and almost all kinds of victuals. In the Citie there are some Churches, and a Bishop, with many Clerkes and one Chaplain or Priest. There is also a Castle, with a Garrison and Artillerie in it, which beate upon the Haven, beeing a verie great and safe Port, where many ships may ride. But a very strange and admirable thing it is, that when the Portugals did first come thither, there was no Sugar there planted, but they brought it thither from other Countries: as they did Ginger also, which tooke roote, and grew there in most abundant manner. The soyle indeed is moyst, and as it were appropriated to foster the Sugar-cane, which without any other watering, multiplyeth of it selfe, and fructifieth infinitely: the reason whereof is, because the dew falleth there like raine, and moysteneth the Earth.

There are in this Iland above seventie Houses or Presses for making of Sugar, and every Presse hath many Cottages about it as though it were a Village, and there may bee about some three hundred persons that are appointed for that kind of worke: They doe every yeare loade about fortie great ships with Sugar. True it is, indeed, that not long agoe the Wormes (as it were a plague to that Land) have devoured the roots of the Canes, and destroyed the fruits of their Sugar, in such sort as now of the fortie ships, they doe not loade above five or sixe Vessels with that Merchandize.

The Iland of Saint Thomas holdeth Trafficke with the people that dwell in the firme Land, which do usually resort to the mouthes or entries of their Rivers: The first whereof (to begin withall) is named the River of Fernando di Poo, that is to say, of Fernando Pouldre, who did first
discover the same, and lyeth in five degrees towards our Pole. Right against the mouth of it, riseth an Iland of the same name, lying thirtie and sixe miles distant from it. The second River is called Bora, that is to say, Filth: The third, La riviera del Campo. The fourth, di San Benedetto, and the fifth, that of Angra, which in the mouth of it hath an Iland, called di Corisco, that is to say, Thunder. All these doe Trafficke the same Merchandizes, which we mentioned before.

But to returne to the Voyage of Saint Thomas: departing from thence towards the South, we found the Cape of Lupo Gonzale, which standeth in the altitude of one degree beyond the Equinoctiall towards the Pole Antarctike, one hundred and five miles distant from the foresaid Ile. And from thence they saile with Land winds, creeping still all along the Coast, and every day casting Anchor in some safe place either behind some point, or else in some Haven, untill they come to the mouth of the greatest River in Congo, called in their Tongue Zaire, which signifieth in Lanne, Sapio, (in English, I know.) From whence if yee will goe through to the Haven of Loanda, ye must saile the length of one hundred and fourescore miles.

The Kingdome * of Congo in the middle part thereof, is distant from the Equinoctiall towards the Pole Antarctike (just where the Citie called Congo doth lye) seven degrees and two thirds: so that it standeth under the Region which ancient Writers thought to be unhabitable, and called it Zona Torrida.

The habitation there is exceeding good, the Ayre beyond all credit temperate, the Winter nothing so rough, but is rather like Autumnne in Rome. The people use no Furres, nor change of apparell, they come not neere the fire, neither is the cold in the tops of the Mountaynes greater then that which is in the Plaines: but generally in Winter time, the Ayre is more hot then it is in Summer, by reason of their continuall raines, and especially about two houres before and after noone, so that it can hardly be
endured. The men are blacke, and so are the women, and some of them also somewhat inclining to the colour of the wild Olive. Their hayre is blacke and curled, and some also red. The stature of the men is of an indifferent bignesse, and excepting their blacknesse they are very like to the Portugals. The apples of their eyes are of divers colours, blacke and of the colour of the Sea. Their lips are not thicke, as the Nubians and other Negroes are: and so likewise their countenances are some fat, some leane, and some betwixt both, as in our Countries there are, and not as the Negroes of Nubia and Guinea, which are very deformed. Their nights and their dayes doe not greatly differ, for in all the whole yeare yee shall not discerne the difference betwixt them to bee more then a quarter of an houre.

The Winter in this Countrey (to speake at large) beginneth at the same time, that our spring heere beginneth, that is to say, when the Sunne entreteth into the Northerne Signes, in the moneth of March. And at the same time that wee have our Winter, when the Sunne entreteth into the Southerne Signes in the moneth of September, then beginneth their Summer. In their Winter it rayneth five monethes almost continually, that is to say, in Aprill, May, June, July and August. Of faire dayes they have but a few, because the raine falleth so greatly, and the drops of it are so big, as it is a wonder to see. These waters doe marvellously supple the ground, which is then very dry, by reason of the heathe of the Summer past, wherein it never rayneth for the space of sixe monethes together, and after the ground is full, and as it were ingorged with water, then do the Rivers swell beyond all credit, and are so replenished with troubled waters, that all the Countrey is surrounded by them.

The winds which blow in these Moones through all this Region, are the very selfe-same that Cæsar calleth by a Greeke word Etesii, that is to say, Ordinary every yeare: whereby are meant those winds that in the Card are noted from the North to the West, and from the North to the
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

North-east. These winds do drive the Cloudes to the huge and high mountaynes, whereupon they rush with very great violence, and being there stayed of their owne nature, they are afterwards melted into water. So that when it is likely to raine, you shall see the Cloudes standing (as it were) upon the tops of their highest hills.

And hence ariseth the increasing and augmentation of the Rivers that spring in Æthiopia, and especially of Nilus and others, that discharge themselves into the East and West Ocean. And in the Kingdome of Congo and Guinea, through which runneth the River Niger, so called by the ancient Writers; and by the new, termed Senega, you shall see the said River increase at the very selve-same time that Nilus doth; but indeed carrieth his waters towards the West, directly against the Ilands of Cape Verde, whereas Nilus runneth by the Ile of Meroe in Egypt towards the North, refreshing and watering all those Regions that are full of scorching Heates, and Wildernesses, and Deserts.

Now, for as much as in the Regions of Congo and Æthiopia, it is always woon to raine every yeare at a certaine set time, the swelling and over-flowing of the Rivers there, is of no great consideration, nor any strange accident to make account of. But in the Countries, that are farre distant and very dry, as in Egypt, where it never raineth (saving onely in Alexandria, and the Territories thereof) it is accounted a marvellous matter, to see every yeare so great a quantitie of thicke troubled water come upon them, from places so remote, at a certaine set time, without missing: which water doth quicken the ground, and ministreth food both to man and beast.

This is then the cause of the increase of Nilus, and other Rivers in that Climate, whereof the Ancients of olde times made so great doubt, and invented so many Fables and Errours.

But in their Summer, which is our Winter, there blow other winds that are quite opposite to the former, even in Diametro, and are noted in the Carde, from the South to
the Southeast, which out of all question must needs be cold, because they breathe from the contrarie Pole Antarctike, and coole all those Countries, even for all the World as our winds in Summer doe coole our Countries. And whereas, there with them, these winds doe make the Ayre very faire and cleere, so doe they never come unto us, but they bring with them great store of raine.

And certainly, if the breath of these winds did not refresh and coole these Countries of Æthiopia, and Congo, and other places neere about them, it were not possible for them to endure the heate, considering that even in the night time they are constrayned to hang two coverings over them to keepe away the heate. The same cooling and refreshing by winds, is common also to the Inhabitants of the Ile of Candie, and of the Ilands in Archipelago, and of Cyprus, and of Asia the lesse, and of Soria, and of Egypt, which doe live (as it were) with this refreshing of the fore-said winds of the North-west, and of the West: so that they may well bee called as they are in Greece, Zepheri, quasi Ἲωνήφόροι, breeders of life.

Let it be also remembred, that in the mountaines of Æthiopia, and of Congo, and the Regions neere adjoyning, there falleth no Snow, neither is there any at all in the very tops of them, saving onely towards the Cape of Good Hope, and certaine other hills, which the Portugals call, Sierra Nevada, that is to say, the Snowie Mountaines. Neither is there any Ice or Snow to bee found in all the Countrey of Congo, which would be better esteemed there then Gold, to mingle with their drinkes: So that the Rivers there doe not swell and increase by melting of Snow, but because the raine doth fall out of the Cloudes for five whole Moones continually together, that is to say, in Aprill, May, June, July, and August: the first raine sometimes beginning on the fiftteenth day, and sometimes after. And this is the cause why the new waters of Nilus, which are so greatly desired and expected by the Inhabitants there, doe arrive sooner or later in Egypt.
Of the circuit of the Kingdome of Congo, and of the borders and confines thereof; As also of divers bordering Nations: and remarkeable Rarities therein.

The Kingdome of Congo, is distinguished by foure borders: The first, of the West, which is watered with the Ocean Sea: The second, of the North: The third, of the East; and the last, which is towards the South.

And to beginne with the border lying upon the Sea, the first part of it is in the Bay; called Seno delle Vacche, and is situate in the height of thirteene degrees upon the Antarctike-side, and stretcheth all along the Coast unto foure degrees and a halfe on the North-side, neere to the Equinoctiall; which space contayneth six hundred and thirte miles. This Seno delle Vacche, is a Haven but of a moderate bignesse, and yet a good one, and able to receive any ship that arriveth. It is called Seno delle Vacche, that is to say, The Bay of Cowes, because thereabouts there are pasturing very many Herds of that king of Cattle. The Countrey is plaine, and aboundeth with all manner of victuals, and there you shall find some kind of Metals to be publickly sold, especially silver, and it is subject to the King of Angola.

A little more forward lyeth the River Bengleli, where a certaine Lord, beeing subject to the King of Angola, doth specially command: and about the said River is a great compass of Countrey, much like to the former. And a little further runneth the River Songa, so called by the Portugals: wherein you may sayle five and twentie miles upwards in a Countrey also like to the former.

Then followeth the River Coanza, which issueth out of a little Lake, fed by a certaine River that floweth out of a great Lake, being the chiene and principall Spring or Head of Nilus, whereof in the other part of this Discourse
wee shall have occasion to write. Coanza, at the mouth of it is two miles broad, and you may sayle with small Barkes upwards against the streame about one hundred miles, but hath no Haven. And here it is to bee noted, that all this Countrie which we have here described, was wont to be subject to the King of Congo: but awhile agoe the Governour of that Countrie is become the absolute Lord thereof, and professeth himselfe to be a friend to the King of Congo, but not his Vassall: and yet sometimes he sendeth the King some Present, in manner of a tribute.

Beyond the River Coanza, is the Haven of Loanda, being in ten degrees, made (as it is said) by a certaine Iland, called Loanda, which signifieth in that Language, Bald, or Shaven; because it is a Countrie without any hils and very low: for, indeed, it scarce rayseth it selfe above the Sea. This Iland was framed of the sand and durt of the Sea, and of the River Coanza, whose waves meeting together, and the filthy matter sinking downe there to the bottome, in continuance of time it grew to be an Iland. It may be about twentie miles long, and one mile broad at the most, and in some places but onely a bow-shoot. But it is a marvellous thing, that in such a sandie ground, if you shall digge to the depth of two or three hand-breadthes, you shall find sweet water, the best in all those Countries. Wherein also there is a very strange effect, that when the Ocean ebbeth, this water becommeth somewhat salt, but when it floweth to the top, it is most sweet. A thing that falleth out also in the Iland of Cadis in Spaine, by the report and testimonie of Strabo.

This Iland is the Mine of all the Money which the King of Congo spendeth, and all the people thereabouts. For upon the shoares you shall have certaine women, that use to dive and ducker into the Sea, two yards deepe and more, and fill their baskets with sand, and afterwards divide the gravell from certaine small Shel-fishes that are among it, which are called Lumache: and when these Lumache are severed by themselves, then doe they picke out the Males from the Females, which they may easily
HONDIUS HIS MAP OF CONGO
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

A.D.
1588.

The Lumache of Loanda.

No metall-money.

THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

doe, because the Female is more fine then the Male, and greatly esteemed for her colour, which is very neat, bright and pleasant to the sight. These Lumache doe breed in all the shoares of the Kingdome of Congo, but the best of all are those of Loanda, because they looke very fine, and of a very bright colour, some gray or ash-coloured, and some of other colours not so precious.

And here you must note that gold and silver and metall is not of any estimation, nor in use of money in these Countries, but onely these Lumache: so that neither with gold nor silver, in masse or in coine you shall buy any thing there, but with these Lumache you shall buy both gold and silver, or any thing else.

In this Iland there are seven or eight Townes, called in that Countrey Language, Libata, the principall whereof is Spirito Sancto: and therein dwelleth the Governour which is sent from Congo, to minister Justice and to gather the treasure of the moneyes of these Lumache. Here are also Goates and Sheepe, and Bores in great numbers, which being tame at the first, doe afterwards become wild and live in the Woods. Here growth also a tree, called Enzanda, which is a great one and alwayes greene, and endued with a singular qualitie. For from the boughes of it that sprout upwards, there hang downe certaine threeds (as it were) which creeping into the Earth doe take roots, and out from these roots doe rise other trees, and so they multiply. And within the outmost barke thereof, there growtheth a certaine kind of Pill like fine Linnen, which being beaten and cleansed, they spread out in length and in breadth, and therewith they cloath their men and women, that are of the basest sort.

In this Iland they have certaine vessels made of the bodies of Palme-trees, joyned together and framed after the manner of our Boates, with a prow and a sterne, wherein they passe from place to place, both with Oares and Sayles. In these Boates they use to fish about the Rivers, which are indeed exceeding full of fish, and sometime also they will goe over to the firme Land.
In that part of this Island, which is towards the maine Land, in certaine low places there grow certaine trees (which when the water of the Ocean ebbeth) discover themselves: and at the feet thereof you shall find certaine other Shel-fishes cleaving as fast to the trees as may bee, having within them a great fish as bigge as a mans hand, and very good meate. The people of the Countrie know them very well, and call them Ambiziamatere, that is to say, The fish of the Rocke. The shels of these fishes, they use tourne, and thereof make very good Lime to build withall. And being like the corke or barke of the tree, which is called Manghi, they dresse their Oxie-hides withall, to make their shooe soles the stronger.

To be briefe, this Island bringeth forth neither Corne nor Wine, but there is great store of victuall brought thither from all parts thereabouts, to fetch away these Lumache. For as in all other places all things may be had for money of metall, so all things here are had for Lumache. Whereby may be noted, that not onely here in this Kingdome of Congo, but also in her Neighbour Æthiopia and in Africa, and in the Kingdome of China, and certaine others of the Indies; they use moneyes of other matter then of metall, that is to say, neither gold, nor silver, nor copper, nor any other mixture tempered of these.

For in Æthiopia, their money is Pepper: and in the Kingdome of Tombuto, which is about the River Niger, otherwise called Senega, their money is Cockles or Shel-fish: and among the Azanaghi, their moneyes are Porcellette: and in the Kingdome of Bengala, likewise they use Porcellette, and metall together. In China they have certaine Shel-fishes, called also Porcellette, which they use for their money: and in other places Paper stamped with the Kings Seale, and the barkes of the tree called Gelsomora.

Neere to this Island towards the outward Coast to the Sea, there swimme an innumerable sort of Whales, that looke blacke, and fighting one with another doe kill them-
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

wholesome: which afterwards being by the waves cast up upon the shoare, as bigge as a midling Merchants ship; the Negroes go forth with their Boats to fetch them, and to take the Oyle out of them, which being mingled with Pitch they use to trimme their Vessels withall. Upon the ridges or backs of these creatures, there grow many Shel-fishes, made like Snailes, Cockles, and Whelkes: whereof Signor Odoardo affirmed, that he had seene great store. He was also of opinion that Amber commeth not from these fishes. For over all the Coast of Congo, where there is an infinite number of them, you shall not find either Ambergriz, or any other Amber, blacke or white in any place.

Upon the firme Land directly over against the Iland is a Towne, called Villa di San Paulo, altogether inhabited with Portugals, and their Wives, which they brought with them out of Spaine: and yet it is not fortified. All this Channell is very full of fish, especially of Sardinaes, and of Anchoives; whereof there is so great store, that in the Winter time they will of themselves leape up to Land. Other kinds of most excellent fishes there are, as Soles, and Sturgeons, and Barbelles, and all manner of dainty fish; and great Crabs, in strange abundance, and all very wholesome: so that the greatest part of the people that dwell about the bankes there, doe live upon them.

Into this Channell runneth the River called Bengo, which is a very great one, and navigable upwards twentie five miles. This River with that other of Coanza, whereof I told you before, do make the Ile of Loanda, because when their waters doe meeete together, they leave their sand & filth behind them, and so increase the Iland. There runneth also into it another great River called Dande, which will receive Vessels of an hundred tunne: and then another River called Lemba, which neither hath Haven, neither doe any ships enter into it. Very neere unto this there is also another River called Ozone, which issueth out of the same Lake, whence Nilus likewise springeth, and it hath a Haven. Next to Ozone, there is another called
Loze, without any Haven: and then another great one with a Haven called Ambriz, which runneth within foure leagues neere to the Royall Citie of Congo. Last of all, is the River Lelunda, which signifieth a Trowt fish, and watereth the roots of that great Hill, whereon the Palace of Congo standeth, called by the Portugals, the Oteiro. This River Lelunda, springeth out of the same Lake, from whence Coanja issueth, and taketh into it by the way another River, that commeth from the great Lake: and when it doth not raine, then you may passe over Lelunda on foot, because it hath so little store of water in it.

Next unto this is the Zaire, a huge River and a large, and indeed the greatest in all the Kingdome of Congo. The originall of this River commeth out of three Lakes: one is the great Lake from whence Nilus springeth; the second, is the little Lake above mentioned; and the third, is the second great Lake which Nilus engendreth. And certainly, when you will consider the abundance of water that is in this River, you will say, that there was no need to have any fewer or lesser springs to make so huge a streame as this carrieth. For in the very mouth of it, which is the onely entrance into it, the River is eight and twentie miles broad, and when it is in the height of his increase he runneth fresh water fortie or fiftie miles into the Sea, and sometimes eightie, so that the passengers doe refresh themselves withall, and by the troublesomenesse of the water they know the place where they are. It is navigable upwards with great Barkes about five and twentie miles, untill you come to a certaine straight betweene the Rockes, where it falleth with such a horrible noyse, that it may be heard almost eight miles. And this place is called by the Portugals, Cachuieuera, that is to say, a Fall, or a Cataract, like to the Cataracts of Nilus. Betweene the mouth of this River, and the fall thereof, there are divers great Islands well inhabited, with Townes, and Lords obedient to the King of Congo, which somtimes for the great enmitie that is among them, doe warre one against another in certaine Boats, hollowed out of a stocke
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

of a tree, which is of an unmeasurable bigness, and these Boats they call Lungo.

The greatest Boates that they have, are made of a certaine tree, called Licondo, which is so great, that sixe men cannot compass it with their armes, and is in length of proportion answerable to the thickness, so that one of them will carrie about two hundred persons. They row these Boates with their Oares, which are not tyed to any loophes, but they hold them at liberty in their hands, and move the water therewith at pleasure. Every man hath his Oare and his Bow, and when they fight together they lay downe their Oare and take their Bow. Neither do they use any other Rudders to turne and governe their Boats, but onely their Oares.

The first of these Ilands, which is but a little one, is called, the Ile of Horses, because there are bred and brought up in it great store of those creatures that the Greekes call Hippopotami, that is to say Water-horses. In a certaine Village within this Iland doe the Portugals dwell, having withdrawne themselves thither for their better securitie. They have their Vessels to transport them over the water to the firme Land, upon the South banke of the River, which Land is called the Haven of Pinda, where many ships doe ride that arrive therein.

In this River there are living divers kinds of creatures, and namely, mightie great Crocodiles, which the Countrey people there, call Caiman, and Water-horses above named: And another kind of creature, that hath (as it were) two hands, and a tayle like a Target, which is called, Ambize Angulo, that is to say, a Hog-fish, because it is as fat as a Porke. The flesh of it is very good, and thereof they make Lard, and so keepe it: neither hath it the savour or taste of a fish, although it be a fish. It never goeth out from the fresh water, but feedeth upon the grasse that growth on the bankes, and hath a mouth like the muzzell of an Oxe. There are of these fishes, that weigh five hundred pounds apiece.

The fishermen use to take them in their little Boats, by
downwards, and some of them belonging to the Dominion of the Anzigues, by which River also they doe traffique with the People of Congo. In this Kingdome of the Anzigues, there are many Mines of Copper; and great quantitie of Sanders, both red and grey: the red is called Tauilla, and the grey (which is the better esteemed) is called Chicongo, whereof they make a powder of a very sweet smell, and divers medicines. They doe also mingle it with the Oyle of Palme-tree, and so anoynting all their bodies over withall, they preserve themselves in health. But the Portugals use it being tempered with Vinegar, which they lay upon their pulses, and so heale the French Poxe, which they call in that Language, Chitangas. Some doe affirm, that this grey Sanders is the very Lignum Aquilæ, that groweth in India: and Signor Odoardo affirmed, that the Portugals have proved it for the head-ache, by laying it on the coales, and taking the smoake of it. The pith and innermost part of the Tree is the best, but the outer part is of no estimation.

They make great store of Linnen of the Palme-tree, both of sundrie sorts and colours, and much Cloth of Silke, whereof wee will discourse more hereafter. The people are subject to a King that hath other Princes under him. They are very active and warlike. They are readie to take Armes; and doe fight on foot. Their weapons are different from the weapons of all other people round about them: for, their Bowes are small and short, made of wood, and wrapped about with Serpents skins of divers colours, and so smoothly wrought, that you would thinke them to be all one with the wood: and this they doe, both to make the Bowe stronger, and also to hold it the faster. Their Strings are of little wodden twigs like reeds, not hollow within, but sound and pliable, and very daintie; such as the Cavalieros of Portugall doe carry in their hands to beate their Palfreyes withall. They are of an ash-colour, and of a Lion-tawney, somewhat tending to blacke. They grow in the Countrey of the Anzigues, and also in the Kingdome of Bengala, through which the River
Ganges runneth. Their Arrows are short and slender, and of a very hard wood, and they carry them on their Bow-hand. They are so quicke in shooting, that holding eight and twentie Shafts or more in their Bow-hand, they will shoot and discharge them all, before the first Arrow light on the ground: yea, and sometimes there have beene divers stout Archers, that have killed birds as they flie in the aire.

Other weapons also they make, as Axes and Hatchets, which they use and frame after a strange manner: for, the handle is shorter by the halfe then the Iron is, and at the lowest end of it there is a pommell, for the faster holding of it in the hand; and all covered over with the foresaid skinne of a Serpent. In the uppermost end of it, is the Iron very bright and shining, fastned to the wood with plates of Copper, in the manner of two nailes, as long as the handle: it hath two edges, the one cutteth like a Hatchet, and maketh a wound after the fashion of an halfe roundell; the other is a Hammer. When they fight with their Enemies, or defend themselves from their Arrowes, they are so exercised with a wonderfull speed and nimblenesse to manage their weapons, that whirling them round about, as it were in a circle, they keepe all that compasse of the ayre which is before them; so that when the Enemie shooteth, and the Arrow beginne to fall, it lighteth upon the Hatchet, being so swiftly and vehemently whirled about, that it breaketh the force of the Arrow, and so it is repulsed: then doe they hang the Hatchet upon their shoulder, and begin to shoot themselves. They have also certaine short Daggers, with sheaths of the Serpents skins, made like Knives with an haft unto them, which they use to weare acrosse. Their Girdles are of divers sorts; but the Men of warre have their Girdles of Elephants skin, three good fingers broad: and because they are at the first two fingers thicke, and very hard to handle handsomely, by the heat of the fire they bow them round, and so with certaine buttons tye them overthwart about them. The men are very active
and nimble, and leape up and downe the Mountaines like Goats. Couragious they are and contemne death: men of great simplicitie, loyaltie, and fidelitie, and such as the Portugals doe trust more then any other. In so much as Signor Odoardo was wont to say, that if these Anzichi would become Christians (being of so great fidelitie, sinceritie, loyaltie, and simplicitie, that they will offer themselves to death, for the glorie of the world, and to please their Lords will not sticke to give their owne flesh to bee devoured) then would they with a farre better heart and courage indure martyrdom, for the name of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and would most honourably maintaine our Faith and Religion, with their good testimonie, and example against the Gentiles.

Moreover, the said Signor Odoardo did likewise affirme, that there was no conversing with them, because they were a savage and beastly people, saving onely in respect that they come and traffique in Congo, bringing thither with them Slaves, both of their owne Nation, and also out of Nubia (whereupon they doe border) and linen Cloth (whereof we will tell you hereafter,) and Elephants teeth: in exchange of which chaffare they recarrie home with them, Salt, and these Lumache, which they use in stead of money and Coyne; and another greater kind of Lumache, which come from the Ile of Saint Thomas, and which they use to weare for Brooches to make themselves fine and gallant withall. Other Merchandises, also they carrie backe with them, which are brought out of Portugall, as Silkes, Linnen, and Glasses, and such like. They use to circumcise themselves. And another foolish custome they have, both men and women, as well of the Nobilitie, as of the Commonalitie, even from their childhood, to marke their faces with sundrie slashes made with a knife, as in due place shall be further shewed unto you.

They keepe a Shambles of mans flesh as they doe in these Countries for Beefe and other victuals. For their Enemies whom they take in the Warres, they eate; and
also their Slaves, if they can have a good market for them, they sell: or if they cannot, then they deliver them to the Butchers, to be cut in pieces, and so sold, to be roasted or boiled. And (that which a marvellous historie to report) some of them being wearie of their lives, and some of them even for valour of courage, and to shew themselves stout and venturous, thinking it to bee a great honour unto them, if they runne into voluntarie death, thereby to shew that they have a speciall contempt of this life, will offer themselves to the butcherie, as faithfull subjects to their Princes, for whose sakes, that they may seeme desirous to doe them notable service, they doe not onely deliver themselves to bee devoured by them, but also their Slaves, when they are fat and well fed, they doe kill and eate them. True it is, that many Nations there are, that feed upon mans flesh, as in the East Endies, and in Brasill, and in other places: but that is onely the flesh of their adversaries and enemies, but to eate the flesh of their owne friends, and subjects, and kinsfolkes, it is without all example in any place of the World, saving onely in this Nation of the Anzichi.

The ordinarie apparell of these people is thus: The common sort goe naked from the girdle upwards, and without any thing upon their heads, having their haire trussed up, and curled. The Noblemen are appareled in Silkes and other Cloth, and weare upon their heads, blue and red, and blacke colours, and Hats and Hoods of Portugall Velvet, and other kinds of Caps usuall in that Countrie. And indeed, they are all desirous to have their apparell handsome and neat, as their abilitie will suffer them. The women are all covered from top to toe, after the manner of Africa. The poorer sort of them doe gird themselves close from the girdle downewards. The Noble women and such as are of wealth, doe weare certaine Mantles, which they cast over their heads, but keepe their faces open and at libertie: and Shooes they have on their feet, but the poore goe bare-foot. They goe very quicke and lightsome. Their stature is comely, and their
conditions faire and commendable. Their Language is altogether different from the Language of Congo, and yet the Anzichi will learne the Language of Congo very soone and easily, because it is the plainer Tongue: but the People of Congo doe very hardly learne the Language of the Anzichi. And when I once demanded what their Religion was, it was told mee they were Gentiles, and that was all that I could learne of them.

The East Coast of the Kingdome of Congo, beginneth (as we have told you) at the meeting of the River Vumba, and the River of Zaire; and so with a line drawne towards the South in equall distance from the River Nilus, which lieth on the left hand, it taketh up a great Mountaine which is very high, and not inhabited in the tops thereof, called the Mountaine of Crystall, because there is in it great quantitie of Crystall, both of the Mountaine and of the Cliffe, and of all sorts. And then passing on farther, includeth the Hills that are called Sierras de Sol, that is to say, the Hills of the Sunne, because they are exceeding high. And yet it never snoweth upon them, neither doe they beare any thing, but are very bare and without any trees at all. On the left hand there arise other Hills, called the Hills of Sal-Nitrum, because there is in them great store of that Minerall. And so cutting over the River Berbela, that commeth out of the first Lake, there endeth the ancient bound of the Kingdome of Congo on the East.

Thus then the East Coast of this Kingdome is derived from the meeting of the twoforesaid Rivers, Vumba and Zaire; untill you come to the lake Achefunda, and to the Countrie of Malemba; containyng the space of sixe hundred miles. From this line which is drawne in the Eastern Coast of Congo to the River Nilus, and to the two Lakes (whereof mention shall be made in convenient place) there is the space of one hundred and fiftie miles of ground well inhabited, and good store of Hills, which doe yeeld sundrie Metals, with much Linnen, and Cloth of the Palme tree.
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

And seeing wee are now come to this point of this discourse, it will be very necessarie to declare unto you the marvellous Arte which the people of this Countrie, and other places thereabouts doe use in making Clothes of Sundrie sorts, as Velvets shorne and unshorne, Cloth of Tissue, Sattins, Taffata, Damaskes, Sarcenets, and such like, not of any silken Stuffe, (for they have no knowledge of the Silke-wormes at all, although some of their apparell bee made of Silke that is brought thither from our Countries.) But they weave their Clothes afore-named of the leaves of Palme-trees, which Trees they alwaies keepe under and low to the ground, every yeere cutting them, and watering them, to the end they may grow small and tender against the new Spring. Out of these leaves, being cleansed and purged after their manner, they draw forth their theeds, which are all very fine and daintie, and all of one evennesse, saving that those which are longest, are best esteemed: for, of those they weave their greatest pieces. These Stuffes they worke of divers fashions, as some with a nappe upon them like Velvet, on both sides, and other Cloth, called Damaskes, branched with leaves, and such other things; and the Broccati, which are called High and Low, and are farre more precious then ours are. This kind of Cloth no man may weare but the King, and such as it pleaseth him. The greatest pieces are of these Broccati: for they containe in length foure or five spans; and in breadth, three or foure spannes, and are called Incorimbas, by the name of the Countrey where it growth, which is about the River Vumba. The Velvets are called Ensachas, of the same bignesse; and the Damaskes, Infulas; and the Rasi, Maricas; and the Zendadi, Targas; and the Ormesini, Engombos. Of the lighter sort of these Stuffes they have greater pieces, which are wrought by the Anzichi; and are sixe spannes long, and five spannes broad, wherewith every man may apparell himselfe according to his abilitie. Besides that, they are very thicke and found to keep out the water, and yet very light to weare. The Portugals have lately begun
to use them for Tents and Boothes, which doe marvellously resist both water and wind.

This Easterne Coast (as it is before set downe) endeth in the mountaine, called Serras de Plata, that is, the Mountaines of Silver; and there beginneth the fourth and last border of the Kingdome of Congo, towards the South, that is to say, from the foresaid Mountaine to the Bay of Cowes on the West, containing in length the space of foure hundred and fiftie miles. And this Southerne Line doth part the Kingdome of Angola in the middle, and leaveth on the left hand of it, the foresaid Mountaines of Silver; and farther beyond them towards the South, the Kingdome of Matama; which is a great Kingdome, very mightie, and absolute of it selfe, and sometimes in amitie, and sometimes at utter enmitie with the Kingdome of Angola.

The King of Matama is in Religion a Gentile, and his Kingdome stretcheth towards the South to the River Bravagal, and neere to the Mountaines, commonly called the Mountaines of the Moone; and towards the East bordereth on the Westerne bankes of the River Bagamidri, and so crosseth over the River Coari.

This Countrie aboundeth in Vaults of Crystall and other Metals, and all manner of victuall, and good aire. And although the people thereof, and their neighbour borderers doe traffique together: Yet the King of Matama, and the King of Angola, doe oftentimes warre one against the other, as we told you before: And this River Bagamidri divideth the Kingdome of Matapa from the Kingdome of Monomata, which is towards the East, and whereof John de Barros doth most largely discourse, in the first Chapter of his tenth Booke.
§. III.

Of Angola, the Warres betwixt Congo and Angola: their manner of warfare. The present Kingdome of Congo bounded. Of Bamba, one of the sixe Princes of Congo, and the Creatures therein.

Towards the Sea-coast there are divers Lords, that take upon them the Title of Kings: but indeed they are of very base and slender estate: Neither are there any Ports or Havens of any account or name in the Rivers there. And now, forasmuch as we have oftentimes made mention of the Kingdome of Angola, this will bee a very convenient place for us to intreat thereof; because it hath beene heretofore said, that the King of Angola, being in times past but a Governour or Deputie under the King of Congo; although, since that time he is become a Christian, he made himselfe a free and an absolute Prince, and usurped all that Quarter to his owne Jurisdiction, which before he had in regiment and government under another. And so afterwards in time conquered other Countries thereabouts; insomuch, as he is now growne to be a great Prince, and a rich, and in power little inferiour to the King of Congo himselfe, and therefore either payeth tribute, or refuseth to pay tribute unto him, even at his owne good pleasure.

It came to passe, that Don Giovanni the Second, being King of Portugall, planted the Christian Religion in the Kingdome of Congo; and thereupon, the King of Congo became a Christian. After which time the Lord of Angola was alwaies in amitie, and (as it were) a Vassall of the forenamed King of Congo, and the People of both Countries did traffique together one with another, and the Lord of Angola did every yeere send some Presents to the King of Congo. And by licence from the K. of Congo, there was a great trade betweene the Portugals
and the People of Angola, at the Haven of Loanda, where they bought Slaves, and changed them for other merchandises, and so transported all into the Ile of S. Thomas. Whereby it came to passe, that the traffique was here united with the traffique of S. Thomas: so that the ships did use first to arrive at that Iland, and then afterward passed over to Loanda. And when this trade began in processe of time to encrease, they dispatched their ships from Lisbone to Angola of themselves, and sent with them a Governour, called Paulo Díaz of Novais, to whom this businesse did (as it were) of right appertaine, in regard of the good deserts of his Ancestors, who first discovered this Traffique. To this Paulo Díaz, did Don Sebastiano King of Portugall grant leave and authoritie to conquer, for the space of three and thirtie leagues upwards along the Coast, beginning at the River Coanza, towards the South, and within the Land also, whatsoever hee could get towards all his charges for him and his heires. With him there went many other ships that opened and found out a great trade with Angola, which notwithstanding was directed to the foresaid Haven of Loanda, where the said ships did still discharge themselves. And so by little and little he entred into the firme Land, and made himselfe an house in a certaine Village, called Anzelle, within a mile neere to the River Coanza, because it was the more commodious and nigher to the traffique of Angola. When the trade here began thus to encrease, and merchandises were freely carried by the Portugals, and the People of Congo to Cabazo, a place belonging to the Lord of Angola, and distant from the Sea, one hundred and fiftie miles, there to sell and barter them, it pleased his Lordship to give out order, that all the Merchants should be slaine, and their goods confiscatated, alledging for his defence, that they were come thither as spies, and to take possession of his estate: but in trueth it is thought that he did it onely to gaine all that wealth to himselfe, considering that it was a People that did not deale in the habite of Warriers, but after the manner of Merchants. And this fell out in the
same yeere, that the King Don Sebastiano was discomfited in Barbarie.

When Paulo Diaz understood of this course, he put himselfe in Armes against the King of Angola, and with such a troupe of Portugals as he could gather together, that were to be found in that Countrie, and with two Gallies and other vessels, which he kept in the River Coanza, he went forward, on both sides of the River conquering, and by force subdued many Lords, and made them his Friends and Subjects. But the King of Angola perceiving that his Vassals had yeelded to the obedience of Paulo Diaz, and that with all prosperous successe he had gained much Land upon him, hee assembled a great Armie to goe against him, and so utterly to destroy him. Whereupon Paulo Diaz requested the King of Congo, that he would succour him with some helpe to defend himselfe withall, who presently sent unto him for ayde, an Armie of sixtie thousand men, under the conduct of his Cousin Don Sebastiano Mani-bamba, and another Captaine, with one hundred and twentie Portugall Souldiers, that were in those Countries, and all of his owne pay for the achieving of this enterprise. This Armie was to joyne with Paulo Diaz, and so altogether to warre against the King of Angola: but arriving at the shoare, where they were to passe over the River Bengo, within twelve miles of Loanda, and where they should have met with many Barkes to carrie the Campe to the other shoare, partly because the said Barkes had slackd their comming, and partly because much time would have beene spent in transporting so many men, the whole Armie tooke their way quite over the River, and so going on forwards, they met with the People of the King of Angola, that were readie to stop the Souldiers of Congo from entring upon their Countrie.

The militarie order of the Mociconghi (for by that terme wee doe call the naturall borne People of the Kingdome of Congo, as we call the Spaniards, those that are naturally borne in Spaine) and the militarie order of the People of
Angola, is almost all one: for both of them doe usually
fight on foot, and divide their Armie into severall troupes,
fitting themselves according to the situation of the Field
where they doe encampe, and advancing their Ensignes
and Banners in such sort as before is remembred. The
removes of their Armie are guided and directed by
certaine severall sounds and noyses, that proceed from the
Captaine Generall, who goeth into the middest of the Armie,
and there signifieth what is to be put in execution; that
is to say, either that they shall joyne battell, or else retire,
or put on forward, or turne to the right hand, and to the
left hand, or to performe any other warlike action. For
by these severall sounds distinctly delivered from one
to another, they doe all understand the commandements
of their Captaine, as we here among us doe understand
the pleasure of our Generall by the sundrie stroakes of the
Drum, and the Captaines sounds of the Trumpet.

Three principall sounds they have which they use in
Warre: One which is uttered aloud, by great Rattles,
fastned in certaine Wooden Cases, hollowed out of a tree,
and covered with Leather, which they strike with certaine
little handles of Ivory. Another is made by a certaine
kind of Instrument, fashioned like a Pyramis turned
upward: for the lower end of it is sharpe, and endeth as it
were in a point, and the upper end waxeth broader and
broader, like the bottome of a Triangle, in such sort, that
beneath they are narrow and like an Angle, and above
they are large and wide. This Instrument is made of
certaine thinne plates of Iron, which are hollow and emptie
within, and very like to a Bell turned up-side-downe.
They make them ring, by striking them with woodden
wands: and oftentimes they doe also cracke them, to the
end that the sound should be more harsh, horrible, and
warlike: The third Instrument is framed of Elephants
teeth, some great, and some small, hollow within, and
blowen at a certaine hole which they make on the side of
it, in manner of the Fife, and not aloft like the Pipe.
These are tempered by them in such sort, that they yeeld
as warlike and harmonious Musicke, as the Cornet doth, and so pleasant and jocond a noyse, that it mooveth and stirreth up their courages, and maketh them not to care for any danger whatsoever. Now of these three several sorts of warlike Instruments, there are some bigger, and some lesse. For the Captaine Generall carrieth alwaies with him the greater sort, to the end that by them he may give signification to the whole Campe what they shall doe. The particular bands and troupes of the Armie have in like manner their smaller sort, and every Captaine in his severall Regiment hath also one of the smallest, which they strike with their hands. Whereupon it falleth out, that when they heare the sound of the generall Rattle, or Cornet, or the other third kind of Instrument, every part of the Army doth presently answere in the same note, signifying thereby, that they have well understood the good pleasure of the Captaine, and so consequently the under Captaines doe the like. Neither doe they onely use these Instruments and sounds universally, but also when they are in fight and in skirmish, the valiant and courageous Souldiers go before the rest, and with this kind of bells, which they strike with their woorden wands, they dance, and encourage their fellowes, and by the note doe signific unto them in what danger they are, and what weapons they have met withall.

The Militarie apparell of the better sort, and of the Lords of the Moci-Conghi, is this. On their heads they carie a Cap, which is garnished with sundry Plumes of the feathers of the Estridge, of the Peacocke, of the Cocke, and of other kinds of Birds, which make them to see me of greater stature then they are, and terrible to looke upon. From the girdle upwards they are all naked, and have hanging about them from their necks, both on the right side and on the left, even as low as to both their flankes, certaine chaines of Iron, with Rings upon them as bigge as a mans little finger, which they use for a certaine militarie pompe and bravery. From the girdle downewards they have breeches of Linnen, or Sendale, which are
covered with Cloath, and reach downe to their heeles, but then they are folded againe upwards, and tucked under their girdle. Upon their girdle, which (as we told you) is made with exquisite and curious worke, they doe fasten certaine bells, very like to the instruments that are before named, which in mooving of themselves, and in fighting with their enemies, doe ring, and make a noysse, and addde courage unto them, while they are in combate with their adversaries. Upon their legges they have likewise their Buskins, after the Portugall fashion. Their Armour we have already declared, that is to say; Bow and Arrowes, Sword, Dagger and Target: but yet with this caveat, that whosoever weareth a Bow, he weareth also a Dagger, but no Target: for those two weapons may not be wore together, but Sword and Target they may lawfully weare both at once.

The common Souldiers goe all naked from the girdle-stead upwards, and have the rest of their bodies armed with Bow and Arrowes, and Daggars. These are they that doe first offer the skirmish, going out before the rest of the Army, as it were severally and dispersedly provoking to fight, and receiving the shot from a farre off, they tunne and winde this way and that way, and doe nimbly leape from one side to another, to the end they may avoyd the lighting of their enemies Arrowes. Besides these, there are also certaine quicke and gallant young men, that runne out before the rest, which with the ringing of their bells (as before is said) are as it were comforters of their fellows, and when they have fought so much, that the Captaine thinketh them to be even weary, then doth he call them backe with the sound of one of those instruments above mentioned: so that perceiving the medley to wax hot, they turn about and retyre themselves backe againe, and others succeede in their places, which course is still observed and kept untill such time, as both the Armies doe indeed joyne all their maine forces together, and so fight it out.

In the place above described, there were sundry
encounters on the one side, and on the other. And in the first batailes the people of Congo remained Conquerors: but afterward, when they had divers times fought together with great losse on both sides, and victuals began now to faile, and consequently men waxed sicke and died, the Campe of the King of Congo was dissolved, and every man returned to his owne home.

In this meane while Paulo Diaz, though he could not joyne his forces with the Army of his friends that came to succour him, yet set himselfe forwars, and passing over the River stayed at Luiola, because it was a place very strong, and fit to resist the King of Angola. The situation of Luiola is this: The two Rivers, Coanza and Luiola doe joyne together about one hundred and five miles from the Sea shore, and a little above the said joyning, these Rivers doe sever themselves, for the space of an Harquebusse shot, so that they make as it were an Iland betweene them. In which Iland, at the meeting of the two Rivers there riseth a hill, which Paulo Diaz surprized and fortified for his better safetie. And whereas in times past, there was never any habitation there, now at this present it is growne to be a pretty Countrey inhabited by the Portugals.

From this place thus surprized by Paulo Diaz, and called Luiola, you may saile along the River with certaine small vessels, even to the Sea, and goe by land without any danger for the space of one hundred and five miles. Neere thereunto are the hills, that are called the hills of Cabambe, producing infinite store of Silver: which the said Diaz doth every day by little and little endeavour to conquer. And these hills are the grand quarrell betwene him and the people of Angola. For knowing that the Portugals doe esteeme greatly of these hills, in regard of the Silver pits which are there in great abundance; they doe use all the force and skill they can to keepe the Portugals from them. They fight also with them in divers other places: for the Portugals passing over the River Coanza, do continually make in-roads into the Countries that are subject to the King of Angola.
The weapons of these peoples, are Bowes sixe handfull long, with strings made of the barks of Trees, Arrowes of Wood, lesse then a mans little finger, and sixe handfuls long. They have Iron heads, made like a hooke, and feathers of Birds in the tops of them: and of these Arrowes they use to carry to the number of sixe or seven upon their Bow hand, without any Quiver at all. Their Daggers are fashioned with a haft after the manner of a Knife, which they wear at their girdle, on their left side, and hold them aloft in their hands, when they fight with them. By their Militarie actions and proceedings, you may observe their great skill and good order in matter of warre. For in divers batailes that were betweene them and the Portugals, it was plainly seen how they could chuse their advantages against their enemies, as by assaualting them in the night time, and in rainy weather, to the end that their Harquebusses and Gunnes should not take fire; and also by dividing their forces into many troopes, to trouble them the more. The King doth not use to goe to the warre in his owne person, but sendeth his Captaines in his stead. The people are also accustomed to flye and runne away incontinently, as soone as they see their Captaine slaine, neither can they be persuaded to stay by any reason or argument, but presently yeeld up the field. They are all Foot-men, neither have they any Horses at all: and therefore the Captaines, if they will not goe on foote, cause themselves to bee carried on the shoulders of their Slaves, after one of the three manners, which we will shew unto you hereafter.

This Nation goeth out to warre, in number almost infinite, and very confusedly: they leave no man at home that is fit to carry a weapon: they make no preparation of victuals necessarie for the Campe: but such as perhaps have any, convey it with them upon the shoulders of their Servants, and yet they have sundry sorts of creatures that might bee managed, and serve their turnes to draw, and to carry, as in the second part of this Treatise shall be described unto you. And thereupon it falleth out, that
A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

when they come into any Countrey with their whole Army, all their food is quickly quite consumed, and then having nothing left to feed upon, they dissolve their hoast even in the greatest necessitie of prosecuting their enterprise, and so are inforced by hunger to returne into their owne Countries.

They are greatly given to Divination by Birds: If a Bird chance to flye on their left hand, or cry in such manner, as those which make profession to understand the same, do say, that it fore-sheweth ill lucke and adversity, or that they may goe no further forwards, they will presently turne backe and repaire home: which custome was also in the old time observed by the ancient Romans, and likewise at this day by sundry other Pagans.

Now if it shall seeme strange to any man, that so few Portugall Souldiers, as Paulo Diaz retaineth there with him, and others of the Portugall Nation, which Trafficke into the Realme, and reliefe him with succours, being in number but three hundred at the most, accounting their Slaves, and also the Male-contents, the Rebels and Fugitives of Angola, which daily resort unto him, and amount not in all to the quantitie of fifteene thousand men, should be able to make so gallant a resistance against that innumerable rabble of Negroes, being subject to the King of Angola, which are gathered there together (as it is said) to the number of a Million of soules. I answere, that great reason may be alleadge for the same. For the Armie of the Negroes is all naked, and utterly destitute of all provision and furniture for Armour of defence: And as for their weapons of offence, they consist onely but of Bowes and Daggers (as I told you.) But our few Portugals that are there, are well lapped in certaine Jackets that are stuffed and basted with bombaste, and stitched and quilted very soundly, which keepe their Armes very safe, and their bodies downe-wards as low as their knees: Their heads also are armed with cappes made of the same stuffe, which doe resist the shot of the Arrow, and the stroke of the Dagger: Besides that, they are girt with long
swords, and some Horsemen there are among them that carry speares for their weapons. Now you must understand that one man on horse-backe, is of more worth then a hundred Negroes, because the Horsemen doe asright them greatly: and especially of those that doe discharge Gunnes and Pecces of Artillarie against them, they doe stand continually in an extreme bodily feare. So that these few being well armed, and cunningly and artificially ordered, must needs overcome the other, though they be very many in number. This Kingdome of Angola, is full of people beyond all credite: For every Man taketh as many Wives as he listeth, and so they multiply infinitely: But they doe not use so to do in the kingdome of Congo, which liveth after the manner of the Christians.

This Kingdome also is very rich in Mines of Silver, and most excellent Copper; and for other kinds of Mettall, there is more in this kingdome then in any other Countrey of the world whatsoever. Fruitful it is in all manner of food, and sundry sorts of Cattell, and specially for great heards of Kine. True it is, that this people doe love Dogges flesh better then any other meate: and for that purpose they feed and fatten them, and then kill them and sell them in their open shambles. It is constantly affirmed, that a great Dog accustomed to the Bull, was sold by exchange for two and twentie Slaves, which after the rate of ten Duckets a poll, were worth in all two hundred and twentie Duckets: in so high a price and account doe they hold that Creature.

The Monyes that are used in Angola, are much different from the Lumache of Congo: for they of Angola doe use Beads of Glasse, such as are made in Venice, as bigge as a Nut, and some of lesser quantitie, and of divers and sundry colours and fashions. These doe the people of Angola make, not onely to use them for money, but also for an ornament of their men and women, to weare about their necks and their armes, and are called in their tongue Anzolos: but when they are threeded upon a string like a paire of Beads, they call them Mizanga.
A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

The King of Angola is by religion a Gentile, and worshippeth Idols, and so doe all the people in his Kingdome. It is true, that he hath greatly desired to become a Christian, after the example of the King of Congo. But because there hath not beene as yet any possibilitie to send Priests unto him, that might illuminate and instruct him, he remaineth still in darknesse. The foresaid Signor Odoardo told mee, that in his time the King of Angola sent an Ambassadour to the King of Congo, requesting that hee would send him some religious persons to informe him in the Christian Religion: but the King of Congo had none there that he could spare, and therefore could send him none. At this day, both these Kings doe Trafficke together, and are in amitie one with another: the King of Angola having now cleered and discharged himselfe for the injuries and slaughters that were committed upon those of Congo, and upon the Portugals at Gabazo.

The language of the people of Angola is all one with the language of the people of Congo, because (as we told you before) they are both but one Kingdome. Onely the difference betweene them is, as commonly it is betweene two Nations that border one upon another.

We have signified unto you heretofore, that the Bay of Cowes doth divide the Kingdome of Angola in the midset; and hitherto we have treated but of the one halfe thereof: Now wee will describe unto you the second part of it, which lyeth from the said Bay of Cowes towards the South. From this Bay then, to the blacke Cape, called Cape Negro, by the Coast of the Ocean, they doe reckon two hundred and twenty miles, of such Countrey and soyle as the former is, and possessed by many Lords that are subject to the King of Angola. From Cape Negro there runneth a line towards the East, through the midset of the Mountaines, that are called, Monti Freddi, that is to say, The cold Mountaines: which also in some certaine parts of them, that are higher then the rest towards the Equinoctiall, are tearmed by the Portugals, Monti Nevosi,
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

or Snowy Mountaines, and so endeth at the rootes of other Mountaines, that are called the Mountaines of Crystall.
(Out of these Snowy Mountaines doe spring the waters of the Lake Dumbea Zacche.) This foresaid line, from the Mountaine of Crystall, draweth on-wards towards the North through the Mountaines of Silver, till you come to Malemba, where we told you the Kingdome of Congo was divided, and parted the River of Coari in the midst. And this is the Countrey possessed by the King of Angola, whereof I have no more to say, then is already set downe, neither of the qualities of his person, nor of his Court.

Beginning therefore at the River Coanza, and drawing towards the Equinoctiall three hundred seventie five miles, you shall finde the River, that they call Las Barreas Vermellias, or the Redde Pits, which are indeed the ragged ruines of certaine Rockes wore by the Sea; and when they fall downe, doe shew themselves to bee of a red colour. From thence by a direct line upon the North, that which the King possesseth, is foure hundred and fifty miles. And then the said line dividing it selfe towards the South, passeth by the hills of Crystall (not those that we told you before did belong to Angola, but others that are called by the same name) and so by the Mountaines of Salnitro, traversing the River Verbela, at the roots of the Mountaines of Silver, it endeth at the Lake Aquelunda, which is the space of five hundred miles. The fourth line runneth along the River Coanja, which issueth out of the said Lake, and containeth three hundred and sixtie miles. So that the whole Realme now possessed by Don Alvaro, the King of Congo is in compasse, one thousand sixe hundred eightie five miles. But the breadth thereof beginneth at the mouth of the River Zaire, where the point is, which in the Portugall speech is called, Pdraon, and so cutting the Kingdome of Congo in the middle, and crossing over the Mountaines of the Sunne, and the Mountaines of Crystall, there it endeth, containing the space of sixe hundred miles, and within one hundred and fiftie miles, neere to the River Nilus. Very true it
A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

is indeed, that in ancient time the Predecessors of this Prince did raigne over many other Countries there-abouts, which in processe of time they have lost: and although they bee now in the government of others, yet doe the Kings of Congo, retaine still to this day the titles of those Regions, as for example, Don Alvaro, King of Congo, and of Abundos, and of Matama, and of Quizama, and of Angola, and of Cacongo, and of the seven Kingdomes of Congere Amolaza, and of the Pangelungos, and Lord of the River Zaire, and of the Anziquos, and Anziquana, and of Loango.

This Kingdome is divided into sixe Provinces, that is to say, Bamba, Songo, Sundi, Pango, Batta, and Pemba. The Province of Bamba, (which is the greatest and the richest) is governed by Don Sebastian Mani-Bamba, cousin to the King Don Alvaro last deceased, and it is situated upon the Sea-coast, from the River Ambrize, untill you come to the River Coanza towards the South. This Don Sebastian hath under his Dominion many Princes and Lords, and the name of the greatest of them are these, Don Antonio Mani-Bamba, who is Lieutenant and Brother to Don Sebastian, and Mani-Lemba another, and Mani-Danda, and Mani-Bengo, and Mani-Loanda, who is Governour of the Iland of Loanda, and Mani-Corimba, and Mani-Coanza, and Mani-Cazzanzi. All these doe governe all the Sea-coast but within Land, for that part which belongeth to Angola, there are another people called the Ambundos, who dwelling on the borders of Angola, are subject to the said Mani-Bamba, and they are these, Angazi, Chinghengo, Motollo, Chabonda, and many others of baser condition.

Note, that this word Mani, signifieth a Prince or a Lord, and the rest of the word is the name of the Countrey and Lordship, where the Lord ruleth. As for example, Mani-Bamba signifieth the Lord of the Countrey of Bamba, and Mani-Corimba, the Lord of the Countrey of Corimba, which is a part of Bamba, and so likewise of the rest. This Province of Bamba confineth with Angola.
on the South, and upon the East of it towards the Lake Achelunda, lyeth the Countrey of Quizama, which is governed like a Common-wealth, and is divided among a number of Lords, who indeed living at their owne libertie, doe neither obey the King of Congo, nor the King of Angola.

And to be short, these Lords of Quizama, after they had a long time quarrelled with Paulo Diaz, yet at last they became his subjects, because they would avoyd the yoke of the King of Angola, and by their good aid and assistance, doth Paulo Diaz greatly helpe himselfe against the said King of Angola.

Now, the aforesaid Countrey of Bamba, (as we have told you) is the principall Province of all the Realm of Congo, and indeed the very Key, and the Buckler and the Sword, and the defence thereof, and (as it were) the frontier which opposeth it selfe against all their Enemies. For it resistenth all the revolts and rebellions of those quarters, and hath very valorous people in it, that are alwayes readie for to fight, so that they doe continually keepe their Adversaries of Angola in great awe: and if it happen at any time that their King stand in need, they are alwayes at his command to annoy the other Countries whenssoever. When need requireth, he may have in Campe foure hundred thousand men of Warre, and yet that number is but onely the sixt part of the whole Kingdome, though indeed it be the better part and the stronger. The principall Citie of this Province lyeth in the Plaine which is betweene the River Loze and Ambrize, and is called Panza (which is a common name for every Towne.) There dwelleth the Lord of the Province, and it is distant from the Sea one hundred miles. In this Signorie also doe the hils begin, where the Mines of silver and other metals are found, and so stretch out towards the Kingdome of Angola. It is very rich, for upon the Coast of the Sea there, they have great store of the Lumache, which are used for moneyes over all the Kingdome of Congo: Besides, there is also a greater Traffick and
A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

Market for slaves, that are brought out of Angola, then in any place else. For there are yearly bought by the Portugals above five thousand head of Negroes, which afterwards they conveay with them, and so sell them into divers parts of the World.

The people of this Province, are in Armes the most valiant of all the Kingdome of Congo. They goe armed like the Slavonians, with long and large Swords, that are brought them out of Portugall. There are among them very mightie men, that will cleave a slave in the middest at one blow, and cut off the head of a Bull at one stroke with one of those Swords. And (that which is more, and will peradventure seeme incredible) one of these valiant men did bear up his arme a certayne Vessell of Wine, which was the fourth part of a Butte, and might weigh about three hundred twenty five pound, untiill it was cleane emptied. Moreover, they doe carrie Bow and Arrowes, whereat they are very quicke and nimble, and withall their long Targets made of the Dants skinne, whereof wee told you before, when wee made mention of the Anzichi.

The creatures that are found in this Province, are first the Elephants, which do breed over all the Kingdome of Congo, but principally in the Countrey of Bamba, because it aboundeth in Woods, in pastures and in waters.

Signor Odoardo told mee, that hee had oftentimes taken the measure of an Elephants foot in the dust, and one of them was in plaine Diameter foure spannes broad. But in these quarters they say that the Elephants doe live one hundred and fiftie yeares, and that untill the middle of their age they continue still in growing. And to confirme this truth he added, that hee had seene and weighed divers of their Teeth (which are not of horne, as some thinke) and their weight amounted to two hundred pounds apiece, after the rate of twelve ounces to every pound. In the Language of Congo, the Elephants Tooth is called Mene-Manzao, that is to say, The Tooth of an Elephant.

Their Eares are greater then the greatest Targets that
the Turkes use to weare, in length sixe spannes, in shape like an Egge, and towards their shoulders they grow to be narrower and sharper. With their Eares, and with their Trunke, and with their Tayle, they beat away the Flies that trouble them.

They have in their Tayle, certaine haires or bristles as bigge as Rushes or Broome-sprigs, of a shining blacke colour. The older they be, the fairer and stronger they bee, and of great price among them.

And for the cause lately rehearsed, many there are, which wayting for the Elephants, when they ascend some steepe and narrow way, doe come behind them, and with very sharpe Knives cut off their Tayles: the poore beast being not able in those straites to turne backe to revenge it selfe, nor with his Trunke to reach his Enemie. And this they doe, onely to have those haires, which they sell for two or three slaves a piece. Other light and courageous persons there are, that trusting much to their swiftnesse in running, doe lye in a waite, and set upon the poore beasts behind, whiles they are in feeding, and at one blow attempt to cut off their Tayles, and so endeavours to save themselves by running away in a round. For the greatnesse of the beast is such as out-right it is very swift, because it maketh very large strides, though indeed but slow, and in the plaine is farre quicker then any lustie Horse: but in turning round it loseth much time, and so the Huntsman escapeth in safetie.

In their feeding, they use to shake and root up the great Trees with the force of their shoulders, and strength of their whole backes: But the smaller Trees they take betweene both their Teeth, and so bow them and plucke them downe, that they may feede upon the leaves of them: insomuch, as sometimes they breake one of their Teeth with so doing. And this is the cause why you shall find divers of them in the fields that have lost their Teeth. They chawe their meate with their short Teeth, which are not seene as their two long Tuskes are: and they carry it to their mouth by their long Snout, or Trunke,
A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

which is to them in stead of an arme and a hand. The tip of their Trunke is fashioned and divided into little slits, and (as it were) fingers, wherewith they will take up very small things, as Nuts, and Strawes, and Berries, and so reach them to their mouth, as I, Philippo Pigafetta have seen my selfe at Lisbon.

The Females of these Creatures, doe beare their brood in their wombe for the space of two yeares and no more: And for as much as the yong Elephant cannot so quickly be brought up, (for it groweth very slowly) the Milke is kept from it, and so it waxeth apt to feed of it selfe. And therefore Mother Nature hath provided that the Elephants are not great with young, but from seven yeares to seven yeares.

Their skinne is hard beyond all credit. For being foure fingers thicke, it cannot be pierced, no not with the shot of an Harquebusse.

The people of that Countrey have not the skill to tame these beasts. Whereby they might reap great commoditie and profit, for carrying their stuffe from place to place for divers other good uses. But yet they take them by digging certaine deepe Trenches in the places, where they use to pasture, which Trenches are very narrow at the bottome, and broad above, to the end the beast may not helpe himselfe, and leape out when hee is fallen into them. These Trenches they cover with Soddes of Earth, and Grasse, and leaves, because the beast should not see their traine, but passing over them remayne there entrenched. Whereupon the Gentleman beforenamed told me, that he had seene with his owne eyes a very strange and admirable thing in Coanza; namely, that a young Elephant following his Damme, fell downe by chance into one of these Pits, and after that she could not with all her skill and strength draw him out of it, she buried him therein, and covered him with Earth, with branches and with boughes, inso-much as she filled the pit up to the top, to the end that the Hunters should not enjoy her Calfe, choosing rather to kill it her selfe, then to leave it to the mercie of the cruel
Huntsmen. This loving and kind Mother, not fearing the people (that stood round about her, and shouted against her, and threatened her with sundry weapons, and uttered strange clamours and noyses to affray her, and cast many fires at her) but assuring her selfe in her owne strong and valiant nature, did labour and toyle from morning till night, that she might draw her Calfe out of the pit: and when shee found that it was not possible for her to atchieve what shee desired, then she covered it in manner as we have told you.

The Elephant is a very gentle beast, and trusteth greatly in his naturall strength. Hee feareth nothing, nor hurteth any man that doth not trouble him: and haunteth neere to mens houses, without doing any harme at all. If hee espie men that goe in his walke, hee will not meddle with them, unless they seeke to molest him: saving that sometimes peradventure he will gently with his Snout, houye them upwards into the Ayre, whom hee meeteth withall in his way, and that is all the hurt he will doe unto them. These Elephants doe greatly delight in waters. For Signor Odoardo affirmed, that in the way betweene Cazanza and Loanda, in a little grasse Valley he had seene about one hundred of them in a company, old and young that followed their Dammes: they use to goe together in Heards, as Kine, and Camels, and other such like gentle Creatures doe, and not alone like Lions and other such wild beasts.

There are brought into the Countries of the Anzichi, some of the Hornes that grow upon the nose of the Rhinoceros, that are both of great value and estimation, and also used for the helpe of divers Diseases.

There are in the Region of the Anzichi, Lions also, like the Lions that breed in other parts of the World, but they doe not use to haunt the Region of Bamba: But in Bamba there are verie great store of Tygres, which are of the very same shape that those in Florence are, which Signor Odoardo saw there, and testifieth to be very Tygres indeed. They will not set upon any men that are white,
A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

but onely such as are blacke: And it hath beene found, that when the white and the blacke have slept together in the night-time, they have slaine the blacke to devoure them, and spared the white.

When they are hungry, they will be so bold as to fetch Cattle, even out of the yards that are about the houses without any feare at all, when they cannot find any victuals abroad in the fields. They are very dangerous and hurtfull to all kinds of Creatures whatsoever they bee, and in that Language they are called, Engoi.

They are as fierce and cruell beasts as the Lion, and roare as the Lion doth. They are also altogether like the Lion, saving onely in the colour of their haire; for the Tygre is spotted, but the Lion all of one colour. They use to take and kill these Tygres after divers manners. For besides that, which hath beene before spoken, they poysone them with Sublimate, or some other venome, mingled with flesh which is laid for them. Or else they tye young Goates at certaine Lines made like snares, and fastned about the stocke of a Tree, so that when the beast commeth to her prey, the Engine openeth it selfe, and the more the beast striveth withall, the more it is intangled, and so at last is hanged therein.

Signor Odoardo told me, that he had gotten one of them, that was fifteene dayes old, and hee brought it up with Goats Milke: which being afterwards growne bigger would follow him like a Dogge: and although it were tame, yet it would not willingly suffer any other to touch it, besides his Master. He would also roare mightily, and when hee was angry, his eyes would looke very terribly and fearefully. But in processe of time this Tygre killed a Dogge, belonging to the house, and also a Zebra, that were very deare to their Master, and thereupon, perceiving how perillous a beast it was, he slue it with an Harquebusse-shot. Hee reported, moreover, that the Mostacchios of the Tygre are held in that Region to be mortall Poyson: for beeing given in meates, it procureth a man to die, as it were in a madnesse: And therefore the King doth
purish all those that bring him a Tygres skin without the Mostacchios.

There breedeth likewise in this Countrey another Creature, which they call a Zebra, commonly found also in certaine Provinces of Barbary and Africa, which although it be altogether made like a great Mule, yet is not a Mule indeed, for it beareth young ones. It hath a most singular skin, and peculiar from all other Creatures. For from the ridge of the chin downe towards the belly, it is straked with rowes of three colours, blakke, white, and browne Bay, about the breadth of three fingers a piece, and so meet againe together in a Circle, every row, with his owne colour. So that the necke, and the head; and the Maine (which is not great) and the eares, and all the legs are so interchanged with these colours, and in such manner and order, as with out all faile, if the first strake beginne with white, then followeth the second with blacke, and in the third place the Bay: and so another course beginning in white, endeth still in Bay. And this rule is generally and infallibly observed over all the bodie. The Tayle is like the Tayle of a Mule, of a Morell colour, but yet it is well coloured, and hath a glistening glosse. The feet like the feet of a Mule, and so are the hoofes. But touching the rest of her carriage and qualities, she is very lustie and pleasant as a Horse: and specially in going, and in running she is so light and so swift, that it is admirable. Insomuch as in Portugall and in Castile also, it is commonly used (as it were for a Proverbe) as swift as a Zebra, when they will signifie an exceeding quicknesse. These Creatures are all wild, they breed every yeare, and are there in such abundance that they are innumerable. If they were made tame, they would serve to runne and to draw for the warres, and for many other good uses, as well as the best Horses that are.

Necessitie has taught them to use men in stead of labouring Cattell. For either they lay themselves all along in certaine Litters (as it were) or else set themselves upright, with shadowes over them to keepe them from
A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

the Sunne, and so they cause themselves to bee carryed too and fro, by their slaves, or by other men that for wages are alwayes readie at Poste-houses to that purpose. They that meane to journey with speed, doe take with them many slaves, and when the first number are weary, then doe the second number undertake the burden, and so successively change one after another, as the Tartarians and Persians use to doe with their Horses: and these men being thus accustomed to these labours, (and so often changing) will goe as fast as any Postilion gallop.

There are also to be found in this Countrie, certaine other foure-footed beasts, somewhat lesse then Oxen, of colour Red, with hornses like Goats horns, which are very smooth and glistening, and inclining to blacke, whereof they make divers pretie knackes, as they doe likewise of the Busses horns. They have their heads and their haires, like the heads & haires of Oxen: and their skins are of great estimation; and therefore they are carried into Portugall, and from thence into Germanie to be dressed, and then they are called Dantes. The King of Congo is very desirous to have some men that had skill to cleanse them, and dresse them, and to make them fit for use, to end he might employ them for Armour of defence. And yet those Nations doe alreadie use them for Shields and Targets; and doe find that they will resist the blow of a weapon, and especially the shot of an Arrow. They kill them with Harquebusses, and with Arrowes. But if they doe espie the Huntsman, they will set upon him, and being by nature very fierce, and courageous, they will so knocke him and thumpe him with their feet, and their Muzzle (because they cannot doe him any harme with their horns) that they will leave him either halfe dead, or starke dead. There is also an infinite number of wild Buffes, that goe wandring about the Desarts, in the Kingdome of the Anzichi; and wild Asses likewise, which the Greekes call Onagri.

There are besides these, other beasts, called Empalanga, which are in bignesse and shape like Oxen, saving that
they hold their necke and head aloft, and have their horns broad and crooked, three hand-breadths long, divided into knots, and sharpe at the ends, whereof they might make very faire Cornets to sound withall: and although they live in the Forrests, yet are they not noysome nor harmefull. The skins of their neckes are used for shoo-soles, and their flesh for meate. They might likewise be brought to draw the Plough, and doe good service in any other labour, and tilling of the ground. Moreover, they feed great herds of Kine, and tame Oxen, tame Hogs, and wild Boares, flockes of Sheepe and Goats. Signor Odoardo affirmed, that the Goats and the Sheepe doe bring forth two, and three, and foure Lambs or Kids at a time, and two, when they have fewest, and never one alone at any time.

There are Wolves also which love the Oyle of Palmes, beyond all measure. They will smell this Oyle afarre off, and steale it in the night time out of their houses of straw, and sometimes from those that carrie it by the way, whiles the poore soules doe rest themselves and sleepe. The Oyle (as shall be told you) is made of the Palme-tree; it is thicke and hard, like Butter. And it is a marvell to see, how these Wolves doe take a Bottle that is full of this liquor betwenee their teeth, and so cast it on their shoulders, and runne away withall, as our Wolves here doe with a Sheepe. There are very great store of Foxes, that steale Hennes as our Foxes doe. And farther in this Countrie of Bamba, there is an innumerable quantitie of hunting game, as Stags, fallow Deere, Roe-buckes, and Gazels, whereof he affirmed that he had seen exceeding great herds, as also of Conies and Hares, because there were no Hunters to kill them.

In the Region of Pemba there are many wild Civet-cats, which the Portugals call Algazia, and some of these, the people of that Countrie had made tame, that they might enjoy their Civet, in the smell whereof they doe greatly delight. But this was before the Portugals did trafficke with those Countries. And in Manibatta there are caught many Sables, with very white haires, and
A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

exceeding fine, called Incire: but no man may weare these skinnes unlesse the Prince permit him so to doe; for, it is held in great estimation, and every Sable is worth a Slave. Towards the Anzichi they catch Marterns also, wherewith they apparell themselves, as in due place we will note unto you. Apes, Monkies, and such other kind of beasts, small and great of all sorts there are many in the Region of Songo, that lieth upon the River Zaire.

Of Adders and Snakes you shall find some that are five and twentie spanne long, and five span broad: and the bellie and the mouth so large, that they can swallow and receive into their bellie a whole Stag, or any other creature of that bignesse. And it is called, Naumri that is to say, A great Water-adder. It will goe forth of the water up to the Land to prey for his victuals, and then returne into the Rivers againe, and so it liveth in both the Elements. It will get it selfe up upon the boughs and branches of Trees, and there watch the Cattell that feed thereabouts, which when they are come neere unto it, presently it will fall upon them, and wind it selfe in many twines about them, and clap his taile on their hinder parts, and so it straineth them, and biteth so many holes in them, that at last it killeth them. And then it draweth them into some Wood, or other solitarie place, where it devoureth them at pleasure, skinne, hornes, hooves and all. Now it falleth out, that when it is thus full, and (as it were) great with so monstrous a meale, it becommeth almost drunke, and very sleepeie, so that any child may kill it. And in this sort will it remaine full and satisfied for the space of five or sixe dayes together, and then returne againe to prey. These Adders doe change their skinnes in their ordinarie seasons; yea, and sometimes after they have eaten so monstrously, and the said Sloughs, when they are found, are gathered up, and reserved for a shew of so unmeasurable a Creature. These Adders are also greatly esteemed by the Pagan Negroes, for they doe use to roast them, and eate them for meate, and make more account of them then they doe of Hennes, or any such

453
delicate flesh. They find great store of them, when they have occasion to burne their thicke Woods: for there they shall have them lying on the ground, rosted with the fire. Besides these there are Vipers also, well knowne unto that People. Which Vipers are so venemous, that such as are bitten by them, doe die within the space of foure and twentie houres. But the Negroes are acquainted with certaine herbs that will heale their wounds.

There are also certaine other Creatures, which being as big as Rams, have wings like Dragons, with long tailes, and long chaps, and divers rows of teeth, and feed upon raw flesh. Their colour is blue and greene, their skinne bepainted like scales; and two feet they have, but no more. The Pagan Negroes, doe use to worship them as Gods, and at this day you may see divers of them, that are kept for a wonder. And because they are very rare, the chiefe Lords there doe curiously preserve them, and suffer the people to worship them, which tendeth greatly to their profit, by reason of the gifts and oblations which the people offer unto them. There are there also to be found Chamelions.

Other Serpents there are that are venemous, that carrie upon the tippe of their tayle, a certaine little roundell like a Bell, which ringeth as they goe, so as it may be heard.

Estridges are found in those Parts of Sundi, and of Batta, that are towards the Muzambi. The young Estridges doe spring out of their egges, being warmed and disclosed by the eye and heate of the Sunne. Their feathers are used in stead of Ensignes and Banners in Warre, mingled with some plumes of the Peacocke, and are fashioned in the likenesse of a shadow against the Sunne. And forasmuch as I am fallen into the speech of Peacocks, I must tell you by the way, that in the Parts of Angola, there are Peacocks brought up privately in a certaine Wood that is compassed about with walls: and the King will not suffer any other bodie to keep those Birds but onely himselfe, because they are for the Royall Ensignes, as I told you before.
A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

There are also Indie-cocks, and Hens, and Geese, and Duckes of all sorts both wild and tame: Partridges, so many as children take them with ginnes. Other Birds they have likewise, as Phesants, which they call Gallignoles, Pigeons, Turtles, and of these small Birds, called Beccafichi, an infinite number. Birds of prey, as Eagles Royall, Faulcons, Gerfaulcons, and Sparrow-hawks, and others, great store, which notwithstanding the people never use to hawke withall. Birds of the Sea, as Pelicanes (for so the Portugals doe call them) white and great, which swimme under the water, and have their throats so wide, that they will swallow a whole fish at once. This Bird hath so good a stomacke, and naturally so hot, that it easily digesteth the Fish that it swalloweth whole, and the skinne of it is so hot, that the people of that Countrie doe use to weare them, and to warme their cold stomaches withall, and therefore make great reckoning of them. There are many white Herons and grey Bittours, that feed in the Washes there, and are called, Royall Birds. Other Fowles there are of the likenesse of a Crane, with a red bill and red feet, as bigge as Storkes, and their feathers for the most part red and white, and some darke grey. Goodly Birds they are to looke to, and the people of the Countrie doe call them Flemmings, because they doe much resemble them, and are good meat to eate.

They have Parrots of grey colour, great and very talkative: and others of greene colour, but they are little ones, and not so talkative. They have likewise certaine small little Birds, which they call Birds of Musicke, and yet greater then the Canarie Birds, of feather and bill red: some greene, with their feet and bill onely blacke: some all white: some grey or dunne: some all blacke, and this kind is more sweet in their notes then all the rest afore-named; for you would thinke that they talked in their singing. Others there are of divers colours, but they doe all sing in sundrie sorts, so that thechiefe Lords of those Countries,
from ancient times to this day, have continually kept them in Cages, and greatly esteemed them for their song.

§. III.

Of the five other Provinces of Congo, to wit, Sogno, Sundi, Pango, Batta, and Pemba.

His Countrie is bounded with the River Ambrize, towards the North in seven degrees and an halfe, and so traversing the River Lelunda, and the River Zaire, it endeth at the Rockes, called Berreur as Vermellias, that is to say, the Red pits, which are in the Borders of the Kingdome of Loango. In the middest of this Province there is a certaine Territorie, called by the same name Sogno, where the Governour of the Countrie dwelleth. The chiefe Lords that rule this Province, are called Mani-Sogno, that is, Princes of Sogno, and are commonly of the bloud Royall. The Prince that governeth there at this day,* is called Don Diego Mani-Sogno. He hath under his dominion many other petie Lords, and other Provinces, that in old time were free, and lived by themselves, as the People of Mombalas, situate somewhat neere to the Citie of Congo, which are now subject to this government. And on the other side of the River Zaire towards the North, is the Province of Palmar, that is to say, of Palmes, because there is great store of Palme-trees growing therein. Other Lords there are, that border upon the King of Loango, who was sometime subject to the King of Congo; but in processe of time he became a free Lord, and now posseseth himselfe to bee in amitie with the King of Congo, but not to be his vassall. The people that are under these Lords in those borders, are called the Bramas: and they reach within the Land, under the Equinoctiall line towards the East, to the bounds of Anzicana, all along the Mountaines which divide them from the Anzichilli upon the North. They are called by the people of Loango, Congreamolal, because they were subject to Congo.
THE PROVINCES OF CONGO

In this Countrey of Loango there are many Elephants, and great store of Ivory, which they doe willingly exchange for a little Iron, so that for the naile of a ship (be it never so small) they will give a whole Elephants tooth. The reason thereof, is either because there groweth no Iron in that place, or else they have not the skill to get it out of the Mines where it groweth: But all the Iron they can get, they imploie for the heading of their Arrowes, and their other weapons, as we told you when we spake of the Bramas.

They make great store of cloth of the Palme tres, whereof we made mention before: but these are lesser, and yet very fine. They have great abundance of Kine, and of other cattell, before named. They are in Religion Pagans: their apparell after the fashion of the people of Congo: They maintaine warre with their bordering neighbours, which are the Anzichi, and the Inhabitants of Anzicana; and when they enterprise warre against the Anzichi, then they crave ayde of the people of Congo, and so they remaine halfe in freedome, and halfe in danger of others. They worship what they list, and hold the Sunne for the greatest God, as though it were a man, and the Moone next, as though it were a woman. Otherwise every man chooseth to himselfe his owne Idoll, and worshippeth it after his owne pleasure. These people would easily embrace the Christian Religion: For many of them that dwell upon the borders of Congo, have beene converted to Christendome: and the rest, for want of Priests, and of such as should instruct them in the true Religion, do remaine still in their blindnesse.

Sundi, is the neerest of all to the Citie of Congo, called, Citta di San-Salvatore, the Citie of Saint Saviours, and beginneth about fortie miles distant from it, and quite out of the Territorie thereof, and reacheth to the River Zaire, and so over the same to the other side, where the Caduta or Fall is, which we mentioned before: and then holdeth on up-wards on both sides towards the North, bordering upon Anzicana, and the Anzichi. Towards the South it
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

A.D. 1588.

The chief Towne of Sundi.

This Province of Sundi, is alwaies governed by the heire apparent of the King of Congo.

*1588.

In all the kingdome of Congo, no man hath any thing of his owne whereof he may dispose, or leave to his heires, but all is the Kings.

goeth along the said River Zaire, untill you come to the meeting of it with the River Bancare, and all along the bankes thereof, even to the rootes of the Mountaine of Crystall. In the bounds of the Province of Pango, it hath her principall Territorie, where the Governor lyeth, who hath his name from the Province of Sundi, and is seated about a daies journey neere to the Fall of the River, towards the South.

This Province is the chiepest of all the rest, and (as it were) the Patrimony of all the Kingdome of Congo: and therefore it is alwaies governed by the Kings eldest Son, and by those Princes that are to succeed him. As it fell out in the time of their first Christian King, that was called Don John: whose eldest sonne, that was Governor heere, succeeded him, and was called Don Alfonso. And ever sithe, the Kings of Congo have successively continued this custome, to consigne this government to those Princes which are to succeed in the Kingdome: As did the King that now* is called Don Alvaro, who was in this government before Don Alvaro the King his father died, and was called Mani-Sundi.

And here by the way you must note, that in all the Kingdome of Congo, there is not any person that possesseth any proper goods of his owne, whereof he may dispose, and leave to his heires: but all is the Kings, and he distributeth all Offices, all Goods, and all Lands, to whomsoever it pleaseth him; yea, and to this Law, even the Kings owne sonnes are subject. So that if any man doe not pay his tribute yearely (as he ought) the King taketh away his Government from him, and giveth it to another. As it happened to the King that now liveth, who at the time that Signor Odoardo was at the Court, being of his owne nature very liberall, and bountifull beyond measure, and one that bestowed much upon his servants, could not discharge those impositions that the King had laid on him. Whereupon he was by the King deprived of his revenues, of his government, and of his royall favour; that is to say, in that language, he was Tombocado, as
THE PROVINCES OF CONGO

we will declare more at full in the second part of this Discourse.

Many Lords there are that are subject to the Governour of Sundi. The people doe Traffick, with their neighbour Countries, selling and bartrong divers things. As for example, Salt, and Cloathes of sundry colours, brought from the Indies, and from Portugall, and Lumachette, to serve for their Coyne. And for these commodities they doe exchange cloath of Palme Trees, and Ivory, and the skinnes of Sables and Marternes, and certaine girdles wrought of the leaves of Palme trees, which are greatly esteemed in those parts.

There growtheth in these Countries great store of Crystall, and divers kinds of Metall: but Iron they love above all the rest; saying, That the other Metals are to no use: for with Iron they can make Knives, and Weapons, and Hatchets, and such like Instruments, that are necessary and profitable for the use of mans nature.

The Province of Pango in ancient time was a free Kingdome, that was governed of it selfe, and bordereth on the North upon Sundi, on the South upon Batta, on the West upon the Countrie of Congo, and on the East upon the Mountaines of the Sun. The principall Territorie, where the Governors dwelling is, hath the same name that the Province hath, (viz.) Pango. It standeth upon the Western side of the River Barbela, and in old time was called, Pangue-lungos: and in time afterwards, the word was corrupted and changed into Pango. Through the midst of this Province runneth the River Berbela, which fetcheth his Originall from the great Lake, (whence the River Nilus also taketh his beginning) and from another lesser Lake, called Achelunda, and so dischargeth it selfe into Zaire. And although this be the least Countrey of all the rest, yet doth it yeeld no lesse tribute then the rest.

This Province was conquered after the Countrey of Sundi, and made subject to the Princes of Congo: and is now all one with it, both in speech and manners; neither
is there any difference at all betwene them. The present Governor thereof is called, Don Francesco Mani-Pango, and hath remained in the government of this Region for the space of fiftie yeares, and no man ever complained of him.

The bounds of Batta are towards the North, the Coun- trey of Pango: on the East it taketh quite over the River Barbela, and reacheth to the Mountaines of the Sunne, and to the foote of the Mountaines of Sal-Nitre. And on the South from the said Mountaines, by a line passing through the meeting of the Rivers Barbela and Cacinga, to the Mountaine Brusciato, that is to say, Scorched.

Within these bounds is Batta contained, and the principal Citie where the Prince dwelleth, is likewise called Batta. In ancient time it was called Aghirimba, but afterwards the word was corrupted, and it is now called Batta. It was in old time a very strong and a great Kingdom, and voluntarily of it selfe, without any warre it joyned it selfe with the Kingdome of Congo, peradventure because there were some dissention among their Lords: and therefore it hath more preheminence then the rest of the Provinces of the Kingdome of Congo, in priviledges and liberties. For the Government of Batta is alwayes assigned to one, that is of the blood of the Kings of that Countrey, at their choise and pleasure, having no more respect to one then to another, so that he be of the stocke and blood Royall, neither to the eldest sonne, nor to the second. Neither yet goeth this Government by inheritance, but the King of Congo (as is told you before) doth dispose it at his owne pleasure to whom he thinketh best, to the end they should not usurpe it by way of succession, or by rebellion. He dwelleth neerer the King then any other Governour or Lord of the Kingdome of Congo, and is the second person therein, neither may any man gaine-say his arguments and reasons, as they may any of the rest, for it is so decreed among them. Now if the line of the King of Congo should chance to faile, so that there were none of that blood to succeed, the succession shall

460
THE PROVINCES OF CONGO

fall upon the Governour of Batta. He that now governeth there, is called, Don Pedro Mani-Batta.

Sometimes he eateth at the Kings owne Table, but yet in a baser seat then the Kings seat is, and that also not sitting, but standing; which is not granted to any other Lord of Congo, no nor to the sonnes of the King himselfe. His Court and his Traine, is little lesse then the Court and traine of the King of Congo. For he hath Trumpets and Drums, and other instruments going before him, as becommeth a Prince.

He doth hold continuall warres with the Pagans that border upon him, and he is able to gather together about seventie or eightie thousand fighting men. And because he doth still maintaine warre with the people that are next him, he hath libertie granted unto him to entertaine Harquebusiers, that shall be of his owne naturall subjects. For the King of Congo will not suffer any other Governor of any other Provinces, nor any of their children, to have any Harquebusiers that are borne within their Countrie, but onely the Portugals.

Towards the East of Batta, beyond the Mountaines of the Sunne, and of Sal-Nitre, upon the bankes of the East and West of the River Nilus, and in the borders of the Empire of Mohenbe-Muge there liveth a Nation, which by the people of Congo, are called Giaquas, but in their owne language they are called Agac: Very fierce they are and warlike, much given to fight and pillage, and make continuall inroades into the Countries neere adjoyning; and sometimes among the rest into the Province of Batta. So that this Countrie must needs be in continual Armes, and stand upon good guard, and maintaine Harquebusiers to defend themselves from them.

The Prince of Batta hath many Lords under him: and the naturall people of this Province are called Monsobos, and their language is well understood by the Inhabitants of Congo. They are farre more rude and rustickall then the Moci-Congi, and the Slaves that are brought from

A.D.
1588.

Don Pedro, chief Governor of Batta.
1588.
State-ceremony.

The King of Congo will not suffer any natural borne subject in Congo, to have an Harquebusse.

The Giaquas. Of these, see Andrew Batteill, which lived and warred with them.

The conditions of the people of Batta.

461
The sixt Province Pemba, and the situation thereof, Don Antonio chiefe Governor of Pemba.

[II. vii. 1006.]

The chiefe City of all Congo, is situate in this Province of Pemba.

The Courtiers &c., dwell for the most part in Pemba.

thence, doe proove more obstinate and stubborne, then those that come from other Countries.

The Province of Pemba is seated in the heart and middle of the Kingdome of Congo, compassed and comprised within the bounds before described, whose Governor is called Don Antonio Mani-Pemba, second sonne to King Don Alvaro, that dead is, and brother to the King that raigneth at this present. And for as much as his father did love him dearely, he assigned unto him this Government, because he knew not what better thing to give him, saving the Realme it selfe: which in deed he would willingly have bestowed on him, for that hee was more like unto him in quality and nature then his eldest sonne was. But it would not be by reason of the law of the Kingdome, which would not have yeelded thereunto.

This Countrey is the very Centre, and middest of all the State of Congo, and the originall of all the ancient Kings, and the Territorie where they were borne, and the chiefe and principall seat of all the other Provinces and Principalities. And therefore the chiefe and royall Citie of all that Empire, is assigned to this Province, whereof we will hereafter deliver you a full information. The Governor of Pemba dwelleth in a Territory of the same name, situate at the foote of the scorched Mountaine, along the River Loze, which riseth out of the Lake, and runneth through the Region of Bamba into the Sea. The Courtiers and Lords, and Servitors belonging to the King of Congo, have their goods and possessions, and revenues in this Province; because it is neerest to the Court, and very convenient for the conveyeing of their victuals, and their other stuffe unto the Court. Some of these Lords, in that part specially, that bordereth upon the aforesaid Province of Bamba, have much adoe to keepe fight and defend themselves from the people of Quizama, because they are neerest unto them. For this people (as we told you) did rebell against the King of Congo, and revolted from him, and doe professe that they will be at libertie, and governed of themselves.
§. V.

Of the situation of the Royall Citie of the Kingdom of Congo: Of their first conversion and Warre, thence arising betwixt the Kings two Sonnes.

Although the chiefe and Royall Citie of the Kingdom of Congo be after a sort comprehended within the Province of Pemba, yet notwithstanding for as much as the government thereof, and the Territorie thereunto belonging, which may in compass amount to the space of twenty miles about, doth depend wholly of the King of Congo himselfe, we will place it in a severall Regiment, and intreat of it by it selfe.

This Citie is called San Salvatore, or Saint Saviour, and in times past in that Countrie Language it was called Banza, which generally signifieth The Court, where the King or the Governour doeth ordinarily sojourne. It is seated about one hundred and fiftie miles from the Sea, upon a great and a high Mountaine, being almost all of a Rocke, but yet having a veyne of Iron in it, whereof they have great use in their housing. This Mountaine hath in the toppe of it a great Plaine, very well manured and furnished with Houses and Villages, contayning in circuit about ten miles, where there doeth dwell and live, the number of one hundred thousand persons.

The soyle is fruitfull, and the aire fresh, wholsome, and pure: there are great store of Springs, of indifferent good water to drinke, and at certaine times doe not harme any man: and of all sorts of Cattell great abundance. The top of the Mountaine is severed and distinguished from all the rest of the Hill which is about it, and therefore the Portugals doe call it, The Otheiro, that is to say, A view, or a Watch-tower, or a Singular heighth, from whence you may take a sight of all the Champaine round about: onely towards the East, and towards the River, it is very steepe and rockie.
A.D. 1588.
The reason why they built in this place.

1. Five miles from the bottom of the Hill to the top.
A River at the Hill foot.
The particular situation of the Citie.

A severall place for the Portugals.
The Kings Palace.
The principall Church and Market place.

PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

For two causes did the Princes of this Kingdom place this habitation in the foresaid heighth of this Mountaine. First, because it lieth in the very middest, and (as it were) in the Centre of all the Realme, from whence hee may presently send aide to any part of his Kingdome, that may stand in need of reliefe: and secondly, because it is situated in a Territorie that is by Nature mounted aloft, having a very good aire, and of great safetie; for it cannot be forced. By the chiefe common high-way that goeth up to the Citie, and looketh towards the Sea, being distant from thence one hundred and fiftie miles (as hath beene told you) which way is very large and competent, though it goe somewhat about in compasse, you shall ascend five miles from the bottome to the top of the Mountaine. At the foot thereof on the East side there runneth a River, whereunto the women doe descend by the space of a miles walke to wash their clothes. In divers other parts thereof there are sundrie valleys planted and manured: neither doe they suffer any part of the Countrie thereabouts to be left untill’d or unused, because it is the Countrie where the Court remaineth.

The Citie is seated in a corner or angle of the hill towards the South-east, which Don Alfonso the first Christian King did compass about with walls, and gave unto the Portugals a severall place for themselves, shut up likewise within walls. Then did he also inclose his owne Palace and the Kings Houses with another wall, and in the middest betweene these two enclosures left a great space of ground, where the principall Church was built, with a faire Market place before it. The doores and gates as well of the Lodgings of the Lords, as of the Portugals Inhabitations, doe open on the side of the said Church. For, in the uppermost end of the Market place doe divers great Lords of the Court dwell, and behind the Church doeth the Market place runne into a narrow street, where there is also a gate, and beyond that gate many houses towards the East. Without these walls, (which doe enclose the Kings houses, and the Citie of the
Portugals) there are a number of other buildings, erected by divers Lords, every man making his severall choise of the place which he thinketh most fit and convenient for his dwelling neere unto the Court. So that the greatnesse of this Citie cannot well be determined or limited. Beyond these walls also, that thus doe compass this Citie; there is a great champaine Plaine, full of Villages, and sundrie Palaces, where every Lord possesseth (as it were) a whole Towne within himselfe. The circuit of the Portugals Citie containeth about a mile; and the Kings houses as much. The walls are very thicke: the gates are not shut in the night time, neither is there any watch or ward kept therein.

And although that Plaine doeth lie very high and aloft, yet is there great abundance of waters in it, so that there is no want thereof. But the Court and the Portugals Citie doe all drinke of a certaine Fountaine that springeth continually, towards the North, and lieth downe the hill, as farre as a Gunne will shoot: and from hence they doe fetch all their water, and bring it to the Citie in vessels of Wood, of Earth, and Leather, upon the backes of their Slaves.

All this Plaine is very fruitfull, and well manured. It hath Meadowes full of Grasse, and Trees that are alwaies greene. It beareth sundrie sorts of Graine, but the principall and best of all is called Luco, which is very like to Mustard-seed, but that it is somewhat bigger. When it is grinded with Hand-querns (for so they use to do) it yeeldeth a very white Meale, whereof they make Bread, that is both white, and also of a very good savour, and wholesome withall: neither doth it give place to our Wheat in any sort, saving that they doe not celebrate the Sacrament with it. Of these Graines there now is great store, over all the Kingdome of Congo: but it is not long since that this Seed was brought thither from that part of the River Nilus, where it falleth into the second Lake. There is also a white kind of Millet, called the Mazza of Congo, that is to say, The Corne of Congo: and another
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Graine which they call Maiz, but they make no account of it, for they give it to their Hogs: neither doe they greatly esteeme of Rice. The foresaid Maiz they commonly terme by the name of Mazza-Manputo, that is to say, the Portugals Corne; for they call a Portugall Manputo.

There are moreover divers and sundrie sorts of Trees, that beare very great store of Fruits, insomuch as the greatest part of the people doe feed upon the Fruits of the Countrie, as Citrons, Lymons, and specially Oranges, very full of liquor, which are neither sweet nor sower, and are ordinarily eaten without any annoyance or harme at all. And to shew the fruitfulnessse of this Countrie, the said Signor Odoardo reported, that he had scene from a kernell of the fruit of a Pome-Citrone, which was left within the rind thereof, there sprung up within the space of foure dayes a pretie tall sprig. Other Fruits there are, which they call Banana, and wee verily thinke to be the Muses of Ægypt and Soria, saving that in those Countries they grow to be as bigge as Trees; but here they cut them yeerely, to the end they may beare the better. The Fruit is very sweet in smell, and of good nourishment. In these Plaines there grow likewise sundrie kinds of Palme-trees; one that beareth Dates, and another that beareth the Indian Nuts, called Cocoes, because they have within them a certaine shell that is like to an Ape: and thereupon they use in Spaine to shew their children Coccola, when they would make them afraid. Another Palme-tree there groweth also very like to the former, but of a more strange and singular propertie: for it yeeldeth Oyle, Wine, Vinegar, Fruit and Bread. The Oyle is made of the shell of the fruit, and is of the colour and substance of Butter, saving that it is somewhat greenish. They use it, as other people doe use Oyle and Butter, and it will burne like Oyle. They anoint their bodies withall; and besides, it is very good to eate. They presse it out of the Fruit, as Oyle is pressed out of the Olives, and then they boyle it, and so preserve it. The Bread is made of
THE CITY OF SAN SALVATOR

the stone of the fruit it selfe, which is like to an Almond, but somewhat harder: and within the same is there a certaine kernell or pith, which is good to eate: very wholsome and of good nourishment. The whole Fruit, together with the outher shell is green: and they use to eate it both raw and rosted. The Wine is drawn from the top of the Tree, by making an hole therein, from whence there distillett a liquor like Milke, which at the first is sweet, but afterwards sower, and in processe of time becommeth very Vinegar, to serve for Sallets. This Wine they drinke cold, and it moveth to urine very much: so that in those Countries, there is not a man that is troubled with Gravell or Stone in the bladder. It will make them drunke, that drinke too much of it: but indeed it is of a very good nutrimet.

There are other Trees, that beare a certaine fruit, called Cola, as big as a Pine-apple, which hath within it other fruits like Chest-nuts, wherein are fourse severall shells or skins, of red and Carnation colour. These they use to hold in their mouthes, and chaw them, and at last to eate them, for the quenching of their thirst, and better relishing of their water. They comfort and preserve the stomacke, but above all other qualities, they are singular good against the diseases of the Liver. And it is said, that the Liver of a Henne, or of any other like Bird, which is putrified, and stinketh, being sprinkled over with the matter of this fruit, returneth into his former estate, and becommeth fresh and sound againe. This food is commonly and generally used among them all, and there is very great abundance of it: and therefore it is good cheape. Other kinds of wild Palme-trees there are, which yeeld divers fruits that are eaten: and their leaves reserved to make Mats, wherewith their houses are covered; and Baskets and Skeps, and such other like Instruments that are necessarie for their daily uses. Other Trees there are likewise, called Ogheghe, which beare a fruit which is like a yellow Plumme, and is very good to eate, and hath a very sweet smell withall. Of these Trees they cut off
the boughs, and plant them so thicke together, that they touch one another, and stand closely all in a ranke; so that when they are growne great, they make a strong Fence or wall about their houses, which being afterwards covered with Mats, it resembleth a handsome Court or Closse, wherein they use to walke, (as it were) in an Arbour that maketh a great shadow, and defendeth them from the heate of the Sunne. In the middest of these enclosures, they use to build certaine houses of wood, covered with straw, and divided into sundrie convenient rooms, all on the ground without any Stories or Sollers above them. These they doe line with very faire and delicate Mats, and furnish them with other ornaments in very handsome manner.

There are to bee found among them many masses and lumpes of stone, which are of such thickness and huge-nesse, that you may cut out a whole Church, even of one whole piece; yea, and of the same kind of stone, whereof the Obelisco is made, that is erected before Porta del Popolo in Rome. Besides this, there are whole Mountaines of Porphyrie, of Jasper, and of white Marble, and of other sundrie colours, which here in Rome are called, Marbles of Numidia, of Africa, and of Æthiopia: certaine Pillars whereof, you may see in the Chappell of Pope Gregorie.

Other Stone there is, that is speckled with graines or strakes, but among all the rest, that kind is most admirable, which hath in it faire Jacynthes, that are good Jewels. For the strakes being dispersed like veynes over all the bodie of their Mother-stone, if you shall divide them, and plucke them out as you would picke the kernels out of a Pomegranate, they will fall into graines and little pieces of perfect Jacynth. But if you please to make Pillars, or Obeliskes, or other such like memorials, of the whole masse, you shall see them shine and sparkle, full of most faire and goodly Jewels.

There are also other kinds of rare stones, which make a shew of metall in them, as of Copper, and of sundry
THE CITY OF SAN SALVATOR

other colours, that are very fresh, and bright, and smooth, whereof you may make Images, or any other worke of singular beautie. True it is, indeed, that they want Masons, and Cutters, and Playsterers, and Carpenters, and other such Artificers: for when the Churches, and the walls, and the other fabrickes in those Countries were built, the Workmen were brought thither out of Portugall.

There are also Tamarindes, and Cassia, and Ceders in such multitudes growing all along the River of Congo, besides other Trees of an unmeasurable length and thickness, that an infinite number of ships and houses may be builded of them. Their Gardens doe beare all manner of Herbes and Fruits, as Pompions, Melions, Cucumbers, Coleworts, and such like, besides other sorts that doe not agree with our Climates of Europe.

The King of Portugall, Don Giovanni the second, being desirous to discover the East Indies, sent forth divers ships by the Coast of Africa to search out this Navigation, who having found the Islands of Cape Verde, and the Ile of Saint Thomas, and running all along that Coast, did light upon the River Zaire, whereof we have made mention before, and there they had good Trafficke, and tryed the people to bee very courteous and kind. Afterwards hee sent forth (for the same purpose) certaine other Vessels, to entertaine this Trafficke with Congo, who finding the Trade there to bee so free and profitable, and the people so friendly, left certaine Portugals behind them, to learne the Language, and to Trafficke with them: among whom one was a Masse-priest. These Portugals conversing familiarly with the Lord of Sogno, who was Uncle to the King and a man well stricken in yeares, dwelling at that time in the Port of Praza (which is in the mouth of Zaire) were very well entertained and esteemed by the Prince, and reverenced as though they had beene earthly Gods, and descended downe from Heaven into those Countries. But the Portugals told them that they were men as themselves were, and professors of Christianitie. And when they perceived in how great estimation the
PURCHASES HIS PILGRIMES

people held them, the foresaid Priest and others began to reason with the Prince touching the Christian Religion, and to shew unto them the errors of the Pagan superstition, and by little and little to teach them the Faith which we professe, insomuch as that which the Portugals spake unto them, greatly pleased the Prince, and so he became converted.

With this confidence and good spirit, the Prince of Sogno went to the Court, to enforce the King of the true Doctrine of the Christian Portugals, and to encourage him that he would imbrace the Christian Religion which was so manifest, and also so wholesome for his soules health. Hereupon the King commanded to call the Priest to Court, to the end he might himselfe treat with him personally, and understand the truth of that which the Lord of Sogno had declared unto him. Whereof when hee was fully informed, he converted and promised that he would become a Christian.

And now the Portugall ships departed from Congo, and returned into Portugall: and by them did the King of Congo write to the King of Portugall, Don Giovanni the second, with earnest request, that he would send him some Priests, with all other Orders and Ceremonies to make him a Christian. The Priest also that remayned behind had written at large touching this businesse, and gave the King full information of all that had happened, agreeable to his good pleasure. And so the King tooke order for sundry Religious persons, to be sent unto him accordingly, with all Ornaments for the Church and other service, as Crosses and Images: so that he was throughly furnished with all things that were necessarie and needfull for such an action.

In the meantime, the Prince of Sogno, ceased not day and night to discourse with the Portugall Priest, whom hee kept in his owne House, and at his owne Table, aswell that hee might learne the Christian Faith himselfe, as also instruct the people therein: so that hee began to favour Christianitie with all his power.

470
THE CITY OF SAN SALVATOR

At last the ships of Portugall, arrived with the expected provisions (which was in the yeare of our Salvation 1491.) and landed in the Port which is in the mouth of the River Zaire. The Prince of Sogno with all shew of familiar joy, accompanied with all his Gentlemen, ranne downe to meete them, and entertained the Portugals in most courteous manner, and so conducted them to their Lodgings. The next day following, according to the direction of the Priest that remayned behind, the Prince caused a kind of Church to be builded, with the bodies and branches of certaine trees, which hee in his owne person, with the helpe of his Servants, most devoutly had felled in the Wood. And when it was covered, they erected therein three Altars in the worship and reverence of the most holy Trinitie, and there was baptised himselfe and his young Sonne, himselfe by the name of our Saviour, Emanuel, and his childe by the name of Anthony, because that Saint is the Protector of the Citie of Lisbome.

The men and women before this had no proper names agreeable to reasonable creatures, but the common names of Plants, of Stones, of Birds and of Beasts. But the Princes and Lords had their denominations from the Places and States which they governed. As for example, the foresaid Prince, which was the first Christian in Congo, was called Mani-Sogno, that is to say, The Prince of Sogno, and when hee was christned, was called Emanuel, but at this day they have all in generall such Christian names as they have learned of the Portugals.

After a Masse was celebrated and sung, one of the Priests that came from Portugall went up, and made a brieve Sermon in the Portugall Language, declaring the summe of the new Religion, and faith of the Gospell which they had received. This Sermon, the Priest that was left behind, having now learned the Congo speech, did more at large expound to the Lords that were in the Church; for the Church could not possibly hold the innumerable multitude of the people that were there
gathered together, at the conversion of their Prince: who afterwards came abroad unto them, and rehearsed the whole Sermon, with great love and charitie, moving and exhorting them to imbrace likewise the true belief of the Christian Doctrine.

When this was done, all the Portugals put themselves on their way towards the Court, to baptise the King, who with a most fervent longing attended the same. And the Governour of Sogno tooke order that many of his Lords should wait upon them with Musicke, and singing, and other signes of wonderfull rejoysing; besides, divers slaves which he gave them to carry their stuffe, commanding also the people, that they should prepare all manner of victuall to bee readie in the streets for them. So great was the number of people, that ranne and met together to behold them, as the whole Champaigne seemed to bee in a manner covered with them, and they all did in great kindnesse entertaine and welcome the Portugall Christians, with singing and sounding of Trumpets and Cymbals, and other Instruments of that Countrey.

And it is an admirable thing to tell you, that all the streets and high-ways, that reach from the Sea, to the Citie of Saint Saviours, being one hundred and fiftie miles, were all cleansed and swept, and abundance furnished with all manner of victuall and other necessaries for the Portugals. Indeed, they doe use in those Countries, when the King or the principall Lords goe abroad, to cleanse their wayes and make them handsome.

Three dayes journey from the place whence they departed, they descried the Kings Courtiers, that came to meet them, to present them with fresh victuals, and to doe them honour: and so from place to place they encountered other Lords, that for the same purpose were sent by the King to receive the Christians, who were the Messengers and Bringers of so great a joy. When they were come within three miles neere to the Citie, all the Court came to entertaine and welcome the Portugals, with all manner of pome and joyfulnesse, and with Musicke and Singing, as
in those Countries is used upon their solemnest Feasts-
dayes.

And so great was the multitude of people, which
abounded in the streets, and that there was neither Tree
nor Hillocke higher then the rest, but it was loden with
those that were runne forth and assembled to view these
Strangers, which brought unto them this new Law of their
Salvation. The King himselfe attended them at the gate
of his Palace, in a Throne of Estate erected upon a high
Scaffold, where he did publiquely receive them, in such
manner and sort as the ancient Kings of that Realme were
acustomed to doe, when any Embassadours came unto
him, or when his Tributes were payed him, or when any
other such Royall Ceremonies were performed.

And first of all, the Embassadour declared the
Embassage of the King of Portugall, which was
expounded and interpreted by the foresaid Priest, that was
the principall Author of the conversion of those people.
After the Embassage was thus delivered, the King raysed
himselfe out of his Seate, and standing upright upon his
feet, did both with his countenance and speech, shew most
evident signes of the great joy, that he had conceived for
the comming of the Christians, and so sate downe againe.
And incontinently all the people with shouting, and
sounding their Trumpets, and Singing, and other manifest
arguments of rejoicing, did approve the Kings words,
and shewed their exceeding good liking of this Embassage.
And further in token of obedience, they did three times
prostrate themselves upon the ground, and cast up their
feet according to the use of those Kingdomes.

Then the King tooke view of all the Presents that were
sent him by the King of Portugall, and the Vestments of
the Priests, and the Ornaments of the Altar, and the
Crosses, and the Tables, wherein were depainted the
Images of Saints, and the Streamers, and the Banners,
and all the rest, and with incredible attention, caused the
meaning of every one of them to be declared unto him,
one by one. And so withdrew himselfe, and lodged the
Embelladour in a Palace made readie of purpose for him, and all the rest were placed in other Houses of severall Lords, where they were furnished with all plentie and ease.

The day following, the King caused all the Portugals to be assembled together in private: where they devised of the course that was to be taken for the Christning of the King, and for effecting the full conversion of the people to the Christian Faith. And after sundry Discourses, it was resolved and concluded, that first of all a Church should bee builded, to the end that the Christning, and other Ceremonies thereunto belonging, might be celebrated therein with the more Solemnitie: and in the meane-while the King and Court should be taught and instructed in the Christian Religion. The King presently commanded, that with all speed provision should be made of all manner of stuffe necessary for this Building, as Timber, Stone, Lime, and Bricke, according to the direction and appointment of the Work-masters and Masons, which for that purpose were brought out of Portugall.

But the Devill who never ceaseth to crosse all good and holy proceedings, rysed new dissentions and conspiracies, by procureing a rebellion among certayne people of the Anzichi, and of Anzicana, which dwell upon both the bankes of the River Zaire, from the foresaid falls upwards, to the great Lake, and are subject and belonging to the King of Congo. Now this monstrous River being restrayned and kept backe by these falls, doth swell there mightily, and spreadeth it selfe abroad in a very large and deepe channell. In the breadth whereof there are many Ilands, some small and some great, so that in some of them, there may be maintayned about thirtie thousand persons. In these Ilands and in other places adjoyning to the Rivers thereabouts, did the people make an insurrection, and renounced their obedience to the King, and slue the Governours that he had sent thither to rule.

The King must needs goe himselfe in person to pacifie these broyles: howbeit, he resolved to bee baptised before
his going, and so was enforced to forbeare the building of
the Church of Stone, and with all speed, in stead thereof to
erect one of Timber, which Church hee in his owne person
with the advice of the Portugals, did accomplish in such
manner and sort as it ought to bee, and therein did receive
the Sacrament of holy Baptisme, and was named Don
Giovanni, and his wife Donna Eleonora, after the names
of the King and Queene of Portugall, and the Church it
selfe intituled and dedicated to Saint Saviour.

The same day, wherein the King was baptised, divers
other Lords following his example were baptised likewise,
having first learned certaine Principles of the Christian
Faith. And when all this was done, the King went in
person to disperse the turbulent attempts of his Advers-
saries, against whom hee found the Prince his Sonne, and
the Lord of Batta alreadie fighting with a formall Armie.
But at the arrivall of the King, the Enemies yeelded, and
submitted themselves to the obedience which before they
performed: and so he returned in triumph to the Citie of
Congo, and the Prince his Sonne with him, who presently
was desirous to become a Christian, and was christned by
the name of the first Prince of Portugall, called Alfonso:
and with him also were christned many Gentlemen and
Cavalieros, and other of his Servants, that came with him
out of his Province.

The Kings second Sonne, would not agree to receive
the new Religion, many other Lords favoured him, who
being addicted rather to the sensualitie of the flesh, then
the puritie of the minde, resisted the Gospel, which began
now to be preached, especially in that Commandement,
wherein it is forbidden, that a man should have any more
Wives but one.

The eldest Brother Don Alfonso, did with great
fervencie, defend Christianitie, and burned all the Idols
that were within his Province. The second Brother (called
Mani-Pango, because hee was Governour of the Countrey
of Pango) did resist it mightily, and had gotten the
greatest part of the principall Lords of Pango to be on
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

his side. For there were divers of the new christned Lords, whose Ladies seeing themselves seperated, and forlorne of their Husband-Lords by force of the Christian Law, did take it as a great injurie and scorne done unto them, and blasphemed and cursed this new Religion beyond all measure. These Lords united themselves together with others, and began to plot Trecherie against Don Alfonso, hoping that if they could rid him out of the World, the Christian Faith would utterly cease of it selfe. And therefore Mani-Pango and his Complices gave intelligence to his Father, that the Prince Don Alfonso favoured the Christian Faction, onely to the end that under the colour of his countenance and favor, they might rayse an Insurrection & Rebellion against him, & so drive him out of his Kingdom.

The King gave credit to their informations, and deprived his Sonne of the Government wherein hee was placed: But the Providence of God which reserved him for a greater matter, did relieve him by the good mediation and counsell of his friends, who entreated the King his Father, that hee would not be moved to anger, before he had examined the Answeres and Reasons of the Prince his Sonne. Wherein the King was especially perswaded by Mani-Sogno, who (as wee told you) was before christned, and called, Don Emanuel, and by good hap was in Court at that present. This man (being the ancientest Courtier and Lord of that time, singularly well beloved of the King and all his people) did with sound reasons and dexterity of wit, procure the King to revoke the sentence, with a speciall charge, that hee should not proceed with such rigour against the Gentiles, for the propagation and exaltation of the Christian Religion. But he being full of fervent charitie, and godly spirit, ceased not (for all that) to advance the Faith of the Gospell, and to put the Commandements of God in execution.

Whereupon his Adversaries who never rested from their former attempt, were continually at the Kings elbow, and sought by all cunning shifts and secret devises, to destroy
that which the good Prince had builded, especially when
they saw that the Prince of Sogno was departed from
Court, and returned into his government. So that no
bodie being now left to protect and defend the Christian
Religion, the King began to doubt of the Faith, which
with so great zeal he had before imbraced: and therefore
sent to his Sonne, that he should come againe to the Court,
to make account of those Revenues that he had gathered
within the Countrey of his Government, with a full intent
and meaning, indeed, to deprive him, when his accounts
should be finished.

But he, in the meantime, his Father being an old
man, did by meanes of a naturall infirmity depart out of
this life. And his Mother who alwaies persevered constant
in the Catholike Faith, loving her eldest Sonne most
entirely, concealed the Kings death for the space of three
dayes, being therein ayded and assisted by some of her
trustie friends, & gave it out, that the King had taken
such order as no man might come unto him to trouble
him. In the meantime season, she did secretly signifie to her
Sonne, the death of his Father, which she would keepe
close till his comming, and charged him without any delay,
and in all haste to speed him to the Court.

This shee did by certaine Runners, that from place to
place in convenient distances and journeys, are alwaies
readie like Postes, to convey the precepts and commande-
ments of the King over all the Realme. Whereupon he
presently caused himselfe to be carried poste both day and
night, by certaine Slaves according to the use of that
Countrie, and in one day and two nightes, with most
exquisite diligence, accomplished the journey of two
hundred miles, and so arrived at the Citie, before he was
expected.

Now together with the death of the King, there was
also published the succession to the Crowne of Don
Alfonso, being then present, who in his owne person did
accompanie the corps of his dead Father to the buriall,
with all the Lords of the Court, and all the Christian
Portugals, which was solemnized after the manner of Christendome, with service and prayers for the dead, and all this with such funerall pompe, as was never seene before among those people. But they which heretofore were adversaries to this new King, doubting of their owne safetie, if they should remaine in the Court, united themselves with Mani-Pango, who was now departed into the Province of his owne Government, and while his father lived, was wholly employed in fighting against the Mozombi, and certaine other people that had rebelled against him.

Mani-Pango and his forces set forwards to the besieging of the Citie, with so great a noyse of warlike Instruments, and cryes, and showtings, and terrible threatnings, that the poore few, which were in the Citie, as well Christians as others, fainted in their hearts, and failed in their courage, and came and presented themselves before the King, saying, that he had not power enough to resist so powerfull an Enemie, and therefore they thought it better for him to grow to some concord and composition, and to abandon the new Religion, which he had lately begun to profess, to the end he might not fall into the hands of his cruell adversaries. But the King being resolute, and full of religious constancie, reproved their cowardise, and called them dastards, and base people; and willed them, if they had any mind or desire to forsake him, and goe to the Enemie, that they should so doe. As for himselfe, and those few that would follow him, he did not doubt, but assuredly trust, though not with the possibilitie or strength of Man, yet with the favour of God, to vanquish and overcome that innumerable multitude. And therefore hee would not request them either to joyne with him, or to put their lives in hazard against his adversaries for his sake, but onely they might rest themselves and expect the issue that should follow thereon.

He did presently cause a Crosse to be planted, and erected in the middest of the Market place, right against the Church, which his Father had builded. This Crosse
THE CITY OF SAN SALVATOR

was of a wonderfull length, for it was fourscore spanne long, and the Crosse-barre in proportion answerable thereunto. The Crosse is to be seene in the same place, wherein it was erected, at the front of the Church, which Church was called Saint Crosses, of the Crosse there planted. This Crosse the last King, that dead is, Don Alvaro, Father to the King that now is, renewed and made another of the same bignesse that the first was of.

Mani-Pango terrified with visions, and not with his brothers forces, overcome with feare and danger ranne away, and fell into the Snares and Nets which he himselfe had laid for the Christians; For, lighting among the foresaid Stakes, he was with one of them thrust into the bodie, and so being surprized with an evill death, he finished his life, as it were in a rage. For you must understand, that the sharpe ends of the said Stakes, were envenomed with a certaine payson, which taking hold of the blood, and entering somewhat into the flesh, would kill without all cure or remedie. By this victorie and death of his brother, did the King remaine in securitie and libertie.

All things well established, the King Don Alfonso tooke order, that they should presently goe in hand with the fabricke of the Principall Church, called Saint Crosses, which was so named of the Crosse that was there planted, (as wee told you before) and also because upon the Feast day of the holy Crosse, the first stone was laid in the foundation thereof. Moreover, he commanded that the men should bring stones, and the women should fetch sand from the River, for the furthering of this worke. The King would needs be the first Porter himselfe, and upon his owne shoulders brought the first basket of stones, which he cast into the foundation, and the Queene her basket of sand likewise, thereby giving an example to the Lords and the Ladies of the Court to doe the like, and to encourage and hearten the people in so holy an action. And so this fabricke being furthered by so good Work-masters and Workmen, in a very short time was fully finished, and therein were celebrated Masses, and

The miracle which the author addes, I have omitted, a vision of light and five swords, as also the vision of our Ladie and Saint James, fighting against Mani-Pango.
The stratagem of Mani-Pango, turneth to his owne destruction.
The death of Mani-Pango.
The building of the Church called Saint Crosses.
other Divine Service, with great solemnitie, besides, a
number of Lords and others, that were there baptised and
christned: so that the multitude of such as came to be
partakers of the holy Baptisme abounded so greatly, that
there were not Priests enough to execute that office.

After this the King dispatched away the Portugall
Embassadour, who till this time had remained at the
Court, by reason of these troubles: and with him he sent
also another Embassadour of his owne, called Don
Roderico, and divers others that were of kinne both to
himselfe and to his Embassadour, to the end that they
should learne, both the Doctrine of the Christians in
Portugall, and also their Language, and further declare
unto the King all these accidents that hapned.

Moreover, hee caused the Lords of all his Provinces to
be assembled together, in a place appointed for that
purpose, and there publiquely signified unto them, that
whosoever had any Idols, or any thing else that was
contrarie to the Christian Religion, he should bring them
forth and deliver them over to the Lieutenants of the
Countrie. Otherwise, whosoever did not so, should be
burned themselves, without remission or pardon. Which
commanded was incontinently put in execution. And a
wonderfull thing it is to be noted, that within lesse then
one moneth, all the Idols, and Witcheries and Characters,
which they worshipped and accounted for Gods, were sent
and brought unto the Court. Many there were, that
caried a devotion to Dragons with wings, which they
nourished and fed in their owne private houses, giving
unto them for their food, the best and most costly Viands
that they had. Others kept Serpents of horrible figures:
Some worshipped the greatest Goats they could get; some
Tygres, and other most monstrous creatures; yea, the
more uncouth and deformed the Beasts were, the more
they were honored. Some held in veneration certaine
uncleane Fowles, and Night-birds, as Bats, Owles, and
Scritch-Owles, and such like. To be breife, they did
choose for their Gods divers Snakes, and Adders, and
Beasts, and Birds, and Herbs, and Trees, and sundry Characters of Wood and of Stone, and the figures of all these things above rehearsed, as well painted in Colours, as graven in Wood and in Stone, and in such other stuffe. Neither did they onely content themselves with worshipping the said Creatures, when they were quicke and alive, but also the verie skinnes of them when they were dead, being stuffed with straw.

The act of this their adoration, was performed in divers sorts, all wholly addressed, and directed to expresse their humilitie, as by kneeling on their knees, by casting themselves groveling upon the earth, by desiling their faces with dust, by making their prayers unto their Idols, in words and in actions, and by offering unto them the best part of the substance which they had in their possession. They had moreover, their Witches, which made the foolish people to beleive that their Idols could speake, and so deceived them: and if any man being in sicknesse or infirmity, would recommend himselfe unto them, and afterwards that man recovered his health, the Witches would persuade him that the Idoll had beene angry with him, but now was appeased, and had healed him.

The King caused fire to be set unto their Idols, and utterly consumed them. When he had thus done, he assembled all his people together, and in stead of their Idols which before they had in reverence, hee gave them Crucifixes, and Images of Saints, which the Portugals had brought with them, and enjoyed every Lord, that every one in the Citie of his owne Government and Regiment, should build a Church, and set up Crosses, as he had already shewed unto them by his owne example. And then he told them, and the rest of his people, that he had dispatched an Embassadour into Portugall to fetch Priests, that should teach them Religion, and administer the most holy and wholesome Sacraments to every one of them, and bring with them divers Images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother, and of other Saints to distribute among them. In the meanwhile, he willed them to be of good comfort,
and to remaine constant in the faith. But they had so lively imprinted the same in their hearts, that they never more remembred their former beliefe in false and lying Idols.

He ordained moreover, that there should be three Churches builded. One in reverence of our Saviour, to give him thankes for the victorie which he had granted unto him, wherein the Kings of Congo doe lye buried, and whereof the Citie Royall tooke the name, (for as it was told you before, it is called, S. Saviours.) The second Church, was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, the mother of God, called, Our Ladie of Help, in memorie of the succour which he had against his enemies: And the third, was consecrated to S. James: in honour and remembrance of the Miracle which that Saint had wrought by fighting in the favour of the Christians, and shewing himselfe on Horse-backe in the heate of the battaile.

Not long after this, the ships arrived from Portugall, with many men that were skilfull in the holy Scriptures, and divers religious Friers of the Orders of S. Francis, and of S. Dominick, and of S. Austine, with sundry other Priests, who with great charitie and fervency of spirit, sowed and dispearsed the Catholike Faith over all the Countrie: which was presently embraced by all the people of the Kingdome, who held the said Priests in so high reverence, that they worshipped them like Saints, by kneeling unto them, and kissing their hands, and receiving their blessing, as often as they met them in the streetes. These Priests being arrived into their severall Provinces, did instruct the people in the Faith of Christ.
§. VI.

The death of the King Don Alfonso, and the succession of Don Piedro. How the Iland of S. Thomas was first inhabited, and of the Bishop that was sent thither: The Kings linage extinct: Invasion of the Jagges: Their savage conditions.

While these matters were thus in working for the service of God, and that Christianitie was now begun and increased with so happy successe, it pleased God to call away to himselfe the King Don Alfonso, who at the time of his death, discoursed of the Christian Religion, with so great confidence and charitie, as it evidently appeared, that the Crosse and Passion, and the true belief in our Saviour Jesus Christ, was imprinted in the root of his heart. To Don Piedro, his sonne and successor, he did especially and principally recommend the Christian doctrine, which indeed following the example of his father, hee did maintaine and uphold accordingly.

In his time, there began to saile into these quarters a great number of vessels, and the Iland of S. Thomas was inhabited with Portugals, by the Kings commandement. For before those dayes, it was all waste and desert within Land, and inhabited onely upon the shoare by a few Saylers that came from the Countries adjoyning. But when this Iland in processe of time was well peopled with Portugals, and other Nations, that came thither by licence of the King, & became to be of great Trafficke, and was Tilled and Sowed, the King sent thither a Bishop, to governe the Christians that were in that Iland, and those also that were in Congo: which the said Bishop did accomplish presently upon his arrivall, and afterwards in Congo, where hee tooke possession of his Pastorall charge. When he was come into the Kingdome of Congo, it was a thing incredible to see, with how great joy he was entertainned by the King and all his people.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

For from the Sea side, even unto the Citie, being the space of one hundred and fiftie miles, he caused the streetes to be made smooth and trim, and to bee covered all over with Mats, commanding the people, that for a certaine space severally appointed unto them, they should prepare the waies in such sort, that the Bishop should not set his foot upon any part of the ground which was not adorned. But it was a far greater wonder, to behold all the Countrey thereabouts, and all the Trees, and all the places that were higher then the rest, swarming with men and women that ran forth to see the Bishop, as a man that was holy and sent from God, offering unto him, some of them Lambs, some Kids, some Chickins, some Partridges, some Venison, and some Fish, and other kinds of victuals in such abundance, that he knew not what to doe withall, but left it behind him; whereby he might well know the great zeale and obedience of these new Christians. And above all other things it is to be noted for a memorable matter, that the Bishop going on his way, there met him an innumerable multitude of men, and women, and girles, and boyes, and persons of fourscore yeares of age, and above, that crossed him in the streets, and with singular tokens of true reliefe required the water of holy Baptisme at his hands: neither would they suffer him to passe untill he had given it them: so that to satisfie their desires, hee was greatly stayed in his voyage, and was faine to carrie water with him in certaine vessels, and Salt, and other provision necessary for that action.

And now I will tell you, he arrived at the Citie of Saint Saviours, where he was met by the Priestes, and by the King, and by all the Court, and so in procession entred into the Church, and after due thankes given to God, he was conducted to his lodging, that was assigned unto him by the King. And then presently he beganne to reforme and reduce to good order, the Church it selfe, and the Friers, and Priestes that dwell therein: ordaining the said Church to be the Cathedrall Church of Saint Crosses, which at that time had belonging unto it eight and twentie
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

Canons, with their Chaplaines, and a Master of the Chappell, with Singers, and Organs, and Bels, and all other furniture meete to execute Divine service. But this Bishop who laboureth in the Lords Vineyard, sometimes in Congo, and sometimes in the Ile of Saint Thomas, going and comming continually by ship, the space of twentie daies, and still leaving behind him his Vicars in the place where he himselfe was absent, at the last dyed, and was buried in the Island of Saint Thomas.

After this Bishop, succeeded another Bishop in Congo, being a Negro, and descended of the blood Royall, who before had beene sent by King Alfonso first into Portugall, and afterwards to Rome, where he learned the Latine tongue, and the Christian Religion, but being returned into Portugall, and landed out of his ship, to goe and enter upon his Bishopricke of Saint Saviours, he dyed by the way: whereupon the Kingdome remained without a Pastor for the space of divers yeares. Don Piedro also the King aforesaid, dyed likewise without Children; and there succeeded him his Brother, called Don Francisco, who in like manner lasted but a while: and then was created the fift King, named Don Diego, who was next of all the race Royall: A man of haughtie courage, and magnificall, and wittie, of a very good disposition, wise in counsell, and above all other qualities, a maintainer of Christian Faith: and in briefe, so great a Warriour he was, that in few yeares he conquered all the Countries adjoyning. He loved the Portugals very much, so that he forsooke the usuall garments of his owne naturall Countrey, and attired himselfe after the Portugall fashion. He was very sumptuous, as well in his apparell, as also in the ornaments and furniture of his palace: he was besides very courteous and liberall, and would bestow largely, both upon his owne Subjects, and also upon the Portugals. With great cost would he provide and buy such stuffe as pleased him, and would often say, that Rare things should not be in the hands of any but onely of Kings. He used to weare one suite of apparell but once or twice, and then

A.D.
1588.

The Bishop dyeth.
The second Bishop dyeth.
The King Don Piedro dyeth.
Don Francisco succeedeth and dyeth.
Don Diego the fift King.
The King Diego very sumptuous.
he would give it away to his followers. Whereupon the
Portugals perceiving that he did so greatly esteeme cloath
of Gold and Arras, and such other costly household-stuffe,
they brought great store thereof out of Portugall, so that
at that time, Arras-hangings, and Cloth of Gold, and of
Silke, and such like Lordly furniture, began to be of great
estimation in that Kingdome.

In the time of this King, there was a third Bishop of
Saint Thomas, and Congo, by Nation a Portugall, who
with the usuall ceremonies was entertaine both by the
way, and also in the Court at Saint Saviours. And now
every man esteemed himselfe not onely to be as good as
the Bishop, but also to be a farre better man then he was;
and therefore would yeeld no obedience to their Prelate.
But the King like a good Catholike, and a faithfull, did
alwaies maintaine the Bishops part, and to cut off these
troubles and stirres, he sent some of these Priests to prison
into Portugall, and others into the Ile of Saint Thomas,
and some others went away with all their substance of their
owne accord.

Also after the death of this King, there started up three
Princes at once to challenge the succession. The first was
the Kings Sonne, whom few of them favoured, because
they desired to have another, so that hee was slaine incontintently. The two other that remained were of the blood
Royall: one of them was created King by his favourites
and followers, with the good liking of the greater part of
the people, but utterly against the minds of the Portugals,
and certaine of the Lords, who aymed and endeavoured
to set up the other. In so much as the foresaid Lords,
together with the Portugals, went into the Church to kill
the King elected: making this reckoning with themselves,
that if they slue him, the other must of necessitie bee
made King. But at that very selfe-same time, those of
the contrary faction had slaine the King that was already
made by the Portugals, perswading themselves assuredly,
that he being dead, there would be no difficulty for them
to obtaine the State for their King, because there was none
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

other left, that by law could challenge the Scepter Royall. And thus in an houre, and in two severall places, were these two Kings murthered at once.

In these conspiracies and slaughters, when the people saw that there were no lawfull persons left to enjoy the Royall Crowne, they laid all the blame upon the Portugals, who were the causers of all these mischiefs: and thereupon they turned themselves against them, and slue as many of them as they could find: Onely they spared the Priests, and would not touch them, nor any other that dwelt in other places.

Seeing therefore (as before is said) that there was none of the blood Royall left to be placed in the Government, they made chiose of one Don Henrico, Brother to Don Diego the King deceased. And this Henrico going to warre against the Anzichi, left behind him in his stead for Governour, under the Title of King, one Don Alvaro, a young man of five and twenty yeares of age, sonne to his Wife by another Husband. But Don Henrico dyed shortly after the warre was ended, and thereupon the said Don Alvaro was with the common consent of them all elected King of Congo, and generally obeyed of every man. And thus failed the Royall stocke of the ancient Kings of Congo, in the person of Don Henrico.

But Don Alvaro was a man of good judgement and government, and of a milde disposition, so that he did presently appease all these tumults in his Kingdome, and caused all the Portugals that by the last warres were disppeared over all the Countries there-abouts, to be gathered together, as well religious persons as lay men, and by their means he was much better confirmed in the Catholike Faith, then he was before.

Moreover, he used them very courteously, and cleared them of all faults that were laid to their charge, declaring unto them by gentle discourses, that they had not beene the occasion of the former troubles, as every man would confesse and acknowledge: and to that effect hee determined with himselfe to write a large information touching
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

A.D. 1588.

The Bishop of S. Thomas returneth into Congo.

The Bishop of S. Thomas dieth.

King Alvaro liveth licentiously.

Francisco Bullamatare, an ill companion of Counsellour to the King.

Bullamatare dieth: and as they say, carried out of his grave by Devils.

all these accidents to the King of Portugall, and to the Bishop of Saint Thomas, which he did accordingly, and dispatched certaine Messengers unto them with his letters.

When the Bishop of Saint Thomas understood these newes, he was very glad thereof, and whereas he durst not adventure to goe into the Kingdome of Congo in the heate of all those troubles, he did now presently take ship and sayled thither, where he imployed himselfe wholly with all his authoritie, to pacifie his former dissentions, and to set downe order for all such matters as concerned the worship of God, and the office of his Priests. And a while after he had so done, he returned to his habitation in the Ile of Saint Thomas, where by means of sickness he finished his daies. And this was the third time, that those parts remained without a Bishop.

Now it came to passe, that for want of Bishops, the King and the Lords, and the people likewise began to waxe cold in the Christian Religion, every man addicting himselfe licentiously to the libertie of the flesh, and especially the King, who was induced thereunto by divers young men of his owne age, that did familiarly converse with him. Among whom there was one principall man, that was both a Lord, and his Kinsman, called Don Francisco Bullamatare, that is to say, Catch-stone. This man, because he was a great Lord, and wholly estranged from all instructions of Christianitie, walked inordinately after his owne pleasure, and did not sticke to defend openly, That it was a very vaine thing to keepe but one Wife, and therefore it were better to returne to their former ancient custome. And so by his meanes did the Devill open a gate, to the overthrow and destruction of the Church of Christ in that Kingdome, which untill that time with so great paine and travaile had beene there established. But afterwards the man did so wander and stray out of the way of truth, that he fell from one sinne to another, and in the end quite relinquished and abandoned all true Religion. Yet at the last, the said Francisco died, and was solemnly buried.
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

For not long after, there came to rob and spoyle the Kingdome of Congo, certaine Nations that live after the manner of the Arabians, and of the ancient Nomades, and are called Giachas. Their habitation or dwelling is about the first Lake of the River Nilus, in the Province of the Empire of Moenemugi. A cruell people they are, and a murderous, of a great stature and horrible countenance, fed with mans flesh, fierce in battell, & valarous in courage. Their weapons are Pavises or Targets, Darts and Daggers : otherwise they goe all naked. In their fashions and daily course of living, they are very savage and wilde: They have no King to governe them, and they leade their life in the Forrest under Cabbins and Cottages like Shepheardes.

This people went wandring up and downe, destroying, and putting to fire and sword, and robbing and spoyling all the Countries that they passed through, till they came to the Realme of Congo, which they entred on that side where the Province of Batta lyeth. Those that first came forth to make resistance against them, they overthrew, and then addressed themselves towards the Citie of Congo, where the King remayne at that time in great perplexite, for this victorie that his enemies had gotten in the Coutrye of Batta: yet some comfort he tooke to himselfe, and went out against his Adversaries with such Souldiers as he had, and in the same place, where in times past Mani-Pango fought with the King Don Alfonso, he joyned battell with them. In which encounter the King being halfe discomfitted, retreyd into the Citie, wherein when hee perceived that he could not remayne in good safetie, being utterly forsaken of the grace of God by reason of his sinnes, and not having that confidence in him, that Don Alfonso had, he thought good to leave it for a prey to his Adversaries, and to betake himselfe to an Iland within the River Zaire, called Isola del Cavallo, that is to say, the Ile of Horse; where he continued with certaine Portugall Priests, and other principall Lords of his Kingdome. And thus were the Giachi become Lords and Masters of the Citie Royall, and of the whole Realme. For the naturall Inhabitants

A.D. 1588.

What people the Giachas are: Their conditions, and weapons. Of these, see Andrew Battell, Chap. 3. which better knew them.

[I. vii. 1016.]
The Giachas spoile the province of Batta.

The Giachas come to the Royall Citie of Congo.

King Alvaro flyeth into the Ile of Horses. The Giachas surprise the Citie, and rule over all the Kingdome.

489
fled away, and saved themselves in the Mountaynes, and desart places: but the enemies burned and wasted, Citie, and Churches, and all, and spared no mans life, so that having divided themselves into severall Armies, they ruled and governed sometimes in one Province, and sometimes in another over all the Kingdome.

As for the poore people, they went wandring like Vagabonds over all the Countrey, and perished for hunger and want of necessaries. And for the King with those that followed him, and had saved themselves in the Iland, they also, because the Ile was very little, and the multitude great, were oppressed with so terrible a scarrisitie of victualls, that the most part of them died by famine and pestilence. For this dearth so increased, and meate arose to so excessive a rate, that for a very small pittance (God wot) they were faine to give the price of a slave, whom they were wont to sell for ten Crownes at the least. So that the Father was of necessitie constrained to sell his owne Sonne; and the Brother, his Brother, and so every man to provide his victualls by all manner of wickednesse. The persons that were sold, for the satisfying of other mens hunger, were bought by the Portugall Merchants, that came from Saint Thomas with their ships laden with victualls. Those that sold them, said, they were Slaves; and those that were sold, justified and confirmed the same, because they were desirous to be rid of their greedie torment. And by this occasion there was no small quantitie of Slaves, that were borne in Congo, sold upon this necessitie, and sent to the Ile of Saint Thomas, and to Portugall, among whom there were some of the bloud Royall, and some others, principall Lords.

By this affliction, the King did manifestly learne and know, that all these great miseries and adversities abounded for his misdeeds: and although he was not much punished with hunger, because he was a King, yet he did not escape the cruell infirmitie of the dropsie, that made his legs to swell exceedingly, which disease was engendred, partly by the aire, and very ill diet, and partly by the moystnesse of
the Iland, and so it accompanied him even untill his death. But in the meane while, being stricken to the heart with these misfortunes and calamities, he converted and turned to God, requiring pardon for his offences, and doing penance for his sines: and then was counselled and advised by the Portugals, that he should send to request succours of the King of Portugall, by certaine Embassadors, that might recount unto him all the mischiefs which had lighted upon him. This embassage was accordingly performed, at the same time that the King Don Sebastiano began his reigne, who with great speed and kindnesse sent him succours by a Captaine, called Francisco di Gouea, a man well exercised in divers warres, both in India, and also in Africa, who lead with him sixe hundred Souldiers, and many Gentlemen Adventurers, that did accompanie him.

This Captaine Francisco di Gouea, carried with him a commandement from his King, that the Iland of Saint Thomas should provide him ships and victualls, and whatsoever else was requisite for this enterprise. And with this provision he arrived at the last in the Ile of Horse, where the King of Congo was resident. In whose companie the Portugalls departing from thence, and gathering together all the men of warre in that Countrey, with all speed possible, put themselves onwards against their Adversaries, and fought with them sundrie times in plaine battell, so that at the end of one yeere and a halfe, they restored the King into his former estate. Which victorie they achieved indeed by the noyse and force of their Harquebusses, for the Giachi are exceedingly afraid of that weapon.

The Portugall Captaine stayed there for the space of foure yeeres, to settle the King in his Kingdome, and then returned into Portugall with letters of request to his King, that hee would send over some moe Priests to uphold and maintayne the Christian Religion. And the King being thus established in his former degree, and the Kingdome all in quiet and peace, became a very good Christian, and
married the Lady Katharina, who is yet alive; by whom hee had foure daughters, and by certaine Maid-servants, which he kept, two sonnes and one daughter. And because in those Regions the women doe not succeed: there remayned as Heire of his Kingdome his elder sonne, called also Don Alvaro, who liveth at this day, 1588.

During the time, that the foresaid Captaine stayed in Congo, the King of Portugall, Don Sebastiano understanding, that there were in that Kingdome divers Caves and Mines of Silver, of Gold, and other Metals, sent thither two persons that were cunning and skilfull in that Arte, (for therein they had served the Castilians in the West) to make search for them, and to draw some profit thereof. But the King of Congo was by a certaine Portugall, called Francisco Barbuto, that was his Con-fessor, and great familiar, persuaded to the contrarie, that he should not in any case suffer those Mines to be discovered: signifying unto him, that thereby peradventure the free enjoying and possession of his Kingdome, might by little and little be taken quite from him, and therefore advised him that he would cause these skilfull Masters to bee led and guided by some other ways, where he knew there were no metall Mines to be found, which he did accordingly. But assuredly, it grew afterwards to a great mischeife: for, thereupon began the great trade and trafficke in that Countrie to cease, and the Portugall Merchants did not greatly care for venturing thither, or dwelling there any more. And so consequently, very few Priests resorted among them. So that as well upon these occasions, as also for other such causes afore rehearsed, the Christian Religion waxed so cold in Congo, that it wanted very little of being utterly extinguished. But the King Don Alvaro ceased not still to send new Embassadors into Portugall, with earnest request that he might have moe Priests, and such as were skilfull in the holy Scriptures to maintaine the Catholike Faith, which was now almost utterly forgotten in that Realme, onely for want of religious persons, that should teach the people and
administer the Sacraments. He had none other answere from him, but words and promises, that he would have a care of the matter that was demanded: but in the meane while he provided neither Priests, nor Divines to be sent for Congo. Whereupon the King of Congo dispatched againe another principall Embassadour, being his kinsman, called Don Sebastiano Alvarez, together with a Portugall, to beare him companie. But he was faine to returne home againe into Congo, without any Priests or Religious persons to goe with him.

Three yeeres after, the King Don Sebastiano dispatched a certaine Bishop (called Don Antonio de gli Ova, being a Castilian borne) principally to the Iland of Saint Thomas: but withall hee gave him also a commission to visite the Kingdome of Congo: who being arrived at Saint Thomas, fell at jarre with the Captaine there, and so sailed into Congo; there he stayed eight moneths, and then departed againe, and left behind him in Congo, two Friars, and foure Priests. The Bishop being thus gone, and the King overthrowne in Africa, there was exalted to the Crowne of Portugall, Don Henrico the Cardinall, to whom the King of Congo did write, with great instance, and earnest request; that hee would send him some religious persons, and Preachers.

After Don Henrico succeeded Philip King of Castile, who sent advertisements to the Captaine of Saint Thomas, that he was invested in the Crowne of Portugall, and Letters also to the King of Congo, to the same effect: and in his Letters proffered to discover unto him the metall Mines, which heretofore had beeene concealed from all the other Kings his Predecessors: and withall sent him divers trials of them; beseeching him especially withall affectionate entreatie, that (as soone as possibly he could) he would furnish him with some store of Priests: But Costa, which was sent, died by the way, the Vessell wherein he sailed being cast away upon the shoare of Portugall, and every man drowned that was in it: and the naughtie newes were knowne by the contents of the Letters, that were
found in a little Chest, which was driven on Land by the waves of the Sea.

After this he made choise of one Odoardo Lopez, a Portugall borne, from whose mouth Pigafetta tooke his present report, and put it in writing. This man had dwelt now a good time in those Regions, and was well experienced in the affaires of the World.

The summe of his Embassage was this: That he should present his Letters to the King Don Philip, and at large discourse unto him the state, wherein the Kingdome of Congo stood, touching matter of Religion, by the reason of the former Warres, and scarsitie of Priests, and there-upon request his Majestie to provide him a competent number of Confessors, and Preachers, that might be sufficient to maintaine the Gospell in those remote Countries, being but lately converted to Christianitie. Moreover, that he should shew unto him the sundrie trials of Metals, which he had made, and many other matters, which were worthie to be knowne: and withall, that he should proffer unto him in his name, free and liberall trafficke of them, which heretofore was ever denied to his Predecessors. Touching the Pope, That he should likewise on his behalfe kisse his feet, deliver unto him his Letters, and recount the miserable trouble and detriment that his people had suffered for the Christian Faith. That he should recommend those poore soules to his Holiness, and beseech him, as the universally Father of all Christians, to have compassion upon so many faithfull persons, who because they had no Priests to deliver the holy Faith unto them, and to administer the wholesome Sacraments, were by little and little falling into everlasting perdition. And being thus dispatched he departed from the Court, and went about certain services for the King, wherein he spent about eight moneths. So that in Januarie, being then Sommer time in Congo, he embarked himselfe in a Vessell of one hundred Tunne burthen, which was bound with her lading for Lisbon. But forced by leakes and winds, the Pilot thought it better to turne his course, and taking
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

A.D. 1588.

The wind in the poope, to goe and save themselves in the Ilands of Nova Hispania. And they arrived with much adoe, at a little Iland, called Cubagoa; and situate over against the Ile of Saint Margarete, where they fish for Pearles. From thence, when they had in some haste amended their ship, and some-what refreshed themselves, they sayled with a short cut to the firme Land, and tooke Haven in a Port, called Cumana, or (as it is called by another name) The new Kingdome of Granado in the West Indies. This battered and weather-beaten Vessell, was no sooner arrived in this safe Harbour, but it sunke presently.

While the foresaid Embassadour endeavoured in this place to recover his former health, the company of ships, which is called La Flotta, that is to say, The Fleet, and useth every yeare to saile from that Coast for Castile, departed from thence, so that he was constrainyed to stay for a new Navie, and so consumed a whole yeare and a halfe without doing any good. In this meanede time, the King of Congo senteth another Embassadour with the selfe-same commandements, called Don Pedro Antonio, the second person in all his Realm, & with him one Gasparo Diaz, a Portugal.

But an infortuniate end had this Embassadour, for he was taken at Sea by Englishmen, and his ship also, which being drawne towards England, when it was neere unto the Coast, by great misfortune it ranne a-thwart the shoare, and there Don Pedro Antonio, and his Sonne were both drowned: but the Portugall and some few others with him escaped, and arrived in Spaine, at such time as the said Odoardo was come to the Court, and had entred upon the charge of his Embassage.

There he was courteously entertained by his Catholike Majestie, to whom he propounded the contents of his Commissions. But divers great accidents there happened. For first, he heard the dolorous newes of the Kings death, that sent him on this message: and then the King Don Philip was wholly busied about the Conquest of England,

AlvaroKingof
Congo dyeth.
King Philip
busied about
the Conquest
of England.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

so that his businesse went nothing forwards, but was delayed from time to time: neither did he see any manes of dispatch, but rather he was given to understand, that for that time they could not intend to harken unto him.

Now the foresaid Odoardo, being afflicted with so many adversities, renounced the World with all the deceitfull pompe and glorie thereof, and in Madrill appareled himselfe in a grey course habit, and so went to Rome, to declare to Sixtus Quintus the Pope, the Tenor and Commission of his Embassage, because he would not altogether neglect the good intent and meaning of the King, that had sent him, although hee were now descended into a better life. Hee was kindly welcommed and received by his Holinesse, to whom he discoursed the miserable estate wherein the Christian people of the Realme of Congo did stand, for want of the worship and service of God, and also the small number of Priests, that were there to instruct them in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and to deliver unto them the Sacraments of the Church, especially the multitude in that Countrey, being (as it were) innumerable, that every day resorted together, to be baptised, instructed, confessed, and communicated. Moreover, he made a vow and resolved in his mind, that with such store of wealth, as God had blessed him withall in Congo, (which was not very small) he would build a house, wherein for the service of God, there should dwell certaine learned men, and sundry Priests, to instruct the youth of those Countries in all good Languages, and in the Arts Liberall, and in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and in the Mysteries of our Salvation. Out of which House, as it were out of a holy Schoole, there might come forth from time to time, many learned men and well studied in the Law of God, that should be able in their owne naturall Countrey Tongue, to awaken and raise againe the Faith of Christ, which was now asleepe, and dried up in those Regions: and thereby in processe of time there would spring up many fruits of blessing, and vigilant soules in the Christian Faith. Hereunto hee meant also
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

A.D. 1588.

to adde an Hospitall, that might be a Recourse and Harbour for Gods poore, which comming and sayling out of strange Countries should have reliefe and entertainement in that Hostelry, and there be cured and restored of their infirmities and necessities. With this purpose therefore he went to Rome, to obtaine of his Holinesse a Licence to erect this Seminarie and Hospitall, and to beseech him also that he would grant him Jubilies, Indulgences, and other Dispensations, that for such Christian and wholsome workes are requisite, especially to the use and benefit of those Countries, which are so remote from Christendome. He presented himselfe to the Pope, and delivered unto him his Letters of credence, and then declared unto him at large the Tenor of his Commissions, wherein hee had a gracious audience. But when the Pope did understand that the Kingdome of Congo belonged to the King of Spaine, he remitted that matter wholly unto him.

§. VII.

Of the Court of the King of Congo. Of the apparell of that people before they became Christians and after. Of the Kings Table, and manner of his Court.

In ancient time this King and his Courtiers were appareled with certaine Cloth made of the Palmetree (as wee have told you before) wherewith they covered themselves from the Girdle-steade downrightwards, and girded the same straite unto them with certaine Girdles made of the same stuffe, very faire and well wrought. They used also to hang before them, like an Apron, certaine delicate and daintie skinnes, of little Tygres, of Civet-cats, of Sabels, of Maternes, and of such like creatures for an ornament: and for a more glorious pompe and shew, they did weare upon their shoulders a certaine Cape like a Hood. Upon their bare skinne they had a certaine round Garment like a Rotchet, which they

[II. vii. 1019.]
call Incutto, reaching downe to their knees, made after the manner of a Net, but the stuffe of it was very fine cloth of the said Palme-tree, and at the skirts there hung a number of threed-tassels, that made a very gallant shew. These Rocchetts were turned up againe, and tucked upon their right shoulder, that they might be the more at libertie on that hand. Upon that shoulder also they had the tayle of a Zebra, fastned with a handle, which they used for a kind of braverie, according to the most ancient custome of those parts. On their heads they wore Caps of yellow and red colour, square above and very little, so that they scarcely covered the tops of their heads, and worene rather for a Pompe and a vanitie, then to keep them either from the Aire or from the Sunne. The most part of them went unshod: but the King and some of the great Lords did weare certaine shooes of the old fashion, such as are to bee seene in the ancient Images of the Romanes, and these were made also of the Wood of the Palme-tree. The poorer sort and common people were apparelled from their middle downwards, after the same manner, but the cloth was courser: and the rest of their bodie all naked. The women used three kinds of Traverses, or (as it were) Aprons: beneath their Girdle-stead. One was very long and reached to their heelles: the second shorter then that, and the third shorter then both the other, with fringes about them, and every one of these three fastned about their middle, and open before. From their breasts downwards, they had another Garment, like a kind of Doublet or Jacket, that reached but to their Girdle: and over their shoulders a certaine Cloake. All these severall Garments were made of the same cloth of the Palme-tree. They were accustomed to goe with their faces uncovered, and a little Cap on the head, like a mans Cap. The meaner sort of women were apparelled after the same manner, but their cloth was courser. Their Maid-servants; and the basest kind of women were likewise attyred from the Girdle downeward, and all the rest of the bodie naked.
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

But after that this Kingdome had received the Christian Faith, the great Lords of the Court beganne to apparell themselves after the manner of the Portugals, in wearing Cloakes, Spanish Caps, and Tabbards, or wide Jackets of Scarlet, and cloth of Silke, every man according to his wealth and abilitie. Upon their heads they had Hats, or Caps, and upon their feet Moyles or Pantoffles, of Velvet and of Leather, and Buskins after the Portugall fashion, and long Rapiers by their sides.

The common people, that are not able to make their apparell after that manner doe keepe their old custome. The women also goe after the Portugall fashion, saving that they weare no Cloakes, but upon their heads they have certaine Veiles, and upon their Veiles blacke Velvet Caps, garnished with Jewels, and Chaines of Gold about their neckes. But the poorer sort keepe the old fashion: for onely the Ladies of the Court doe bedecke themselves in such manner as we have told you.

After the King himselfe was converted to the Christian Religion, hee conformed his Court in a certaine sort after the manner of the King of Portugall. And first, for his service at the Table when he dineth or suppeth openly in publike, there is a Throne of Estate erected with three steps, covered all over with Indian Tapistrie, and thereupon is placed a Table, with a Chaire of Crimson Velvet, adorned with Bosses and Nayles of Gold. He alwayes feedeth alone by himselfe, neither doth any man ever sit at his Table, but the Princes stand about him with their heads covered. He hath a Cupboord of Plate of Gold and Silver, and one that taketh assay of his meate and drinke.

He maintayneth a Guard of the Anzichi, and of other Nations, that keepe about his Palace, furnished with such Weapons as are above mentioned: and when it pleaseth him to goe abroad, they sound their great Instruments, which may be heard about five or sixe miles, and so signifie that the King is going forth. All his Lords doe accompany him, and likewise the Portugals, in whom hee
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

1588.

The Customs and Laws of Congo.

reposeth a singular trust: but very seldom it is that hee goeth out of his Palace.

Twice in a weeke he giveth audience publikely, yet no man speaketh unto him but his Lords. And because there are none, that have any goods or Lands of their owne, but all belongeth to the Crowne, there are but few Suites or Quarrels among them, saving peradventure about some words.

They use no Writing at all in the Congo Tongue. In Cases Criminall they proceed but slenderly, for they doe very hardly and seldom condemne any man to death. If there be any Riot or Enormitie committed against the Portugals by the Moci-Conghi, (for so are the Inhabitants of the Realme of Congo, called in their owne Language) they are judged by the Lawes of Portugall. And if any mischiefe bee found in any of them, the King confineth the Malefactor into some Desart Iland: for he thinketh it to be a greater punishment to banish him in this sort, to the end he may doe penance for his sinnes, then at one blow to execute him. And if it so happen, that those which are thus chastized doe live ten or twelve yeares, the King useth to pardon them, if they be of any consideration at all, and doth imployle them in the Service of the State, as persons that have beene tamed and well scooled, and accustomed to suffer any hardnesse. In Civill disagreements there is an order, that if a Portugall have any Suite against a Moci-Congo, he goeth to the Judge of Congo: but if a Moci-Congo doe impleade a Portugall, he citeth him before the Consul, or Judge of the Portugals: for the King hath granted unto them one of their owne Nation to be Judge in that Countrey. In their bargaines betwenee them and the Portugals, they use no Writings nor other Instruments of Bils or Bonds, but dispatch their businesse onely by word and witnesse.

They keepe no Histories of their ancient Kings, nor any memoriall of the Ages past, because they cannot write. They measure their times generally by the Moones. They know not the houres of the day nor of the night: but
they use to say, In the time of such a man such a thing happened. They reckon the distances of Countries not by miles or by any such measure, but by the journeys and travell of men, that goe from one place to another, eyther laden or unladen.

Touching their assembling together at Feasts, or other meetings of joy, as for example, when they are married, they sing Verses and Ballads of Love, and play upon certaine Lutes that are made after a strange fashion. For in the hollow part and in the necke they are somewhat like unto our Lutes, but for the flat side (where we use to carve a Rose, or a Rundle to let the sound goe inward) that is made not of wood, but of a skinne, as thinne as a Bladder, and the strings are made of haires, which they draw out of the Elephants tayle, and are very strong and bright: and of certaine Threeds made of the wood of Palme-tree, which from the bottome of the Instrument do reach & ascend to the top of the handle, & are tied every one of them to his several ring. For towards the necke or handle of this Lute, there are certaine rings placed some higher and some lower, whereat there hang divers plates of Iron and Silver, which are very thinne, and in bignesse different one from another, according to the proportion of the Instrument. These rings doe make a sound of sundry tunes, according to the striking of the strings. For the strings when they are stricken, doe cause the rings to shake, and then doe the plates that hang at them, helpe them to utter a certaine mingled and confused noyse. Those that play upon this Instrument, doe tune the strings in good proportion, and strike them with their fingers, like a Harpe, but without any quill very cunningly: so that they make thereby (I cannot tell whether I should call it a melodie or no, but) such a sound as pleaseth and delighteth their sences well enough.

Besides all this (which is a thing very admirable) by this Instrument they doe utter the conceits of their minds, and doe understand one another so plainly, that every thing almost which may be explained with the Tongue, they can
Purchas His Pilgrimes

declare with their hand in touching and striking this Instrument. To the sound thereof they doe dance in good measure with their feet, and follow the just time of that Musicke, with clapping the palms of their hands one against the other. They have also in the Court, Flutes and Pipes, which they sound very artificially, and according to the sound they dance and move their feet, as it were in a Moresco, with great gravitie and sobrietie. The common people doe use little Rattles, and Pipes, and other Instruments, that make a more harsh and rude sound, then the Court-Instruments doe.

In this Kingdome, when any are sicke, they take nothing but naturall Physicke, as Herbes, and Trees, and the barkes of Trees, and Oyles, and Waters, and Stones, such as Mother Nature hath taught them. The Ague is the most common Disease that reigneth among them: and plagueth them in Winter by reason of the continuall raine, that bringeth heat and moysture with it more then in Summer, and besides that the sickness which heere wee call the French Disease, and Chitangas in the Congo Tongue, is not there so dangerous and so hard to be cured, as it is in our Countries.

They heale the Ague with the poulder of a wood, called Sandale, or Sanders, whereof there is both red and grey, which is the wood of Aguila. This poulder being mingled with the Oyle of the Palme-tree, and having anointed the bodie of the sicke person two or three times with all from the head to the foot, the partie recovereth. When their head aketh, they let bloud in the Temples, with certaine little boxing horns: first, by cutting the skinne a little, and then applying the Cornets thereunto, which with a sucke of the mouth, will bee filled with bloud: and this manner of letting bloud is used also in Egypt. And so in any other part of a mans bodie, where there is any grieve, they draw bloud in this fashion and heale it. Likewise they cure the infirmitie, called Chitangas, with the same Unction of Sanders: whereof there are two sorts, one red (as we told you) and that is
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

called Tauila: the other grey, and is called Chicongo: and this is best esteemed, for they will not sticke to give or sell a slave for a piece of it. They purge themselves with certaine barkes of trees, made into powder, and taken in some drinke: and they will worke mightily and strongly. When they take these purgations, they make no great account for going abroad into the Ayre. Their wounds also they commonly cure with the juyce of certaine Herbes, and with the Herbes themselves.

§. VIII.

Of the Countries that are beyond the Kingdom of Congo, towards the Cape of Good-Hope: Of the River Nilus, and of Sofala, Monomotapa, the Amazones, Saint Laurence, and other Ethiopiaian Countries.

Uimbebe (which is the Kingdom of Matama) from the first Lake, and the Confines of Angola, containeth all the rest of the Countrey Southwards, till you come to the River of Braaugull, which springeth out of the Mountaines of the Moone, and joyneth with the River Magnice, and that springeth out of the foresaid first Lake: These Mountaines are divided by the Tropicke of Capricorne, towards the Pole Antarcticke, and beyond this Tropicke lyeth all the Countrey and borders of the Cape of Good-Hope, which are not ruled and governed by any one King, but by divers and sundry severall Princes. In the middest betweene that Cape and the Tropicke, are the said Mountaines of the Moone, so famous and so greatly renowned among the ancient Writers, who doe assigne them to be the originall head and spring of the River Nilus: which is very false and untrue, as the situation of the Countrey doth plainly shew, and as we a little hereafter will discover unto you. This Countrey is full of high and rough Mountaines: it is verie cold, and not habitable: It is frequented and haunted with a few persons that live after the manner of the
Arabians, under little Cabbins in the open fieldes, and apparelled with the skins of certaine beasts. It is a savage and rusticall Nation, without all faith and credite, neither will they suffer any strangers among them. Their furniture is Bowes and Arrowes. They feed upon such fruits as the land breedeth, and also upon the flesh of beasts.

Among these Mountaines of the Moone, there is a Lake called Gale: a very little one it is, and lyeth somewhat towards the West. Out of this Lake there issueth a River, called Camissa, and by the Portugals, named, the Sweete River, which at the point of the Cape of Good-Hope, voydeth it selfe into the Sea, in that very place that is termed, The False Cape. For the shippes of the Indies saying that way, doe first discover another greater Cape, which is called, The Cape of the Needles, and then afterwards this lesser Cape: Whereupon they call it the False Cape, because it is hid and covered with the true and great Cape. Betweene these two Capes or Promontories, there is the distance of an hundred miles, containing the largenesse and breadth of this famous Cape: which being divided into two points, as it were into two hornes, it maketh a Gulfe, where sometimes the Portugall ships doe take fresh water, in the River that they call the Sweete River.

The Inhabitants of this Coast, which dwell betweene these two points, are of colour black,* although the Pole Antarctick in that place be in the elevation of five and thirtie degrees, which is a very strange thing; yea, the rude people that live among the most cold Mountaines of the Moone are blakke also.

Beyond the Cape or Point of the Needles, there are many competent Harboroughs and Havens, the principall whereof is Seno Formoso, the Faire Bay: and Seno del Lago, the Bay of the Lake: For there the Sea maketh a certaine Gulfe, wherein are sundry Ilands and Ports: and somewhat beyond there runneth into the Sea the River of Saint Christopher, and at the mouth thereof there
lye three pretie Ilets. And a little further forwards, the Coast runneth all along by a Countrey, which the Portugals call, Terra do Natal, the Land of the Nativitie, because it was first discovered at Christmas: and so reacheth to the Cape, called Della Pescheria. Between which Cape and the River Magnice, within the Land is the Kingdome of Buttua, whose Territories are from the roots or bottome of the Mountains of the Moone, untill you come to the River Magnice towards the North, where the Countrey of Monomotapa standeth, and Westwards from the River Brauagul towards the Sea, all along the bankes of the River Magnice. In this Kingdome there are many Mines of Gold, and a people that is of the same qualities and conditions, that the people of Monomotapa is, as hereafter shall bee shewed unto you. And so going along the shoares of the Ocean, you come to the River Magnice, which lyeth in the very entrance of the Kingdome of Sofala, and the Empire of Monomotapa.

The Kingdome of Sofala beginneth at the River Magnice, which springeth out of the first Lake of Nilus, and conveyeth it selfe into the Sea in the middest of the Bay, betweene the Point Pescheria, and the Cape, called Cape Delle Correnti, situate in three and twentie degrees and a halfe of the Pole Antarcticke, under the Tropicke of Capricorne. With this River neere unto the Sea, there joyne three other notable Rivers, the principall whereof is by the Portugals, called Saint Christophers, because upon the day of that Saints Feast it was first discovered, but by the Inhabitants it is named Nagoa. The second tooke the name of one Lorenzo Margues, that first found it. These two Rivers doe spring originally from the Mountains of the Moone, so greatly renowned among the ancient Writers, but by the people of the Countrey they are called, Toroa: out of which Mountains they did thinke, that famous Nilus tooke also his beginning: but they were utterly deceived. For (as wee have already told you) the first Lake ariseth not out of those Mountains, but lyeth a great way distant from it: and
between it and them, is there a very great and a huge low plaine. Besides that, the streames that flow from the said Mountaines, doe runne towards the East, and bestow their Waters upon other great Rivers; so that it is not possible for them to passe into the foresaid Lake, much lesse into Nilus, considering especially that the River Magnice, springeth out of that first Lake, and by a farre different course from the course of Nilus, runneth towards the East, and so joyneth it selfe with the two Rivers foresaid. The third, is called Arroe, and ariseth on another side out of the Mountaines of the Gold Mines of Monomotapa: and in some places of this River there are found some small pieces of Gold among the Sand.

These three Rivers enter into the great Magnice, neere unto the Sea, and all foure together doe make there a great Water, in a very large Channell, and so dischargeth it selfe into the Ocean. From the mouth of this River all along the Sea Coast, stretcheth the Kingdome of Sofala, unto the River Cuama, which is so called of a certaine Castle or Fortresse that carrieth the same name, and is possessed by Mahometans and Pagans: but the Portugals call it, The mouthes of Cuama; because at the entry into the Sea, this River divideth it selfe into seven mouthes, where there are five speciall Ilands, besides divers others that lie up the River, all very full, and well peopled with Pagans. This Cuama commeth out of the same Lake, and from the same springs from whence Nilus floweth. And thus the Kingdome of Sofala is comprised within the said two Rivers, Magnice and Cuama, upon the Sea coast. It is but a small Kingdome, and hath but a few Houses or Townes in it: The chiefe and principall head whereof, is an Iland that lyeth in the River called Sofala, which giveth the name to all the whole Countrey. It is inhabited by Mahometans, and the King himselfe is of the same sect, and yeildeth obedience to the Crowne of Portugall, because he will not be subject to the Empire of Monomotapa. And thereupon, the Portugals there doe keepe a Fort in the mouth of the River Cuama, and doe trade
in those Countries for Gold, and Ivory, and Amber, which
is found upon that Coast, and good store of Slaves, and
instead thereof, they leave behind them Cotton-cloath,
and Silkes that are brought from Cambata, and is the
common apparell of those people. The Mahometans that
at this present doe inhabite those Countries, are not
naturally borne there, but before the Portugals came into
those quarters, they Trafficked thither in small Barkes,
from the Coast of Arabia Fœlix. And when the
Portugals had conquered that Realme, the Mahometans
stayed there still, and now they are become neither utter
Pagans, nor holding of the Sect of Mahomet.

From the shoares and Coast, that lyeth betwenee the
two foresaid Rivers of Magnice and Æuama, within the
Land spreadeth the Empire of Monomotapa, where there
is very great store of Mines of Gold, which is carried from
thence into all the Regions there-abouts, and into Sofola,
and into the other parts of Africa. And some there be
that will say, that Solomons Gold, which he had for the
Temple of Jerusalem, was brought by Sea out of these
Countries. A thing in truth not very unlikely: For in
the Countries of Monomotapa, there doe remaine to this
day many ancient buildings of great worke, and singular
Architecture, of Stone, of Lime, and of Timber, the
like whereof are not to be seene in all the Provinces
adjoyning.

The Empire of Monomotapa is very great, and for
people infinite. They are Gentiles and Pagans, of colour
blacke, very courageous in Warre, of a middle stature, and
swift of foot. There are many Kings that are vassals
and subjects to Monomotapa, who do oftentimes rebell and
make warre against him. Their weapons are Bowes and
Arrowes, and light Darts. This Emperour maintaineth
many Armies in severall Provinces, divided into Legions,
according to the use and customes of the Romanes. For
being so great a Lord as he is, he must of necessitie be
in continuall warre, for the maintenance of his estate.
And among all the rest of his Souldiers, the most valourous
in name, are his Legions of Women, whom he esteemeth very highly, and accounteth them as the very sinewes and strength of his militarie forces. These Women doe burne their left paps with fire, because they should be no hindrance unto them in their shooting, after the use and manner of the ancient Amazons, that are so greatly celebrated by the Historiographers of former prophane memories. For their weapons, they practise Bowes and Arrowes: They are very quicke and swift, lively and courageous, very cunning in shooting, but especially and above all, venturous and constant in fight. In their battailes they use a warlike kind of craft and subtiltie: For they have a custome, to make a shew that they would flye and runne away, as though they were vanquished and discomfited, but they will divers times turne themselves backe, and vexe their enemies mightily with the shot of their Arrowes. And when they see their Adversaries so greedy of the victorie, that they begin to disperse and scatter themselves, then will they suddenly turne againe upon them, and with great courage and fiercenesse make a cruell slaughter of them. So that partly with their swiftnesse, and partly with their deceitfull wiles, and other cunning shifts of warre, they are greatly feared in all those parts. They doe enjoy by the Kings good favour certaine Countries, where they dwell alone by themselves: and sometimes they choose certaine men at their owne pleasure, with whom they doe keepe company for generations sake: So that if they do bring forth Male-children, they send them home to their fathers houses: but if they be Female, they reserve them to themselves, and breed them in the exercise of warfare.

The Empire of this Monomotapa lyeth (as it were) in an Iland, which is made by the Sea-coast, by the River Magnice, by a piece of the Lake from whence Magnice floweth, and by the River Cuama. It bordereth towards the South, upon the Lords of the Cape of Good-Hope, before mentioned, and Northward upon the Empire of Mohenemugi, as by and by shall be shewed unto you.
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

But now returning to our former purpose, that is to say, to runne forwards upon the Sea-coast, after you have passed over some part of the River Cuama, there is a certaine little Kingdome upon the Sea, called Angoscia, which taketh the name of certaine Islands there so called, and lye directly against it. It is inhabited with the like people, both Mahometans and Gentiles, as the Kingdome of Sofala is. Merchants they are, and in small Vessels doe Trafficke along that Coast with the same Wares and Commodities, where-with the people of Sofala doe Trade.

A little beyond, suddenly starteth up in sight the Kingdome of Mozambique, situate in foureteen degrees and a halfe towards the South, and taketh his name of three Islands, that lye in the mouth of the River Meghincate, where there is a great Haven and a safe, and able to receive all manner of ships. The Realme is but small, and yet aboundeth in all kind of Victuals. It is the common landing place for all Vessels that sayle from Portugall, and from India into that Countrey. In one of these Iles, which is the chiefe and principall, called Mozambique, and giveth name to all the rest; as also to the whole Kingdome, and the Haven aforesaid, wherein there is erected a Fortresse, guarded with a Garrison of Portugals, whereupon all the other Fortresses that are on that Coast doe depend, and from whence they fetch all their provision: all the Armadas and Fleetes that sayle from Portugall to the Indies, if they cannot finish and performe their Voyage, will goe and Winter (I say) in this Iland of Mozambique: and those that travell out of India to Europe, are constrained of necessitie to touch at Mozambique, to furnish themselves with Victuals. This Iland, when the Portugals discovered India, was the first place where they learned the language of the Indians, and provided themselves of Pilots to direct them in their course. The people of this Kingdome are Gentiles: Rusticall and rude they bee, and of colour blacke. They go all naked. They are valiant and strong Archers, and cunning Fishers, with all kind of hookes.

A.D. 1588.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

As you go on forwards upon the foresaid Coast, there is another Island, called Quiloa, in quantitie not great, but in excellency singular: For it is situate in a very coole and fresh Ayre: It is replenished with Trees that are alwaies greene, and affordeth all variety of Victuals. It lyeth at the mouth of the River Coavo, which springeth out of the same Lake from whence Nilus floweth, and so runneth about sixtie miles in length, till it commeth neere to the Sea, and there it hath a mightie streame, and in the very mouth of it maketh a great Island, which is peopled with Mahometans and Idolaters, and a little beyond that, towards the Coast on the West, you may see the said Island of Quiloa. This Island is inhabited with Mahometans also, which are of colour some-thing whitish. They are well appareled, and trimly adorned with Cloath of Silke and Cotten: Their Women doe use ornaments of Gold, and Jewels about their hands and their neckes, and have good store of household-stuffe made of Silver. They are not altogether so blacke as the men are: and in their limbs they are very well proportioned. Their houses are made of Stone, and Lime, and Timber, very well wrought, and of good Architecture, with Gardens and Orchards, full of Hearbs and sundry Fruits. Of this Island the whole Kingdome tooke the name, which upon the Coast extendeth it selfe from Cape Delgado, (the Cape Delicate, that bordereth Mozambique and Quiloa,) and is situate in nine degrees towards the South, and from thence it runneth out unto the aforesaid River of Coavo. In old time the Kingdome of Quiloa was the chiefest of all the Principalities there adjoyning, and stood neere to the Sea: but when the Portugals arrived in those Countries, the King trusted so much to himselfe, that he thought he was able with his owne forces not onely to defend himselfe against them, but also to drive them from those places which they had already surprised. Howbeit the matter fell out quite contrary. For when it came to Weapons, he was utterly overthrownne and discomfited by the Portugals, and so fled away. But they
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

took and possessed the Island, and enriched themselves with the great spoyle and booties that they found therein. They erected there also a Fortresse, which was afterward pulled downe by the commandement of the King of Portugall, because he thought it not necessarie, considering that there were others sufficient enough for that Coast.

And heere we may not leave behind us the Ile of Saint Laurence, so called by the Portugals, because they did first discover it upon that Martyrs feast day. It is so great, that it containeth in length almost a thousand miles, and standeth right over against the Coast which wee have described, beginning directly at the mouthes of the River Magnic, which are in sixe and twentie degrees of the South, and so going forwards to the North, it endeth right against the mouthes of Cuama in the Kingdome of Quiloa. Betweene this Island and the firme Land, there is (as it were) a Channell, which at the entry West-ward, is three hundred and fortie miles broad: in the middest where it is narrowest, over against the Island of Mozambique, one hundred and seventie miles, and for the rest, it enlargeth it selfe very much towards India, and containeth many Iles within it. The ships that goe from Spaine into India, or returne from India to Spaine, doe alwaies for the most part passe and sayle in, and through this Channell, if by time or weather they be not forced to the contrary. And surely, this Island deserveth to be inhabited with a better people, because it is furnished with singular Commodities. For it hath many safe & sure havens. It is watred with sundry Rivers, that cause the earth to bring forth fruits of divers kinds, as Pulse, and Rice, and other Graine, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, and such like fruit. Flesh of all sorts, as Hens, &c. and Venison, as wilde Boare, & Deere, and such like, and all this of a very good taste and relish, because the soyle is very fat: their Fish also is exceeding good. The Inhabitants are Pagans, with some of the Sect of Mahomet among them. They are of the colour which the Spaniards call Mulato, betweene black and white. Very warlike they are, and given to their weapons, which
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

are Bowes and Arrowes, and Darts of very light Wood, strengthened with Iron, whereof they make the heads of their Darts, which are crooked like hookes: and these they will cast and throw most slightly and cunningly. They use also Targets, and Jackes that are made of certaine beasts skinnes, wherewith they save themselves in fight from the blowes of their enemies.

This Iland is divided among severall Princes, that are at enmitie one with another: for they are in continuall Warres, and persecute one another with Armes. There are divers Mines of Gold, of Silver, of Copper, of Iron, and of other Metals. The savage people doe not use to sayle out of the Iland, but onely from one side to the other they goe coasting along the shoares, with certaine Barkes that are made but of one stocke of a Tree, which they hollow for that purpose. The most part of them doe not willingly entertaine strangers, neither will they consent that they should Traffike or converse with them. Notwithstanding, in certaine Ports the Portugals doe use to Trade with the Ilanders, for Amber, Waxe, Silver, Copper, Rice, and such other things, but they never come upon the Land. In the Channell before mentioned, there are divers Islands, some greater, and some lesse, inhabited with Mahometans. The chiefe of them is the Ile of Saint Christopher, and then of Santo Spirito: and another, called Magliaglie, and so the rest, as the Iles of Comoro, Anzoame, Maiottom, and some other.

But let us returne to the Sea side, and prosecute the Coast of the Kingdome of Quiloa, where we left. Next unto it, is the Kingdome of Mombaza, in the height of three degrees and a halfe towards the South, which taketh the name from an Iland inhabited with Mahometans, which is also called Mombaza, where there is a faire Citie, with houses that have many Sollers, furnished Pictures, both graven and painted. The King thereof is a Mahometan, who taking upon him to resist the Portugals, received the same successse that hapned to the King of Quiloa, so that the Citie was ransacked and
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

spoyled by his enemies, who found therein good store of Gold and Silver, and Pearle, and Cloath of Cotton, and of Silke, and of Gold, and such other Commodities. This Kingdome lyeth betweene the borders of Quiloa, and Melinde, and is inhabited with Pagans and Mahometans, and yeeldeth obedience to the Empire of Mohenemugi.

A little beyond is the Kingdome of Melinde, which being likewise but a little one, extendeth it selfe upon the Sea Coast, as farre as the River Chimanchi, and lyeth in the height of two degrees and a halfe: and up the streame of that River, it reacheth to the Lake Calice, the space of one hundred miles within land. Neere unto the Sea, along the bankes of this River, there is a great deale of Countrey inhabited by Pagans and Mahometans, of colour almost white. Their houses are built after our fashion. But there is one particularie to be admired, that their Muttons or Sheepe, are twice as great as the Sheep of our Countrey: for they divide them into five quarters, (if a man may so call them) and reckon the tayle for one, which commonly weigheth some five and twentie, or thirtie pound. The Women are white, and sumptuously dressed, after the Arabian fashion, with Cloath of Silke. About their neckes and hands, and armes, and feet, they use to weare Jewels of Gold and Silver: When they go abroad out of their houses, they cover themselves with Taffata, so that they are not knowne but when they list themselves. In this Countrey there is a very good Haven, which is a landing place for the Vessels that sayle through those Seas. Generally, the people are very kind, true and trustie, and converse with Strangers. They have alwaies entertained and welcomed the Portugals, and have repose great confidence in them, neither have they ever offered them any wrong in any respect.

In the Sea betweene these two Capes of Mombaza and Melinde, there are three Iles: the first, is called Monifie; the second, Zanzibar; and the third, Pemba; all inhabited only with Mohemetans, that are of colour white. These Iles abound in all things as the others do, whereof we
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

made mention before. These people are somewhat enclined to Armes: but they are in deed more addicted to dresse and manure their ground: For there groweth much Sugar, which in small Barks they carry away to sell into the firme Land, with other fruits of that Countrey.

Besides these three Realmes last described, Quiola, Melinde, and Mombaza, within the Land is the great Empire of Mohenemugi, towards the West. It bordereth upon the South, with the Kingdome of Mozambique, and with the Empire of Monomotapa to the River Coavo, upon the West with the River Nilus, betwenee the two Lakes; and upon the North it joyneth with the Empire of Prete-Gianni. Towards the Sea, this Emperour standeth in good termes of peace with the foresaid Kings of Quiola, Melinde, and Mombaza, by reason of their trafficke together, and the better to secure the entercourse and trade by Sea: by meanes whereof they have brought unto them much cloth of Cotton, and cloth of Silke from divers Countries, and other merchandises that are well esteemed in these parts: and particularly certaine little balls, that are made in the Kingdome of Cambaia, of a kind of Bitumen or clammie Clay, like unto Glasse, but that it is (as it were) of a red colour, which they use to weare about their neckes, like a paire of Beades instead of Neck-laces. It serveth them also in stead of Money, for of Gold they make none account. Likewise with the Silkes that are brought unto them, they doe apparell themselves from the girdle downewards. In exchange and barter of all these commodities, they give Gold, Silver, Copper, and Ivorie.

But on the other side towards Monomotapa, there are continuall warres; yea, and sometimes so bloudie, that it is hardly discerned who hath gotten the victorie. For in that Border there meet together two of the greatest and most warlike Powers and Forces that are in all those Regions: that is to say, on the Partie of Monomotapa, there came forth into the field the Amazones, of whom wee
told you before; and on the other partie of Mohenemugi are the Giacchi, (as the Moci-Congi doe call them) but in their owne tongue they are called Agagi, who did sometime so greatly afflict the Kingdome of Congo, as you may remember. Neither are these people lesse couragious or strong then the Amazones, but are of a blacke complexion, and presumptuous countenances. They doe use to marke themselves above the lip upon their cheekes with certaine lines, which they make with Iron instruments and with fire. Moreover, they have a custome to turne their eye-lids backwards: so that their skin being all blacke, and in that blackness shewing the white of their eyes, and those markes in their faces, it is a strange thing to behold them. For it is indeed a very dreadfull and Devillish sight. They are of bodie great, but deformed, and live like beasts in the field, and feed upon mans flesh. In fight they shew themselves exceedingly couragious, and doe utter most horrible showting and crying, of purpose to daunt and affright their Enemies. Their weapons are Darts, and Pavises of Leather that cover all their whole bodie, and so defend themselves therewith. Sometimes they will encame together, and sticke their Pavises in the ground, which are unto them instead of a trench. Sometimes they will goe forwards in the battell, and shrowd themselves under them, and yet annoy their adversaries with the shot of their Darts. And thus by warlike policie they doe ordinarily plague their Enemies, by endeavouring with all subtilitie to make them spend their shot in vaine, upon their Targets: and when they see they have made an end of shooting, then doe they renew the battell a fresh, and driving them to flight, make a cruell slaughter of them without all mercie. And this is the manner which they use against their Enemies, and the Amazones. But the Amazones, on the other side, which are very well acquainted herewithall, doe fight against them with other militarie stratagems (as we have above declared) and doe overcome the forces of their Adversaries with their swiftnesse, and great skill in matters of Warre. For, they doe
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

assure themselves, that if they be taken, they shall be
devoured: and therefore with doubled courage they fight
for life, that they might overcome, and in any case save
their lives from that fierce and cruel Nation. And in
this sort doe they maintaine continuall Warre, alwaies
with great mortalitie on both sides. These Agags dwell
at the beginning of the River Nilus, (where it runneth
Northwards out of the Lake,) upon both the bankes of
the River, till it come to a certaine limite, wherein they
are bounded; and then Westwards all over the bankes of
the said Nilus, even to the second Lake, and to the
borders of the Empire of Prete-Gianni. Touching these
Agags, I thought it convenient in this place to adde this,
which before I had omitted. Betweene the confines of
this Mohenemugi, and Prete-Gianni, there are sundrie
other pettie Lords, and people that are of a white colour,
and yeeld obedience sometimes to one of these two Princes,
and sometimes to the other. They are men of a farre
greater stature then all the rest of the people in those
Countries.

Towards the Cape of Guarda-Fuy, there are many places
inhabited with Mahometans, all along the Sea-side, of
colour being white. Upon this shoaare there are divers
good Havens, where the ships of sundrie Countries doe
trafficke with the foresaid merchandises. The first of
these places, is called Patee; the second, Brava; the third,
Magadoxo; the fourth, Affion; and the last is, the
famous Promontorie and Cape of Guarda-Fuy: which
because it is very great, and jutteth out a good way into
the Sea, is well knowne to all Sailers that come from India,
and from Ormuz, and from Arabia Felix. It is the place
and harbour where the Portugals are wont to attend, and
yeerely with their Navies to watch for the Vessels of the
Mahometans, that being laden with precious merchandises,
doe saile into those parts without their licence, they being
the Lords of the trafficke and trade for Spicerie, and all
other commodities that are brought from India. So that
every yeere the Portugall Fleet doth take great prizes of
THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

Merchants ships in that place, as the English and the French doe at Cape Saint Vincent.

After you have compassed about the foresaid Cape of Guarda-Fuy, toward the red Sea, you shall come to other Townes and Havens of the Mahometans. The first of them is called Methe, and another beyond that, called Barbora. And this is the farthest place wherein you shall find any people with white skins: for here the men beginne to be all blake. Then there is Ceila, and Dalaca, and Malaca, and Carachin: and all this Coast is called in that Countrie language, Baragiam. The People that inhabit therein are all blake, valiant in Armes, and appareled from the girdle downewards with cloth of Cotton: but those that are of the best account among them, doe weare upon their shoulders certaine Clokes with Hoods, called Bernussi, such as the old Romans used, and were termed Saga Romana. It aboundeth in Gold, and in Ivorie, and in Metals, and in Victuals of all sorts.

Then follow the Mouths or Entrances into the red Gulfe.

Chap. V.

The Voyage of Sir Francis Alvarez, a Portugall Priest made unto the Court of Prete Janni, the great Christian Emperour of Ethiopia.*

In the Name of Jesus, amen. I, Francis Alvarez, Priest of the Masse, which by especiall commande of the King our Lord, Don Emanuel (whom God hath received into his glorie) went with Edward Galvano, a Gentleman of his house, and one of his Counsellors; which was Secretarie unto the King Don Alfonso, and unto King John, his Sonne, till his dying day; and by King Don

*I know not who translated this Booke, I found it in Master Hacklyts papers, and have abbreviated it where I could; although it still continueth very long, if not tedious. I also examined it with Ramusio his Italian Edition, and in many places amended the translation, in many supplied it, and added other things: illustrating it with marginall notes, &c. He that compareth these Relations with those of the Great
Emanuel was sent Ambassadour unto King Prete Janni, have determined to write all things which hapned unto
us in this Voyage, and to describe the Countries wherein
we were, with the qualities, customes, and usages thereof,
and how they agree with Christian Religion. Neither doe
I here take upon me to reprehend or approve their cus-
tomes and usages, but leave them wholly unto the Readers
(which are able to instruct mee) to praise, amend, and
correct whatsoever they shall thinke good. And because
I may seeme sometimes speaking of one Countrie, and
eftsoones of another, to confound the same together,
I say, that wee were resident in these Countries for
the space of sixe yeeres together, wherein I sought
to know a great part of the Countries, Kingdomes,
and Signiories of the said Prete Janni, and their
customes and usages, some by sight, and some others
by the report of credible persons. And ever, as I came
to the knowledge of them, so I put them downe in writing,
that is to say, delivering such things as I saw, as having
seen them; and things reported, as received by hearing:
and therefore I sweare and protest upon my conscience,
that I will not wittingly report any untruth. And even
as I hope and trust in our Lord God, that my confession
shall be true unto my lives end, so likewise shall this my
present writing be true: for he that lyeth to his neighbour,
lyeth to God.

Mogoll in Sir T. Roe, shall find great correspondance in the uncivill
customes whereinto wild Majestie and barbarous Greatnesse, both here
and there, have degenerated: both vast bodies rather then strong; the
one flourishing, the other fallen, and now retaying but the struggling
extremes of that gantly unweldinesse here by this eye-witness in those
times observed. He calls him Prete or Priest John, following the vulgar
error, growing from the relations of a Priest John in Asia, and by
ignorance applied to this Negus of Ethiopia, as in my Pilgrimage you
may see at large. I esteeeme his relations true in those things which he
saith he saw: in some others which he had by relation of enlarging
Travellers, or boasting Abassines, hee may perhaps sometimes rather
mendacia dicere then mentiri. Even yet the Law-giver is not departed
from Juda, if Melechs posteritic hath ever since raigned, wily wits had
their pias fraudes to make Religion a stirrop of State.
§. I.

Matthew the Ambassadour of Prete Janni, is conducted by the Portugals unto the Haven of Maczua in the red Sea, and what hapned to his death.

Hereas I said that I went with Edward Galvano (whom God pardon) true it is that I did so, and he died in Comoran, an Ile of the red Sea, neither tooke his Ambassage any effect, during the time that Lopez Suarez was Captaine generall of the Indies. Diego Lopez de Sequeira succeeding Suarez in the government of India, efected that which Lopez Suarez would never execute, to wit, the conducting of Matthew (who was sent Ambassadour from Prete Janni to the King of Portugall) to the Haven of Maczua, neere unto Ercoco, being a Port-towne of Prete Janni. This Diego Lopez prepared a goodly and great Fleet, wherewith we sailed into the red Sea, and arrived at the said Iland of Maczua on Munday in the Octaves of Easter, the sixteenth of the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere 1520. which Iland we found abandoned and forsaken by the Inhabitants, because that five or sixe dayes before they had knowledge of our comming. This Ile is distant from the Continent about two Crosbow-shots, whither the Moores of the said Iland were fled with their goods. Our Fleet therefore riding betweene the Continent and the Iland, the Tuesday following, there came unto us one Christian and a Moore from the Towne of Ercoco. The Christian said that the Towne of Ercoco belonged to the Christians, and was under the Jurisdiction of a great Lord, called Barnagasso, being subject unto Prete Janni; and that the Inhabitants of this Ile of Maczua, and of Ercoco, when the Turkes came thither, fled all into the Mountaines; but at this present they would not flee away, having understood that wee were Christians.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Our Generall having heard thus much, gave thanks to God, that he was come to the happie knowledge of Christians; and this procured great favour unto Matthew, which before that time was little accounted of.

2. The day following being Wednesday, the Captaine of the said Towne of Erccoco came to speake with our Generall, and presented four Oxen unto him, and the Generall gave him very courteous and honourable entertainment.

Twentie or four and twentie miles from this place standeth a very high Mountaine, with a famous Monasterie thereupon, which Matthew oftentimes made mention of, being called the Monasterie of Bisan, that is, Of the Vision. The Friars of this Monasterie having knowledge of us, came seven of them the Thursday after the Octaves, to visite us; whom our Generall and all his people went on shoare to meet, with great joy and gladnesse: and they seemed to rejoice no lesse; and said, that they had long time looked for Christians, because they had certaine Prophesies in their written Booke, which foretold that Christians should arrive at this Haven, and that a pit should there be digged, after the opening whereof, no more Moores should dwell in that place: with many other Speeches tending to the like purpose. At all these things the Ambassador Matthew was present, whom the foresaid Friars did greatly honour, kissing his hands and his shoulders, according to their manner; and he, on the other side, tooke great delight in them also. These Friars said that they observed then the Feast of Easter, and eight dayes next ensuing, and that during those eight dayes they used neither to travell, nor to doe any other work; but so soon as they heard say that Christians were arrived at that Haven (a thing which they so earnestly desired) they craved licence of their Superiour to undertake this journey for the service of God, and that Barnagasso was likewise informed of our arrivall, but that he would not set forward out of his house till eight dayes after Easter.
3. These Friars use to Carrie Crosses in their hands, and other people ware them about their neckes, made of blacke wood, and all our companie bought of the same Crosses which they ware about their neckes, because it was a new thing, and not usuall amongst us. While these Friars abode with us, the Generall commanded one Fernando Diaz, which understood the Arabike Tongue, to goe and view their Monasterie.

4. On Tuesday the foure and twentieth of Aprill, Barnagasso came to the Towne of Ercoco, and gave us advertisement of his arrivall. Order was taken, that they should meet one another in the mid-way. Barnagasso came thither first, but he would not come to the place which was prepared for him. The Generall being lighted, seing that he would not come thither, caused the preparatives to be carried before neere unto the place where he stood: which againe, to maintayne his grandure and reputation, would not once stirre with his people to come unto the place prepared, so that the said Anthonie de Saldanza and Matthew the Ambassadour, were constrained to returne againe, which in the end resolved, that both of them at one instant, should set forward, that is to say, the Generall and Barnagasso, and so they did, meeting together and conferring in a large champaine field, as they sate on the ground upon certaine Carpets. And among many discourses that they had together, giving thankes to God for this their enterview. Barnagasso taking a Crosse of Silver in his hand (which was there readie for the same purpose) said, that he swere upon the signe of the Crosse, upon which our Lord suffered his Passion, in the Name of Prete Janni his Master, that he would alwaies favour and aide the people and affaires of the King of Portugals, and also assist his Captaines which should arrive at that Haven, or in any other Havens or Lands, where it lay in him to aide and assist them, and likewise that he would take into his protection the Ambassadour Matthew, and other Ambassadours, which it pleased the Generall to send into the Kingdomes and
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Dominions of Prete Janni, with all such people and goods as they should carrie with them.

Mutual gifts.

The Generall sware, on the other part, to doe the like for the Subjects and Affaires of Prete Janni, and of Barnagasso, there and in every place where he should find them, and that the rest of the Captaines and Lords of the King of Portugall should doe the like. The Generall gave unto Barnagasso a faire Armour, and certaine pieces of cloth of Silke; and Barnagasso gave unto the Generall a faire Horse and a Mule: and so they departed glad and contented on either part.

This Barnagasso had in his traine two hundred persons mounted upon Horses and Mules, and two thousand Footmen. Our Gentlemen and Captaines seeing these so good newes which God had sent us, and that a doore was opened to exalt the Catholike Faith, whereof afore wee had small hope of any successse, all men holding this Matthew for no true Ambassadour, but for a false man and a Counterfeit, whereupon they were onely of opinion to put him on Land, and let him goe his way, when they had seene these things (as wee have said before) they all rouzed up themselves, requesting the Generall of his favour, that hee would suffer them to goe with the said Matthew to Prete Janni, in that Ambassage; considering that by that which they had seene, it was perfectly knowne that the said Matthew was a true Ambassadour. And albeit, many requested this charge, yet was it granted to Roderigo de Lima: and the Generall appointed certaine that should goe with him, which were these, George de Breu, Lopez de Gama, John Scolaro Secretarie of the Ambassage, John Gonsalvez Interpreter and Factor of the same Ambassage, Emanuel de Mares an Organist, Pedro Lopez, Master John the Physician, Gaspar Pereira, Stephen Pagliarte, both Kinsmen of Don Roderigo, John Fernandez, Lazarus deAndrada Painter, Alfonso Menzdez, and my selfe, Francis Alvarez Priest, though unworthy. All we before mentioned went in the company of Don Roderigo, and likewise, three Portugals accompanied
Matthew, of whom, the one was named Magaglianee, another Alvarenga, the third, Diego Fernandez. Presents also were provided.

We went to Ercoco, where we were appointed by Barnagasso, which caused us to lodge two or three Cross-bow-shoots distant from the Towne in a certaine Plaine, which is at the foot of a Mountaine, whither immediately hee sent us of free gift an Oxe, and Bread and Wine of the Countrie. We stayed there, because in that place they were to provide us of Horses and Camels to carrie our goods. This was upon a Friday, and because in this Countrey they observe the old and the new Law, we rested the Saturday and the Sunday to keepe both those dayes holy.

In this meane space, the Ambassador Matthew, dealt very effectually with Don Rodorigo, and with us all, not to stay with Barnagasso, although hee were a great Lord, but that it was farre better to goe unto the Monastery of the Vision, where wee should have farre better dispatch. Whereupon, giving him to understand, that wee were not to stay with him, hee departed and went his way, nevertheless hee gave us fourteene Horses and tenne Camels to carrie our goods.

6. We departed out of this Plaine, neere unto the Towne of Ercoco on Munday, the thirtyeth of Aprill, wee travelled not above two miles from that place, but that wee rested about noone, neere unto a River which was dryed up, which had no water saving in certaine small Pits. And because the Countrey through which we were to travell, was dry and barren, and the heate extreame; each of us carried with him his Vessels and Bottles of Leather full of water. Upon the bankes of this River grew many trees of divers sorts, among which were Sallowes, and trees of bearing the fruit, called Jujoba, with other fruitlesse trees. While we rested by this River, about noone there came a Gentleman unto us, named Framasgual, which in our Language signifieth, The Servant of the Crosse, who in his blacknesse was so faire, that he seemed
Purchas His Pilgrimes

to be a Gentleman indeed, and they said that he was allyed to Barnagasso, that is to say, his Wives Brother. Before he came at us, he lighted from his Horse, because this is their custome, and they use it also for a courtesie. The Ambassador Matthew, hearing of his comming, said he was a Thiefe, and came to rob us, and that we should all betake us to our Weapons; and Matthew himselfe caught up his Sword, and put on his Head-piece. Framasgual hearing this noyse, sent to crave leave to come unto us, and though he could not obtaine it of Matthew, yet nevertheless, he came unto us as a man well brought up and very courteous, and as one that had bene conversant at the Court. This Gentleman had a very good Horse before him, and a faire Mule whereon hee rode, and foure men which went by him on foot.

7. From this Lodging we departed all together, and the said Gentleman riding upon his Mule with his Horse before him, accosted our Ambassador, Don Roderigo with his Interpreter, and they rode a great while conferring and devising together. Hee was in his conference and in his answeres very gentle, and courteous, and the Ambassador tooke singular delight in him. Wee found a Caravan of Camels and people, which came from Ercoco, because they travell not but in Caravans for feare of theeves. Wee lodged all in a Wood where there was water, being an ordinary place for Caravans to lodge in, and the foresaid Framasgual remayned with us, where we and those of the Caravan kept watch all night for feare of wild beasts. The next morning, we departed from this place, always travelling over dry Rivers and Brookes, most huge Mountains standing on both sides of the way, with great Woods and Trees of divers sorts, most beautifull and tall, the greatest part whereof were without fruit, and among them were some which I my selfe knew, being called Tamarindi, which beare clusters of fruit like unto Grapes, which being pressed are somewhat blacke, because they make Wine of them, some quantitie whereof they carrie unto all their Faires, as they use to make of Raisins. The Rivers and
wayes whereby we passed, seemed to be high and ragged, which commeth to passe through the fury of the water of stormes and tempests mingled with Thunder, which waters hinder not the way, according as they told us, and as we saw our selves in other places like unto these. The remedie was at the time of these stormes to stay upon the side of some Hill, the space of two houres, untill the force of these stormes be runne downe. And how great and terrible soever these Rivers became through the foresaid showres, the water is no sooner falne from the said Mountaines, and come into the Plaine, but it is dispersed and soked up, and never commeth unto the Sea: neither could we learne that any River of Æthiopia entereth into the Red Sea, but that all of them have their ending, as soone as they come to the low and plaine fields.

Upon these Mountaines and Rockes, are many beasts of divers kinds, as we our selves saw, to wit, Elephants, Lions, Tygres, Buffes, Badgers, Ante, Deere without number, and other beasts of all sorts, saving two, which I neither saw, nor heard to be in those parts, that is to say, Beares, and Conies. There are likewise all kind of singing Birds, which may be imagined, and also Partridges, Quailes, wild Hens, Doves, and Turtles, in such incredible numbers, that they covered the Sunne, of all those sorts which are in our parts, saving that I saw no Pyes, nor Cuckoes. All along these Rivers and Rockes I saw great plentie of sweet Herbes, which I knew not, saving onely Basill, whereof there was exceeding store, which yeelded a fragrant and sweet smell, and had leaves of divers sorts.

8. The time of resting our selves beingcome, Matthew determined to cause us a-new to leave the high way, and to travel with him toward the Monasterie of the Vision, through Mountaines and Woods exceeding full of high Trees.

We departed from this Lodging, and travelled through a more rough and cragge Countrey, and through farre
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

greater and thicker Woods, being our selves on foot, and our Mules before us, which were not able to travell. The Camels yelled out as though they had beene possessed with Devils. It seemed, to us all, that Matthew had brought us into this way, eyther to make us lose our lives or our goods, for in that place we could doe no other but call upon God to helpe us; and the Woods were so darke and fearefull, that Spirits would have beene afraid to passe them. We saw many savage and cruell beasts at noonedayes, passing this way and that way, without being any whit afraid of us. For all this we went forward, and began to find people of the Countr, which kept their fields that were sowne with Millet, and came farre off to sow it upon these high and craggie Mountaynes. We saw likewise many Herds of goodly Oxen, and Goats feeding. The said people which we found there, were all naked, and hid in a manner, no part of their bodies. They were very blacke, and were said to be Christians. They had their Wives with them, which covered their Privities with a ragge of cloth halfe torne. These women weare upon their heads a kind of attyre, made after the fashion of a Crowne, as blacke as Pitch, and their haire bound up in round wreathes like Kandles of Tallow: the blacknesse of these attyes, with these Lockes of hair fastned unto them, seemed a very strange thing to behold. The men weare a piece of skinne before their Privities.

Thus travelling forward through many other Woods which could hardly be passed, and wee our selves lighting on foot, and unloading our Camels there met us tenne or twelve Friers of the Monasterie of the Vision, among whom, there was foure or five very aged, and one older then the rest, whom all the rest did reverence, and kissed his hands; and our selves did the like, because Matthew told us that he was their Bishop, but afterward we knew that he was no Bishop; but that he had the Title of David, which signifieth a Warden; & that in the Monasterie there was another above him, whom they call Abba, which signifieth
a Father, beeing like unto a Provinciall, and in regard of
their age and drynesse (for they were as dry as a stocke)
they seemed to be men of a holy life at the first blast.
The foresaid Friers travelled through the Woods to gather
their Millet which they had sowed, as also to gather up
their Roots, which are payed unto them by such as sow
Corne in those Mountaines and Woods. Their apparell
was made of dressed Goat-skinnes, others weare apparell
made of old yellow Cotton, and went bare-foot. From
hence we departed not till our Camels had rested a little:
afterward, within the space of halfe a mile, we came to the
foot of a very rough and cragged Mountaine, upon the
which our Camels could not ascend, and hardly the Mules
without their burthens, and heere wee rested our selves at
the foot of a Tree.

9. The next day the Ambassador Matthew com-
manded his goods to be laden upon the backs of Negroes,
to carry them into a small Monasterie, halfe a league
distant from us, called Saint Michael de Iseo. Here
Framasgual departed from us, and wee came unto the
Monasterie halfe dead, as well for the roughnesse and
steepnesse of the way, as also because of the great heat.

While we aboad there, the said Matthew came unto us
with a counter-mand, and said unto us, that he had written
unto the Court of Prete Janni, and to Queene Helena,
and to Marke the Patriarke, and that the answere could
not bee returned in lesse then fortie dayes, and that with-
out the same we could not depart, because from that place
they were to furnish us, and to have Mules for us, and for
our goods; neither was he well assured of the performance
of this, but said that Winter began to approach, which
lasted about the space of three monethes, wherein we
could not travell, and that therefore it was needfull, that
wee should provide victuals for our selves: for three
monethes in the Winter they travell not in these Countries,
to wit, from the midst of June to the midst of September,
which is their ordinarie Winter. Within a short space
after our arrivall here, our people as well Portugals as
slaves fell so sick, that few or none escaped untouched, and many were sicke to the point of death, insomuch that they stood in need often to be let bloud and to be purged. Among the first, Master John our Physician fell sicke, which was all our humane helpe, yet it pleased God that he recovered, and from that time forward he laboured for us with all his power.

Among these, Matthew the Ambassadour fell sicke also, which had many Medicines ministred unto him, and when he seemed to be very well recovered and strong, he rose up and commanded his goods to be carryed to a Towne belonging to the Monasterie of the Vision, where he yeelded up his spirit unto our Lord, which was the foure and twentieth of May, Anno Dom. 1520. and I confessed him, and ministred the Communion unto him, and he made his will in the Portugall Tongue, but it was also made in the Abassin Tongue, by a Frier of the said Monastery. We caused the corps to bee buried very honorably in the said Monastery, where wee said Service and Masse for him according to our custome, and the Friers did the like according to theirs.

10. Wee determined, to send to request Barnagasso, that hee would give us some meanes to returne into our Countrey, to the end wee might not perish in that place. The Friers understanding this, tooke it in very ill part, and calling Don Roderigo aside, perswaded him not to send thither, praying him to attend the comming of the Provinciall, which would bee within ten dayes, and if he come not, they would furnish us with necessaries for our journies. And because they are people of small trust themselves, they gave no credit unto us, although the Ambassadour had promised them to doe so, but sought to minister an Oath unto each of us upon a Crucifix, that we would stay during those tenne dayes, and they likewise tooke an Oath to performe that which they had promised.
§. II.

Of the manner and situation of the Monasteries, and of their holy Rites, Times, Places, and Things: And first of this of Saint Michael.

First, this Monasterie is situate upon the cragge of a Mountaine, which is very wild, seated at the foot of another huge Mountaine, upon the which no man can ascend. The stone of these Rockes is of the colour and graine of the stone, wherewith the wall of the Cities of Portugall are built, and the stones are verie great. All the ground except these stones is covered with many great Woods, and the greatest part are wild Olive Trees, and great store of Herbs grow among them, and the most part is Basil. The Trees which were not Olives, were not knowne of us, and all of them were without fruit. In certaine narrow Vallies, which belong to this Monasterie, were Groves of Orange-trees, Limons, Cedars, Vines, and Figs of all sorts, as well of those which are found in Portugall, as those of India, and Peaches: there were also Cabbages, Corianders, Cressis, Wormwood, Mirtles, and many other kinds of Herbes fragrant and medicinall: and all was ill husbanded, because they are people of no industrie; and the Earth bringeth forth the things aforesaid, as it bringeth forth wild things, and would bring forth much better, all they should plant or sow. The House of the Monasterie seemeth, indeed, to bee a Church-building being made like unto ours: it hath about it a circuit like to a Cloyster, and the covering above is fastned to the covering of the Church. It hath three gates, as ours have, to wit, one chiefe gate in the fore-front, and one on each side in the midst. The covering of the Church, and of the circuit is made of wild Reed, which lasteth the life of a man.

The body of the Church is made with Iles, very well wrought, and the Arches are very well stored, it seemeth all to be made like a Vault: It hath a little Quire behind
the great Altar, with a Crosse afore it, whereupon hang Curtaines which goe from one side to another; and likewise, there are other Curtaines before the Gates, passing from one Wall to another, and they are of Silke, and the entrie by these Curtaines is at three places, and are fastned against the Walls: and at these three entrances or gates, are little Bels fastned to the Curtaines, about the bignesse of Saint Anthonies Bels; and a man cannot enter in at the gates, but these Bels will ring. There is but one Altar belonging to the whole Church, which standeth in the great Chappell. Above the Altar is a Cloath of Gold borne up with foure pillars, and the Altar toucheth all these foure Pillars, and the said Cloath of Gold is hollow like a Vault, it hath his Super-Altare, or consecrated stone, which they call Tabuto, and upon this stone standeth a very great Bason of Copper, and it is flat in the bottome, and is low brimmed, which reacheth unto all the foure Pillars of the Altar, because the Pillars are set in a square, and in the said Bason is set another lesser Bason, and on every side of this cloth of Gold, that is to say, behind and on both sides a Curtaine hangeth downe which covereth the whole Altar downe to the ground, saving that it is open before.

Their Bels are of stone, that is to say, long and thin stones, hanged up with Cords, and they beat them on the inside with a piece of wood, and they make a very strange sound, like to the sound of broken Bels when they are heard afarre off. And likewise on Festivall dayes, they take Bason, and strike them with certaine small stickes, which make them sound very loud. They have likewise Bels of Iron, which are not fully round, but have two sides like unto the Jacket of a Muletier, whereof the one part covereth him before, and the other behind; they have a clapper which beateth the same first on the one side, and then on the other, and it maketh a sound like unto a man that diggeth Vines. They have also other Bels ill-favouredly made, which they carrie in their hands when they go on Procession, and ring them altogether upon
Festivall dayes, on other dayes they use their Bels of stone, and of Iron; they ring to Mattens two houres before day, and they say them by heart without light: onely there hangs a Lampe before the Altar, wherein they burne Butter, for they have no Oyle.

They sing and say with a loud and harsh voice, as of one that cryeth, without any art of singing: they say no Verses, but their speech is as it were in Prose, and yet they are Psalmes, and on their Holidayes, besides their Psalmes, they say Prose, and according to the Feasts so is their Prose, and alwayes they stand on their feet in the Church. They say not above one Lesson at their Mattens, with a harsh, disordered and untuneable voice, and like unto that wherein wee pronounce the words of the Jewes, in representing the Passion of our Saviour Christ. And although their voice be so harsh, yet they speake it running, as fast as the tongue of a man can wagge, and a Clerke or a Frier saith the same; and this Lesson is read before the principall gate.

Which being ended on Saturday and Sundayes, they goe on Procession with foure or five crosses, being carried upon certaine staves not very high; and they carrie the same in their left hands, because in their right hand they carrie a Censer, and alwayes there are so many Censers as there be Crosses. They weare certaine Copes of Silke, but rudely made, for they be no broader then the breadth of a piece of Damaske, or of any other piece of Silke from the upper part to the neather part; and on the breast before, they have a traverse; and on both sides they sewe a piece of other Cloth of what colour soever, although it agree not with the principall; and of the principall Cloth they let a traine hang downe upon the ground. They make this Procession in their Circuit, which is like unto a Cloister. Which being ended on Saturdayes, and Sundayes, and Festivall dayes, he which is to say Masse, with two others, enter into the Chappell, and take out an Image of our Ladie, which they have in an old Cell (for in all Churches they have of their *Cells) and they

*Ancon.
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

put it on a Crozier, turning the face toward the principal gate, and this Image holdeth her hand before her breast, and they which stand on both sides of it hold lighted Candles in their hands, and then they which are before it beginneth to sing in manner of prose, and they goe all crying and dancing as if they were in a Towne-dance. And going before this Image with this their song or prose, they ring their little Bells and Cymbals with the like sound, and as often as any chanceth to passe before this Image they doe great reverence to it, which seemeth to the beholder to be done with great desire of devotion: and so they carrie in this Feast Crosses and Censers, as they did in their Procession.

When this is ended, which continueth for a long space, they salute the Image, and then they goe unto a certaine closet, which standeth toward the North; and that part where the Gospell is said, according to our Masse, is without the circuit, wherein they make the Host, which they call Corbon, and they carrie Crosses, Censers, and Bells with them, and from hence they bring a Cake of Wheat-flowre unleavened, newly made, very white and very faire, of the bignesse and roundnesse of a great Paten, because there are but a few people in this Monasterie: but in other Monasteries and Churches (whereof there be many) they make this Cake great or small according to the number of the people, for all doe communicate, and according to the breadth so they make the thickness, either halfe a finger, or a whole finger, or a thumbe thick: and they carrie this Cake in the little Bason which is one of them that belong to the Altar covered with a cloth, with a Crosse and Censer, and a Bell ringing afore them. Behind the Church where that Quire is, which they hold as a Cloister, no man may stand which is not in holy Orders,* but all of them must stand before the principal gate, where there is another great circuit which all Churches have, but it is not covered, and there may stand any man that list.

When they goe in Procession with this Cake, all they

---

*An order sometimes so strictly observed, that Saint Amb. sent Theodosius to remove, &c.
which stand in the Church and in the circuit, when they
heare the little Bell, bow downe their heads untill the Bell
cease, which is, when they set it upon the Altar in the
lesser Bason which is set (as I said before) in the greater
Bason, and they cover it with a blacke Cloth like unto a
Corporall. This Monasterie hath a Chalice of Silver, and
likewise in all principall Churches and Monasteries they
have Chalices of Silver, and in some they have Chalices of
Gold. In the Churches of the poorer people (which they
call the Churches of the Balgues, that is to say, of the
Husbandmen) they have brazen Chalices. These vessels
are more wide then ours are, but evill made; but they
have no covers. They powre into the Chalice, wine
made of Raisins in great quantitie; for, as many as
receive the Bodie, receive also the Bloud.

Hee that is to say this Masse, beginneth, saying
Halleluia, with a lowd voyce, rather speaking then
singing, and all the companie answere him; and then he
holdeth his peace, and beginneth to blesse them with a
little Crosse which he carrieth in his hand; and as well
they that are about, as those which are within beginne to
sing, untill a certaine time, when as one of them two that
stand at the Altar take a Booke, and receiveth blessing of
him that sayeth Masse, and the other taketh a Crosse,
and a Bell, and goeth ringing the same toward the princi-
pall gate, where all the people standeth in that circuit; and
there he readeth the Epistle running very fast with his
tongue, and afterwards singing returneth backe to the
Altar: suddenly he which singeth the Masse taketh a
Booke from the Altar, kissing the same, and giveth it to
him which is to say the Gospell, which boweth downe his
head, and asketh him blessing; which when hee hath
received, as many as stand at the Altar doe kisse the same,
a candle is borne with this Booke, and he which reads the
Gospell, readeth it as the Epistle was read, very hastily,
and with as high a sound as his tongue can utter, and his
voyce can beare: and returning to the Altar, on the way
he beginneth likewise another song, and those which goe
with him follow him: and when they be come to the Altar, they give the Book to kisse to him that sayeth Masse, and so they put it in its place.

And suddenly, he which sayeth Masse, taketh a Censer, and censeth the upper part of the Altar, and they goe often about it and cense the same. When they have done these censings, he turneth to the Altar, and blesseth it very often with the Crosse, and then hee uncovereth the Cake which he had covered in stead of the Sacrament, and taketh it up in both his hands, and lifting up his right hand the Cake remayneth in his left hand, and with his thumbe he maketh five signes like prickes, that is to say, one in the top, another in the midst, another in the bottome, and the other two on both sides; and therewithall he consecrateth it in his owne Language, with the very words that we use, and he useth no elevation. The very same he doth over the Cup, and lifteth it not up, he sayth over the same, the very words that wee use in his owne Tongue, and he covereth it, and taketh the Sacrament of the Bread in his hands, and breaketh it in twaine, and of the part that is in his left hand, hee breaketh a little Morsell of the top of the same, and the other two pieces hee layeth the one upon the other. The Priest taketh this little Morsell for himselfe, and likewise taketh part of the Sacrament of the bloud, and after he taketh the Bason with the covered Sacrament, and giveth it to him which hath said the Gospell, and likewise he taketh the Chalice with the Sacrament, and giveth it to him which read the Epistle: and suddenly they give the Communion to the Priests which stand at the Altar, receiving a small piece of Sacrament out of the Bason, which a Deacon holdeth in his right hand; and while the Deacon giveth the same, a Sub-Deacon taketh of the bloud in a spoone of Gold, of Silver, or of Copper, according to the abilitie of the Church, and giveth it unto him which receiveth the Sacrament of the body in very small quantitie: and on the other side, standeth another Priest with a little Vessell of holy Water, and powreth into the palme of his hand,
which receiveth the Communion, a litle of that water, wherewith he washeth his mouth, and afterward swalloweth it up.

This being done, they all goe to the Altar with this Sacrament, before the first Curtaine, and in this sort they give the Communion to them which stand there, and afterward to all those of the other Curtaine, and lastly, to the Secular people which stand at the principall gate, as well men as women, if the Church be such that women may bee suffered to come thither: at the giving of the Communion, and at all other divine Services all stand upon their feet: and when they goe to receive the Communion, all of them come with their hands lifted up before their shoulders, with the palmes of their hands spread abroad before them: and when any man receiveth the Sacrament of the bloud, he receiveth of that Holy Water, as I said before. And also generally al such as are to receive the Communion before the Masse, use to wash their hands with water, which is placed in all Churches and Monasteries for this purpose. The Priest which saith the Masse, and they which stood with him at the Altar (the Communion being ended) returne unto the Altar, and wash the Bason wherein the Sacrament was put with the water remayning in the Vessell, which they say is Holy Water: this Water is put into the Chalice, and he which said Masse dranketh it up all. This done, one of the Ministers of the Altar taketh a Crosse and a sacring Bell, and beginning a little Song, goeth to the principall gate where the Epistle and Gospell were read, and where they ceased to give the Communion, and all they which are in the Church, and without the Church, incline their heads and take their leaves, saying, That this is the blessing, and that without this no man may depart. On Saturdaies and Sundaies, and Feastivall daies, in all Churches and Monasteries, they use to give holy Bread. The forme of Ceremonies which this little Monasterie useth (which hath not above twentie or five and twentie Friers) is observed in all other Monas-
Purchas His Pilgrimes

1520.

Manner of making the Cake.

12. The manner how they make the Cake aforesaid, is this: The house where they make it in all Churches & Monasteries, is placed (as is said before) toward that part where the Gospel is said without the Church, and the covered circuit, which is as a Cloyster in all Churches and Monasteries: and they use the other circuit which is without and not covered, as a Churchyard. This house is as bigge as the Quire behind the great Altar, and somewhat bigger, and in all Churches and Monasteries they have nothing else in that house, but that which serveth for this businesse; to wit, a Staffe to beate the corne out of the eares, and an Instrument to grind the Meale, because they make it very white, as is convenient for such a purpose: because they make not the said Sacrament with Meale or Wheate, wherein Women have put their hands. They have Earthen Platters, wherein they knead the Meale, and they make the Dow harder then we make it, they make a little Oven like a Still to Still Water, and upon the same a plate of Iron, (and some Churches have it of Brasse, and some others of Bricke) which is round, with a large compasse, and they put the fire underneath it, and when it is hot, they make it cleane with a course cloath, and then lay a good piece of this Dow upon it, and spread it abroad with a Woodden Knife, as broad as they will have it, and make it very round, and when the Cake is baked they take it away, lay it aside, and make another after the same fashion; and this second Cake after it is likewise ready, they take the former, and lay it thereupon, to wit, that side which was uppermost they turne downe-ward, and so both these two Cakes are laid together, as they were one Cake, and they doe nothing all the while but turne and tosse them upon this Plate, untill they bee baked beneath and above, and on every side, and so they make as many as they will. In the same house are also the Raisins where-with they make their Wine,
and the Instrument where-with they presse the same. In these houses also is the Holy Bread made, which is distributed on the Saturdaies and Sundaies, and other Feastivall dayes, and when their great Feasts are held, as Christmas, Easter, and our Lady of August, they fetch out this Sacrament of Bread with a Vestment, * Belο and Crosses, very devoutly, and before they enter into the church therwith, they go once about the circuit, which is like unto a Cloyster, but when it is not Holy day they go strait into the Church. The Saturday before Ascension day when we use to say our Letanies, these Friers made a Procession, and because we were strangers in the Countrey, it seemed a goodly sight unto us, and it was on this wise: they tooke Crosses and a consecrated stone of the Altar with great reverence, covered with cloth of Silk, & a Frier which carried it on his head, was likewise wholly covered with the like cloth of Silke: they carried also Bookes, Belο, Censers, and holy water, and went into certaine fields sowed with Millet, and there they made their Devotions, with cryes after the manner of Letanies, and with this Procession they returned unto the Monasterie. And when we asked them wherfore they did this, they said, because the Wormes doe eate their Corne, therefore they went to sprinkle them with Holy Water, and pray to God to take them away. He which saith Masse, hath no other difference in his apparell from a Deacon and Sub-deacon, saving a long Stole slit in the midst, so that hee may thrust his head through it, and behind and before it reacheth downe to the ground. The Friers which say Masse weare their haires long, and the Priests weare it not, but are shorne, and so they say Masse, and are always bare-footed, and no man may come shod into the Church, and for this purpose they allege that which God said unto Moses, Put off thy shoees, for the place where thou standest is holy ground.

13. In this Monasterie of Saint Michael, where we were, we said Masse every day, not in the Monasterie, but in the circuit which is like a Cloyster: because in this
Purchas His Pilgrimes

A.D. 1520.

But one Masse a day.

Countrey they say but one Masse a day in every Church or Monasterie. The Friers came unto our Masse with great devotion, as they seemed, and supplied our want with Censers and Incense, because wee had brought none with us: and they think it an ill thing to say Masse without Incense, and they said that all things seemed well unto them, saving that they thought it not commendable for one Priest alone to say Masse, because among them they use not to say Masse, except they bee three, or five, or sixe, and all these stand at the Altar. Also, they disliked that we went with our shoes into the Church, and much more when we did spit in the Church. But wee excused our selves, saying; That this was the fashion in our Countrey. And so wee said Masse every day untill Trinitie Sunday, and when the Monday after the said Trinitie Sunday came, then they would suffer us to say no more Masse in the morning, and we marvelled thereat, and not well pleased, and having at that instant no Interpreter to learn wherefore they would not suffer us to say Masse, at length we understood, that which by experience afterward we saw, to wit; that they observe the Old Testament in their fasting; for they fast very straitly in the Lent, which they begin the Monday after the Sunday of Sexagesima, which are ten dayes before our Shrovetide, and so they make their Lent of fiftie dayes, and say that they take those dayes before, for the Saturdayes on which they doe not fast: and their Fast is to eate at even-tide, and every day they receive the Communion, and therefore they say not Masse but in the evening, and when Masse is done, they receive the Communion and then goe to supper. And like as they have these fiftie dayes of fast, so they take as many dayes after Easter and Whitsontide, wherein they fast not at all; and when it is not fasting day, they say Masse in the morning, and all those dayes they eate flesh without observing any one of them, and say Masse in the mornings, and strait way goe to dinner because they fast not.

When this time is ended, and Trinitie Sunday past,
all the Clerkes and Friers are bound to fast every day saving Saturdayes, Sundayes, and this Fast continueth untill Christmasse day. And because they fast all, they say Masse at night, alleaging for prooфе hereof the Supper of Christ, how that it was fasting time, and almost night when he consecrated his Bodie. But commonly, the Laypeople as well men as women are bound to fast weekly on Wednesdayes and Fridayes, from Trinitie Sunday untill Advent: and from Christmasse Day till the Purification of the Virgin Marie (which they call the Feast of Saint Simeon) they fast not at all. The three dayes after the Purification being not Saturday nor Sunday, are an exceeding strait Fast for the Clerkes, Friers, and Laypeople, for they say that they eate but once in all these three dayes, and they call it the Fast of Ninive. These three dayes being ended, untill the beginning of Lent, they fast againe as they did before, untill the Feast of the holy Trinitie. In the Advent and all the Lent the Clearkes, the Friers, the Laitie, the men and women, small and great, sound and sicke doe all fast. And likewise, from Easter unto Trinitie Sunday, and from Christmasse unto the Purification, the Masse is said in the morning because there is no Fast, all the rest of the yeare it is said in the evening because they fast.

The Monasterie where we buried Matthew, is distant from this wherein we aboad three miles space of very bad way, & it is called, The Monastery of the Vision of Jesus. It is seated upon the point of a Rocke exceeding high, and from every part as a man looketh downward, there is a Valley which seemeth to be as deepe as Hell. The Church of the Monasterie is very great of bodie, & greater in revenues, and is very well disposed and governed. It is built with three great allies or walkes, which are very finely made with their Arches and their Vaults, which seeme to bee made of wood, because they are all painted over, so that a man cannot perceive whether the Church be built of stone, or of wood. It hath two walking places in forme of a Cloyster about the bodie of the Church,
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

which are both covered and painted with the Pictures of the Apostles, and Patriarkes, and with the storie of all the Old Testament, and with Saint George on Horse-backe, which is to be seen in all their Churches. And likewise, there is in the same a great piece of Arras, wherein is woven a Crucifixe, our Ladie, the Apostles, the Patriarkes, and Prophets, and every one hath his title or name in Latine, which sheweth that the same worke was not made in those Countries. There are also many ancient Images, which stand not upon the Altars, because it is not their fashion, but they keepe them in a Vestry lapped up with many Bookes, and they bring them not forth but on Holy-dayes.

In this Monasterie there is a great Kitchin, with all things thereto appertayning, with a great roome to dine in, where they sate altogether, and they eat three and three in a Treen dish which is not very deepe, but plaine like unto a wooden Platter. Their Dyet is very homely, their Bread is made of Millet and of Barley, and of another Seed which they call Tafo, which is small and blacke. This Bread they make round, about the bignesse of an Apple of Adam, and they give three of these to each one, and unto the Novices they give three of them betweene two, and I wonder greatly to thinke how they can live with so little a quantitie. Likewise, they give each of them a little fresh fish without Oyle or Salt. Of the selfe-same Dyet, they send so many aged and honorable Friers, towards whom they use great reverence, which come not unto the dining hall. And if any man aske me how I know this, I answere, that besides that which I saw when we buried Matthew, the greatest part of the sixe yeares which wee aboad in Æthiopia, our Lodging was not farre from the said Monastery, so that I departed oftentimes from our house upon my Mule, and came in the evening to the Monasterie, and for the most part I went to passe the time with the Friers, and principally at their Festivall times, and I learned many things of them concerning their Affaires, Revenues, Usages, and Customes.
An hundred Friers are commonly in this Monasterie, and the most part of them are very aged, and as dry as a stocke, few of them are young. There are also many little children, of eight yeares old and upward, which they bring up, and many of them are lame and blind. This Monasterie is walled round about, and hath no entrie but by two gates which are always shut.

This Monasterie is the head of sixe Monasteries, which stand about the same among these Mountaines, and that which is farthest, is not past nine and twentie or thirtie miles off, and all of them are subject and yeeld obedience unto this Monasterie. In every one of them there is a David, that is to say, a Warden placed by the Abbot or Provinciall, and that Monasterie which hath a David, that is to say, a Warden is subject to the Abbot, which is as Provinciall. I always heard reported, that there were about three thousand Friers in this Monasterie, and because I doubted much thereof, I came once to their Feast of our Ladie in August, to see how many were assembled there together: and surely, I tooke pleasure when I beheld the riches of this place, in a certaine Procession which they made, and in my judgement, the Friers were not above three hundred, and the greatest part of them were old men. I saw a great circuit, which this Monasterie hath about two places, which are like to Cloysters, which circuit is open; but at that time it was all covered over with great and small Clothes of Gold, Velvets of Mecca, all long pieces sewed one unto another, to hang round about that circuit, through which they made a goodly Procession, all clad in Copes of the said Cloth of Gold, but made ill-favouredly, as I have said before. They carried fiftie Crosses of Silver, small and badly made, and as many Brazen Censers; when they said Masse I saw a great Chalice of Gold, and a Spoone of Gold, wherewith they gave the Communion. And of the three hundred which were assembled in this Monastery, there were very few of mine acquaintance: I enquired of certaine of my friends, wherefore seeing so many Friers
belonged to this Monastery, as they said, so few were present at so great a Solemnitie: they answered me that the number was greater then they looked for, because they are divided in other Monasteries, Churches, and Faires to earne their living as long as they be yong: for they cannot be maintayned in the Monastery, but by their owne industrie, and when they are so old that they cannot travell, they come to end their dayes at this Monastery. This day I saw seventenee yong men taken into Orders.

In this Monastery is the buriall of an Abbot or Provinciall, called Philip, and his workes of Holinesse were very great: for they say, that there was once a King or Prete Janni, which ordained that they should not keepe the Saturday holy throughout all his Kingdomes and Dominions. And this Philip repaired immediately unto him with his Brethren and with many Bookes, and shewed him how God had commanded that the Sabbath Day should bee observed, and that whosoever observed it not should be stoned. This man disputed this question before all the religious men of Æthiopia, and was commended before the King: and therefore they take him to bee a Saint, and they observe an Holy-day unto him every yeare in the moneth of July, which they call the Fascar of Philip, which sinusifieth the Testament or Memorie of Saint Philip. And therefore the Inhabitants of this Countrey and Monasterie are more infected with this Jewish Heresie, then any other part of the Dominions of Prete Janni, although all of them bee in part infected: but these are more then any others. I have seene them with mine eyes seethe fish on the Sabbath, and bake bread also: and on the Sabbath in this Monastery, they make no fire at all: on the Sunday following, they make readie all things needfull for their Dyet, and I came twice to this Fascar of Philip, at which times they received me with great honour. And at this Feast yearely, they kill many Öxen, and at one of them I saw them kill thirtie, and at another eight and twentie, which were offered by the Inhabitants their Neighbours, for devotion unto this Philip, and they give
this flesh raw to all the people, that come to the Fascar without any bread at all. The Friers eate no kind of flesh.

They sent me yearely two great fat quarters of beefe, with much bread and wine of Honey, which likewise the Friers drinke not in the Monastery, but when they are abroad with us Portugals, they drinke wine and eate flesh if they be but one alone, but if they be two, they doe it not, for feare the one of the other. This Monastery and all the rest which are subject to it, observe an order, that no woman may enter into it, nor shee Mules, nor Kine, nor Hens, nor any other beast of the female kind. This I both learned and saw my selfe; for when I came thither a Crosse-bow shoot distant from the Monastery, they came to take my Mule, not suffering mee to come with her to the Monastery, and they sent her to a house of theirs, called Giangargara, where Matthew died. They kill their Kine and Hens, a certaine distance from the Monasterie. I saw but one Cocke in the Monastery with two bels at his legs, without Hennes, and they said, that they kept him to crow at the time of their Mattens. If any woman come into the house, they know it, for oftentimes I asked certaine children which were brought up there, whose Sonnes they were, and they named unto me, the Friers for their Fathers, and so I know the yong Friers to be called the Sonnes of all the old Friers.

END OF VOLUME VI.
Archaeological Library

Call No. 910.4/Hak/Pus

Author—Purchas, Samuel

Title—Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes

“A book that is shut is but a block”

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.